

European Echoes: Jazz Experimentalism in Germany, 1950-1975

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ABSTRACT

“European Echoes: Jazz Experimentalism in Germany, 1950-1975”

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“European Echoes: Jazz Experimentalism in Germany, 1950-1975” is a historical and interpretive study of jazz and improvised music in West and East Germany. “European Echoes” illuminates an important period in German jazz whose beginnings are commonly associated with the notion of *Die Emanzipation* (“The Emancipation”). Standard narratives of this period have portrayed *Die Emanzipation* as a process in which mid-1960s European jazz musicians came into their own by severing ties of influence to their African American musical forebears. I complicate this framing by arguing that engagement with black musical methods, concepts, and practices remained significant to the early years of German jazz experimentalism. Through a combination of oral histories, press reception, sound recordings, and archival research, I elucidate how local transpositions and adaptations of black musical methods, concepts, and practices in post-war Germany helped to create a prime site for contesting definitions of cultural, national, and ethnic identities across Europe. Using a case study approach, I focus on the lives and works of five of the foremost German jazz experimentalists: multi-reedist Peter Brötzmann, trumpeter and composer Manfred Schoof, pianist and composer Alexander von Schlippenbach, multi-reedist Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky, and pianist Ulrich Gumpert. Furthermore, I discuss new music composer Bernd Alois Zimmermann’s sustained engagement with African American musical forms in addition to the significance of both Schoof’s and Schlippenbach’s studies and various collaborations with him. The elucidation of the German jazz experimentalism movement is situated within the larger context of the Cold War’s competing West

German capitalist and East German state socialist political systems and shows how music became a form of international politics and cultural diplomacy.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1977 the influential German jazz critic, impresario, and record producer Joachim-Ernst Berendt published an essay “German Jazz and the Emancipation (1961-1973)” in which he argued that “the imitative era” of German and European jazz ended in the early 1960s.¹ Berendt asserted that while during the imitative era, European and German jazz closely adhered to the musical styles and ideas of US jazz artists, by the mid-1960s European jazz musicians began to come into their own, bringing about what he referred to as “a new European jazz.”² He designated this departure and the ensuing individuation process as “die Emanzipation” (the Emancipation).³

At the same time, Berendt, who was careful to avoid any triumphalist underpinnings of “the Emancipation,” suggested a dialectical but conflicting notion of this phenomenon. In doing so, he emphasized that “the process of emancipation itself was provoked by American musicians,” such as black experimentalists Charles Mingus, Cecil Taylor, Ornette Coleman, and John Coltrane.⁴ He also asserted that the new European jazz remained dependent on US jazz.

¹ “Die imitatorische...Ära.” Joachim-Ernst Berendt, *Ein Fenster aus Jazz: Essays, Portraits, Reflexionen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, [1977] 1980), 215. All translations, unless noted otherwise, are my own.

² “Ein neuer europäischer Jazz.” Ibid.

³ Berendt’s view was anticipated by Scottish trumpeter and writer Ian Carr, who as early as 1973 in a similar vein had viewed a series of late 1960s recordings by English composer and pianist Mike Westbrook as “responsible for the emancipation of British jazz from American slavery.” Ian Carr, *Music Outside: Contemporary Jazz in Britain* (London: Latimer New Dimensions, 1973) 21.

⁴ “Der Emanzipationsprozeß selbst wurde...durch amerikanische Musiker ausgelöst.” Berendt, *Ein Fenster aus Jazz*, 215.

Perhaps concerned about the uses of what George E. Lewis has referred to as the workings of “strategic essentialism” in terms of an emergent “pan-European cultural nationalism” that has informed the Emancipation discourse since the 1970s, Berendt was cautious.⁵ He therefore admonished “that it is dangerous to use the term emancipation of German or European jazz as an undifferentiated buzzword.”⁶

Since Berendt’s influential essay, the notion of “the Emancipation” has defined many historical narratives of post-1950s European jazz and improvised music. According to narratives advanced by various music scholars, such as Ekkehard Jost, Wolfgang Burde, and Mike Heffley, beginning around 1965 European musicians emancipated themselves from perceived US cultural hegemonic influences. Most of these narratives, which are usually framed in terms of a Europe-US binary opposition, contend that by severing ties to their African American spiritual fathers - represented by free jazz practitioners such as Ornette Coleman, Cecil Taylor, John Coltrane, and Albert Ayler - European improvisers eventually came into their own by asserting a pan-European cultural difference and aesthetic self-reliance. For instance, in a 1978 essay, Burde argued that European jazz’s difference rested on its traditionless nature. As he asserted, it was precisely “this lack of tradition” that “affords European jazz the very chance - which it has now taken advantage

⁵ George E. Lewis, “Gittin’ To Know Y’all: Improvised Music, Interculturalism, and the Racial Imagination,” *Critical Studies in Improvisation* 1, no. 1 (2004), <http://www.criticalimprov.com/article/view/6/14>. Here Lewis borrows from the late Stuart Hall, who utilized the notion of strategic essentialism in a 1992 essay. See Stuart Hall, “What is this ‘Black’ in Black Popular Culture?” in *Black Popular Culture: A Project by Michelle Wallace*, ed. Gina Dent (Seattle: Bay Press, 1992), 21-33. Hall himself borrowed the concept from Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, who had advanced it in a 1988 essay. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313.

⁶ “Daß es gefährlich ist, das Wort von der Emanzipation des deutschen und europäischen Jazz als undifferenziertes Schlagwort zu verwenden.” Berendt, *Ein Fenster aus Jazz*, 218.

of for the first time in its history - to gain its independence.”⁷ In his foundational study *Europas Jazz 1960-80*, Jost read the mid-1960s rise of the European free jazz movement as nothing less than a “revocation of the dependency on the American father figures.”⁸ Heffley, acknowledging the African American influence on the Europeans, identified the trope of ambivalence on the part of European improvisers, framing the interrelation between “the Europeans and their African American models and peers” in terms of “a general love-hate dynamic.”⁹

The above historical narratives have been challenged by the interventionist work of George E. Lewis, who has addressed the salient issue of the transnational and intercultural impact of black musical knowledge on pan-European cultural ensembles. As Lewis has maintained: “To the extent that the pioneers of the European movement drew heavily upon the methods, materials, and histories of American jazz, acknowledging progenitors such as Coleman, Ayler, Taylor, and Coltrane, the work of the new Europeans constituted part of a second generation within a gradually globalized notion of jazz.”¹⁰

Expanding upon Lewis’s ideas, this dissertation is a historical and interpretive study of the movement of jazz experimentalism in West and East Germany between the years 1950 and 1975. I complicate the narratives advanced by Jost, Burde, and Heffley by arguing that engagement with black musical methods, concepts, and practices remained significant for the

⁷ Wolfgang Burde, “A Discussion of European Free Jazz,” Translator unknown, http://www.fmp-label.de/freemusicproduction/labelsspecialitions/forexample_burde_en.html.

⁸ “Aufkündigung des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses gegenüber den amerikanischen Vaterfiguren.” Ekkehard Jost, *Europas Jazz 1960-80* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987), 12.

⁹ Mike Heffley, *Northern Sun, Southern Moon: Europe’s Reinvention of Jazz* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 133.

¹⁰ Lewis, “Gittin’ To Know Y’all,” <http://www.criticalimprov.com/article/view/6/14>.

emergence of the German jazz experimentalism movement. In a seemingly paradoxical fashion, this engagement with black musical knowledge enabled the formation of more self-reliant musical concepts and practices. Rather than viewing the German jazz experimentalism movement in terms of dissociation from their African American spiritual fathers, I present this movement as having decisively contributed to the decentering of still prevalent jazz historiographies in which the centrality of the US is usually presupposed. Going beyond both US-centric and Eurocentric perspectives, this thesis contributes to scholarship that accounts for jazz's global dimension and the transfer of ideas beyond nationally conceived spaces.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the unfinished project of desegregating historiographies of music that music scholar Leo Treitler called for in a 1996 *Black Music Research Journal* article.¹¹ In this article Treitler argued for the necessity to overcome the divisions of historiographic paradigms of what he has denoted as the “Western European classical tradition” and “black-music history.”¹² Utilizing Treitler's trenchant demand as a point of departure, in this study I challenge the still prevalent segregation of jazz historiographies with which jazz studies on both sides of the Atlantic seem to be by and large intellectually comfortable.

As Heffley has compellingly argued with respect to Germany's significance for post-1950s European jazz, “German musicians were responsible for the first pan-European coalition of jazz scenes, in the *Emanzipation*'s first most groundbreaking and internationally important

¹¹ See Leo Treitler, “Toward a Desegregated Music Historiography,” *Black Music Research Journal* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 3-10.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3.

recordings.”¹³ Furthermore, for Heffley, “Germany’s history as the Cold War-torn country models in microcosm the broader West vs. East geopolitics of the European jazz scenes that reshaped the sociopolitical implications of ‘free’ there.”¹⁴

While highly significant as a critically important site for the rise of free jazz in Europe, Germany also became an important extension of the networks of black experimentalism. I illuminate how Germany, a place usually not associated with the black diaspora, became a site where musicians and critics have thought deeply about and engaged with black cultural production. A central concern of this thesis is the question of how knowledge of black music has been represented in different and changing socio-cultural configurations in post-war Germany. My claim is that the various local transpositions and adaptations of black musical methods, concepts, and practices by jazz experimentalists in both Germanys became prime sites for contestations over definitions of cultural, national, and racial identities. Jazz has acted as a destabilizing factor in terms of convenient binaries, such as Euro/Afro, own/foreign, or high/low, deemed essential to the formation of individual and collective identities.

“European Echoes: Jazz Experimentalism in Germany, 1950-1975” elucidates the German jazz experimentalism movement by focusing on the lives and work of four of its most significant proponents: saxophonist Peter Brötzmann, trumpeter Manfred Schoof, pianist Alexander von Schlippenbach, and saxophonist Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky. In the words of Lewis, “the work of these and many other musicians would soon result in the emergence of a panoply of

¹³ Heffley, *Northern Sun, Southern Moon*, 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

approaches that, taken together, constitute one of the critically important developments within a composite notion of late 20th-century musical experimentalism.”¹⁵

Utilizing the above artists’ life stories and oeuvres as case studies, I situate the production, circulation, and reception of their music in the wider socio-cultural contexts of the two respective post-WW II German political systems. I also devote ample space to the issue of the critical reception of jazz and black diasporic music in post-war Germany. Of crucial concern in this dissertation, therefore, are the intellectual and aesthetic challenges musicians and critics in both German states faced in coming to terms with the meanings of the new sounds associated with Ornette Coleman, Charles Mingus, Cecil Taylor, John Coltrane, Eric Dolphy, Joe Harriott, and Don Cherry, which were denoted alternatively as the “new thing,” “free jazz,” “avant-garde jazz,” “free form music,” and “total music.”

Moreover, I discuss the emergence of an infrastructure for the production, distribution, and reception of the new music. By means of magazines, first attempts at self-organization, state-funded radio networks, self-produced recordings and above all the foundation of the critically important musicians’ cooperative and record label Free Music Production (FMP), at the end of the 1960s a network of European jazz experimentalism had coalesced.

An essential methodological tool for this dissertation is a series of oral history interviews that I conducted with Brötzmann, Schoof, Schlippenbach, Petrowsky, Jost Gebers, who has been the head of FMP, pianist Ulrich Gumpert, pianist Irène Schweizer, and trumpeter Heinz Becker. I carried out most of the archival research at the Jazzinstitut Darmstadt, the Staatsbibliothek Unter den Linden in Berlin, the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers University, and the New York

¹⁵ Lewis, “*Gittin’ To Know Y’all*,” <http://www.criticalimprov.com/article/view/6/14>.

Public Library for the Performing Arts. I also consulted the privately held FMP archive as well as the personal archives of my interviewees. This research allowed me to obtain previously unexamined sources, including playbills and business contracts. Combining the archival research and the oral histories enabled me to uncover a hidden history of deep interactions between German and African American jazz experimentalists. In doing so, I reconstruct the emergence of jazz experimentalism in Germany in a more nuanced fashion.

My elucidation of the movement of German jazz experimentalism is organized into three chapters, which offer case studies of important German improvisers in the late twentieth century. In the first chapter, I illuminate the creative tension between the realms of music and politics, which decisively shaped the production and reception of Peter Brötzmann's music during the latter half of the 1960s. In doing so I also explore the intersection between the rise of the European free jazz movement and the protest movement associated with the New Left. Situating Brötzmann within a field of transnational and intercultural influences, I examine his pursuit of a normatively charged notion of music as a medium of social critique.

The second chapter is concerned with improvisers and composers Manfred Schoof's and Alexander von Schlippenbach's significance for the emergence of a European free jazz movement. Presenting them as musical thinkers, I reconstruct the bearings of both men's academic training on the development of their respective concepts and practices. I illuminate the complex ways in which Schoof's and Schlippenbach's studies with new music composer Bernd Alois Zimmermann and their engagement with the music of Ornette Coleman and Don Cherry impacted the development of their musical and sonic identities as European improvisers. Their

deployment of a usable European past notwithstanding, Schoof's and Schlippenbach's work evince strong references to black experimental musical concepts, methods, and practices.

The third chapter looks at Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky and his significance for the emergence of an East German free jazz movement. Focusing on the conditions of production in a state socialist system, I explore the difficulties Petrowsky and other jazz experimentalists faced under the ideological constraints imposed by GDR cultural policy makers during the height of the Cold War. Going beyond the convenient oppression and decadence narrative commonly associated with jazz in the GDR, I reconstruct the ways in which internal supporters and detractors, responding to cultural pressures from the West, engaged in actual debates about the music, thereby complicating the notion of authoritarian shutdown. At a last point, I elucidate the establishment of the critically important Free Music Production and its founder Jost Gebers' role in bringing together improvisers across the Berlin Wall and documenting the rise of the East German free jazz scene.

Throughout this study I worked with sources in multiple languages. By means of an interlanguage dialogue, I bring to light heretofore untranslated German critical work to an Anglophone readership, thereby making the discourse surrounding jazz experimentalism available beyond the German context. I illuminate the political and cultural environment in which the jazz experimentalism movement took root in both the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany and the state socialist German Democratic Republic. By looking at both the West German capitalist and the East German socialist scenes and situating them within the larger context of the Cold War, I explore how musicians were operating within and across these respective political systems. I place music as a significant actor in these socio-cultural scenes and

discuss how music turned into political debates. In doing so, this study contributes to the fields of German studies, political science, and Cold War studies.

I devote ample space to the issue of pedagogy in both post-war German societies. I focus on the ways in which musical knowledge was produced, disseminated, and received both in formal, institutionalized and more informal, even autodidactic settings in both Germanys. This study also provides the first in-depth Anglophone discussion of the life and work of Schoof, one of German jazz experimentalism's crucial figures. Finally, I elucidate Zimmermann's significance both as a pedagogue and musical thinker for the emergence of Schoof's and Schlippenbach's own concepts, which is usually only rendered as a footnote.¹⁶

¹⁶ For a recent exception, see Kai Lothwesen, *Klang – Struktur – Konzept: Die Bedeutung der Neuen Musik für Free Jazz und Improvisationsmusik* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2009).

CHAPTER ONE:

“Responsible”: Peter Brötzmann, Music and Politics in 1960s

West Germany

Many historical accounts of “die Emanzipation” assign West German multi-instrumentalist and improviser Peter Brötzmann a prominent role. His recordings *For Adolphe Sax* (1967) and *Machine Gun* (1968) are often credited with representing the most radical departure from the formative principles of US jazz. Various commentators have linked Brötzmann’s first recordings with the emergence of a truly independent and self-determined European free music.

In this chapter, I illuminate the creative tension between the realms of music and politics that shaped the production and reception of Brötzmann’s music during the latter half of the 1960s. In doing so, I not only investigate the aesthetics of production in terms of what was politically intended, but also elucidate the process of inscription of political meaning that has taken place within, as well as beyond, German-speaking regions. I situate Brötzmann’s work within the larger context of the rise of the New Left and the West German student protest movement, which spawned a reconfiguration of the realms of socio-political and aesthetic thought during the 1960s. Moreover, I discuss the building of alliances between segments of the West German student protest movement and the Black Freedom Movement in the US as an important backdrop for Brötzmann’s engagement with black experimentalism. I elucidate the ways in which this engagement spawned a normatively charged notion of music as a medium of

social critique, which was instrumental in Brötzmann's coming to terms with the burden of the National Socialist past and thereby for his self-position in West Germany's post-war society. I point out that Brötzmann's musical concepts and practices themselves further complicate the prevalent "Emancipation" narrative through having been informed by the aesthetics of the transnational Fluxus network with which he was associated during the early 1960s.

Peter Brötzmann was born on March 6, 1941 in the town of Remscheid to a middle class family. At home he was exposed to Western classical composers such as Beethoven, Wagner, and Tchaikovsky, music he "did not want to listen to."¹ Nevertheless, his first musical activities included singing in a school choir that performed Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, which he remembers as an enjoyable experience.² As a teenager Brötzmann came in contact with US jazz and was especially drawn to African American musical forms, listening "mainly to the black guys."³ He counts his attendance at performances by early African American blues and jazz musicians among the important experiences that marked his formative years. As Brötzmann recalls: "I remember the first recordings I had at home were early Ellington on the Brunswick label. And then, of course, some bands toured in Germany and one of the very first and very deep impressions was Sidney Bechet."⁴

While in secondary school Brötzmann's growing fascination with jazz prompted him to run a jazz club, where he would play records and read from Joachim-Ernst Berendt's widely

¹ Peter Brötzmann, interview with the author, Chicago, January 15, 2010.

² The biographical details pertaining to Brötzmann life are based on a personal interview that I conducted with him in Chicago, January 15, 2010.

³ Brötzmann, interview with the author, January 15, 2010.

⁴ Ibid.

disseminated *Das Jazzbuch*.⁵ Lacking the means to buy records, which were expensive in 1950s West Germany, Brötzmann gained exposure to a variety of US jazz practices unbeknownst to his parents by tuning in to Willis Conover's *Music, USA Jazz Hour* programs, which, beginning in January 1955, were broadcast six times a week on Voice of America, a US government broadcasting institution that was placed under the purview of the US Information Agency in 1953. After receiving those important first impressions he was able to borrow a clarinet from school, teaching himself the fundamentals and joining a semi-professional Dixieland band. Playing the clarinet, an instrument at that time widely believed to be out of step with the current developments in jazz, in a "recht und schlecht" (rough and ready) fashion, prompted Brötzmann's interest in the tenor saxophone, which he started to learn shortly after.⁶

During the late 1950s, however, Brötzmann's primary goal was to pursue a career in visual arts, a field he had immersed himself at a young age. At the age of 18 he decided to move to the city of Wuppertal, situated south of the Ruhr district, where he attended the local *Werkkunstschule* (School of Applied Arts), studying graphic design. His formative years as a visual artist and musician intersected with the emergence of Fluxus, arguably the first international and transdisciplinary network of experimental visual and performing artists, composer, writers, architects, and designers, which coalesced in the late 1950s in the US and shortly after in the early 1960s in Western Europe.⁷ Visual artist and scholar Owen F. Smith has

⁵ According to Australian scholar Andrew Wright Hurley, the book, promoted as the "best-selling jazz book in the world," sold "41,000 copies in the first six weeks" following its publication and "had sold 100,000 copies" by October 1955. It was translated into eleven languages and, including its various editions, "had sold 1.3 million copies worldwide" by Berendt's death in 2000. Andrew Wright Hurley, *The Return of Jazz: Joachim-Ernst Berendt and West German Cultural Change* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 2.

⁶ Bert Noglik, *Jazzwerkstatt International* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1981), 195.

compellingly argued that rather than conceiving of Fluxus as a movement or a group, the movement is best thought of as “principally a loose-knit association of individuals who shared certain ideas and interests, and worked together to realize their ideas.”⁸ Crossing lines of nationality, artistic discipline, and race (and to a lesser extent, gender), artists associated with this collective came from a variety of countries, such as the US, Germany, Japan, Korea, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, and Sweden. As Smith has noted, “the international make-up was related to the opposition within the Fluxus group to nationalistic divisiveness.”⁹ Among the key artists associated with early 1960s Fluxus activities were Nam June Paik, George Brecht, Emmett Williams, Benjamin Patterson, Alison Knowles, Wolf Vostell, and Lithuanian-born graphic designer George Maciunas, the movement’s central organizer.

Drawing upon ideas advanced by the Futurism, Dada, and Surrealism movements as well as the work of Marcel Duchamp and John Cage, Fluxus artists sought to radically rethink the very notion of art as well as the artist’s relationship to the everyday. By emphasizing the concept of anti-art, these artists sought to dissolve the very notion of fine art. The activities of this critically important network included performances and festivals, which aimed at crossing boundaries between recognized media and disciplines, symbolized by the term “intermedia,” coined by Fluxus artist Dick Higgins in 1966.¹⁰

⁷ For a meticulously researched historical account of Fluxus, see Owen F. Smith, *Fluxus: The History of an Attitude* (San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 1998).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 228.

Fluxus was also characterized by various attitudinal aspects in regard to art, culture, and life, which Smith has identified as “internationalism, collectivism, egalitarianism, indeterminacy, unity of art and life, de-centering, intermedia, participation, and humor.”¹¹

In early 1961 Maciunas had already organized a series of events in his New York art gallery AG Gallery, at which works by John Cage, La Monte Young, Toshi Ichiyanagi, Earle Brown, Henry Flynt, and Yoko Ono were presented. At the end of that year he moved to Wiesbaden, West Germany, where he developed the idea for a similar series of Fluxus group activities in 1962, called Fluxconcerts, which were to take place in various cities throughout Western Europe; among these was Wuppertal, where Brötzmann was based. Between 1962 and 1963, these Fluxconcerts, which were characterized by improvisation and chance and frequently disrupted conventional boundaries between performers and their audiences, featured performances by Cage, Joseph Beuys, and Paik, among others, as well as Maciunas himself.

On June 9, 1962 stage director Carlheinz Caspari delivered a lecture written by Maciunas entitled “Neo-Dada in the United States” at the Gallerie Parnass in Wuppertal. In his lecture Maciunas explicitly outlined his iconoclastic ideas regarding the notion of anti-art and the ensuing revision of the traditional relationship between artistic production and its reception based on hermeneutic models:

The anti-art forms are primarily directed against art as a profession, against the artificial separation of producer or performer, of generator and spectator or against the separation of art and life. They oppose forms artificial in themselves, models or methods of composition, of artificially constructed phenomena in the various areas of artistic practice, against intentional, conscious formalism and against the fixation of art on

¹⁰ See Dick Higgins, “Statement on Intermedia,” in *Dé-coll/age (décollage)* #6, ed. Wolf Vostell (New York: Something Else Press, July 1967).

¹¹ Smith, *Fluxus*, 228.

meaning, against the demand of music to be heard and that of plastic art to be seen; and finally against the thesis that both should be acknowledged and understood.¹²

The Fluxus artists' experimental concepts and practices deeply resonated with the young Brötzmann, and out of all the artists associated with Fluxus, Nam June Paik was to have the most profound influence on him. Born in Seoul in 1932, Paik had moved to West Germany in 1956 where he studied music at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich and participated in the 1961 Cologne premiere of avant-garde composer Karlheinz Stockhausen's music-theatre piece *Originale*. After initial experiments with TV sets, Paik presented his first solo exhibition, *Exposition of Music – Electronic Television*, at the Galerie Parnass in Wuppertal from the 11-20 March 1963. As music scholar Holly Rogers has observed, “conceived as a total Event, rather than as an exhibition of isolated works, *Exposition of Music* included four ‘prepared’ pianos, mechanical sound objects, several record and tape installations, twelve modified TV sets, and the head of a freshly slaughtered bull.”¹³ For Rogers, “the use of television as artistic material and the inclusion of audio elements” marked nothing less than “the beginnings of a video aesthetic several years before the format became widely available.”¹⁴ Paik's pathbreaking exhibition provided an opportunity for the twenty-two-year-old Brötzmann to work with the Korean artist. At Paik's Wuppertal exhibition visitors were encouraged to play on the music installations, and as these installations started to fall apart after they had been used several nights in row, it was up to Brötzmann and several of his *Werkkunstschule* colleagues to repair them. Brötzmann also

¹² Quoted in Jon Hendricks, “Foreword,” in *Fluxus Codex*, ed. Jon Hendricks with an introduction by Robert Pincus-Witten (Detroit: The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers New York, 1988), 23.

¹³ Holly Rogers, *Sounding the Gallery: Video and the Rise of Art-Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 127.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

accompanied Paik on several trips throughout Western Europe, where he assisted the artist with the setup of his exhibitions and installations. At two of the Fluxus Festivals that took place in Amsterdam and The Hague in June 1963, Brötzmann performed alongside John Cage, György Ligeti, La Monte Young, and Benjamin Patterson.¹⁵

Paik introduced Brötzmann to the music of Cage and Stockhausen, which was to have wide-reaching consequences for the saxophonist's ideas regarding what was considered to be sonically acceptable.¹⁶ Living in relative proximity to Cologne, a site of major significance for New Music since the opening of the Studio for Electronic Music at the Northwest German Broadcasting in 1953, provided Brötzmann with the opportunity to engage firsthand with the most current developments in American experimentalism and the postwar avant-garde associated with the Darmstadt Summer Courses. The various concepts, methods and practices associated with American experimentalism and the European avant-garde encouraged Brötzmann to radically challenge what he increasingly perceived as the restrictive structural, harmonic, and rhythmic formative principles associated with 1950s US jazz. As he remembers:

At the same time I started playing jazz music I, of course, got information about Cage, about the young Stockhausen, who was setting up his early electronic studio in Cologne and was running at that time a little theater with Mary Bauermeister with a guy called Caspari, so you could listen to Cage and Tudor and all this other part of the arts. And while my little older colleagues like Schlippenbach or Manfred Schoof still were busy with playing a kind of post bebop or hard bop I had my other sources and my other

¹⁵ See Heiner Bontrup, E. Dieter Fränzel, and Rainer Widmann, "Grenzüberschreitungen," in *sounds like whoopataal: Wuppertal in der Welt des Jazz*, ed. E. Dieter Fränzel, Rainer Widmann, and Jazz AGE Wuppertal (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2006), 238. A silent film of Brötzmann's performance at the Hypokriterion Theater in Amsterdam is included in the CD-ROM accompanying the catalogue for the exhibition *The Inexplicable Flyswatter*, which took place at the School of the Arts Institute in Chicago between March 7 and 23 in 2003. Peter Brötzmann, *The Inexplicable Flyswatter: Works on Paper 1959-1964*, Atavistic Unheard Music Series (UMS 242 Special, 2003), limited edition book and enhanced compact disc.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 239.

interests. I didn't need to take care of harmonies and scales and so on. I just tried to find my own way because I had my other information.¹⁷

It was in no small part Paik's iconoclasm that provided decisive incitement during Brötzmann's formative years, as the latter began to perceive even the innovations associated with the first and second wave of the US free jazz movement as ultimately confining. As Brötzmann relates in terms of Paik's significance on his musical identification process: "When the first ESP records showed up of Ornette or Mingus and, of course, we all listened to Art Blakey and Horace Silver but it was not enough. It was too fixed, too formulaic. I wanted to get away from that and, of course, it helped that I was a little busy with John Cage's music and I was lucky that I had the chance to work with Nam June Paik, who came from the music side. I was for a couple of exhibitions and projects a kind of assistant and he showed me that the rules are there to be broken."¹⁸ As Brötzmann remarked in this context pithily: "We were fed up with harmony and bars and counting and forms, we had the will to go as far out as possible."¹⁹

Music scholar Jürgen Arndt has argued that Brötzmann's concept of musical sound was also informed by his experiences with Fluxus. For Arndt, Brötzmann "stretches the sound from inside out to its limits and beyond," resulting in the loss of an identifiable pitch.²⁰ These up and

¹⁷ Brötzmann, interview with the author, January 15, 2010.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ "Wir hatten die Nase voll von Harmonien und Takten und Zählen und Formen, wir hatten den Willen, so weit wie möglich zu gehen." Heiner Bontrup, Dirk Peters, Dietrich Rauschtenberger, and Rainer Widmann, "Die jungen Wilden," in *sounds like whoopataal*, 167.

²⁰ "Dehnt den Ton von innen heraus bis zu seinen Grenzen und darüber hinaus." Jürgen Arndt, "Misha Mengelberg und Peter Brötzmann in improvisatorischen Dialogen zwischen Europa und den USA," in *Jazzforschung/Jazz Research* 42, 2010, 41.

downturns in terms of sound are on the verge of disintegrating, since “sound gets into a kind of exploding cluster.”²¹

In 1960, the Wuppertal-based drummer Dieter Rauschtenberger introduced Brötzmann to bassist and tubaist Peter Kowald, with whom he would form one of the closest, longest, and most fruitful musical collaborations of his entire career. Kowald was born in 1944 in Masserberg, Thuringia and moved to Wuppertal shortly after the end of World War II. He started to play the tuba and the double bass while in secondary school, where, like Brötzmann, he joined a Dixieland band. By 1962 both musicians began to work together in a trio with various drummers, performing music by Ornette Coleman and Charles Mingus.²² Kowald shared Brötzmann’s revolutionary ambitions as well as the saxophonist’s critique of the perceived limits and structural constraints associated with the then-current US jazz practices: “At the beginning of the Sixties jazz was congealed in certain formal schemes. There were too many conventions. For us it was about returning to what has characterized jazz since its emergence, to the immediate expression of feelings.”²³

It was during the mid-1960s that Brötzmann’s first encounters with Steve Lacy and Don Cherry took place; both men encouraged him to pursue the radical musical path he had taken. This was also a period in which, as historian Detlef Siegfried has asserted, “black music, black

²¹ “Klang gerät zu einer Art aufbrechendem Cluster.” Ibid.

²² See John Corbett, *Extended Play: Sounding Off from John Cage to Dr. Funkenstein* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 251.

²³ “Zu Beginn der 60er Jahre war der Jazz in bestimmten Formschemata erstarrt, es gab zu viele Konventionen. Es ging uns darum, zurückzukehren zu dem, was den Jazz seit seiner Entstehung ausgezeichnet hatte, zum unmittelbaren Ausdruck der Gefühle.” Heiner Bontrup, “‘Music Is an Open Sky’: Peter Kowald – Ein Porträt,” in *sounds like whoopataal*, 185.

rebellion and black role models were imported into Europe and West Germany.²⁴ Brötzmann engaged in sustained intercultural collaborations across boundaries of race, nation, and class, thereby challenging the confounding of notions of cultural purity and national identity.

Undermining fixed notions of nation and the self-contained subject, Brötzmann's transnational encounters are informed by a concept of interculturality, which migration scholar Mark Terkessidis has denoted as a culture that is in between, a life in an ambiguous state that is shaped by "dissonance and breaking," as well as "impurity and improvisation."²⁵

Of special significance among these intercultural encounters were his frequent collaborations with the highly influential multi-instrumentalist Don Cherry. Cherry was a first-generation free jazz practitioner, who not only appeared on numerous critically important recordings associated with the "new thing" but, oftentimes moving between several national spaces and immersing himself in various musical cultures, was highly significant for the unfolding of musical interculturality in post-1950s improvised musics. In the early and mid-1960s Cherry traveled frequently to Europe and collaborated in various settings with musicians such as Congolese-Danish saxophonist John Tchicai, Argentinian saxophonist Gato Barbieri, German pianist and vibraphonist Karl Berger, and Italian drummer Aldo Romano. Brötzmann became part of this network in 1965 after meeting Don Cherry through Steve Lacy, who had traveled to Europe for the first time in that year, working with South Africans Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo-Moholo, who were both in exile from apartheid. In February 1966 Brötzmann was

²⁴ Detlev Siegfried, "White Negroes: The Fascination of the Authentic in the West German Counterculture of the 1960s," in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. Belinda Davis, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke, and Carla MacDougall (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 203.

²⁵ "Dissonanz und Brechung...Unreinheit und Improvisation." Mark Terkessidis, *Interkultur* (Berlin: Edition Suhrkamp, 2010) 10.

invited by Cherry to join his international quintet for an extended stay at the Chat qui Pêche jazz club in Paris.

These collaborations came about via the emergence of transnational extensions of networks of black experimentalism, which in turn spawned the establishment of production and artistic infrastructure for this music's performance and documentation in various European countries. As Christopher Bakriges has maintained, the process of transplantation of the "new thing" to Europe transformed it into "essentially a diasporic music," for which "between 1969 and 1981 over ninety record labels were established in Europe to document the new music."²⁶ Moreover, Bakriges further notes that many African American experimentalists such as Cecil Taylor, Archie Shepp, George Russell, Marion Brown, Andrew Cyrille, Yusef Lateef, and Sam Rivers, were living in the US "while conducting their recording and performing careers almost exclusively in Europe."²⁷

In 1966 Brötzmann and Kowald joined the ensemble of Canadian pianist and composer Carla Bley and Austrian composer and trumpeter Michael Mantler that also included Italian drummer Aldo Romano, at that time a member of Don Cherry's group, for an ill-fated and chaotic European tour. After traveling through various Scandinavian countries and Italy, the group disbanded in Berlin, with Brötzmann and Kowald performing as a duo while the remaining musicians refused to show up for the concert. Brötzmann also had musical encounters with Schlippenbach, Schoof, and saxophonist Gerd Dudek, which were to be decisive in the formation of the Globe Unity Orchestra.

²⁶ Christopher G. Bakriges, "Musical Transculturation: From African American Avant-Garde Jazz to European Creative Improvisation, 1962-1981," in *Jazz Planet*, ed. E. Taylor Atkins (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 100.

²⁷ Ibid.

According to scholar Ekkehard Jost, the year 1966 signifies the beginning of a departure in jazz in Europe, “which was no longer solely concerned with a tentative extension of traditional formative principles but with their dissolution.”²⁸ This decisive shift became apparent at the 10th German Jazz Festival in Frankfurt in 1966. Established in 1953 by the German Jazz Federation, a special interest group of jazz club owners, the festival was essentially a showcase for professional German jazz musicians and state-funded radio big bands, conceived to provide an overview of the German jazz scene’s current developments.

The festival’s 1966 programming was remarkable in that it featured, for the first time, US as well as European practitioners of the free jazz movement. The performances of the international Don Cherry Quintet, the Gunter Hampel Quintet, the Manfred Schoof Quintet, the Wolfgang Dauner Trio, the Irène Schweizer Trio, and the Peter Brötzmann Trio were vividly and controversially discussed in the art sections of local and national newspapers and music periodicals; no previous German festival had ever accorded the burgeoning free jazz movement that much space. Already in 1965 Joachim-Ernst Berendt, as artistic director for the Berliner Jazztage, had broken new ground by presenting the Ornette Coleman Trio at a major German jazz festival. The performance of Coleman, who had only recently returned from a sabbatical and had added trumpet and violin to his instruments, proved to be a sensational success with the Berlin audience. Eschewing traditional notions of technical aptitude associated with the virtuoso instrumentalist, Coleman’s experimental concept and practices aimed at the extension of sonic possibilities. As critic John Litweiler has asserted, Coleman “had no teachers or guides to

²⁸ “In der es nicht länger nur um eine vorsichtige Erweiterung der traditionellen Gestaltungsmittel, sondern um deren Auflösung ging.” Jost, *Europas Jazz*, 52.

playing” violin and trumpet, having “purposely avoided learning standard techniques, for his objective was to play ‘without memory’ and to create as spontaneously as possible.”²⁹

Some critics, however, were deeply concerned about the implications of the highly unorthodox manner in which the saxophonist performed on these new instruments in terms of a possible influence on current practitioners of the nascent German free jazz movement. Opinions regarding the validity of the new sounds presented at the 10th German Jazz Festival were especially divided with regard to the performance of Peter Brötzmann’s ensemble, which consisted of bassist Peter Kowald and Dutch drummer Pierre Courbois.³⁰ The festival provided Brötzmann, billed as a “newcomer,” with his first opportunity to perform his music in front of a large audience and to gain the attention of various German music critics.

The disquiet in terms of a spillover effect of Coleman’s experimentalism was voiced in undisguised fashion in a review of the festival published in an unlikely source, the sacred music periodical *Gottesdienst und Kirchenmusik*. In his review entitled “Will Ornette Coleman prevail after all?” Jo André began by asserting that “in German jazz a kind of landslide had occurred.”³¹ For André the “experimental excursions and high flights of John Colestrane [sic], Ornette Coleman, and Jimmy Giuffre,” all of which had performed in the early and mid- 1960s in West Germany, “had by no means passed by the Germans without a trace.”³² André viewed the

²⁹ John Litweiler, *The Freedom Principle: Jazz after 1958* (New York: Da Capo, 1984), 50.

³⁰ A recording of the performance has been released as Peter Brötzmann Trio, *Mayday* (Corbett vs. Dempsey CvsD CD 004, 2010), compact disc.

³¹ “Im deutschen Jazz hat es eine Art Erdbeben gegeben.” Jo André, “Jazz-Brief: Wird Ornette Coleman doch siegen?,” in *Gottesdienst und Kirchenmusik* 4, no.5 (1966): 174.

³² “Die experimentellen Aus- und Hochflüge eines John Colestrane [sic], eines Ornette Coleman oder eines Jimmy Giuffre waren keineswegs spurlos an den Deutschen vorbeigegangen.” Ibid.

festival's performances of a new German jazz avant-garde as a "big earthquake," which he attributed to the impact of Coleman's celebrated performance at the Berlin Jazz Days in the previous year.³³ His "sensational scratchy violin expressionism" had been "if not adapted, certainly perceived as a stimulant."³⁴ André singled out Brötzmann among the new avant-garde musician on the German scene "who goes beyond his American role model," since he "doesn't play, he speaks, screams, blusters, roars, rants bloodcurdlingly," leaving his audience ultimately in a state of dismay.³⁵ Rightly identifying German expressionism as an important point of reference for the then 25-year old saxophonist, the critic attested him that "he bares his soul ruthlessly like Kokoschka, who looked beneath the skin of the portrayed."³⁶ Nevertheless, for André, Brötzmann's "wild and almost uncontrolled stammering" left its Frankfurt audience in a state of dismay.³⁷ While conceding that art did not have to be beautiful, André saw Brötzmann's performances, as well as those of the Manfred Schoof Quintet, as symptomatic of an avant-garde stance that was supposedly heedless of the musician's own physical strain as well as the listener's receptivity. Viewing the performance of Brötzmann as dangerous and transgressive, André opined, "vitality in Frankfurt all too often reverted into brutality."³⁸ He referred to both

³³ "Das große Beben." Ibid.

³⁴ "Sensationeller, krächzender Geigenexpressionismus... wurde, wenn nicht adaptiert, so doch als Stimulans empfunden." Ibid.

³⁵ "Der weiter geht als das amerikanische Vorbild...er spielt nicht, er spricht, schreit, schimpft, röhr, tobt markerschütternd." Ibid.

³⁶ "Er legt seine Seele bloß, schonungslos, wie ein Kokoschka den von ihm Porträtierten unter die Haut blickte." Ibid.

³⁷ "Wilde, fast unkontrollierte Gestammel." Ibid.

³⁸ "Vitalität schlug in Frankfurt allzuoft in Gewalttätigkeit um." Ibid.

musicians as “German jazz’s ‘angry young men’,” thereby picking up one of the most pervasive tropes surrounding both American and European critical reception of avant-garde jazz since the late 1950s.³⁹

Contemporary German jazz criticism’s attempts to locate Brötzmann’s music within an area of conflict, which was defined by imitation or self-reliance, were sometimes characterized by a high degree of inconsistency. Unlike André, who had taken Brötzmann to task for his perceived technical shortcomings, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* critic Ulrich Ohlshausen viewed him as “Germany’s Albert Ayler, an imitation of deceptive resemblance who produced whining and bellowing sounds without rhythmic and harmonic relationships with stupendous technique and intriguing sound effects.”⁴⁰ While clearly dismissive of Brötzmann’s performance, André’s review nevertheless represented an attempt to come to terms with the radical reconfiguration of aesthetic visions taking place during the mid-1960s on the West German and European jazz scene. Similarly, Joachim-Ernst Berendt’s review in the *Neue Ruhr/Rhein Zeitung*, rather than viewing Brötzmann’s sounds as a mere imitation of African American experimentalism, declared that the saxophonist had entered uncharted territory, likening him to

³⁹ “‘Zornigen jungen Männer’ des deutschen Jazz.” Ibid. The association of the word “angry” with the jazz avant-garde can be traced to the year 1958, in which critic Don Gold used this modifier to characterize John Coltrane’s playing in a review of the Miles Davis Sextet’s performance at the Newport Jazz Festival on July 3, 1958. For a discussion of the trope of anger in the critical responses to African American experimentalists, such as Coltrane and Archie Shepp, see George E. Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself: The AACM and American Experimental Music* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 43-49.

⁴⁰ “Deutschlands Albert Ayler, eine Imitation von täuschender Ähnlichkeit. Er produziert winselnde und röhrende Saxophonklänge ohne rhythmische und harmonische Bindung mit stupender Technik und fesselnden Klangeffekten.” Quoted in Bontrup et al., “Die jungen Wilden,” 169.

“a ‘demoniac satyr’ on the alto saxophone, smearing his keys with wild sweeps and producing tones that bear no resemblance to what one senses as an ‘alto saxophone sound.’”⁴¹

In his periodization of the European emancipation process, music scholar Wolfram Knauer has referred to 1967 as the year in which “the phase of German and European musicians’ self-awareness made room for a new self-consciousness.”⁴² This process, which brought about a new and invigorated assertiveness on the part of European jazz musicians, took place in the context of profound socio-political and cultural changes that affected the relationship between Western Europe and the United States at large. As historian Richard Pells has maintained, in the wake of the Kennedy assassination in 1963, “the racial divisions, the spread of urban violence and decay, and the growing unpopularity of the Johnson administration raised doubts abroad about whether the United States could continue to pose as a exemplar of either social progress or political stability.”⁴³

These changes were accompanied by a transformational process in West German post-war society, which historian Ulrich Herbert, borrowing from Jürgen Habermas, has denoted as “*Fundamentalliberalisierung*” or “fundamental liberalization.”⁴⁴ For Herbert, at the beginning of

⁴¹ “Ein ‘rasender Satyr’ des Altsaxophons, in wilden Schwüngen über sämtliche Klappen wischend und Töne produzierend, die keine Ähnlichkeit mehr mit dem, was man als ‘Altsaxophonklang’ empfinden mag, besitzen.” Quoted in Bontrup et al., “Die jungen Wilden,” 169.

⁴² “Die Phase der Selbstbewußtwerdung deutscher/europäischer Musiker einem neuen Selbstbewußtsein Platz gemacht hat.” Wolfram Knauer, “Emanzipation wovon? Zum Verhältnis des amerikanischen und des deutschen Jazz in den 50er und 60er Jahren,” in *Jazz in Deutschland: Darmstädter Beiträge zur Jazzforschung*, vol. 4, ed. Wolfram Knauer (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 1996), 150.

⁴³ Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture Since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 284.

⁴⁴ Ulrich Herbert, “Liberalisierung als Lernprozeß: Die Bundesrepublik in der deutschen Geschichte – eine Skizze”, in *Wandlungsprozesse in Westdeutschland: Belastung, Integration, Liberalisierung 1945-1980*, ed. Ulrich Herbert (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002), 7.

the 1960s, a “rift between a developed and extraordinarily dynamic industrial society that could be reconciled increasingly less with the traditional standardization of the way of living, which had shaped the Federal Republic during the Adenauer era, now began to come to the fore of perception.”⁴⁵ This led to reform debates, which were concerned with “the relativization of one’s ways of living, the emergence and gradual unfolding of a culture of public and controversial discussion, an ‘emancipation movement’ across the board, which began to question traditional hierarchies.”⁴⁶

The above critical analysis of traditional hierarchies also affected German jazz criticism during the latter half of the 1960s. In this context, George E. Lewis has pointed to the salience of Germany as “one of the central areas for the new pan-European movement for cultural nationalism in improvised music” whose “central journalistic site was the Stuttgart-based magazine *Jazz Podium*.”⁴⁷ For Lewis, under the influence of its editor-in chief Dieter Zimmerle, *Jazz Podium*’s editorial policy, which prior to 1965 “emphasized a clear pro-U.S. bias in its articles and reviews,” underwent “radical revision,” featuring “the new Europeans extensively in reviews, interviews, and cover articles.”⁴⁸

Accordingly, in March 1967 the magazine published a “Germany Special Edition” exclusively devoted to German jazz musicians, the cover of which was graced by portraits of

⁴⁵ “Kluft zwischen einer entfalteten und außerordentlich dynamischen Industriegesellschaft und der damit immer weniger zu vereinbarenden traditionellen Normierung der Lebensweisen, welche die Bundesrepublik in der Ära Adenauer geprägt hatten, trat nun in der Vordergrund der Wahrnehmung.” Ibid., 41.

⁴⁶ “Die Relativierung der eigenen Lebensweisen, die Herausbildung und allmähliche Entfaltung einer Kultur der öffentlichen, streitigen Diskussion, eine ‘Emanzipationsbewegung’ auf breiter Front, die traditionelle Hierarchien in Frage zu stellen begann.” Ibid., 42-43.

⁴⁷ Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself*, 254.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Manfred Schoof, trombonist Albert Mangelsdorff, multi-instrumentalist Gunter Hampel and saxophonist Klaus Doldinger. In this regard *Jazz Podium*'s editorial reorientation was for all intents and purposes consistent with the growing acceptance of German jazz musicians among its readership. In a 1967 readers' poll, in which its participants were asked about the insufficiency of the range of jazz albums in Germany, most readers found fault with the absence of recordings that featured German recording artists.⁴⁹ Moreover, the extent to which the acceptance of German and European jazz musicians had increased in Germany becomes apparent by the results of the 1967 annual readers' poll for the best album of the year. In a survey in which participants were asked to identify the year's three finest jazz records Alexander von Schlippenbach's *Globe Unity* scored number 6, slightly ahead of Cecil Taylor's *Unit Structures*.⁵⁰

Indicative of an increased interest in German and European free jazz musicians was the establishment of the non-commercial and low-budget magazine *Sounds* at the end of 1966. The magazine came into existence through a joint initiative by Brötzmann, Kowald, and journalist Rainer Blome, a jazz aficionado and freelance journalist for the public broadcasting radio station Deutschlandfunk and *Jazz Podium* who became the new magazine's editor-in chief.⁵¹ Using the designation "New Jazz Artists' Guild," Blome, Brötzmann, and Kowald conceived and set up a German tour for the Don Cherry Quintet in May 1966, whereby the group's manager cut was

⁴⁹ See "Jazz Podium Leserumfrage," *Jazz Podium* 16, nos. 11 and 12, November-December 1967, 313.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁵¹ See Christoph Wagner, *Der Klang der Revolte: Die magischen Jahre des westdeutschen Musik-Underground* (Mainz: Schott, 2013), 123.

used “as a financial jump start for *Sounds*.”⁵² Featuring Peter Brötzmann on the cover of its first edition, *Sounds* presented itself as “The Journal for New Jazz.”⁵³

In its early issues, *Sounds* devoted ample space to New York-based African American experimentalists such as Ornette Coleman, John Coltrane, Cecil Taylor, Archie Shepp, and Marion Brown. At the same time, the magazine paid close attention to the rise of a new generation of European improvisers such as Brötzmann, Schoof, Schlippenbach, saxophonist Willem Breuker, pianist Joachim Kühn, and saxophonist Evan Parker, providing these musicians with a forum to discuss their concepts and practices in interviews. *Sounds* also presented record and concert reviews featuring the new wave of European improvisers, and kept its readership informed about upcoming performances and record releases, which were oftentimes produced and distributed by the artists themselves. The journal’s unmistakable avant-garde focus was also highlighted in its first edition’s editorial, which featured the following programmatic quote attributed to Albert Ayler: “Our music is no longer about notes, it’s about sounds.”⁵⁴

Conceptually, Blome had taken a cue from the first wave of countercultural US magazines, such as the *Los Angeles Free Press* and the *East Village Other*, as well as its UK counterpart *International Times*.⁵⁵ Established between 1964 and 1966, these publications were instrumental in providing information regarding political, social, and cultural issues that tended

⁵² “Als finanzielle Starthilfe für *Sounds*.” Rainer Blome, “Heimat-Front,” in *Sounds*, no.1, Winter 1966-67, 33.

⁵³ “Die Zeitschrift für Neuen Jazz.” *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* *Sounds*’ editorial focus had already begun to broaden by autumn 1967, covering US psychedelic and underground rock. By 1970, the magazine had largely abandoned its jazz coverage and refashioned itself as “The Journal for Pop Music.” See Detlef Siegfried, *Time Is on My Side: Konsum und Politik in der westdeutschen Jugendkultur der 60er Jahre* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2006), 554.

⁵⁵ See, *ibid.*, 543.

to be marginalized in more mainstream corporate media outlets, thereby providing an alternative infrastructure that contributed to the creation of an oppositional public sphere.

In the first issue of *Sounds*, Blome strategically positioned the publication as a forum for “a new type of jazz criticism” which was supposed to counterbalance the perceived intellectual shortcomings of contemporaneous German critical jazz reception.⁵⁶ For Blome, jazz criticism had been out of step with the music’s current developments, necessitating a more inclusive editorial approach. He therefore encouraged his readers to submit articles for publication, maintaining that “anybody who likes the music and knows how to express himself a bit is capable of writing about jazz.”⁵⁷ Blome’s inclusive editorial policy was also reflected in his choice of external contributors, which were comprised among others of musicians such as Willem Breuker, pianist Wolfgang Dauner, saxophonist Marion Brown, as well as such writers as poet and political activist John Sinclair and Black Arts Movement writer and critic Ron Welburn. In terms of the diversity of its contributors *Sounds* was congruent with the increasing internationalization that characterized the free jazz movement during the mid-1960s.

The latter half of the 1960s also saw the extension of communicative networks in which discussions about the pros and cons of the musical and aesthetic innovations associated with the newest generation of European and German musicians took place. With regard to the significance of the year 1967, German music historian Wolfram Knauer has emphasized the

⁵⁶ “Eine neue Art der Jazzkritik.” Rainer Blome, “Editorial,” in *Sounds*, no. 1, Winter 1966-67, 1.

⁵⁷ “Jeder, der die Musik mag und sich ein wenig auszudrücken versteht, in der Lage ist, über Jazz zu schreiben.” Ibid.

existence of a “far-reaching and public discussion” among “German jazz musicians about ‘free play’ not only as a musical but also as an aesthetic ideal.”⁵⁸

A remarkable example of how far this public discussion reached beyond the confines of the specialized press was a television broadcast entitled “Pop Jazz - Free Jazz,” which aired April 21, 1967 on ARD, a joint organization of West Germany’s regional public broadcasting networks and juxtaposed Brötzmann’s musical concepts, methods, and practices with those of saxophonist Klaus Doldinger.⁵⁹ Both saxophonists’ biographies, careers, and aesthetic views were in many regards diametrically opposed to each other. Unlike Brötzmann, Doldinger was conservatory-trained, signed by a major record label, and had enjoyed the support of the Goethe-Institut, a prestigious cultural association operating globally, which had provided him with the opportunity to perform in North Africa and in South America in the 1960s.

The program was conceived and hosted by critic and music editorial journalist Siegfried Schmidt-Joos. A protégé of Joachim–Ernst Berendt, Schmidt-Joos was raised in the German Democratic Republic, where he had hosted the very first East German television jazz program in 1956. He began to work for the West German public radio and television broadcaster Radio Bremen in 1959, where he hosted the television jazz series “Swing In,” which aired between 1965 and 1968 and included the “Pop Jazz – Free Jazz” broadcast.

The television broadcast’s concept has to be viewed in connection with what Andrew Wright Hurley has identified as Schmidt-Joos’ “campaign to (re)position jazz within popular

⁵⁸ “Weitreichende und öffentliche Diskussion...unter deutschen Musikern über das ‘freie Spiel’ nicht nur als musikalisches, sondern als ästhetisches Ideal.” Knauer, “Emanzipation wovon?,” 154.

⁵⁹ I am grateful to Siegfried Schmidt-Joos who kindly provided me with a copy of the 1967 television broadcast. “Pop Jazz – Free Jazz” (TV Broadcast), Westdeutscher Rundfunk, April 21, 1967.

culture in the mid-1960s, in the wake of jazz's declining popularity in Germany."⁶⁰ Already in late 1962 Schmidt-Joos had opined that "in matters of jazz Germany is a developing country."⁶¹ His assessment of the contemporary state of the German jazz scene was reflective of a perceived crisis in terms of public interest in the music. Jost has identified three separate factors that brought about the dwindling of a public interest in jazz during the first half of the 1960s.⁶² Whereas jazz had enjoyed a phase of relative popularity among the younger generation during the mid-1950s in post-war West Germany, the rise of rock 'n' roll and British beat led to a waning of public interest in the music during the late 1950s. Moreover, due to the increasing utilization of jukeboxes by club owners, performance opportunities for jazz musicians became increasingly scarce. Lastly, the new sounds associated with what was then labeled as the "new thing" emanating from the US, and reaching German audiences towards the early 1960s with a slight time delay, alienated some segments of the audience. As Jost has stated, "jazz became again minority music with an audience share at most between 5 and 8 percent."⁶³

A 1965 article published in the influential weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel* covering the increasing unpopularity of jazz identified German jazz concert promoters as instrumental in deepening the divide between jazz and show business, since "after 1945 they passed off every

⁶⁰ Hurley, *The Return of Jazz*, 127.

⁶¹ "In Bezug auf den Jazz ist Deutschland ein Entwicklungsland." "Deutscher Jazz: Verstimmt und verstummt," in *Der Spiegel*, no. 34, August 18, 1965, 74.

⁶² See Ekkehard Jost, *Jazzgeschichten aus Europa* (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 2012), 223-224.

⁶³ "Der Jazz wurde erneut zu einer Minderheitenmusik mit Hörerquoten von maximal 5 bis 8 Prozent." *Ibid.*, 223.

type of jazz as art ('jazz and poetry', 'jazz and ballet', 'jazz and early music', 'jazz and new music'), and they condemned any type of commercialism."⁶⁴

In a similar vein, in a 1965 article written for *Jazz Podium* Schmidt-Joos presented his ideas regarding how things stood in terms of jazz's popularity in Germany, thereby engaging in an ongoing and vivid debate. Without mentioning his former mentor Berendt, who had been central to the project of folding jazz into a high art narrative, Schmidt-Joos asserted that after 1945, jazz had been put "close to the finest exponents of high culture" in Germany.⁶⁵ In doing so, however, it had been forgotten "that unlike in America the status of jazz as entertainment or folkloristic *Funktionsmusik* could not be taken for granted in this country."⁶⁶ He emphasized that "if jazz was to have a broad-based future in Germany its art image must not stand in its way."⁶⁷ At the same time, he stressed that the "avant-garde players are entitled to get acquainted with the audience" whereupon "new sounds can only reach the listener if they are played on radio broadcasts and if their performers have the opportunity to present themselves in concerts."⁶⁸ Facing the politico-cultural implications of this aesthetic debate squarely, Schmidt-Joos reasoned that the "barriers that separate jazz from other manifestations of popular culture" had to be

⁶⁴ "Nach 1945 gaben sie jede Art von Jazz als Kunst aus ('Jazz und Lyrik', 'Jazz und Ballett', 'Jazz und alte Musik', 'Jazz und neue Musik'), und sie verdammten jeglichen Kommerzialisismus." "Deutscher Jazz," in *Der Spiegel*, 76.

⁶⁵ "In die Nähe der besten Exponenten der Hochkultur." Siegfried Schmidt-Joos, "Ein Votum für populären Jazz," *Jazz Podium* 14, no. 12, December 1965, 321.

⁶⁶ "Daß sich der Jazz als Entertainment oder als folkloristische Funktionsmusik hierzulande nicht in gleichem Maße wie in Amerika von selbst versteht." Ibid.

⁶⁷ "Wenn der Jazz auf breiter Basis eine Chance haben soll, darf ihm sein Kunst-Image nicht im Wege stehen." Ibid.

⁶⁸ "Die Avantgarde-Spieler haben jedes Anrecht darauf, dem Publikum nahegebracht zu werden... Neue Klänge können den Zuhörer nur erreichen, wenn sie im Funk gespielt werden und wenn ihre Interpreten die Gelegenheit haben, sich in Konzerten vorzustellen." Ibid.

broken down, since otherwise jazz, like contemporary European concert music, could “only exist through subsidies.”⁶⁹

Modeled after the US news show “Meet the Press,” the “Pop Jazz – Free Jazz” broadcast was conceived by Schmidt-Joos as a discussion forum about the current state of the jazz world, which he viewed as shaped by the juxtaposition between two different musical languages. For Schmidt-Joos, in one corner was “the conventional kind of modern jazz, which during the past 20 years had spawned a multitude of personal styles of individual musicians but changed its fundamentals only insignificantly.”⁷⁰ In the other corner was “a completely new musical language that abandoned conventional laws of sound and looked for freedom in an empty space.”⁷¹ Schmidt-Joos declared that this new language, which he referred to as the “new thing” or “free jazz“ was “very controversial and for the time being only appeals to a very small audience.”⁷²

Whereas for Schmidt-Joos, Doldinger’s quartet represented “intelligible jazz,” Brötzmann was introduced as a “free jazz” proponent.⁷³ The choice of Brötzmann was in this respect consequential, since for Schmidt-Joos the Wuppertal-based saxophonist played “the most

⁶⁹ “Die Grenzen, die Jazz von anderen Erscheinungsformen der Populärkultur trennen...nur noch aus Subventionen existieren.” Ibid.

⁷⁰ “Die herkömmliche Art des modernen Jazz, die in den letzten 20 Jahren eine Fülle von Personalstilen einzelner Musiker hervorgebracht hat, aber ihre Grundlagen nur unwesentlich änderte. “Pop Jazz – Free Jazz” (TV Broadcast), Westdeutscher Rundfunk, April 21, 1967.

⁷¹ “Eine ganz neue musikalische Sprache, die die herkömmlichen Gesetze des Klanges über Bord geworfen hat und im leeren Raum Freiheit sucht.” Ibid.

⁷² “Sehr umstritten und spricht einstweilen nur ein sehr kleines Publikum an.” Ibid.

⁷³ “Verständlichen Jazz.” Ibid.

advanced and aesthetically convincing free jazz that one can hear in Germany today.”⁷⁴

Doldinger and Brötzmann not only presented examples of their radically divergent musical concepts and practices, but also answered questions from a panel of experts consisting of, among others, critics such as Werner Burkhardt and Ulrich Ohlshausen, writing for the German newspapers *Die Welt* und *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* respectively, Manfred Miller, a contributor to *Jazz Podium* and an editorial journalist aid for Germany’s international broadcaster *Deutsche Welle*, and Siegfried E. Loch, producer of several of Doldinger’s recordings and CEO of the German branch of Liberty Records.⁷⁵

At the heart of the discussion were issues that touched on free jazz’s historical significance, aesthetic legitimacy, formative principles, and technical means. When asked by Schmidt-Joos whether he believed there was a “historical necessity” for free jazz, Miller responded as follows:

Yes, I believe so. Free jazz initially came about like every other jazz style, too. It resulted from the musicians’ need for a new and fresh musical language. Only qualitatively something different occurred in that the old modern jazz, if I may say so, practically had pushed the boundaries of tonal music’s possibilities to its very limits, music that had referred to the normal twelve pitches of European music with jazz’s famous variations, namely the blue notes. This means an entire system had exhausted itself and the musicians, who now have found free jazz for themselves, had to find completely new musical material.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ “Den avanciertesten ästhetisch überzeugenden Free Jazz...den man in Deutschland heute hören kann.” Schmidt-Joos, “Ein Votum für populären Jazz,” 321.

⁷⁵ During the 1970s, Loch became one of the most influential executives in the West German and international music business. After working for nearly twenty years as the CEO of Warner International, he founded the jazz label ACT, whose roster has included artists such as Esbjörn Svensson, Vince Mendoza, Vijay Iyer, and Rudresh Mahanthappa. For a discussion of Loch’s significance for the German music industry, see Siegfried, *Time Is on My Side*, 640-643.

⁷⁶ “Historische Notwendigkeit.” “Ja, das glaube ich wohl. Der Free Jazz ist zunächst genau so entstanden wie jeder andere neue Jazzstil auch. Er kam aus dem Bedürfnis der Musiker zu einer neuen, nicht verbrauchten musikalischen Sprache. Nur qualitativ ist hier insofern etwas anderes passiert, als der alte moderne Jazz, wenn ich das so sagen darf, praktisch bis an die äußersten Grenzen der Möglichkeiten einer tonalen Musik gegangen war, also einer Musik,

What seems interesting here is the way Miller deploys the trope of historical necessity, a notion derived from the speculative philosophy of history, which has also informed evolutionist historiographies of music, especially with regard to modernism. For instance, the very notion of historical necessity has decisively informed the ways in which music historians have framed the advent of musical modernism in the early twentieth century, especially with regard to the revolution of atonality associated with Arnold Schoenberg and the Second Viennese School. Numerous music historians have construed Schoenberg's breakthrough into the realm of free chromaticism in terms of an immanent developmental logic that historically necessitated these innovations. According to this model of historical explanation, the musical language of late Romanticism had exhausted itself, which led to a paradigm crisis that in turn brought about the advent of a new post-tonal musical paradigm.⁷⁷

Drawing implicitly on this model of historiography, Miller claimed that the emergence of free jazz was not so much brought about by a deliberation on the part of its proponents but was demanded by the advent of a new stage of historical development. In doing so, Miller utilized this model of historical explanation as an effective strategy of legitimation, aiming ultimately at the music's aesthetic valorization. This strategy would later be adopted by various proponents of the European free jazz movement.

die sich auf die normalen 12 Töne europäischer Musik mit den berühmten Abwandlungen des Jazz, halt Blue Notes, bezogen hat. Das heißt, hier ist ein ganzes System erschöpft gewesen, und die Musiker, die Free Jazz jetzt für sich als neue Sprache gefunden haben, mussten ein ganz neues musikalisches Material finden." "Pop Jazz – Free Jazz" (TV Broadcast), April 21, 1967, Westdeutscher Rundfunk.

⁷⁷ For a recent discussion of the notion of "paradigm shift" in historiographies of musical modernism and Schoenberg, see Eduardo de la Fuente, *Twentieth Century Music and the Question of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2011) 45-46.

A remarkable example of this process, which began in the mid-1960s, is a pithy dialogue between producer Loch and Brötzmann. Taking a cue from Miller's ideas regarding free jazz's historical necessity, Loch asked Brötzmann the following questions:

Loch: Herr Miller said a while ago that free jazz was actually a normal evolution and that the musicians believed that they had to devise a new system in order to be able to get out of clichés. Would you apply this to yourself? Do you think that the means of conventional jazz if one may say so – I don't want to say popular jazz since I don't believe that jazz is popular music in any sense – do you think that the normal possibilities, which jazz provides, are insufficient for you and that therefore you broke away into free jazz?

Brötzmann: Of course, it's like that with most of the musicians who preceded me--I mean, this is not a generational thing, but between Doldinger and myself, it is indeed a generational thing. Those few years separating us certainly don't play a role. But these people have come of age with whatever kinds of models and have never become aware of the responsibility, which one has towards oneself and society. And that is the fundamental difference between free jazz and conventional jazz. And that is the main point about the whole change and this whole transformation.⁷⁸

What is especially interesting here is the way in which Brötzmann discusses his social self-positioning as an artist. For Brötzmann, Doldinger is a proponent of a generation bound to imitation, which to quote this crucial passage again, has never become aware of the

⁷⁸ **Loch:** "Herr Miller sagte vorhin, dass der Free Jazz eine eigentlich normale Entwicklung sei, dass die Musiker glaubten, ein neues System finden zu müssen, um aus den Klischee-Vorstellungen herauszukommen. Bringen Sie das auch für sich in Anwendung? Meinen Sie, dass Sie mit den Mitteln, die der herkömmliche Jazz, wenn man es mal so sagen darf – ich möchte nicht sagen populärer Jazz, weil ich nicht der Meinung bin, dass Jazz überhaupt populär ist – sind Sie der Meinung, dass Sie mit den normalen Möglichkeiten, die der Jazz Ihnen bietet als Musiker, nicht auskommen und Sie deshalb ausgebrochen sind in den Free Jazz?"

Brötzmann: "Natürlich, es ist bei den Musikern so größtenteils, die vor mir liegen – also das ist zwar keine Generationsfrage, aber es ist tatsächlich zwischen Doldinger und mir doch eine Generationsfrage. Die paar Jahre dazwischen spielen ja nun keine Rolle, aber die Leute sind groß geworden mit irgendwelchen Vorbildern und sind sich nie der Aufgabe bewusst geworden, die man hat sich selbst und der Gesellschaft gegenüber. Und da ist überhaupt der grundlegende Unterschied des Free Jazz zum herkömmlichen Jazz. Und das ist der hauptsächliche Punkt an dem ganzen Wechsel und an der ganzen Umformung." "Pop Jazz – Free Jazz," April 21, 1967, Westdeutscher Rundfunk.

responsibility, which one has towards oneself and society.”⁷⁹ His response is exemplary of a normatively charged aesthetic, which congruent with various avant-garde movements throughout the twentieth century, not only sought to override the demarcation between life and art, but also demanded that artists perennially reflect upon social totality and their position within it. The fact that Brötzmann identifies the historical difference between free jazz and previous jazz idioms not as a radical challenge to so-called conventional musical formative principles but as a rejection of a self-referential, aesthetic autonomy sets him clearly apart from other German musicians who were of critical importance during the emancipation period. For instance, when asked by journalist Rolf-Ulrich Kaiser in a 1966-67 interview whether he viewed his music as a form of protest, Manfred Schoof, leader of the then most critically acclaimed German jazz avant-garde ensemble, eschewed any associations with the notion of free jazz as a medium of social or political critique and responded pithily: “That’s not how I understand it. At most that we are sometimes mad about the musical officialdom.”⁸⁰ In a similar vein, when asked in an 1971 interview what he thought about the way in which some musicians had linked jazz, politics, and religion inextricably Dutch drummer and percussionist Han Bennink, a central figure in the European free jazz movement and one of Brötzmann’s most significant musical collaborators responded: “For me music is nothing but music. All I want to do is make music that is as good as possible.”⁸¹

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ “So verstehe ich ihn nicht. Allenfalls, daß wir manchmal ein wenig böse sind auf das musikalische Beamtentum.” Rolf-Ulrich Kaiser, “Interview mit Manfred Schoof,” *Sounds*, no.1, 1966-67, 14.

⁸¹ “Für mich ist die Musik nichts als Musik, alles was ich machen will ist Musik, die so gut wie möglich ist.” Quoted in Ekkehard Jost, “Zum Problem des politischen Engagements im Jazz,” in *Jazzforschung/Jazz Research*,

The divergence that found expression in “Pop Jazz-Free Jazz” took place in the context of German jazz criticism’s attempts to link the historicization of African American “free jazz” with the issue of its social and political significance. As early as 1965, Berendt spoke out against the term “new thing,” advocating instead the notion of “free jazz.” In doing so, Berendt differentiated between three different layers of meaning in regard to the notion of freedom. For Berendt, free jazz meant “jazz that is free from any tonality,” “jazz that deploys tonality freely,” or even jazz “whose theme is ‘freedom.’”⁸² Even though, as Berendt asserted, freedom was the theme of all jazz music, free jazz presented a marked difference, since “the younger generation of musicians had become aware of the freedom content of the music, not so much for musical but for social and racial reasons.”⁸³

Brötzmann is a member of a war-born, damaged generation, which came of age during the period of post-war “conservative modernization” and was especially receptive to the burden of Germany’s recent political history.⁸⁴ In the wake of Nazism’s defeat and what historian Tony Judt called “the utter devastation of German cultural life,” for many members of this generation the issue of national and cultural identity due to the unspeakable atrocities of Germany’s recent past was often fraught with seemingly irresolvable tensions.⁸⁵ The total war waged by Nazi

Yearbook 5, 1973, 36. For a discussion of Bennink’s view on music and politics, see Robert Adlington, *Composing Dissent: Avant-Garde Music in 1960s Amsterdam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 110-111.

⁸² “Jazz, der frei von jeglicher Tonalität ist...Jazz, der die Tonalität frei verwendet...dessen Thema ‘Freiheit’ ist.” Joachim-Ernst Berendt, “Free Jazz und Serielle Musik,” *Jazz Podium* 14, no. 5, May 1965, 116.

⁸³ “Der jüngeren Generation von Musikern ist der Freiheitsinhalt des Jazz bewußt geworden - nicht so sehr aus musikalischen, wie aus sozialen und rassistischen Gründen.” Ibid.

⁸⁴ “Konservative Modernisierung,” Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte: Die Bundesrepublik von 1945 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2009), 234.

Germany was historically unprecedented in that, as Judt has argued, “no other conflict in recorded history killed so many people in so short a time.”⁸⁶ According to Judt, “it is estimated that about thirty-six and a half million Europeans died between 1939 and 1945 from war-related causes, equivalent to the *total* population of France at the outbreak of war.”⁸⁷ The genocides against European Jews, Sinti, and Roma, the politics of extermination against Poles and Russians, and the oppression and exploitation of numerous European countries, bore witness to the complete and utter moral bankruptcy of the National Socialist regime and its followers.⁸⁸

Taking off during the late 1950s and gaining in speed during the 1960s was a debate in which such issues as continuities between the Nazi era and the West German post-war so-called “miracle years,” and complicities of the parent generation in Nazi Germany’s atrocities, were being addressed. This led to a mounting intergenerational conflict, which unfolded against the backdrop of a 1950s social and political dynamic in which, according to Judt, “West German officialdom encouraged a comfortable view of the German past in which the Wehrmacht was heroic, while Nazis were in the minority and had been properly punished.”⁸⁹ As sociologist Norbert Elias has pointed out, in the Federal Republic of Germany the search for one’s place in society “is bound up more than anywhere else with a specific generational problematic of

⁸⁵ Tony Judt with Timothy Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century* (New York: Penguin Books, [2012] 2013), 38.

⁸⁶ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 18.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁸⁸ See Dietrich Thränhardt, *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1986), 13.

⁸⁹ Judt, *Postwar*, 271.

middle-class groups.”⁹⁰ Elias has noted that for the rising generations of middle-class West Germans born towards the end of World War Two or shortly after, this search was inextricably bound to recent historical experiences as they ”saw themselves burdened with the stigma of a nation which had a tendency towards barbaric acts.”⁹¹ Elias further has illuminated the significance of this intergenerational power struggle with regard to the emergence of war-born generation’s quest for meaning:

One of the strategies for obtaining exoneration from this stigma for many middle-class people was to turn to a political creed which ran contrary to the dominant middle-class creed of the pre-war and wartime period – that is, the creed they often turned against was the creed of their fathers and grandfathers. With the help of a contrary creed, they hoped to absolve themselves from the polluting associations of that period, as well as to find a new sense of meaning which at the same time could give expression to the generation conflict which was particularly acute in the then-current situation... The longing for meaning in the post-war middle-class generations flowed accordingly not only into a mighty political movement which stretched far beyond their own country, but at the same time brought with it a catharsis, a cleansing from the burdensome curse of the national past.⁹²

Brötzmann has spoken about the significance of this intergenerational conflict for his formative years, which surfaced in debates he had with his uncle, formerly a high-ranking Wehrmacht officer: “We had discussions about politics, we had discussions about the first Adenauer government, which still employed some Nazis and some friends of these guys and of course that was the same for us, which wasn’t impossible. It was really out of any discussion... But you had the same guys at school as teachers... So it was a kind of a little revolution every day. In school

⁹⁰ Norbert Elias, *The Germans: Power Struggles and the Development of Habitus in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Michael Schröter and translated by Eric Dunning (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 229.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 230.

you had to fight against the teachers, you had to fight at home, everything. That was not the world you wanted. And that was of course a strong push for the music too.”⁹³

What seems remarkable here is how Brötzmann links his historical positionality as a “kid of war” shaped by the perceived continuities between the Nazi racial state and the post-war West German “miracle years,” to a notion of free jazz that embodied an oppositional political stance. As someone who felt that he “didn’t belong” in post-war West German society, the cross-cultural encounter with the notion of a transformational potential of music associated with some of the foremost free jazz practitioners became important for Brötzmann.⁹⁴ As he has related: “For me being at that time already busy very much with the arts and being busy with German expressionists, it was the music adequate to what I was seeing in the fine arts and the music of the wish of some kind of freedom, the wish of changing things, in the end the wish of changing the world. I mean what was happening here in the States, the best example is Albert Ayler, he had the very naïve but very legitimate wish to change the world.”⁹⁵

Interestingly, rather than the historically tainted German notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, it was Albert Ayler, an African American musician whom Brötzmann was often compared to during the latter half of the 1960s in terms of his sound concept, who served as a point of contact for Brötzmann in regard to a utopian and normatively charged concept of music. For Brötzmann, free music appears as a medium that allows for a dissociation through which a radical alternative draft of the social, political, and cultural practices of the status quo can be articulated, and

⁹³ Brötzmann, interview with the author, January 15, 2010.

⁹⁴ Brötzmann, interview with the author, Wuppertal, July 2, 2010.

⁹⁵ Brötzmann, interview with the author, January 15, 2010.

through which, at least to some extent, freedom from the burden of the recent historical experience can be attained. In Bernard Josse's 2009 documentary *Soldier of the Road*, Brötzmann pithily speaks about the significance of the burden of the historical experience in post-war Germany and the emergence of German free jazz:

When you start to think about it, when you learn a little bit about why things are like that, why the Second World War, why six million dead Jews and others and, of course, you start to ask. But at that time you didn't get answers to your questions. So you had to look for yourself. 'Why is that?' You start reading things. You start to look around. I mean that's why maybe I came to the music too, because it came from another world because I didn't want to have anything to do with my past and the world behind me. And when you start to realize things, when you think about things, when you build up your own conscience about things what I felt was not guilt but it was shame all the time. And I think that's why or that is one of the reasons why my music or maybe even German free jazz, let's say people like Alex [von Schlippenbach] I would say in the first line, it's a bit harder or it was in these years harder and maybe brutal - and I don't know how people called it - than the music in other countries. And for us it really was something. We could free ourselves from all what was behind us. And so in this connection the word 'free' has a different meaning than only a kind of aesthetic process or so.⁹⁶

For the young Brötzmann, whose estrangement resulted from a lack of identification with West German post-war society, the embrace of African American musical knowledge became central for his identification process. As he has pointed out, the burden of historical experience also functioned as a catalyst for his individuation process: "We had to fight with that burden in a way all the time, but, of course, if you were strong enough you could learn from that. And what I learned was you just do your thing. Find out what you are or who you are."⁹⁷

However, the importance of Brötzmann's engagement with jazz was not confined to the vexed issue of West German post-war identity, but took on an even larger existential significance: "After the war, we Germans were in a very special situation. We had problems. The

⁹⁶ Bernard Josse, *Soldier of the Road: A Portrait of Peter Brötzmann*, DVD, directed by Bernard Josse (Bouffémont, France: Cinésolo 2011).

⁹⁷ Brötzmann, interview with the author, July 2, 2010.

fathers we had brought the whole world nearly to the end in a way. And so we had to find answers for that. And, of course, we didn't get answers from our fathers. So we had to find answers to the question what life is and why things like that can happen. I had to look somewhere else and again music was not only a help but it was a kind of book I could read, and I could find little answers for myself."⁹⁸ His remarks illustrate the dynamics of how in Paul Gilroy's words "during the latter half of the twentieth century an appetite for various African American cultures was part of how Europe recomposed itself in the aftermath of fascism."⁹⁹

Ekkehard Jost has referred to the "social and political climate within the young generation of the late 1960s" as a decisive factor for the emergence of the emancipatory endeavors of the European free jazz movement.¹⁰⁰ He has surmised that young musicians who sympathized with the German and French student movement were influenced by two of the movement's characteristics in terms of their self-image: "a general aversion to any kind of authority" and "a latent anti-Americanism, which was reinforced by the disastrous consequences of the Vietnam War."¹⁰¹

Crucial for the emergence of the West German student protest movement was the exclusion of the *Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund* (SDS) or Socialist German Student League from the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschland* (SPD) or Social Democratic Party of

⁹⁸ Brötzmann, interview with the author, July 2, 2010.

⁹⁹ Paul Gilroy, "Foreword: Migrancy, Culture and a New Map of Europe," in *Blackening Europe: The African American Presence*, ed. Heike Raphael-Hernandez (New York: Routledge, 2004), xviii.

¹⁰⁰ "Sozialen und politischen Klima innerhalb der jungen Generation der späten 1960er Jahre." Jost, *Jazzgeschichten aus Europa*, 233.

¹⁰¹ "Eine generelle Abneigung gegen Autorität jeder Art...ein latenter Anti-Amerikanismus, der durch die verheerenden Folgen des Vietnamkriegs verstärkt wurde." Ibid.

Germany. This exclusion, which took place in July 1960, came about as a consequence of insurmountable differences regarding the party's centrist reorientation and effort to become a catch-all party delineated in the Godesberg Program, the 1959 SPD program whose dissociation from Marxism became arguably the most significant point of contention. An initial driving force for the student movement was the demand for comprehensive reforms for institutions of higher education, which aimed at the abolition of traditional academic self-administration that allowed only full professors to be part of decision-making processes. Instead, student activists postulated participation in these decision-making processes, the right of student organizations to make political statements, and reforms with regard to programs and examination regulations.¹⁰²

The movement gained momentum in the wake of the formation of the First Grand Coalition in 1966, which coalesced during the Federal Republic's first economic recession in fifteen years. The Grand Coalition was headed by Christian Democrat Kurt Georg Kiesinger and included the *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* (CDU) or Christian Democratic Union of Germany, its sister party the *Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern* (CSU) or Christian Social Union in Bavaria, and the Social Democrats, who became part of a coalition government for the first time since the Federal Republic's foundation. Especially among leftist students, concerns grew that the Grand Coalition under Kiesinger, a former member of the NSDAP, left the parliament bereft of a significant political opposition, with only the *Freie Demokratische Partei* (FDP) or Free Democratic Party's faction in the opposition role.

These concerns over a perceived authoritarian course in West German politics intensified in light of debates about the *Notstandsgesetze* (German Emergency Laws). A draft of these laws,

¹⁰² See Peter Borowsky, "Große Koalition und Außerparlamentarische Opposition," in *Zeiten des Wandels: Deutschland 1961-1974*, Informationen zur politischen Bildung, vol. 258 (Munich: Francis-Druck, 1998), 11-22.

presented by a parliamentary committee on legal affairs in Spring 1965, led to fierce political struggles, as these laws were perceived by left-leaning segments of the public sphere as emblematic of an impending fascist turn. In response to these perceived structural shortcomings of West Germany's representative democracy, the so-called *Außerparlamentarische Opposition* (APO) or extraparliamentary opposition emerged. This was a pronouncedly anti-authoritarian and action-oriented protest movement with the SDS at its center that aimed at the radical transformation of society at large by means of grassroots democracy. As historian John Abromeit has maintained in terms of the significance of the burden of the recent National Socialist past for the emergence of the 1960s protest movement, "the increased awareness" of assumed continuities between the National Socialist Regime and the Federal Republic not only "contributed to a radicalization of students, who began to see the West German state itself as potentially or already pre-fascist" but moreover "was one of the most important *differentia specifica* of the West German student movement."¹⁰³

Music scholar Beate Kutschke has also identified "the struggle against authoritarianism" as the decisive characteristic differentiating the student movements "in both parts of Germany" from their counterparts in other countries.¹⁰⁴ This anti-authoritarian stance was instrumental in bringing about a transformation of post-war society by means of symbolic actions in the socio-cultural realm. According to musicologist Arnold Jacobshagen and historian Markus Leniger, this ultimately resulted in the renunciation of "traditional modes of behavior and habitual social

¹⁰³ John Abromeit, "The Limits of Praxis: Socio-Psychological Foundations of Theodor Adorno's and Herbert Marcuse's Interpretations of the 1960s Protest Movements," in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. Belinda Davis, Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke, and Carla Macdougall (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 20.

¹⁰⁴ Beate Kutschke, "Antiauthoritarian Revolt by Musical Means on Both Sides of the Berlin Wall," in *Music and Protest in 1968*, ed. Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 157.

rituals” and their replacement by ”new ‘counter-rituals,’ unconventional forms of public performance such as sit-ins, go-ins, and teach-ins as well as a generally informal habitus.”¹⁰⁵

These socio-cultural transformations were reflected on the personal level in terms of emancipatory modes of communal living, new gender roles, and sexual liberation.

Informed by a sense of voluntarism, the student movement became radicalized in the wake of the killing of West Berlin student Benno Ohnesorg by police officer Karl-Heinz Kurras on June 2, 1967 during a demonstration against visiting Mohammad Rezā Pahlavī, the Shah of Iran. The incident led to intense conflicts between student activists and police forces, and nationwide protests at universities.¹⁰⁶ On April 11, 1968 far-right laborer Josef Bachmann, claiming “to be inspired by Martin Luther King’s assassination,” attempted to assassinate student activist Rudi Dutschke by shooting him three times, whereby two bullets hit his brain.¹⁰⁷

Demonstrations in over twenty-seven cities attended by tens of thousands of protesters soon ensued that turned into West Germany’s most violent street battles up to that point. The demonstrations were especially directed against the right-wing Springer media conglomerate,

¹⁰⁵ “Traditionelle Verhaltensweisen und gewohnte gesellschaftliche Rituale...neue ‘Gegenrituale’, durch ungewöhnliche Formen öffentlicher Perfromanz wie Sit-ins, Go-ins oder Teach-ins sowie generell durch einen informellen Habitus.” Arnold Jacobshagen and Markus Leniger, “Vorwort,” in *Rebellische Musik: Gesellschaftlicher Protest und kultureller Wandel um 1968*, eds. Arnold Jacobshagen and Markus Leniger (Cologne: Verlag Dohr, 2007), 9.

¹⁰⁶ Files discovered in 2009 revealed that Kurras had been employed as an unofficial collaborator working for the East German *Stasi* secret police at the time of the shooting. For a discussion of the significance of these findings, see Helmut Müller-Engberg and Cornelia Jabs, “Der 2. Juni 1967 und die Staatssicherheit,” in *Deutschland-Archiv: Zeitschrift für das vereinigte Deutschland*, no. 3, 2009, 395-400. Moreover, as has been revealed only recently by German prosecutors and *Der Spiegel*, West German police attempted to cover up the truth behind Ohnesorg’s shooting by falsely claiming that Kurras had acted in self-defense.” “New Probe into 1967 Killing: Police Covered Up Truth Behind Infamous Student Killing,” *Der Spiegel*, January 23, 2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/new-probe-into-1967-killing-police-covered-up-truth-behind-infamous-student-shooting-a-810877.html>.

¹⁰⁷ Max Paul Friedman, *Rethinking Anti-Americanism: The History of an Exceptional Concept in American Foreign Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 207.

whose sustained campaign against Dutschke and the student movement was viewed by political activists as having precipitated the assassination attempt.

The coalescence of the West German student movement during the mid-1960s, while certainly a response to the country's specific socio-political and cultural circumstances, should also be viewed in the context of the rise of the so-called New Left, a term commonly attributed to sociologist C. Wright Mills. The New Left spawned the simultaneous and global emergence of student protest movements in countries such as the US, West Germany, France, the UK, Italy, Senegal, Japan, and Mexico, as well as Eastern European countries such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Romania.¹⁰⁸ The late social historian Hans-Ulrich Wehler has argued that this movement “envisioned a vaguely outlined new socialist social order, which was supposed to be accomplished by means of ‘transformation’ of individuals and the replacement of parties through an emancipatory leftist movement.”¹⁰⁹

One of the intellectual forerunners of the transnational New Left was German-born philosopher and sociologist Herbert Marcuse, a proponent of the Frankfurt School of critical theory, whose widely read studies *Eros and Civilization* (1955) and *One-Dimensional Man* (1964) were especially influential among students in West Germany and the US.¹¹⁰ Marcuse

¹⁰⁸ For accounts of the Western and Eastern European New Left in a transnational framework during “the long 1960s,” see *1968: The World Transformed*, eds. Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

¹⁰⁹ “Schwebte ihr eine vage umrissene neue sozialistische Gesellschaftsordnung vor, die durch die ‘Transformation’ der Individuen und Ersetzung der Parteien durch eine emanzipatorische Linksbewegung erreicht werden sollte.” Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Bundesrepublik und DDR 1949-1990*, vol. 5 (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2008), 312.

¹¹⁰ Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955); Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

exercised a pervasive influence on numerous political activists, including Angela Davis, Abbie Hoffman, and Rudi Dutschke. As historian Manfred Görtemaker has maintained, Marcuse posited that the New Left was “‘not defined classwise’ - for instance as the revolutionary avant-garde of the proletariat – but consisted mainly of intellectuals, civil rights movement groups, and radical youths.”¹¹¹ Marcuse fell short of identifying minorities and marginalized groups in Western late capitalist societies as well as “Third World” liberation movements as new revolutionary subjects. However, as John Abromeit has asserted, for Marcuse “‘minorities, women, or women, and colonial or post-colonial subjects” had a privileged access to truth since “‘they could more easily understand that the affluent society still rested upon a fundamentally exploitative dynamic.”¹¹² Extending Marcuse’s ideas, Dutschke, who by the mid-1960s had emerged as the most prominent spokesperson for the West German student movement, assumed the role of the intellectual avant-garde within the perceived global emancipatory struggle. As historian Martin Klimke has argued, for Dutschke, “‘the avant-gardist task of the intellectual or student would be to perform the role of the mediator between these minorities and the articulations of their grievances on the hand, and the politicization of the masses by raising awareness of their suppression on the other.”¹¹³

Student activists’ early attempts, which aimed at consciousness raising and popular mobilization through protests against the state visit of Congolese dictator Moïse Tshombé in

¹¹¹ “‘Nicht klassenmäßig definiert’ – etwa als revolutionäre Avantgarde des Proletariats - , sondern bestehe hauptsächlich aus Intellektuellen, Gruppen der Bürgerrechtsbewegung und radikalen Jugendlichen.” Manfred Görtemaker, *Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Von der Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, [1999] 2004), 476.

¹¹² Abromeit, “The Limits of Praxis,” 18.

¹¹³ Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 65.

December 1964, and a South African propaganda week in March 1965, failed to reach a critical mass. The West German student movement, however, gained steam when its activities began to focus on the Vietnam War, whose escalation under US President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration between 1963 and 1968 received worldwide attention. Hans-Ulrich Wehler has argued that for the West German student movement "the identification with the domestic American opposition against the Vietnam War" became an "early catalyst for the protest."¹¹⁴

By 1964 the US antiwar movement had been able to mobilize a coalition of various political and social organizations, among them an increasing number of student activists who opposed the Vietnam War, and demanded an end to the atrocities committed against the Vietnamese people by the US armed forces. By the end of 1965 West German student activists had directed their mobilization efforts towards the issue of the Vietnam War as well, whereby support for the protest came from more than 200 writers and professors, among them Ernst Bloch, Ingeborg Bachmann, Peter Weiss, Uwe Johnson, Erich Fried, and Martin Walser, who demanded an immediate end to the war.¹¹⁵

In the wake of the first major anti-war demonstration in February 1966 in West Berlin, West German antiwar activists increasingly began to identify with the struggle of the Vietnamese people. Ho Chi Minh became the students' role model for an imagined global and revolutionary struggle, and Vietnam took on the function of an area where West German students projected their own unresolved conflicts connected with the burden of the National Socialist past. Taking cues from poet Erich Fried and playwright Peter Weiss, who in their works respectively drew

¹¹⁴ "Die Identifizierung mit der inneramerikanischen Opposition gegen den Vietnamkrieg...früher Katalysator des Protests." Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 313.

¹¹⁵ See Hermann Glaser, *Die Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Zwischen Protest und Anpassung 1968-1989*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, [1989] 1990), 51.

comparisons between the Vietnam War and the Holocaust, West German antiwar activists attempted to come to terms with their own past by invoking analogies between Nazi Germany's atrocities and those committed by the US armed forces.¹¹⁶ As historian Wilfried Mausbach has maintained, "West German students vilified American warfare in Vietnam as a repetition of Auschwitz but at the same time used this alleged recurrence in order to distance themselves from their own nation's blemished past."¹¹⁷ Unlike their parents' generation who were deemed complicit in Nazi Germany's unspeakable crimes, the students' dissociation from US policy in Vietnam was tantamount to an exculpation strategy, in that this time they would find themselves on the assumed right side of history.

The international "Vietnam Congress" organized by the German SDS and staged at West Berlin's Technical University (TU) between February 17 and 18 in 1968 became "the most visible peak of antiwar sentiment in West Germany" and "attracted roughly 5,000 students and antiwar activists from Europe and overseas."¹¹⁸ Salutations for the congress, which was attended by some of the most prominent New Left activists, such as Tariq Ali and Gaston Salvatore, were extended by Western European intellectuals and artists such as Bertrand Russell, Michelangelo Antonioni, Alberto Moravia, Luigi Nono, and Hans-Werner Henze.¹¹⁹

At the same time, these protests were indicative of a disenchantment with the US at large, as West German student activists squarely faced the discrepancy between the projected self-

¹¹⁶ For a discussion of the political ramifications of Erich Fried's 1966 poem cycle *und Vietnam und* and Peter Weiss's 1968 play *Viet Nam Diskurs*, see Friedman, *Rethinking Anti-Americanism*, 198-202.

¹¹⁷ Wilfried Mausbach, "America's Vietnam in Germany – Germany's Vietnam in America: On the Relocation of Spaces and the Appropriation of History," in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself*, 54.

¹¹⁸ Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 91.

¹¹⁹ Glaser, *Die Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik*, 51.

image of the US as the “Leader of the Free World,” with its profession of democratic ideals, and the reality of an atrocious warfare with carpet bombings and massacres that increasingly affected the Vietnamese civilian population. Meanwhile, the European anti-war protest fed off its US counterpart, which became increasingly aware of the movement’s global dimension. In a speech given to the National Association of Radio Announcers on August 11, 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., who had begun to speak out against the Vietnam War in January 1966, addressed the repercussions of the negative perceptions of US warfare in a global context:

And there is a war taking place today in a little Asian country. And the tragedy is that it is the most powerful, the richest nation in the world, that happens to be a predominantly white nation, at war with one of the smallest, poorest nations, that happens to be a colored nation (...) That war in Vietnam has isolated our great nation morally and politically. There isn’t a single ally, major ally of the United States, who would dare send a troop to Vietnam. Allies that have been with us in other wars in the past aren’t there. And today we stand without any friends in the world where this war is concerned.¹²⁰

West German antiwar protest also prompted student activists to rethink their perceptions of issues of race in the 1960s US. As historian Maria Höhn has compellingly argued, “beginning with the war in Vietnam, German students assessed American racism no longer as an incidental oversight of an otherwise admirable system but interpreted it as part and parcel of American capitalism and American imperialism in the Third World.”¹²¹

This reevaluation was predicated upon shifting West German mental attitudes in the wake of World War II regarding perceptions of African Americans. As Detlef Siegfried has asserted, “even in the early 1950s, empirical studies showed that Germans had a positive image of

¹²⁰ Martin Luther King, Jr., Speech before the National Association of TV and Radio Announcers (Atlanta, GA, August 11, 1967), accessed January 14, 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_wxBC11RDwA&list=PL1AtVGm5kr370AK4SU4ATP0qA2IMqx4En&index=3.

¹²¹ Maria Höhn, “The Black Panther Solidarity Committee and the Trial of the Ramstein 2,” in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself*, 217.

African-Americans,” which “contrasted greatly with the generally much more negative views held in the US itself.”¹²² Furthermore, empirical research conducted in early 1960’s West Germany by sociologist Werner J. Cahnman revealed “that of all the subjects concerning relations between different peoples and races, it was relations between blacks and whites that provoked the greatest interest among youth.”¹²³ Cahnman’s study, drawing upon a wide sample of German students across lines of age and school types, clearly indicated the extent to which the interviewees fervently opposed anti-black racism in the US.¹²⁴ In the global context of the cold war’s propaganda battles for hearts and minds, in many countries racism was seen as the Achilles heel of US foreign relations, as the nation’s discrepancy between a rhetoric, which proclaimed democratic values and its practice of institutionalized racism became increasingly apparent. Additionally, West Germany’s role as one of the US’s most important geopolitical allies, and the close political, economic and cultural ties between the two countries, gave a special significance to the growing disillusionment among West German youths regarding US policies. In the words of Martin Klimke, “what added to this dissatisfaction among the younger generation in West Germany was the legacy of the German past and the after-effects it still had on the republic, which, in their view, had not successfully mastered its legacy under U.S. political influence.”¹²⁵

By the late 1950s and early 1960s the African American civil rights struggle received detailed coverage in the German media, whereby “the left-leaning media provided detailed and

¹²² Siegfried, “White Negroes,” in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself*, 199-200.

¹²³ Ibid., 199.

¹²⁴ See *ibid.*

¹²⁵ Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 6.

critical comments from the very start.”¹²⁶ This coverage spawned a series of political interventions on the part of West German students, who emulated the techniques of non-violent direct action deployed by US civil rights activists. As early as March 1963 West German students had delivered “a petition to the US consulate, imploring the American government to ‘overcome the sickness of racial hatred.’”¹²⁷ In September 1963 a coalition of various German student associations organized a silent demonstration in Frankfurt in which black and white protesters marched side by side and demanded equal rights for African Americans.¹²⁸ In August 1963 a demonstration supporting the March on Washington, where Martin Luther King, Jr. had delivered his historic “I Have A Dream” speech, took place in West Berlin.¹²⁹

As historian Manning Marable has asserted, “by 1967 and early 1968, Black Power had become the dominant ideological concept among a majority of black youth, and significant portions of the black and middle strata.”¹³⁰ Already at that point, West German SDS activists such as Rudi Dutschke and Günter Amendt had traveled to the US, where they engaged with African American activists associated with the emerging Black Power Movement. As a consequence of these encounters West German SDS activists “made the connection between the

¹²⁶ Ibid., 109.

¹²⁷ Höhn, “The Black Panther Solidarity Committee and the Trial of the Ramstein 2,” in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself*, 232.

¹²⁸ See Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 110.

¹²⁹ See Friedman, *Rethinking Anti-Americanism*, 109.

¹³⁰ Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945-2006* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, [1984] 2007), 94.

legal status and daily discrimination of African Americans and the economic situation that also affected the white working class.”¹³¹

In the wake of the Detroit riots in July 1967, one of the deadliest uprisings in US history, which erupted among African American residents after police officers had raided a speakeasy and arrested its 82 customers on the city’s West Side, the German SDS declared solidarity with Black Power at its 22nd national convention in September 1967 in Frankfurt.¹³² This declaration of support led to the forging of direct links with the Black Panther Party, as well as African American activists associated with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which by 1966 had made the transition from a civil rights organization to one that espoused ideas of black nationalism. In April 1968 students at a West Berlin rally commemorating the assassinated Martin Luther King, Jr. carried banners reading “Memphis is burning – When will the Pentagon burn?,” while repeatedly chanting “Black Power Now!”¹³³

By the mid-1960s, the ideas espoused by the New Left and the student protest movements began to inform debates about free jazz in West Germany. Of great significance in this regard was music critic Manfred Miller. In a multi-part 1966 article for *Jazz Podium* entitled “Free Jazz – A New Thing Analysis,” Miller made a pronounced attempt to position free jazz within an area of conflict between music and politics by contending that the “great political commitment of almost all ‘new thing’ musicians” served as an indication “to look for the

¹³¹ Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 110.

¹³² See *ibid.*, 112.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 119.

meaning of the music in its relationship to society.”¹³⁴ Ironically, deploying a terminology associated with Adornian aesthetics to ends markedly at variance with Adorno’s well-known critiques of jazz, Miller asserted that free jazz “also held the chance of non-reified music.”¹³⁵ With regard to successful free jazz, he argued that “where the individual’s free expression is fully realized through everybody’s freedom, there the avant-garde’s jazz becomes a model for a utopian society.”¹³⁶ At the same time, Miller read the musicians’ political commitment in terms of a transfer of this utopian model to society, and moreover, as an example of “concrete political action.”¹³⁷ Miller’s interpretation is emblematic of an oppositional stance associated with the student movement protest movement. Furthermore, his interpretation is symptomatic of the traditionally problematic relationship between political and aesthetic thought in Germany. As Peter Ulrich Hein has stated, one of the central ideas since the Enlightenment has been that one

¹³⁴ “Das große politische Engagement fast aller New Thing-Musiker...den Sinn dieser Musik in ihrer Beziehung zur Gesellschaft zu suchen.” Manfred Miller, “Free Jazz – Eine New Thing Analyse III,” *Jazz Podium* 15, no. 7, May 1966, 182.

¹³⁵ “Birgt aber auch die Chance nicht verdinglichter Musik.” *Ibid.*, 183. Adorno launched his first attack on jazz in 1933 after the National Socialist Regime’s ban on jazz was imposed on the Funk-Stunde Berlin, Germany’s first radio broadcasting station, which began broadcasting jazz in 1923. In his article “Farewell to Jazz,” originally published in the monthly journal *Europäische Revue*, Adorno stated in his usual apodictic fashion: “The regulation that forbids the radio from broadcasting ‘Negro jazz’ may have created a new legal situation; but artistically it has only confirmed by its drastic verdict what was long ago decided in fact: the end of jazz music itself. For no matter what one wishes to understand by white or by Negro jazz, here there is nothing to salvage... What is stamped out, along with it, is not the musical influence of the Negro race on the northern one, nor is it cultural Bolshevism. It is a bad piece of arts and crafts.” Theodor W. Adorno, “Farewell to Jazz,” in *Essays on Music*, selected with Introduction, Commentary, and Notes by Richard Leppert and translated by Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 496-497. After his return from exile in the US, where he had published the article “On Jazz” in 1936, Adorno engaged in a fierce dispute with Joachim-Ernst Berendt in 1953, settled in the journal *Merkur*. Interestingly enough, *Merkur* was edited by Joachim Moras, who also served in the same capacity for the *Europäische Revue* between 1933 and 1944 when Adorno had published his first article on jazz. For an in-depth discussion of Adorno’s views on jazz, see Heinz Steinert, *Die Entdeckung der Kulturindustrie oder: Warum Professor Adorno Jazz-Musik nicht ausstehen konnte* (Münster: Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot, [1992] 2003).

¹³⁶ “Wo freier Ausdruck des Einzelnen durch Freiheit aller zusammen voll verwirklicht ist, dort wird der Jazz der Avantgarde zum Modell einer utopischen Gesellschaft.” Miller, “Free Jazz,” 182.

¹³⁷ “Konkreten politischen Handelns.” *Ibid.*

of the functions of the arts is “to paradigmatically anticipate a prospective, veritable and thereby equally authoritative form of existence.”¹³⁸

The question of whether and to what extent free jazz was capable of serving as a medium for social and political transformational processes was discussed in an interview Siegfried Schmid-Joos conducted with Brötzmann in 1968 for *Jazz Podium*. Schmidt-Joos mentioned to Brötzmann that in the wake of the broadcast of “Pop Jazz – Free Jazz,” he had received many letters by viewers who had “reacted very indignantly and acrimoniously.”¹³⁹ Asked whether “the shock” which Brötzmann allegedly conveyed with his music was intended, the saxophonist responded: “Certainly not, the music emanates from us just as it is, and we in no way intend to shock anybody. That it naturally provokes a shock in certain types of people is evident. On the other hand one ought to know what times one is living in, one ought to know that many things have to be changed. And therefore one doesn’t just fiddle about. One contemplates a lot of things, and one has to be sure of what one wants to do.”¹⁴⁰ Asked by Schmidt-Joos whether he not only expressed the times he lived in musically but whether he also tried to influence the times by bringing about social change, the saxophonist responded: “I hope that this is what I do, yes.”¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ “Einer zukünftigen, wahrhaftigen und damit ebenso verbindlichen Existenzform paradigmatisch vorzugreifen.” Peter Ulrich Hein, *Die Brücke ins Geisterreich: Künstlerische Avantgarde zwischen Kulturkritik und Faschismus* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1992), 16.

¹³⁹ “Sehr entrüstet und erbittert.” Siegfried Schmidt-Joos, “‘Weil viele Dinge geändert werden müssen’: Ein Interview mit Peter Brötzmann,” *Jazz Podium* 17, no. 4, April 1968, 128.

¹⁴⁰ “Der Schock... Das nicht, die Musik kommt aus uns selbst wie sie ist, und wir beabsichtigen in keiner Weise irgendwen zu schockieren. Daß sie natürlich bei gewissen Leuten einen Schock hervorruft, ist klar. Andererseits muß man wissen, in welcher Zeit man lebt, man muß wissen, daß viele Dinge geändert werden müssen. Und aus diesem Grund spielt man natürlich nicht so vor sich hin, man überlegt viele Dinge und man muß sicher sein, mit dem, was man machen will.” *Ibid.*, 129.

In February and March 1969 former SDS president Karl Dietrich Wolff visited the US and met with Black Panther co-founder Bobby Seale through US SDS activist Tom Hayden. Subsequently, Wolff began to publish articles in the Black Panther newspaper, declaring that “West German S.D.S. supports Black Panthers and Black Liberation”¹⁴² By then West German activists had begun to conceive of the emerging transatlantic countercultural alliance between them and African American political activists in terms of an assumed common emancipatory struggle, in which their campaigns took on the function of “a belated resistance to contemporary injustices they deemed similar to the atrocities of Nazism.”¹⁴³ Furthermore, this grouping, which Klimke has denoted as the “‘other’ cold war alliance,” decisively influenced the way the West German radical Left activists situated themselves and their African American counterparts within the context of political power relations shaped by the Cold War.¹⁴⁴ As historians Höhn and Klimke have suggested, radical segments of the West German Left viewed the “African American minority as an ‘internal colony’ in the United States,” while “the Federal Republic and the transatlantic alliance, on the other hand, were in an ‘external colonial relationship’ that implicated West Germans in the crimes committed by ‘US imperialism’ worldwide.”¹⁴⁵

In November 1969, after a meeting with Black Panther Party executives and West German New Left activists, Wolff and others founded a Black Panther Solidarity Committee,

¹⁴¹ “Ich hoffe, daß ich das tue, ja.” Ibid.

¹⁴² Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 118.

¹⁴³ Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 117.

¹⁴⁴ Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 7.

¹⁴⁵ Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom*, 117.

whose main goals were to keep the German public abreast of the Black Panther Party's struggle and to provide them with financial support.¹⁴⁶ As Klimke has argued with respect to the significance of the West German radical Left's alliance with the Black Freedom Movement: "In the case of the West German protest movements, solidarity with the Black Power movement therefore also became an integral part of renegotiating one's own identity. The coming to terms with the West German past through the help of the 'other' as a substratum of one's own oppression grew into a symbol of a belated resistance, and served as the background in front of which the solidarity with the Black Power movement played out."¹⁴⁷

In a similar vein, Brötzmann became interested in the thought and struggle of activists associated with the Black Power Movement, who visited Germany during the late 1960s. He identified common political goals, while being mindful of differences in terms of positionalities and a tendency towards revolutionary romanticism:

I was reading whatever I could get, and I saw Angela Davis and Eldridge Cleaver in Berlin. Of course, we wanted to know because we didn't know too much about the American society, American black and white society. We heard about the riots in Detroit, Washington D.C., and in the South because we needed to know more. We were not at all content with the way our society in Germany or Western Europe went on after the War. We were hoping or we were waiting for a change but in the end it went on the same way it ended and that was not acceptable for us. And so we found especially our black comrades in the States. Different problems but the same way of 'we have to change it.' Naïve as we were, we thought that music could be a big part of it. Of course, we had to be realistic and we had to learn that you can't change things with music.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Klimke, *The Other Alliance*, 120.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁴⁸ Brötzmann, interview with the author, New York, June 8, 2011. Peter Brötzmann remembers seeing both Angela Davis, who lived and studied in Frankfurt between 1965 and 1967, and Eldridge Cleaver in Berlin. However, Martin Klimke's research indicates that Cleaver was not present, as West Germany's "federal government refused to issue an official response" in the wake of the Black Panther Solidarity Committee's plea for diplomatic immunity for Cleaver. Klimke, *Other Alliance*, 124.

The call for socio-political and cultural transformation, which had shaped the 1960s in West Germany, was supported by a growing number of writers, who began not only to rethink their relation to society but in addition viewed literature as a medium through which interventions into the social reality could be made and political issues could be addressed. While numerous notable writers had spoken out against the Federal Republic's nuclear armament as early as 1958, in 1961 twenty well-known West German writers, including Günter Grass, Peter Rühmkorf, and Hans Magnus Enzensberger, critiqued the conservative Adenauer administration a month prior to the federal election, openly advocating for the social democratic alternative.¹⁴⁹ By the mid-1960s the politicization process that had led so many writers to redraw the intersection between art and politics, and to take a firm stand on contemporary political issues such as the Vietnam War and "Third World" liberation movements, became more pronounced.¹⁵⁰ Writers such as Peter Weiss, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, and Martin Walser, increasingly became disenchanted with social democratic reformism and began to embrace the radical Left. In September 1967 Enzensberger declared: "Indeed, what is on the agenda is no longer communism but the revolution. The Federal Republic's political system is beyond repair. One can agree with it or one has to replace it with a new one. *Tertium non dabitur.*"¹⁵¹

The need for reference to socio-political issues and for political engagement, which had shaped the literary production of the aforementioned West German writers, would soon have an equivalent in the realm of *Neue Musik*. Beginning in the late 1960s a palpable push for

¹⁴⁹ See Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 224-225.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 310.

¹⁵¹ "In der Tat, was auf der Tagesordnung steht, ist nicht mehr der Kommunismus, sondern die Revolution. Das politische System der Bundesrepublik ist jenseits aller Reparatur. Man kann ihm zustimmen, oder man muss es durch ein neues ersetzen. *Tertium non dabitur.*" Quoted in Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 311.

politicization gripped various composers associated with the post-war avant-garde. As Kutschke has asserted, “from the end of 1968, the musicians, composers and music writers of Germany’s New Music Scene immersed themselves in the question of how to contribute, through music, to the political upheaval initiated by the student and protest movements of the 1960s.”¹⁵² Arguably the most prominent German composer affected by this process, whose artistic production was emblematic of this politicization in undisguised fashion, was Hans-Werner Henze. Eschewing the perceived dogmatism and authoritarianism associated with the Darmstadt School’s integral serialism, Henze, according to music historian Peter Petersen, opposed “serialism’s abstract, purely musical concept of art with his own alluding to figurative imaginations and precipitating associations.”¹⁵³ Disavowing the notion of an autonomous aesthetic, Henze had begun to address the nexus between music and political thought in his theoretical writings as early as the mid-1950s.¹⁵⁴ In 1967 Henze sought contact with the student movement and, according to Joachim Ody, “together with Enzensberger he met Rudi Dutschke, Herbert Marcuse, Gaston Salvatore and other leftists and became personally involved in the Anti-Vietnam Congresses and demonstrations in Berlin.”¹⁵⁵ In a series of compositions premiered between 1968 and the mid-

¹⁵² Beate Kutschke, “Aesthetic Theories and Revolutionary Practice: Nikolaus A. Huber and Clytus Gottwald in Dissent,” in *Sound Commitments: Avant-garde Music and the Sixties*, ed. Robert Adlington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 78.

¹⁵³ “Abstrakten, rein musikalischen Kunstauffassung der Serialisten seine auf bildliche Vorstellungen bezogene und Assoziationen auslösende Musik.” Quoted in Arnold Jacobshagen, “Musica impura: *Der langwierige Weg in die Wohnung der Natascha Ungeheuer* von Hans Werner Henze und die Berliner Studentenbewegung,” in *Rebellische Musik: Gesellschaftlicher Protest und kultureller Wandel um 1968*, ed. Arnold Jacobshagen and Markus Leniger (Cologne: Verlag Dohr, 2007), 111.

¹⁵⁴ See Hans-Werner Henze, *Music and Politics: Collected Writings 1953-1981*, translated by Peter Labanyi (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

¹⁵⁵ “Zusammen mit Hans Magnus Enzensberger lernte er Rudi Dutschke, Herbert Marcuse, Gaston Salvatore und andere Linke kennen und engagierte sich persönlich bei den Anti-Vietnam Kongressen und Demonstrationen in

1970s, such as *El Cimarrón*, *Das Floß der Medusa*, *Versuch über Schweine*, *La Cubana*, the *Sixth Symphony*, and *Der langwierige Weg in die Wohnung der Natascha Ungeheuer*, for which he collaborated with improviser Gunter Hampel's ensemble, Henze sought to embrace the revolutionary cause of socialism. Accordingly, echoing politico-aesthetic ideas that Wagner had espoused in his mid-nineteenth century Zurich essays, Henze declared in December 1968: "Necessary are not museums, opera houses, and world premieres... Necessary is the creation of humanity's greatest work of art: the world revolution."¹⁵⁶

Superimposed upon the 1960s push for politicization, which impacted on the arts and aesthetic thought, were debates regarding the vexed question of national selfhood. As Richard Langston has argued, "constructing a postwar national identity devoid of fascism assumed a central role in the early political, economic, and cultural life of the Federal Republic."¹⁵⁷ For Langston, "contrary to the 1950s," which witnessed "the production of an affirmative Germanness," notions of national identity "in the 1960s shifted away from stabilizing a national sense of self and toward deconstructing this fledgling national discourse."¹⁵⁸ Engagement with jazz and its assumed alterity by West German young intellectuals became instrumental in opening up a discursive space by providing points of identification, which in turn enabled them

Berlin." Joachim Ody, "Linke Perspektiven in der Avantgarde der 60er und 70er Jahre," in *Testcard – Beiträge zur Popgeschichte, Linke Mythen*, no. 12, 144.

¹⁵⁶ "Notwendig sind nicht Museen, Opernhäuser und Uraufführungen... Notwendig ist die Schaffung des größten Kunstwerkes der Menschheit: die Weltrevolution." "Henze: Kindliches Entzücken," in *Der Spiegel*, no. 49, 1968, 182.

¹⁵⁷ Richard Langston, "Roll Over Beethoven! Chuck Berry! Mick Jagger!: 1960s Rock, the Myth of Progress, and the Burden of National Identity in West Germany," in *Sound Matters: Essays on the Acoustics of Modern German Culture*, ed. Nora M. Alter and Lutz Koepnick (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 183.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

to politically reconfigure their fractured sense of national identity. Furthermore, as historian Lutz Koepnick has suggested with regard to the significance of jazz as a meaningful medium of socio-cultural distinction in the context of postwar Germany: “In particular, the import and reception of jazz and even more of rock and roll, offered meanings, pleasures, and forms of happiness that not only ran counter to dominant tastes and middle-class values of self-restriction, but in doing so also opened up a breach between different generations, a space in which ever more critical questions about the role of the parent generation during the Holocaust were raised and gestures of dissent could be articulated.”¹⁵⁹

In the context of post-war German society, characterized by a fractured national identity stemming in large measure from the burden of the National Socialist past, jazz provided a space that allowed not only for the articulation of gestures of dissent, but also for a political repositioning of the self. As Brötzmann has related in an interview with Heffley: “For me, jazz had a kind of political meaning because in my very early youth I was already very left wing, and connected to the Communist Party – naïve of course, but genuine. Then Vietnam started up; Korea was just over, and to deal with jazz music was a way to be on the right side in the war between the poor and the rich, the black and the white – well, we didn’t have that particular problem, but, you know the worldwide class struggle and so on.”¹⁶⁰

The significance of political dedication as a driving force behind Brötzmann’s work as an improvising artist has not least become apparent in a series of recently published conversations between Brötzmann and philosopher Christoph J. Bauer. When asked by Bauer whether “a

¹⁵⁹ Lutz Koepnick, “Culture in the Shadow of Trauma?” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 721.

¹⁶⁰ Heffley, *Northern Sun, Southern Moon*, 144.

particular political consciousness” was a prerequisite for a successful improvisatory interaction within his ensemble, Brötzmann elaborated thusly: “As soon as you go on stage, as soon as you do something publicly, that’s already the first political act you do. I mean, you aren’t just kissed by the muse but you work pretty hard for what you do and that includes, of course, a political consciousness...A political consciousness does exist, whereby for me personally it is a little different if I go to Poland, if I go to Russia or if I got to Israel, to those countries, where my father’s generation made life impossible. For me, it’s really a kind of reparation when I go there.”¹⁶¹ Engagement with jazz therefore provided politically engaged leftist West Germans with an opportunity to take a firm stand within the 1960s global emancipatory struggles. For instance, as Detlef Siegfried has asserted, “for devotees of jazz, taking a position against racial oppression had always been a culturally distinguishing feature and a political statement.”¹⁶²

This connection was not lost on Joachim-Ernst Berendt, who in his capacity as the “jazz pope” had unfailingly worked towards the social and cultural acceptance of African American musical forms in West Germany, viewing it not least as a decidedly anti-fascist endeavor.

Attributing the palpable changes of the 1960s in terms of mental and cultural attitudes directly to the intercultural reception of African American music, Berendt stated: “If young people today

¹⁶¹ “Ein bestimmtes politisches Bewusstsein...Sobald du auf die Bühne gehst, sobald du etwas öffentlich machst, so ist das schon der erste politische Akt, den du tust...Ich meine, man ist ja nicht nur von der Muse geküsst, sondern man arbeitet ja für das, was man tut, ziemlich hart - und dazu gehört natürlich auch...ein politisches Bewusstsein...Da ist schon ein Bewusstsein da – wobei es für mich persönlich noch ein bisschen anders ist, wenn ich nach Polen gehe, wenn ich nach Russland oder wenn ich nach Israel gehe, in die Länder, denen die Generation meines Vaters das Leben unmöglich gemacht hat. Für mich ist das wirklich eine Art von Wiedergutmachung, wenn ich dahin gehe.” Christoph J. Bauer and Peter Brötzmann, *Brötzmann: Gespräche* (Berlin: Posth Verlag, 2012), 33.

¹⁶² Detlef Siegfried, “White Negroes,” in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself*, 198.

are thinking more differently than ever before, then it also has to do with their having black music and black ‘messages’ in their soul.”¹⁶³

In his previously mentioned “Der deutsche Jazz und die Emanzipation” essay, Berendt delved into the nexus between jazz and socio-political attitudes by linking the issue of free jazz’s oppositional stance with its prevalence in 1970s Germany. Noting the discrepancy between the domestic appreciation of Brötzmann and the perceived lack of attention he had received abroad, Berendt asserted, “Americans and actually many foreigners believe Germany to be the country of free jazz.”¹⁶⁴ Concurring with this assertion by referencing the prevalence of free jazz on the German scene, Berendt pursued the question of why this was the case. For him, Germans historically had always, but especially since the end of World War II, been exceptionally self-critical, and were characterized by their fractured relationships with society. Assuming a direct homology between a society’s configuration and the musical element of melody, Berendt argued that the more distanced and critical a generation of musicians was, the more critical they were of melodies sung by the people representing their society. Posing the question of whether this perceived correlation might serve as an explanation for the phenomenon of German free jazz, Berendt himself provided the answer, which he couched in a series of rhetorical questions. For instance, Berendt asked if German jazz musicians felt an urgent necessity for protest and critique, and if German free jazz was therefore a reflection of Germans’ fractured relationship towards their surroundings, their society, and themselves. Furthermore, he queried whether “free jazz in a more pronounced fashion than other realms of art” was “a necessary reflection of this

¹⁶³ Quoted in *ibid.*, 198.

¹⁶⁴ “Die Amerikaner - und überhaupt viele Ausländer – meinen, Deutschland sei das Land des Free Jazz.” Berendt, *Ein Fenster aus Jazz*, 238.

situation” and if the jazz musician was especially aware of “his national dilemma.”¹⁶⁵ Berendt’s queries culminated thusly: “Is the jazz musician perhaps but a particularly exposed indicator of how other artists and intellectuals feel about their country and their society, exposed only because jazz musicians are even less secure in this society than other artists?”¹⁶⁶

In June 1967, together with Wuppertal-based bassist Peter Kowald and Swedish drummer Sven-Åke Johansson, Brötzmann recorded his first album, *For Adolphe Sax*, which according to Christoph Wagner was “actually the first self-production by a jazz musician in Europe.”¹⁶⁷ The album was released on the saxophonist’s own label BRÖ and funded with revenue from his work as a freelance graphic designer.¹⁶⁸ Brötzmann and Kowald had met Johansson only recently during a performance in Brussels, where the drummer was stranded and had invited him to come to Wuppertal.¹⁶⁹ Jost has denoted this recording retrospectively as “the first German, probably even the first European jazz record, which consequently pursued the concept of total improvisation.”¹⁷⁰ In doing so, Jost has accorded Brötzmann’s music crucial historical significance in regard to the process of “revocation of the dependency on the American father

¹⁶⁵ “Freie Jazz, stärker als andere Kunstbereiche...die notwendige Reflexion dieser Situation...seines nationalen Dilemmas” Ibid., 239.

¹⁶⁶ “Ist der Jazzmusiker möglicherweise nur ein besonders exponierter Indikator dessen, was auch andere deutsche Künstler und Intellektuelle über ihr Land, ihre Gesellschaft empfinden – exponiert schon deshalb, weil die Jazzmusiker noch weniger geborgen in dieser Gesellschaft sind als andere Künstler?” Ibid., 239-240.

¹⁶⁷ “Die erste Eigenproduktion eines Jazzmusikers in Europa überhaupt.” Christoph Wagner, *Der Klang der Revolte: Die magischen Jahre des westdeutschen Musik-Underground* (Mainz: Schott, 2013), 133.

¹⁶⁸ Peter Brötzmann, *For Adolphe Sax* (Atavistic UMS 230 CD, [1967] 2002), compact disc.

¹⁶⁹ See Markus Müller, “Peter Brötzmann: Laudation on the occasion of the presentation of the Albert Mangelsdorff-Prize 2011 (Deutscher Jazzpreis/German Jazz Prize),” translated by Isabel Seeberg and Paul Lytton, <http://www.peterbroetzmann.com/news/news110823award/laudatio.php>.

¹⁷⁰ “Die erste deutsche, wahrscheinlich sogar die erste europäische Jazzplatte, die konsequent einem Konzept der totalen Improvisation folgte.” Jost, *Europas Jazz*, 92.

figures.”¹⁷¹ At the same time, Jost’s interpretation was similar to Berendt. It was Berendt who, as previously stated, had coined the term “die Emanzipation” to reflect the emergence of an assumed independent European jazz.

Early readings of European free jazz that focused on cultural differences and looked at Brötzmann’s music against the background of the tension-fraught trope of “die Emanzipation” had already emerged during the latter half of the 1960s. Among the first who attempted to locate Brötzmann’s recording debut within the area of conflict between historical continuity and rupture was Manfred Miller, who was present during *For Adolphe Sax*’s recording session. For Miller, who argued dialectically, it was beyond question that “the seemingly traditionless music of the Brötzmann Trio” felt committed to African American musical traditions “even where it put its elements in an entirely different context.”¹⁷² That Miller conceived of the project of “die Emanzipation,” not in terms of dissociation from the aesthetic and historical points of connection to its spiritual African American fathers, but in terms of a political economy of jazz, became apparent in a 1969 article published in the *Neue Musikzeitung* entitled “The Means of Production to the Producers.” Drawing upon central concepts of Marx’s theories as well as US critic Frank Kofsky’s transfer of these ideas to the realm of cultural production and especially the African American free jazz movement, Miller read the founding of musicians’ collectives and record labels based on the principle of self-reliance as instances of non-alienated modes of production. For Miller, Brötzmann’s self-produced first two albums, as well as the recordings of the Instant Composers Pool, a musician’s collective founded in 1967 by Dutch musicians Willem Breuker,

¹⁷¹ “Aufkündigung des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses gegenüber den amerikanischen Vaterfiguren.” Ibid., 12.

¹⁷² “Die scheinbar so ganz traditionslose Musik des Brötzmann Trios...auch da, wo sie deren Elemente in eine ganz anderen Kontext stellt.” Manfred Miller, “For Adolphe Sax: Bericht von einer neuen Schallplatte,” in *Jazz Podium* 16, no. 8, August 1967, 228.

Misha Mengelberg, and Han Bennink, enabled “the removal of the barrier between producers and the owners of the means of production” since “a human can relate to his productions and works directly and not as representatives of monetary value.”¹⁷³

In contrast, a basic pattern of reading European free jazz in terms of independent aesthetic premises becomes apparent in a 1968 review by critic Keith Knox published in the British magazine *Jazz Monthly*. Knox construed Brötzmann’s music as “essentially chamber music and very European, having a form which derives from its variability and movement.”¹⁷⁴ With regard to the construction of “Europeanness,” it is highly significant that Knox characterized Brötzmann as having “a very objective attitude to the expression of his personal emotions.”¹⁷⁵ He described the saxophonist’s mode of expression as “carefully controlled and declamatory, certainly not wild.”¹⁷⁶ Knox furthermore attempted to emphasize Brötzmann’s sonic Europeanness by deploying terms such as “invention,” “trio form” and “recapitulation,” derived from theories of form.¹⁷⁷ While conceding that Brötzmann “has quite obviously heard Albert Ayler,” Knox dismissed the validity of this insight by stressing that he saw “very little point in attempting to compare him [Brötzmann] with other artists in the avant-garde.”¹⁷⁸ By

¹⁷³ “Die Beseitigung der Trennung zwischen Produzierenden und Besitzern der Produktionsmitteln...der Mensch zu seinen Produkten und Arbeiten als zu ihnen selbst, nicht als Repräsentanten eines Geldwertes sich verhalten kann.” Manfred Miller, “Die Produktionsmittel den Produzierenden oder: ICP, BRÖ & Co. werden aktiv,” *Neue Musikzeitung*, 3, no.18, 1969, 9.

¹⁷⁴ Keith Knox, “Peter Brötzmann,” *Jazz Monthly*, no. 155, January 1968, 15.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

rendering the issue of an intercultural influence on Brötzmann as irrelevant to discussions of his music, Knox pursued a strategy, which effectively sought to dissociate the German saxophonist from African American musical knowledge.

With the help of the late concert promoter Fritz Rau, in 1968 Brötzmann had the chance to put together a larger European ensemble whose nucleus consisted of his newly assembled trio, which included Belgian pianist Fred Van Hove and drummer Han Bennink. Enlarged by a “hard core sax-section,” which beside Brötzmann consisted of saxophonists Evan Parker, Willem Breuker, and Gerd Dudek as well as drummer Sven-Åke Johansson and the double bassists Peter Kowald and Buschi Niebergall, the nonet performed in front of larger audiences at major German music festivals, such as the 11th Frankfurt Jazzfestival on March 24 and the 2nd Jazz Ost-West Festival in Nuremberg on March 30.¹⁷⁹ With money from his first self-produced album and his festival performances, Brötzmann set up a recording session for his second album *Machine Gun* at the Lila Eule during the politically significant month of May 1968 that was experiencing the Prague Spring, the Paris student riots, as well as the student protests in West Germany, especially West Berlin.¹⁸⁰ As Brötzmann recalls: “I decided to organize a gig in Bremen and there was this place called Lila Eule, which was kind of a home place for us. We played there very often with the trio as a kind of house band. And because we had connections to

¹⁷⁹ Peter Brötzmann, liner notes to *The Complete Machine Gun Sessions*, The Peter Brötzmann Octet, (Atavistic ALP 262 CD, 2007), compact disc. A recording of the Frankfurt Jazz Festival performance is available on *The Complete Machine Gun Sessions*, The Peter Brötzmann Octet, (Atavistic/Unheard Music Series ALP 262, 2007), compact disc. The Brötzmann Group’s lineup for the Nuremberg performance, which was recorded by the Bayerischer Rundfunk and was broadcast by several radio stations, included trumpeter Manfred Schoof instead of Gerd Dudek. A recording of the performance is in the author’s possession.

¹⁸⁰ Peter Brötzmann, *Machine Gun* (FMP CD 24, [1968] 1990), compact disc.

the radio station in Bremen we got an engineer from there and he did what he could under very, very difficult circumstances. This was hard work. This was really hard work.”¹⁸¹

The Lila Eule was a legendary club, which besides important musicians, such as upcoming Norwegian saxophonist Jan Garbarek and South African exile pianist Chris McGregor, featured Rudi Dutschke, who gave a speech there in November 1967. As historian Timothy Scott Brown has pointed out, Dutschke’s speech occurred “just as a wave of protest centered in the city’s secondary schools was beginning to take off” whereupon “the club played a central role in this and later mobilizations, acting as a launching point for various actions.”¹⁸² These events took place during a period in which conservative-minded local politicians had their eyes on the venue. For instance, in 1968 the city parliament’s chairman of the Christian Democrats, Hans-Hermann Sieling, filed a complaint in which he portrayed the club as a place in which “the youth got sensitized for the revolution.”¹⁸³

Historical narratives of European jazz have accorded *Machine Gun* an eminent role. In this regard, Jost’s assessment of *Machine Gun* as “the first really *European* record production in the history of jazz,” which “carries forward with more expansive acoustic means what had been started with *Adolphe Sax*,” represents that of many other commentators.¹⁸⁴ The consensus in

¹⁸¹ Brötzmann, interview with the author, June 8, 2011.

¹⁸² Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Anti-Authoritarian Revolt, 1962-1978* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 70.

¹⁸³ “Werde die ‘Jugend für die Revolution sensibilisiert.’” “Wohlklang nein,” *Der Spiegel*, no. 39, September 23, 1968, 195.

¹⁸⁴ “Die erste wirklich *europäische* Plattenproduktion der Jazzgeschichte, setzt mit expansiveren Klangmitteln fort, was in *Adolphe Sax* begonnen wurde.” Jost, *Europas Jazz*, 118. Critic and producer Steve Lake provides a similar assessment. Lake has referred to *Machine Gun* as “really the first jazz album you could call European.” Steve Lake, liner notes to *Machine Gun*, The Peter Brötzmann Octet, (FMP CD 24, 1990), compact disc.

terms of the historical significance of *Machine Gun* for the process of “emancipation of European free jazz from its American model” is in stark contrast to the question of whether this music had underlying political motives and was therefore intended as a political statement.¹⁸⁵ For instance, scholar Nina Polaschegg has argued that on closer inspection “in terms of the aesthetic of cry,” which is associated with Brötzmann, and “the title *Machine Gun*,” which harkens back to Don Cherry’s nickname for the saxophonist, “not much remains of the idea of political music.”¹⁸⁶ Thus for Polaschegg, “the ‘emancipatory’ energy of ‘free play,’ which Brötzmann pursues radically, is by no means a genuinely political one.”¹⁸⁷

In stark contrast to this assessment was the contemporary critical reception of *Machine Gun*, one in which commentators did not want to limit the emancipatory endeavors to the realm of an apolitical aesthetics but viewed Brötzmann’s music as emblematic of a reconfiguration of the functional differentiation between politics, aesthetics, and ethics. Thus Manfred Miller identified *Machine Gun*’s structural principle in its recording year 1968 as “the reconciliation of organization and spontaneity,” which “is more than just an aesthetic accomplishment.”¹⁸⁸ For Miller, *Machine Gun* “plays to in an exact literal sense what would be socially necessary and possible.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ “Emanzipation des europäischen Free Jazz von seinen amerikanischen Vorbildern.” Jost, *Europas Jazz*, 118.

¹⁸⁶ “Bleibt - bezogen auf die Ästhetik des Schreies und des Titels *Machine Gun* - von der Idee einer politischen Musik nicht viel übrig.” Nina Polaschegg, “Emanzipation im Jazz – Emanzipation vom Jazz: Die Entwicklung des Free Jazz und der improvisierten Musik im Kontext von 1968,” in *Rebellische Musik*, 258.

¹⁸⁷ “Die ‘emanzipatorische’ Energie des ‘freien Spiels,’ die Brötzmann radikal verfolgt, ist mitnichten eine genuin politische.” Ibid., 258-59.

¹⁸⁸ “Die Versöhnung von Organisation und Spontanität, ist mehr als nur eine ästhetische Errungenschaft.” Manfred Miller, “Peter Brötzmann Orchester,” in *Sounds*, no. 8, 1968, 16.

Also, in a 1968 review written for the *International Times*, one of London's first alternative papers, British author Barry Miles attempted to locate Brötzmann's groundbreaking recording within the area of conflict between similarity and difference. He construed the bulk of the "new music (ESP-type) from America" in terms of "the angry shriek of the American black musician against the system, slums, poverty and his situation."¹⁹⁰ Miles emphasized that while Brötzmann's music was similar to the above, sounding like "a European Albert Ayler," it actually came from a different source. He described this decisive difference as follows: "The music stems from musical roots steeped in the old-age rocks of Europe. Machine-gun is about machine-guns in a sense of the word that America does not yet know. Europe with its bomb-sights, concentration camp museums, war-scarred people and buildings and its Berlin wall and occupied Prague."¹⁹¹ The above review exemplifies the tension-fraught notion of "Emancipation" in which the dissociation from African American father figures took place through the articulation of aesthetic difference based on the experiences shaped by Europe's recent political history.

To date, arguably the most detailed and theoretically elaborate discussion of Brötzmann's path-breaking recording was advanced in a 1969 study by H.D. Schelte entitled "Peter Brötzmann and Jazz Criticism." Schelte's essay was the first publication in a series published by *Sounds* entitled "Sounds Free Books." Schelte, who in his introductory remarks referred to himself as an "interested layman," began by asserting that with very few exceptions, "we are

¹⁸⁹ "Spielt vor – im genauen Wortsinn – was gesellschaftlich notwendig und möglich wäre." Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Barry Miles, Review of *Machine Gun*, Peter Brötzmann recording, *International Times*, no. 39, September 6-19, 1968, 8.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

dealing, as a matter of fact, with the image of an insufficient jazz criticism that releases itself from the strain of a concept, in that always only known trivial truths come to light.”¹⁹² For Schelte, falling short of confronting the salient issue of aesthetics, jazz criticism displayed its own inadequacy since it failed to come to terms with larger intellectual contexts in which the music’s production took place. In other words, Schelte found fault with a self-referential jazz establishment that had failed to develop a theoretical framework that would allow for an adequate discussion of Brötzmann’s experimental methods, concepts, and practices. As Schelte asserted, “since our emotionally absent-minded ‘music criticism’ does not possess a similarly radical equivalent of a pinnacled theory for music of this existing experimental nature, which in terms of its intransigence at best bears comparison to productions by Sun Ra, we are forced to come to terms with the experimental reality of Brötzmann’s music in new conceptual coordinate systems and organizations.”¹⁹³ In order to rectify these perceived intellectual shortcomings, Schelte suggested an eclectic theoretical framework drawn from fields such as semiotics, information theory, communication theory, and the neo-Marxist aesthetic thought associated with the Frankfurt School and especially philosopher Ernst Bloch’s concepts. Drawing upon Bloch’s utopian ideas, advanced in his magnum opus *The Principle of Hope*, Schelte viewed *Machine Gun* as emblematic of an aesthetic expectancy for a better future since “this music is reflective of a more advanced consciousness that always appears as a consciousness of sharper

¹⁹² “Haben wir heute tatsächlich das Bild einer insuffizienten Jazzkritik, die den Kopf von jeder Anstrengung des Begriffs zu entbinden sucht, in der stets nur die bekannten trivialen Fertigwahrheiten zutage gefördert werden.” H. D. Schelte, *Peter Brötzmann und die Jazzkritik* (Cologne: Sounds Free Book 1, 1969), 2-3.

¹⁹³ “Da unsere emotional zerfahrene ‘Musikkritik’ für eine Musik der vorliegenden experimentellen Art, der im Rang der Kompromißlosigkeit allenfalls Produktionen von Sun Ra gleichkommen, kein ähnlich radikales Äquivalent an zugespitzter Theorie besitzt, sind wir gezwungen, die experimentelle Wirklichkeit der Brötzmannschen Musik in neuen begrifflichen Koordinatensystemen und Ordnungen zu erfassen.” *Ibid.*, 5.

‘intentionality.’ The artistic anticipation thereby demonstrates at the same time a more humane option, delineating the horizon of a more humane life.”¹⁹⁴

At the same time, Schelte sought to analytically come to terms with the emancipatory impetus of Brötzmann’s music by discussing the music’s functional innovations. For Schelte, instead of talking past each other, musicians now engaged in a real dialogue, allowing for a tight network of musical feedback that enables various kinds of transfigurations. Thus, an emancipatory process manifested itself in that in Brötzmann’s music “defunctionalization” of various musical parameters was at work, since a “note liberates itself from melody and chords, sound from harmonic function, orchestral treatment from traditional rules of orchestration and, in the sense of material extension, a single instrument from habitual playing technique.”¹⁹⁵

The discussion of the historical and aesthetic significance of free jazz in general and the music of Peter Brötzmann in particular, which took place in 1960s Germany, illustrates the ways in which practitioners as well as commentators attempted to fundamentally reconsider the relationship between music, society, and politics. Also significant was free jazz’s challenge to the notion of autonomy of artistic production, which was supplanted by a call for a reflection of aesthetic practice and its socio-political conditionality. “A brutal society, which allows for Biafra and Vietnam, provokes, of course, a brutal music,” remarked Brötzmann in a 1968 *Spiegel* article.¹⁹⁶ And even though Brötzmann has retrospectively referred to the notion of music as a

¹⁹⁴ “Dieser Musik auf ein fortgeschritteneres Bewußtsein reflektiert wird, dass sich immer als als ein Bewußtsein schärferer ‘Intentionalität’ zeigt. Die künstlerische Antizipation demonstriert damit also zugleich auch die humanere Möglichkeit, entwirft den Horizont eines humaneren Lebens.” Ibid., 14.

¹⁹⁵ “Ton sich von Melodie und Akkord befreit, Klang von harmonischer Funktion, Orchesterbehandlung von überlieferten Instrumentationsregeln, und, in der Bedeutung materialer Erweiterung, das Einzelinstrument von gewohnter Spieltechnik.” Ibid., 17.

medium of social transformation as “naïve,” he nevertheless symbolizes the historically remarkable emergence of a new type of jazz musician in postwar Germany who explored the area of conflict between music and politics in novel ways.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ “Eine brutale Gesellschaft, die Biafra und Vietnam zuläßt, provoziert natürlich eine brutale Musik.” “Wohlklang nein,” in *Der Spiegel*, 195.

¹⁹⁷ Corbett, *Extended Play*, 250.

CHAPTER TWO:

“Roots and Collage”:

The Musical Worlds of Manfred Schoof and Alexander von Schlippenbach in the Late 1960s

This chapter is concerned with two of the key figures associated with the German and European free jazz movement: trumpeter and composer Manfred Schoof and pianist and composer Alexander von Schlippenbach. Their ongoing association, which began in the late 1950s, has been of crucial significance for the trajectory of a European free jazz aesthetic and for the emergence of perceived distinctive European methods, concepts and practices regarding improvisation and its relationship to composition. While Schlippenbach’s significance for the European free jazz movement has been generally acknowledged in Anglophone literature, Schoof’s contributions have surprisingly received only scant attention.

In this chapter I discuss the significance of both musicians’ academic training at the Cologne Musikhochschule, where they attended Germany’s first post-war jazz program and studied with composer Bernd Alois Zimmermann. Focusing on Zimmermann’s work *Die Befristeten: Ode an Eleutheria in Form eines Totentanzes* (*The Numbered: Ode To Eleutheria In The Form Of Death Dances*), I elucidate Schoof’s and Schlippenbach’s collaborations with Zimmermann and their significance for both improvisers’ pursuit of a European identity in jazz. Furthermore, I elucidate their reception of crucial figures of the US free jazz movement such as Ornette Coleman and Don Cherry, which took place in the context of attempts to locate themselves historically as European improvisers. Lastly, I illuminate how the ensuing

relationship of tension in terms of the emergence of a European notion of free jazz informed both Schoof's and Schlippenbach's work during the latter half of the 1960s, as well as the critical reception of their work.

Manfred Schoof was born on April 6, 1936 in Magdeburg, in what later became part of the German Democratic Republic. He began to receive piano lessons at the age of nine after his father, whom Schoof "in my lifetime knowingly saw only three times," had spotted his son's musicality and suggested he learn to play the instrument.¹ Whereas studying the then obligatory études by Czerny and Clementi sat uncomfortably with the young Schoof, he would soon encounter a very different sonic world that appealed to him immensely.² While spending time with his grandmother on the countryside near Magdeburg, he heard for the first time "modern light music with a vigorous rhythm" on the radio, which he found exceptionally captivating.³ As he remembers, "I felt how this music took possession of me, how I wanted to be part of this music or had already become part of it. I was seized by an emotion that I couldn't explain. It became clear to me that music was something special, something very important for me, something that would determine my life."⁴

¹ "In meinem Leben bewusst nur drei Mal erlebt habe." Manfred Schoof, "Moments musicaux," in *Ein Traum von Musik: 46 Liebeserklärungen*, ed. Elke Heidenreich (Munich: Edition Elke Heidenreich bei C. Bertelsmann, 2010), 311.

² The biographical details pertaining to Schoof's early years are derived from two personal interviews that I conducted with him in Cologne on November 26, 2010 and on March 2, 2011.

³ "Moderne Unterhaltungsmusik mit flottem Rhythmus." Ibid., 312.

⁴ "Ich fühlte, wie diese Musik von mir Besitz ergriff, wie ich Teil dieser Musik werden wollte oder schon geworden war. Es packte mich eine Ergriffenheit, die ich mir nicht erklären konnte. Mir wurde klar, dass Musik für mich etwas Besonderes, etwas ganz Wichtiges war, etwas, das mein Leben bestimmen sollte." Ibid.

One of Schoof's earliest and most significant impressions regarding music was his first encounter with the notion of improvisation, which while beyond his intellectual grasp at that time, nevertheless exerted a great fascination over him. At a village fair, he realized that he had the ability to spontaneously sing his own melodies to the melodies and harmonies of a band he listened to. As Schoof relates regarding the significance of this realization, which decisively spawned his intellectual curiosity, "I couldn't explain why this is actually so. What is the meaning of this? What does it mean for me with regard to content that I can sing a melody or that I can whistle to something else I hear?"⁵

After moving from the rural outskirts of East German Magdeburg to the West German city of Kassel in 1953, the sixteen-year old Schoof had another crucial experience. At a local movie theatre he saw the 1944 Technicolor musical *Bathing Beauty* featuring swimming star Esther Williams and popular big band leaders Harry James and Xavier Cugat. "In that movie," Schoof remembers, "Harry James plays this wonderful 'Trumpet Blues,' on a golden trumpet in front of an orchestra. And I actually thought: 'Man, that would be something for you, too.' Anyhow, I eventually nagged my grandmother that I had to buy me a trumpet and asked if she could help me."⁶

With the support of his grandmother, Schoof was finally able to purchase his first trumpet. He began to receive lessons, while also giving both the guitar and the trombone a trial.

⁵ "Ich konnte mir nicht erklären, wieso das eigentlich so ist. Was hat das für einen Sinn? Was hat das inhaltlich für mich zu sagen, dass ich da eine Melodie zu singen oder pfeifen kann zu etwas anderem, was ich höre?" Manfred Schoof, interview with the author, Cologne, November 26, 2010.

⁶ "In diesem Film *Badende Venus* da spielte Harry James auf goldener Trompete vor einem wunderbaren Orchester diesen *Trumpet Blues*. Und da hab ich eigentlich gedacht, Mensch, das wär auch was für mich. Jedenfalls hab ich dann irgendwann meine Großmutter belagert und gesagt, ich müsste mir doch so eine Trompete kaufen, ob sie mir nicht was dazugeben könnte." Ibid.

Attending school in Kassel, he immersed himself in the novel sounds of jazz by tuning into Willis Conover's nightly Voice of America Jazz Hour program, which was broadcast by the Frankfurt-based American Forces Network. Schoof eventually joined the school band Die Acht Töne (The Eight Notes). Disenchanted with the standardized stock arrangements utilized by the school band, which Schoof found "always pathetic" and "always inchoate," and inspired by the work of bandleaders such as Woody Herman and Stan Kenton, he soon began to write his own arrangements for the ensemble.⁷

At a school festival, Schoof met two younger musicians with whom he would form one of the most significant collaborations of his career: multi-instrumentalist Johannes "Buschi" Niebergall and drummer Jaki Liebezeit. Born on July 18, 1938 in Magdeburg to a father who was a theology professor and university rector, Niebergall became fascinated with jazz after he bought his first record, Charlie Parker's 1946 recording of "Moose the Mooche."⁸ Niebergall taught himself various instruments such as guitar, piano, trombone, tenor saxophone, and began to play the bass in 1956, getting his bearings by listening to bassists such as Charles Mingus and Oscar Pettiford.⁹ Jaki Liebezeit was born in Dresden on July 25, 1938. Impressed by marching band drummers he had heard at a young age, he began to play in dance bands during his schooldays. Liebezeit eventually became interested in jazz after some fans of the music introduced him to it. Fascinated by drummers Max Roach and Art Blakey, he emulated their style of playing.

⁷ "Immer jämmerlich, immer unvollkommen." Ibid.

⁸ See Detlev Reinert, "Ein Free-Jazz Rebell der ersten Stunde: Buschi Niebergall," in *Jazz in Frankfurt*, ed. Wolfgang Sandner (Frankfurt am Main: Societäts-Verlag, 1990), 105.

⁹ See *ibid.*

Between 1955 and 1957 Schoof studied trumpet at the Academy of Music in Kassel before deciding to inquire about jazz programs at music conservatories in Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna, and Cologne.¹⁰ Since the Cologne Musikhochschule was one of the few institutions in the world that offered a jazz program, Schoof, who was eager to pursue an academic jazz course alongside the study of classical trumpet, decided to audition there for the entrance examination in December 1957.

Founded in the mid-nineteenth century, the conservative-minded academy underwent a fundamental reorientation after Heinz Schröter became its director in 1957. He appointed arranger and big band leader Kurt Edelhagen and composer Bernd Alois Zimmermann as faculty members, both of whom would be of great significance for Schoof's subsequent development. As music historian Robert von Zahn has maintained with regard to the significance of Schröter's directorship in an environment that was hostile to the post-war avant-garde: "Schröter supported a wide spectrum of contemporary music. He established a seminar for radio drama, film and stage music, which became an important forum of Bernd Alois Zimmermann's, a seminar for music criticism, and the first German jazz course that exceeded what prior to the war had been accomplished at the Hoch'sche Konservatorium in Frankfurt, and had been suppressed by the National Socialist authorities."¹¹ According to music historian Michael Custodis, these new

¹⁰ See Robert von Zahn, *Jazz in Köln seit 1945: Konzertkultur und Kellerkunst*, ed. Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Cologne: Emons Verlag, 1997), 126.

¹¹ "Schröter förderte ein breites Spektrum zeitgenössischer Musik. Er begründete ein Seminar für Hörspiel-, Bühnen- und Filmmusik, das zu einem wichtigen Forum Bernd Alois Zimmermanns wurde, ein Seminar für Musikkritik und den ersten deutschen Jazz-Kursus, der über das hinausging, was schon vor dem Krieg am Hoch'schen Konservatorium in Frankfurt erreicht und von den NS-Machthabern wieder abgeschafft worden war." Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 94.

developments were made possible “by an endowment by WDR [West German Broadcasting] for a specific purpose over 100.000 Deutsch Mark.”¹²

The jazz program at the Hoch'sche Konservatorium, the world's first academic jazz studies program, was established in 1927 by the academy's director, Bernhard Sekles; the courses were directed by Hungarian-born composer Mátyás Seiber. The establishment of the program's establishment was met by a public outcry that was not confined to the conservative and right-wing political spectrum. The jazz program was disestablished in 1933 when Sekles and Seiber, who were Jewish, were removed from their posts by the National Socialist Regime in the wake the passing of the Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service. As music scholar Eckhard John has maintained, the jazz course's establishment was a response to an increasing hostility towards jazz, which gained momentum during the mid-1920s in the Weimar Republic. This animosity was directed especially against jazz adaptations of works by Chopin, Wagner, Offenbach, and Tchaikovsky, which were widely popular at that time. According to John, by establishing the jazz course, Sekles sought to dissociate himself from the practice of “jazzing up” classical music by insulating jazz from the Austro-German classical music tradition. Meeting jazz's Weimar detractors halfway, Sekles declared in a 1927 newsletter: “Of course there are nasty excesses in jazz too and Siegmund von Hausegger is right if he publically deplores that occasionally even themes by our great symphonic masters are ‘jazzed up.’ But he is wrong if he judges a branch of the arts by its degenerations. Not only for opportunistic reasons but also for pedagogic ones can *cultivated* jazz only be of use to our youth.”¹³

¹² “Durch eine zweckgebundene Stiftung des WDR über DM 100.000.” Michael Custodis, *Die soziale Isolation der neuen Musik: Zum Kölner Musikleben nach 1945* (Stuttgart: Frank Steiner Verlag, 2004), 115.

Following his appointment, Edelhagen, who did not serve in the capacity of a professor but as a lecturer and whose contract could be terminated at will, “was deputized as the course’s director and staffed the lectureships predominantly with musicians from his own band.”¹⁴ Trained as a conductor at the Folkwang University of the Arts in Essen, Edelhagen led a band in a POW camp in England shortly after World War II. By 1952 he had put together the international Kurt Edelhagen Orchestra for the public broadcaster Südwestfunk (South West Radio), a network co-founded by Joachim-Ernst Berendt. Edelhagen’s orchestra was widely featured in Berendt’s weekly program “Jazz-Time Baden-Baden,” which was to be instrumental in terms of the diffusion and acceptance of jazz following the National Socialist regime’s attempts to suppress the music. As Ekkehard Jost has maintained, due to Germany’s federalist structure and the ensuing plenitude of public broadcasting stations, deployed at first in the four occupied zones and then in West and East Germany beginning in the late 1940s, an unparalleled quantity of dance orchestras associated with these broadcasters emerged.¹⁵ According to Jost, “in this way the paradoxical situation came about that in no other country in Western Europe were as many big bands able to take root as in East and West post-war Germany, the areas affected the most by war commotion and destruction.”¹⁶ For Jost, these orchestras “at the beginning of the

¹³ “Natürlich gibt es auch im Jazz schlimme Ausschreitungen und Siegmund von Hausegger hat recht, wenn er öffentlich darüber Klage führt, daß mitunter sogar Themen unserer großen symphonischen Meister ‘verjazzt’ werden. Unrecht aber hat er, wenn er einen Kunstzweig nach seinen Entartungen beurteilt. Nicht nur aus opportunistischen Gründen, sondern aus erzieherischen, kann der Jugend der *gepflegte Jazz* nur von Nutzen sein.” Quoted in Eckhard John, *Musikbolschewismus: Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland 1918-1938* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994), 294.

¹⁴ “Wurde zum Leiter des Kurses ernannt und besetzte die Dozentenstellen überwiegend mit Musikern aus seiner Band.” Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 94.

¹⁵ See Jost, *Jazzgeschichten aus Europa*, 157.

1950s evolved into German jazz's most important institutional and economic foundation during the post-war years."¹⁷

Edelhagen's name was inextricably linked to one of Berendt's first efforts to valorize jazz as a form of modernist art music and to endow it with cultural capital by presenting it in performance spaces heretofore reserved for Western concert music, such as the Donaueschingen Festival for Contemporary Music. The festival emanated from the Donaueschingen Chamber Music Performances for the Advancement of Contemporary Musical Art. Established in 1921 by the Society of Lovers of Music and sponsored by its patron Count Max Egon zu Fürstenberg, the performance series featured international chamber music works by Igor Stravinsky, Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, Béla Bartók, Darius Milhaud, Kurt Weill, and Ernst Krenek.¹⁸ After the suppression of the festival's modernist and international focus, deemed "degenerate" and "Bolshevistic" by the National Socialist Regime, it received a conceptual makeover in the wake of World War II when the Baden-Baden-based Südwestfunk network became the festival's primary sponsor, commissioning new compositions to be performed at the annual Donaueschingen event.

Instrumental in reviving the festival, whose focus shifted from chamber music to orchestral works in 1950, was Südwestfunk music department director Heinrich Strobel, whose commissions made possible premieres of works by post-war composers such as Bernd Alois

¹⁶ "Auf diese Weise kam es zu der paradoxen Situation, daß sich in keinem zweiten Lande Westeuropas so viele Bigbands etablieren konnten wie in dem von Kriegswirren und Zerstörungen am heftigsten betroffenen Nachkriegsdeutschland in Ost und West." Ibid.

¹⁷ "Entwickelten sich zu Anfang der 1950er Jahre zum wichtigsten institutionellen und ökonomischen Fundament des deutschen Jazz der Nachkriegszeit." Ibid.

¹⁸ See Heike Hoffmann, "Das Festival als zentraler Ort der Neuen Musik," in *Geschichte der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert: 1945-1975*, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2005), 43.

Zimmermann, Luigi Nono, Pierre Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Hans-Werner Henze, and Krzysztof Penderecki. At the beginning of his tenure at the SWF, together with conductor and new music champion Hans Rosbaud, Strobel established the SWF Orchestra, an ensemble that was to develop an intimate familiarity with post-war scores.¹⁹

Jazz was presented at the Donaueschingen Festival for the first time in 1954, when Edelhagen's orchestra performed in the premiere of Swiss composer Rolf Liebermann's *Concerto for Jazzband and Symphony Orchestra*. Commissioned by the SWF, in his piece Liebermann sought to integrate jazz and new symphonic music, anticipating similar endeavors by "Third Stream" composer Gunther Schuller by several years. As Berendt has related in retrospect, Strobel's response to the concerto was enthusiastic, declaring the performance nothing less than "the hit of the year."²⁰ The extent to which the valorization of jazz as modernist art music was predicated upon its endowment with cultural capital was not lost on Edelhagen, as he stated in the wake of an additional performance of the Liebermann concerto in Cologne in 1959: "If the older generation for the most part no longer objects to jazz, if it no longer believes that jazz comes out of the jungle, it is due to jazz itself, or rather to the recognition granted in Donaueschingen and the poised and serious habitus that represents it."²¹

¹⁹ See Martin Elste, "Medialisierung: Rundfunk als Mäzen und Medium Neuer Musik," in *Geschichte der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert: 1945-1975*, 41. Between 1956 and 1970 Strobel also served as the head of the International Society for New Music and, beginning in 1959, as the editor for the important new music journal *Melos*.

²⁰ "Der Schlager des Jahres." Quoted in Joachim-Ernst Berendt, "Jazz in Donaueschingen 1954 – 1996: Versuch eines Rückblicks," in *Spiegel der Neuen Musik: Donaueschingen; Chronik – Tendenzen – Werkbesprechungen*, ed. Josef Häusler (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1996), 408.

²¹ "Wenn die ältere Generation heute großenteils nichts mehr gegen den Jazz einzuwenden hat, wenn sie nicht mehr glaubt, daß der Jazz aus dem Urwald kommt, so liegt das wohl am Jazz selbst, besser gesagt, an der Anerkennung, die ihm beispielsweise in Donaueschingen zuteil wurde, und an dem souverän-seriösen Habitus, der ihn heute repräsentiert." Quoted in Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 98.

After passing the entrance examination, Schoof moved to Cologne and participated in Edelhagen's jazz course, which started in January 1958. Both Jaki Liebezeit, who also attended the jazz course, and Buschi Niebergall followed the young trumpeter to Cologne. During a reception on the occasion of the jazz course's opening, the Hochschule's director Schröter delineated the course's objective: "Jazz should not be a secret science! Therefore we also should not rear so-called academic jazz. Of course, we can't drum jazz into somebody. But we can help in avoiding detours. In doing so, practical experience is the main focus. After successful graduation from the jazz course the student should be able to play in any fine jazz orchestra as an accomplished and welcome collaborator."²² Schröter's new direction can be viewed as emblematic of the onset of the socio-cultural push toward modernization that took off during the latter half of the 1950s, which historian Anselm Doering-Manteuffel has denoted as the beginning of the "long Sixties."²³ Accordingly, the establishment of the Cologne jazz course was paralleled by a series of critically important visual art and architecture exhibitions, such as the first documenta in Kassel in 1955, Interbau in West Berlin in 1957, and the design of the West German pavilion at the 1958 World Exhibition in Brussels, which Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried have viewed as symbolic of "the assertion of a Western-connoted modernism of abstraction and programmatically emphasized artistic autonomy."²⁴

²² "Jazz sollte keine Geheimwissenschaft sein! Es soll darum auch kein sogenannter akademischer Jazz herangezüchtet werden. Wir können den Jazz natürlich nicht einlöffeln. Aber wir können helfen, Umwege zu ersparen. Die Praxis steht dabei immer im Vordergrund. Nach erfolgreicher Beendigung des Jazz-Kursus soll der Studierende in jedem guten Jazzorchester als versierter und willkommener Mitarbeiter spielen können." Quoted in *ibid.*, 94.

²³ See Schildt and Siegfried, *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, 181.

²⁴ "Die Durchsetzung einer als westlich konnotierten Moderne der Abstraktion und programmatisch betonter künstlerischer Autonomie." *Ibid.*, 180.

Edelhagen's jazz course was designed in a way that students would concern themselves with practical training in the morning, while the afternoon was dedicated to music theory.²⁵ The program was set up with instructors for various instruments. Schoof studied with Scottish trumpeter Jimmy Deuchar, a member of Edelhagen's orchestra and one of its main arrangers. Ensemble rehearsals for the school's big band and a trumpet class were scheduled in the morning; theoretical instruction took place in the afternoon. Dietrich Schulz-Köhn, a former Wehrmacht officer and tireless advocate for jazz in the "Third Reich" as well as in post-war Germany, taught jazz history. Harmony classes were taught by Frankfurt-based Carlo Bohländer, a multi-instrumentalist who had co-founded the Hot Club Combo in 1941 and made several underground jazz recordings in Nazi Germany. In addition to these courses, Schoof attended rhythmic classes and took arranging lessons with producer Heinz Gietz, and later with Indonesian-born trumpeter Rob Pronk.

After passing an additional entrance examination in the spring of 1958, Schoof began to receive classical training and took lessons with trumpet professor Adam Zeier. While, as music historian Ulrich Kurth has remarked, "the establishment of a jazz class at the Cologne Musikhochschule did not provoke an outcry from the conservative music public sphere, as in the case of the Hochschule für Musik in Frankfurt 30 years ago," the rejection of jazz was nonetheless palpable within the institution's hallowed halls.²⁶ Schoof's decision to pursue classical training in addition to his jazz training was prompted by the realization that this was

²⁵ The details regarding Edelhagen's jazz course are derived from a personal interview that I conducted with Manfred Schoof in Cologne on March 2, 2011.

²⁶ "Erregte die Einrichtung einer Jazzklasse an der Kölner Musikhochschule keinen Aufschrei der konservativen Musiköffentlichkeit wie 30 Jahre zuvor im Fall des Hochschen Konservatoriums in Frankfurt." Ulrich Kurth, "Als der Jazz 'cool' wurde," in *Musik 50er Jahre: Argument Sonderband AS 42*, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister and Dietrich Stern (Berlin: Argument Verlag, 1980), 111.

necessary for the “completion of my musical personality,”²⁷ but as he remembers: “For my classical teacher, I was always a thorn in his flesh, but he also couldn’t kick me out. It wasn’t before I told him that he wouldn’t have to train me as an orchestral musician that he felt at ease because I didn’t want to be in a symphony orchestra, but I wanted to do jazz. Then it was a load off his mind. He was probably thinking, man, where should I place this jazzer! He plays completely different, and essentially he doesn’t do what I suggest to him and what I would like to tell him to do.”²⁸

While waiting to take his entrance examination for the jazz course, Schoof met an aspiring young pianist and music student who was also about to take the exam, whose name was Alexander von Schlippenbach. This encounter would mark the beginning of a more than fifty-year-long collaboration whose significance for the emergence of the European jazz experimentalism movement can hardly be overstated.

Alexander von Schlippenbach was born on April 7, 1938 in Berlin. He spent the first five years of his life in Budapest until his parents, prompted by the advancing Soviet army, moved first to Thuringia and then to Upper Bavaria. While attending a classically oriented boarding school, the young Schlippenbach received his first piano lessons at the age of ten after having been impressed with schoolmates who could play the instrument. Inspired by a classmate who was skilled at playing boogie-woogie, Schlippenbach began to learn playing in this style, having

²⁷ “Vervollständigung meiner musikalischen Persönlichkeit.” Schoof, “Moments musicaux,” 314.

²⁸ “Meinem klassischen Lehrer war ich immer ein Dorn im Auge, aber rausschmeißen konnte er mich auch nicht. Erst als ich ihm sagte, dass er mich nicht zu einem Orchestermusiker ausbilden musste, weil ich nicht in ein Symphonieorchester wollte, sondern weil ich Jazz machen wollte, da war er beruhigt, und es fiel ihm ein Stein vom Herzen. Denn er hatte sich wahrscheinlich gedacht, Mensch, wie soll ich diesen Jazzler da unterbringen! Der spielt ja ganz anders, und der will ja eigentlich gar nicht so das machen, was ich ihm vorstelle und vorschreiben möchte.” Manfred Schoof, interview with the author, Cologne, March 2, 2011.

been especially intrigued by the idiomatic utilization of riffs and ostinatos. Meanwhile his interest in modern jazz was awakened, as he got hold of mid-1940s recordings by Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie, still rarities in early 1950s West Germany. He also tuned into Willis Conover's nightly *Jazz Hour* broadcasts and learned about the history of jazz through Berendt's widely popular *Jazzbuch*. At the same time Schlippenbach concerned himself with the European classical tradition and participated in its performance at the boarding school he attended.²⁹ As he remembers about his formative learning experiences with regard to jazz: "At first I simply tried to play things that I deemed suitable within the blues form and the boogie-woogie clichés. That was actually all I started with. What has always been distinguishing about jazz is its heightening of rhythmic intensity, the so-called swinging, the type of phrasing. Those were the things that touched me spontaneously and, of course, I tried to apply this to certain phrasings even though it only came from a listening impression. I didn't have a teacher or something similar but I tried to figure out everything on my own."³⁰

A crucial experience for Schlippenbach was a mid-1950s Munich performance by Oscar Peterson, who was featured in the context of Norman Granz's hugely popular "Jazz at the Philharmonic" concert series. Schlippenbach was "impressed beyond measure" with Peterson's virtuosity and "this total oneness with the instrument."³¹ He also became fascinated with pianists

²⁹ The biographical information pertaining to Schlippenbach's formative years are based on a personal interview that I conducted with him on March 3, 2011 in Berlin.

³⁰ "Ich habe erstmal versucht, einfach Dinge zu spielen, die ich für passend hielt innerhalb dieses Blueschemas und auch der Boogie-Woogie-Klischees. Das war eigentlich erstmal alles, womit ich angefangen habe. Was Jazz schon immer unterschieden hat, ist die Steigerung der rhythmischen Intensität, das sogenannte Swingen, die Art der Phrasierung. Das waren alles Dinge, die mich spontan berührt haben, und natürlich habe ich auch versucht, das in gewissen Phrasierungen anzuwenden, obwohl es noch nur von einem Höreindruck kam. Ich hatte ja keinen Lehrer oder so etwas Ähnliches, sondern ich hab ja selber versucht, alles für mich so rauszufinden." Alexander von Schlippenbach, interview with the author, Berlin, March 3, 2011.

Bud Powell and Horace Silver, who utilized tone clusters extensively. Until the late 1950s Schlippenbach “exclusively copied American records” by listening closely to recordings and transcribing solos “note for note.”³² After moving to Cologne, where he attended secondary school, Schlippenbach had his first professional engagement at the age of seventeen at the Pink Elephant, a Frankfurt jazz club “attended predominantly by blacks,” where he played blues and boogie-woogie for eight hours at a stretch.³³ He would soon immerse himself in composition, seeking a way out of the restrictive formative principles associated with contemporaneous US jazz practices. As he mentioned during a 1967 *Sounds* interview: “I began approximately 10 years ago to conceive of music according to new form principles, in which periodically designed song forms and the improvisation formula of changes are superseded by asymmetrical, free tonal fragments that in their aphoristic brevity were supposed to serve as an ‘initial spark’ for free interplay among musicians.”³⁴

At the Cologne Hochschule, Schlippenbach studied composition and piano, working with composer Rudolf Petzold, who had his students compose fugues and inventions. However, of vital importance for his artistic development was his attendance at Edelhagen’s jazz course and Zimmermann’s seminar for radio drama, film and stage music. Schlippenbach also received

³¹ “Maßlos beeindruckt. . . dieses totale Einverständnis mit dem Instrument.” Ibid.

³² “Ausschließlich amerikanische Schallplatten kopiert. . . Ton für Ton.” Ilse Storb, “Fragen an Alexander von Schlippenbach,” *Jazz Podium* 27, no. 10, October 1978, 4.

³³ “In dem vorwiegend Schwarze verkehrten.” Horst Weber, “Plattentest mit Alexander von Schlippenbach,” *Jazz Podium* 21, no. 4, April 1972, 126.

³⁴ “Ich habe schon vor ca. 10 Jahren angefangen, eine Musik nach neuen Formvorstellungen zu konzipieren, in der die periodisch angelegten Liedformen und das Improvisations-Schema der Changes durch asymmetrische, freitonale Fragmente ersetzt werden, die in apheristischer [sic] Kürze als ‘Initialzündung’ für ein freies Zusammenspiel der Musiker dienen sollten.” “Zwanzig Fragen an Alexander von Schlippenbach,” *Sounds*, no. 3, Summer 1967, 9-10.

piano lessons from Belgian pianist and arranger Francis Coppieters, who not only introduced him to the music of Thelonious Monk, but also showed him “how to phrase properly and how to place timing properly.”³⁵ Similar to his colleague Schoof, at the Hochschule the young pianist and composer experienced hostility towards jazz, especially on the part of older professors and more conventional-oriented students, which he felt led to the jazz course’s disestablishment in 1963.

Vitally important for Schoof and Schlippenbach was their encounter with Bernd Alois Zimmermann, who, succeeding Frank Martin, had been appointed as composition instructor by Heinz Schröter in 1957. Born in 1918, Zimmermann had studied music education, musicology, philosophy, psychology, and German studies and had taken composition classes with Philipp Jarnach at the Musikhochschule at Cologne, from which he graduated in 1947.³⁶ While his first compositions were performed as early as June 1939, in the immediate post-war years Zimmermann made a living by arranging light music for the WDR Rundfunkorchester led by Hermann Hagedstedt, and composing music for Hörspiele (radio plays) and soundtracks for movies. Between 1948 and 1950 he attended the critically important Darmstadt Holiday Course for New Music established by music critic Wolfgang Steinecke in 1946, which was partly funded by the US Office of Military Government.³⁷ He also attended composition classes by René

³⁵ “Wie man richtig phrasiert und wie man das Timing richtig setzt.” Schlippenbach, interview with the author, March 3, 2011. Coppieters worked with some of the foremost Belgian jazz musicians, such as Toots Thielemans, Bobby Jaspar, and René Thomas, and also collaborated with US expatriates such as Lucky Thompson and Slide Hampton.

³⁶ See Wulf Konold, *Bernd Alois Zimmermann: Der Komponist und sein Werk* (Cologne: Dumont Buchverlag, 1986), 13-14.

³⁷ See Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 36-41.

Leibowitz and Wolfgang Fortner, where he familiarized himself with dodecaphonic and serial composition techniques, but became increasingly estranged from the perceived dogmatism of proponents of the younger generation of post-war avant-garde composers such as Stockhausen and Boulez. Accordingly, Zimmermann referred to himself as “the oldest among the younger composers.”³⁸ While Zimmermann’s early work was decisively shaped by his reception of Hindemith, Stravinsky, and Schoenberg, around 1949 Zimmermann began to utilize what musicologist Wulf Konold has denoted as “the deployment of an undogmatic and individually handled twelve-tone technique.”³⁹

Commissioned by the Norddeutscher Rundfunk in 1954 and premiered during the following year, Zimmermann wrote the trumpet concerto *Nobody knows de trouble I see*, his first compositional involvement with jazz.⁴⁰ In this piece Zimmermann sought to combine three divergent formal principles: “the chorale prelude’s form with the pentatonic Negro spiritual as cantus firmus, the free variation form of still thematically bound dodecaphony as well as in a modified sense concert jazz.”⁴¹ In a 1956 letter to his mentor Karl Amadeus Hartmann, Zimmermann pointed out not only the significance of the Negro spiritual “Nobody Knows the

³⁸ “Ältesten unter den jüngeren Komponisten.” Konold, *Bernd Alois Zimmermann*, 16.

³⁹ “Die Verwendung einer undogmatisch, individuell gehandhabten Zwölftontechnik.” *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁰ Originally entitled *Darkey’s Darkness*, Zimmermann discarded the concerto’s title after the racial slur’s connotations were pointed out to him. See *ibid.*, 95.

⁴¹ “Die Form des Choralvorspiels mit dem pentatonischen Negrospiritual als Cantus firmus, die freie Variationsform der noch thematisch gebundenen Dodekaphonie sowie im abgewandelten Sinne den konzertierenden Jazz.” Bernd Alois Zimmermann, *Intervall und Zeit: Aufsätze und Schriften zum Werk*, ed. Christof Bitter (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1974), 90-91. Wulf Konold has questioned the complete authenticity of Zimmermann’s comments on the concerto published in *Zeit und Intervall* on the grounds that Zimmermann usually used the first person rather than the third person. See Konold, *Bernd Alois Zimmermann*, 95.

Trouble I've Seen," which the concerto was based on, but also the difficulties of integrating new music and jazz practices:

This spiritual is virtually the entire work's geometric location. The concerto is a single-movement piece and its interconnected form ties in, if one is willing to grasp this comparison properly, with the technique of the chorale prelude, whereby the Negro spiritual takes the place of the chorale. It is a widely held belief that jazz loses the stigma of authenticity as soon as the principle of improvisation is abandoned. Meanwhile jazz has treaded a path where fixed notation replaces improvisation. At this point of development, the attempt to connect jazz with so-called 'art music' sets in. It is characteristic of this attempt that it is undertaken by both sides, by jazz as well as by 'art music.'⁴²

For Zimmermann, who had participated in campaigns conducted against Poland, France, and the Soviet Union during World War II as a stablehand and dispatch rider, the concerto's conception also had an important politico-ethical dimension. As he stated in a note on the concerto: "The work was written under the impression of racial fanaticism (which unfortunately still exists to this day), and, by means of a blending of three seemingly stylistically heterogeneous formative principles, seeks to show a way to brotherly union."⁴³

In the wake of his appointment at the Cologne Musikhochschule Zimmermann became the director of the Seminar for Radio Drama, Stage and Film Music. Zimmermann's students included not only Schoof and Schlippenbach but also composers Johannes Fritsch, Makoto

⁴² "Dieses Spiritual ist gleichsam der geometrische Ort des gesamten Werkes. Das Konzert ist einsätzig und in seiner ineinandergreifenden Form knüpft es, wenn man diesen Vergleich recht begreifen will, an die Technik des Choralvorspiels an, wobei an Stelle des Chorals das Negrospiritual tritt. Es ist eine weit verbreitete Meinung, daß der Jazz in dem Moment das Stigma der Echtheit verliert, wo das Prinzip der Improvisation verlassen wird. Indessen ist in der Entwicklung des Jazz selbst ein Weg beschrritten worden, der das fixierte Notenbild an die Stelle der Improvisation setzt. An diesem Punkt der Entwicklung setzt nun der Versuch der Verbindung des Jazz mit der sogenannten 'Kunstmusik' an. Es ist das Bezeichnende an diesem Versuch, daß er von beiden Seiten unternommen wird, sowohl vom Jazz als auch von der 'Kunstmusik' her." Quoted in *ibid.*

⁴³ "Das Werk wurde unter dem Eindruck des (leider auch heute immer noch bestehenden) Rassenwahns geschrieben und will in der Verschmelzung von drei stilistisch scheinbar so heterogenen Gestaltungsprinzipien gleichsam einen Weg der brüderlichen Verbindung zeigen." Zimmermann, *Intervall und Zeit*, 91. For an insightful reading of Zimmermann's trumpet concerto, see Klaus Ebbeke, "*Sprachfindung*": *Studien zum Spätwerk Bernd Alois Zimmermanns* (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1986), 50-61.

Shinohara, Roger Reynolds, and Manfred Niehaus.⁴⁴ As music historian Robert von Zahn has asserted, Zimmermann, who unfailingly took a stand for electronic music, “also became a father figure for some jazz students.”⁴⁵ Studying with Zimmermann made an especially profound impact on Schoof, who lost his father at a young age, and for whom the older composer became a guiding figure: “He really showed us very, very interesting things. For instance, we watched *Battleship Potemkin* and old movies like that and then we talked about the dramaturgy in films and how that is supposed to be. Above all the private conversations with him were very interesting... We also met with him and talked across-the-board about music and sometimes about this and that. It was just great to talk with this man. That was very, very important for us.”⁴⁶ Moreover, as Schoof recalls regarding the significance of Zimmermann’s teaching on the evolution of his musical thought: “The second Zimmermann showed that he was interested in us he became a very important man for us. Everything he did was good for us. For us he was a great inspiration. Through him we were brought substantially to composition, and therefore to the spirit that is contained in it, composition techniques as well, rows and series as well. Pitches,

⁴⁴ See Johannes Fritsch, “Bernd Alois Zimmermann: 1918-1970,” in *Festschrift 75 Jahre Hochschule für Musik Köln*, ed. Werner Lohmann (Cologne, n.p., 2000), 83. Both Fritsch and Niehaus collaborated with Manfred Schoof as violists on his 1972 New Jazz Trio + Streichquintett recording *Page Two*. Between 1978 and 1989, Niehaus was the director of the Westdeutscher Rundfunk’s jazz department and an important champion of the New Jazz Festival in Moers.

⁴⁵ “Wurde auch für manchen Jazz-Studenten zu einer Vaterfigur.” Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 126.

⁴⁶ “Er hat uns wirklich sehr, sehr interessante Sachen gezeigt. Da haben wir zum Beispiel *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin* und solche alten Filme gesehen und haben dann geredet über die Dramaturgie in Filmen, und wie das zu sein hat. Das waren so die Dinge, über die wir gesprochen haben. Vor allen Dingen sehr interessant waren die privaten Gespräche mit ihm... Wir haben uns auch getroffen und haben mit ihm geredet ganz allgemein über Musik und mal das eine oder andere. Das war einfach großartig, mit dem Mann zu reden. Das war sehr, sehr wichtig für uns.” Schoof, interview with the author, March 2, 2011.

density levels, and Klangfarbenmelodien are components of a work that I only have become aware of through him.”⁴⁷

For Schoof, his studies with Zimmermann became a catalyst for the development of his own ideas about a distinctive European variety of jazz: “We became acquainted with the significance of contemporary serious music, were fascinated by the possibilities that this music could offer jazz and especially our interpretation of European jazz.”⁴⁸

Schlippenbach remembers that in Zimmermann’s seminar, “we were to some extent concerned with experiments. That was important at that time, to make collages and perhaps how to modify them afterwards.”⁴⁹ Besides Zimmermann’s continuously expressed interest in jazz and its practices, Schlippenbach was especially taken by the composer’s personality. “This was an extraordinarily cultured and highly interesting man,” he recalled. “He could talk about whatever he wanted. It was in fact, and there are people like that, always interesting if he said anything at all. We very much adored him.”⁵⁰ Furthermore, Schlippenbach has credited Zimmermann with having been a crucial influence on the emergence of his own musical-aesthetic ideas:

⁴⁷ “In dem Moment, wo Zimmermann Interesse an uns zeigte, wurde er für uns ein ganz wichtiger Mann. Alles, was er machte, war für uns gut. Für uns war er ein großer Inspirator. Durch ihn sind wir inhaltlich an die Kompositionen herangetragen worden, also an den Geist, der darin ist, auch die Kompositionstechniken, auch die Reihen und Serien. Tonhöhen, Dichtegrade, Klangfarbenmelodien, sind Werkbestandteile, die mir durch ihn erst bewußt geworden sind.” Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 140.

⁴⁸ “Wir lernten die Bedeutung der zeitgenössischen E-Musik kennen, waren fasziniert von den Möglichkeiten, die diese Musik dem Jazz und im Besonderen unserer Auslegung eines europäischen Jazz bieten konnte.” Schoof, “Moments musicaux,” 315.

⁴⁹ “Waren wir zum Teil auch mit Experimenten beschäftigt. Das war zu der Zeit schon wichtig, also Collagen herzustellen, und wie man die vielleicht noch nachher modifiziert.” Schlippenbach, interview with the author, March 3, 2011.

⁵⁰ “Das war ein außerordentlich gebildeter und hochinteressanter Mann. Der konnte reden, über was er wollte - es gibt ja solche Menschen - das war eigentlich immer interessant, wenn er überhaupt mal was gesagt hat. Wir haben ihn sehr verehrt.” Ibid.

I owe him very, very much. My musical-structural thought is substantially affected by him. He had this vision of the sphericity of time, from which he derived, as he himself called, his 'pluralistic' compositional techniques. That means, for instance, making musical events become perceptible simultaneously at different levels through superimposition of variable time strata and even variable stylistic levels. That is something that I have always pursued through the resources of jazz, and which is today an essential approach of my orchestral work as well.⁵¹

Despite the fact that by the mid-1950s Cologne had emerged as a central site for the international musical avant-garde, as Michael Custodis has remarked, Zimmermann's appointment at the Hochschule took place "against the acrimonious resistance of the music education department."⁵² Resistance to the teaching of new music, however, was even more widespread. According to Manfred Niehaus and York Höller, who both studied with Zimmermann, jibes, derogatory comments, and aggravated exam qualifications for prospective students interested in new music were not uncommon.⁵³ There were also intrigues against Zimmermann, such as the attempt to inhibit the recruitment of prospective students for his composition class. As Niehaus has related, the antagonistic atmosphere surrounding new music at the Hochschule was not limited to lecturers but was deeply ingrained in the music education program's student body.⁵⁴ For instance, during a performance of Sylvano Bussotti's song cycle *pièces de chair II* at the

⁵¹ "Ich verdanke ihm sehr, sehr viel. Mein musikalisch-strukturelles Denken ist wesentlich von ihm geprägt. Er hatte ja diese Vision von der Kugelgestalt der Zeit, aus der er seine, wie er es selbst nannte, 'pluralistischen' Kompositionsverfahren abgeleitet hat. Das heißt zum Beispiel, musikalisches Geschehen auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen gleichzeitig spürbar werden zu lassen, durch Überlagerung von unterschiedlichen Zeit-Schichten und sogar unterschiedlichen stilistischen Ebenen. Das ist etwas, was ich mit den Mitteln des Jazz immer weiterverfolgt habe und auch heute bei meiner Orchesterarbeit ein ganz wesentlicher Ansatz ist." Peter Niklas Wilson, *Hear and Now: Gedanken zur improvisierten Musik* (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 1999), 143.

⁵² "Gegen den erbitterten Widerstand der Schulmusikabteilung." Custodis, *Die soziale Isolation der neuen Musik*, 100.

⁵³ See *ibid.*

⁵⁴ See *ibid.*

Hochschule in October 1959 students assaulted the gay African American baritone William Pearson and even attempted to pull him off the stage.⁵⁵

This violent incident notwithstanding, by the time Schoof and Schlippenbach attended the Musikhochschule, Cologne had emerged as an important focal point for new music, providing extended networks for the production, distribution, and reception of the controversial new sounds. For Custodis, the decade represented a “hinge between the 1940s, characterized by National Socialist dictatorship and persecution, world war, destruction, and reconstruction, and the ‘wild Sixties.’”⁵⁶

As early as 1946, an interdisciplinary circle of artists and scientists that included Zimmermann, called *Die Werkstatt* or The Workshop, had coalesced in Cologne in order to advance the course of musical modernism and jazz.⁵⁷ By 1948 Herbert Eimert, future founder of the WDR Studio für Elektronische Musik, had emerged as the director of the nightly new music broadcast *Musikalisches Nachtprogramm*, enabling him, as Custodis has asserted, to establish “new music as an inherent part of the WDR’s program.”⁵⁸ As Custodis has argued, the establishment of the *Musikalisches Nachtprogramm* “was of great significance for the path of new music after the war,” since due to acquisitions by Western and Northern European

⁵⁵ See *ibid.* Pearson was the first African American singer to receive a Fulbright scholarship, which allowed him to study at the Cologne Musikhochschule. Pearson, who spent most of his life in Germany, emerged as a central new music vocalist for whom leading new music composers, such as Ligeti, Henze, Bussotti, and Schnebel, wrote pieces.

⁵⁶ “Scharnier zwischen den von nationalsozialistischer Diktatur und Verfolgung, Weltkrieg, Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau gezeichneten vierziger Jahren und den ‘wilden Sechzigern.’” *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, 49. The short-lived group that consisted mainly of students of Cologne-based composers Heinrich Lemacher and Philipp Jarnach disbanded in 1948.

⁵⁸ “Neue Musik als festen Bestandteil im Programm des WDR.” *Ibid.*, 55. According to Max Nyffeler, the program was broadcast twice a week between 1948 and 1967 and aired 380 times. Max Nyffeler, “Vom Großkritiker zum Parteigänger der Avantgarde: Die deutsche Musikkritik in den ersten Nachkriegsjahrzehnten,” in *Geschichte der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert: 1945-1975*, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2005), 50.

broadcasting networks the program reached an audience well beyond the central West German region.⁵⁹ According to Custodis, “many of the young composers, who during the 1950s and 1960s came to Cologne from all over Europe, refer to the *Musikalisches Nachtprogramm* as one of their main sources of information on new music’s current developments.”⁶⁰

Furthermore, with the conception of the WDR’s Studio für Elektronische Musik in 1951 and its opening two years later the institution was able to attract composers such as Ernst Krenek, György Ligeti, Mauricio Kagel, Gottfried Michael Koenig, Henri Pousseur, Karel Goeyvaerts, and most crucially Karlheinz Stockhausen, all of whom were soon subsumed under the term “Cologne School” even though the composers themselves rejected this designation due to their musical-aesthetic divergences. Moreover, the internationalization of Cologne’s new music scene was advanced by the establishment of the concert series “musik der zeit,” which was devoted exclusively to twentieth-century music. Utilizing the WDR Radio Symphony Orchestra and featuring prominent composers such as Boulez and Stockhausen as conductors, the concert series presented numerous world premieres and commissioned works, as well as European and German premieres. Among the works that received world premieres in the context of “musik der zeit” were critically important compositions such as Stockhausen’s *Gruppen für drei Orchester*, Boulez’s *Le Visage nuptial*, and Nono’s *Il canto sospeso*.

The “musik der zeit” concert series also familiarized German audiences with the sounds of US experimentalists such as John Cage, Morton Feldman, Christian Wolff, and Earle Brown,

⁵⁹ “Für den Weg der neuen Musik nach dem Krieg von großer Bedeutung.” Custodis, *Die soziale Isolation der neuen Musik*, 55.

⁶⁰ “Viele der jungen Komponisten, die im Laufe der fünfziger und sechziger Jahre aus ganz Europa nach Köln kamen berichten vom *Musikalischen Nachtprogramm* als einer ihrer Hauptinformationsquellen über aktuelle Entwicklungen der neuen Musik.” Ibid., 56.

whose music was performed by Cage himself with David Tudor on October 19, 1954. In 1958, Cage took up residence in Cologne for six months, during which the European premiere of his *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* took place.⁶¹

During the 1950s Cologne also became a home for some of the foremost performers associated with new music, such as pianists Alfons and Alois Kontarsky, cellist Siegfried Palm, flautist Severino Gazzelloni, and percussionist Christoph Caskel. By the mid-1950s the ice-cream parlor Campi, owned by restaurant proprietor and Renaissance man Pierluigi “Gigi” Campi, had emerged as an important gathering place for international artists, intellectuals, and jazz fans. As Schoof recalls: “There was an endless coming and going of well-known artists. You could meet Luigi Nono, Bruno Maderna or the famous flautist Severino Gazzelloni, to whom, by the way, no less a person than Eric Dolphy has dedicated a piece.”⁶²

Besides their academic studies, Schoof, Schlippenbach, Liebezeit, and medicine and psychology student Niebergall gained important experience at Cologne jazz clubs such as Storyville and the Kintopp Saloon. In particular, the Saloon provided them with opportunities to play in jam sessions with professional musicians from the Edelhagen Orchestra, and sometimes

⁶¹ See *ibid.*, 108.

⁶² “Bekannte Künstler gaben sich hier die Türkinke in die Hand. So konnte man Luigi Nono, Bruno Maderna oder den berühmten Flötisten Severino Gazzelloni begegnen, dem übrigens kein Geringerer als Eric Dolphy ein Stück gewidmet hat.” Manfred Schoof, “Kölner Musikstudent sein und was danach kommt,” in *Campiana: Ein Stück vor dem Beat – Pierluigi Campi zum 70. Geburtstag am 15. Dezember 1998*, ed. Robert von Zahn (Cologne: Verlag Dohr, 1998), 28. The composition mentioned by Schoof is entitled “Gazzelloni” and was recorded by Dolphy on February 25, 1964 on his landmark album *Out to Lunch!* As Joachim-Ernst Berendt and Günter Huesmann have stated, Dolphy’s interest “in the experimental flute playing” of Severino Gazzelloni “resulted in a fruitful mutual influence between jazz and new music: when Dolphy was in Europe, he took lessons from the Italian musician,” whereas, “in return, Gazzelloni was strongly impressed by the rhythmic innovations in Dolphy’s flute improvisations.” Joachim-Ernst Berendt and Günter Huesmann, *The Jazz Book: From Ragtime to the 21st Century*, translated by H. and B. Bredigkeit (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2009), 352.

even with traveling US musicians such as Ray Brown or Percy Heath.⁶³ As Schoof has remarked regarding this learning experience, “That was a big thing for us. This is where the Edelhagen musicians showed us the ‘changes’ of the pieces that we very much wanted to play and helped us enormously. Thereby, our level improved very quickly.”⁶⁴

In 1959 Schoof met saxophonist Gerd Dudek, who joined the Schoof-Schlippenbach circle in the following year, thereby prefiguring the Manfred Schoof Quintet’s mid-1960s lineup. Dudek was born on September 23, 1938 in Groß Döbern in Upper Silesia.⁶⁵ At the age of ten he and his family moved to Siegen in West Germany. Fascinated by Benny Goodman’s 1938 *Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert*, Dudek began to learn the clarinet as a twelve-year-old. He taught himself the alto saxophone at the age of fourteen and began to receive formal music lessons shortly after, which provided him with a strong grounding in music theory. Dudek soon joined the big band of his brother and trumpeter Oswald “Ossi” Dudek, who later became a member of the radio network Sender Freies Berlin (SFB) or Radio Free Berlin Big Band. By age eighteen Dudek decided to pursue a professional career in music and took up the tenor saxophone. Performing in the Norddeutscher Rundfunk Jazz Workshop series, he played alongside African American expatriates Kenny Clarke and Oscar Pettiford on November 14, 1958.

Dudek joined the Berlin Jazz Quintet and occasionally substituted for Heinz Sauer in Albert Mangelsdorff’s Quintet, at that time arguably Germany’s most renowned jazz group. In

⁶³ See Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 128.

⁶⁴ “Das war eine große Sache für uns. Die Edelhagen-Musiker zeigten uns hier die ‘changes’ von den Stücken, die wir gerne spielen wollten, und halfen uns unheimlich. Dadurch hat sich unser Niveau auch sehr schnell verbessert.” Ibid.

⁶⁵ For a biographical sketch of Dudek, see Hans-Jürgen von Osterhausen, “Gerd Dudek: Kontrollierte Getaltung von Energie-und Klangstrukturen,” *Jazz Podium* 48, no. 5, May 1999, 12-15.

February 1960 Dudek became the youngest member of Kurt Edelhagen's orchestra.⁶⁶ Schoof remembers meeting Dudek at the Hamburg jazz club Barrett, where he attended one of the Berlin Jazz Quintet's performances, and was considering joining the group after its trumpeter Conny Jackel had left. As Schoof recalls regarding his first encounter with Dudek, "He played like Stan Getz at that time, exactly like Stan Getz. You couldn't tell a difference and with the same technique as well. Totally awesome, without any technical problems, which is still the case with him today."⁶⁷ Adopting the hard bop idiom popularized by groups such as Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers and the Horace Silver Quintet, during the early 1960s the Schoof/Schlippenbach circle would often perform under the name "Cologne Jazz Cookers" in local clubs and in Munich.⁶⁸ As Schoof remembers regarding the group's contemporaneous impact, "We were well received, had awesome arrangements and to some extent our own pieces. It wasn't free jazz yet but something along those lines. We were all wearing a red pullover and folks were astonished."⁶⁹

Meanwhile Schoof and Schlippenbach began to engage with the new sounds of Ornette Coleman, Cecil Taylor, and John Coltrane. As Schlippenbach recalls: "We were always after the newest records and always bought what came newly from America. We already knew what would come next. There was a record store that was very knowledgeable and we were eager

⁶⁶ See Klaus Hübner, "Gerd Dudek: Leben und Gegenwart," *Jazzthetik*, no. 10, October 2008, 13.

⁶⁷ "Der spielte damals wie Stan Getz, genau wie Stan Getz. Man konnte keinen Unterschied feststellen, auch mit der gleichen Technik. Wahnsinnig, also ohne Probleme bei irgendwas, was heute noch der Fall ist bei ihm." Schoof, interview with the author, November 26, 2010.

⁶⁸ See Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 131.

⁶⁹ "Wir kamen gut an, hatte tolle Arrangements und zum Teil schon eigenen Stücke. Es war noch kein Free Jazz, aber so etwas in diese Richtung. Wir hatten alle einen roten Pullover an, und die Leute staunten." Ibid.

about new information, what was going on because that was the time. And then there was this talk: ‘Yes, yes. They are so far out.’ Back then the progressives and the old-fashioned already split.”⁷⁰

Of major significance to both Schoof and Schlippenbach was a series of critically important recordings made by Coleman for Atlantic Records between 1959 and 1961, including *The Shape of Jazz to Come* and *Free Jazz*, which as Schlippenbach has remarked, “back then, stoned as ravens, we listened to endlessly.”⁷¹ By the early 1960s Coleman’s groundbreaking innovations had received ample coverage in German jazz periodicals. Coleman’s extended 1959-1960 residencies at the Five Spot Café in New York were covered at length by critics Joachim-Ernst Berendt and Eric T. Vogel, and they singled out the saxophonist as the most important voice to emerge from what was then commonly referred to as the “new thing.” For instance, in a 1960 *Jazz Podium* review of Coleman’s *The Shape of Jazz to Come*, Vogel asserted that on his Atlantic debut the saxophonist “revealed himself as the new, great jazz talent.”⁷² Accordingly, in a 1963 article Teddy H. Leyh referred to Coleman as “perhaps the most important” enunciator of new forms.⁷³

⁷⁰ “Wir waren ja immer hinter den neuesten Platten her und haben dann immer gekauft, was aus Amerika neu kam. Wir wussten schon, das kommt jetzt demnächst. Es gab da so einen Plattenladen, der wusste gut Bescheid, und wir waren gierig auf diese Informationen, was denn so Neues passierte, weil das war die Zeit. Da wurde so geredet: ‘Ja, ja. Die sind ja so far out.’ Da spalteten sich damals schon die Progressiven und die Altmodischen.” Schlippenbach, interview with the author, March 3, 2011.

⁷¹ “Die wir damals, stoned wie die Raben, unzählige Male gehört haben.” Alexander von Schlippenbach, “Free Jazz,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 3 (May-June 1979): 244.

⁷² “Offenbart sich auf dieser Platte als das neue, große Jazztalent.” Eric T. Vogel, review of Ornette Coleman's recording *The Shape of Jazz to Come*, *Jazz Podium* 9, no. 1, January 1960, 22.

⁷³ “Vielleicht den wichtigsten.” Teddy H. Leyh, “Kritisches Mosaik,” *Jazz Podium* 12, no.4, April, 1963, 81.

For Schlippenbach and Schoof the methods, concepts, and practices associated with Coleman's ensembles became nothing less than a catalyst for the emergence of their own musical ideas. As Schlippenbach has elaborated in terms of Coleman's landmark Atlantic recordings:

We listened to it, and then we discovered rather soon that especially with Ornette Coleman on his old Atlantic recordings, even if formally, it sometimes still moved within these cycles, it was concerned at most only to a limited extent with the conventional harmony that lay underneath the standards, but not in any real sense. That was already a new way of dealing with things more freely. And, of course, that took us away automatically from the imitation of those standard chord changes, and it provided us with more space for our own ideas. Before that we had tried to follow the jazz cliché as best as we could. We retained the pulse, the rhythmic one, but we were able to move more freely and got completely different ideas. For starters there were those short themes that Coleman did. We also tried to invent them ourselves. We always called that booster detonation. Moving on from a strong motive, a movement, or whatever it may be, therefore a theme in the old sense but not implicitly bound by stylistics in the old sense.⁷⁴

For Schoof, his examination of the functional principles associated with the various groups led by Coleman for his Atlantic recordings was also crucial. He remembers the transformative impact of Coleman's music as follows:

It happened pretty quickly that we played a piece by Ornette Coleman for the first time. That was in the year of 1962, I believe...At that time the first compositions surfaced in Europe, probably through musicians and through word of mouth. We played that, started to listen attentively, and it became clear to us pretty quickly that this music affords European musicians a possibility, a space in which to realize and expand one's own

⁷⁴ "Wir haben das gehört und haben dann ziemlich bald festgestellt, dass das, zumal bei Ornette Coleman bei den alten Atlantic-Aufnahmen, wenn es auch formal manchmal noch in diesen Perioden sich bewegte, es doch mit der konventionellen Harmonik, die den Standards unterlegt waren, allenfalls mal bedingt was zu tun hatte, aber nicht im eigentlichen Sinne. Das war schon eine neue Art, die Dinge freier zu behandeln. Und das hat uns natürlich schon automatisch von der Imitation dieser Standard Changes weggebracht und gab uns mehr Raum auch für eigene Ideen. Vorher haben wir immer irgendwo versucht, das Jazzklischee so gut zu bedienen, wie wir konnten. Wir haben den Pulse also beibehalten, den rhythmischen, aber konnten uns freier bewegen und kamen auf ganz andere Ideen. Erstmal waren es diese kurzen Themen, die Coleman machte. Die haben wir auch selber mal versucht, zu erfinden. Wir nannten das immer eine Initialzündung. Von dort aus weitergehen, von einem starken Motiv oder einer Bewegung, einem Tempo, was auch immer, ein Thema also im alten Sinne, aber nicht innerhalb einer Stilistik im alten Sinne verpflichtet unbedingt." Schlippenbach, interview with the author, March 3, 2011.

music concept that was after all bound substantially closer to European traditions of music in order to seek and find an individual mode of expression.⁷⁵

Both Schoof's and Schlippenbach's experiences attest to the centrality of African American experimentalism, which in a seemingly paradoxical fashion would become an enabler for the emergence of a distinctive pan-European concept of free jazz. At the same time, as Ekkehard Jost has argued, "free jazz has brought European musicians not only freedom from traditional standards of jazz improvisation, but also freedom from the tutelage of American jazz."⁷⁶

Of great significance for Schlippenbach's aesthetic and historical self-placement was his intellectual engagement with early twentieth-century modernism, especially the music and thought of Schoenberg. As Schlippenbach has related: "We listened to string quartets by Bartók. 'Pierrot Lunaire' affected us like a drug. The term 'atonality,' objectionable in a Schoenbergian sense, was the magic word. A veritable pandemonium of new sounds, forms, and rhythms had opened up and afforded those who snapped at the chance and were lucky to find likeminded people an overabundance of creative possibilities."⁷⁷

The significance of Schoenberg's thought on Schlippenbach's ideas were also raised in a 1978 interview in which the latter stated, "For instance, I am a big follower of Schoenberg. I

⁷⁵ "Dann ging's aber doch ziemlich schnell, dass wir zum ersten Mal ein Stück von Ornette Coleman gespielt haben. Das war im Jahr 1962, glaube ich... In dieser Zeit tauchten die ersten Kompositionen wahrscheinlich über Musiker, über Mundpropaganda, in Europa auf. Wir haben das gespielt, wurden hellhörig und ziemlich schnell wurde uns klar, das ist eine Musik, die bietet für die europäischen Musiker eine Möglichkeit, Raum, das eigene Musikverständnis, das ja doch wesentlich stärker noch an europäische Musiktraditionen gebunden war, zu realisieren, zu erweitern, um eine eigene Ausdrucksmöglichkeit zu suchen und zu finden." Schoof, interview with the author, November 26, 2010.

⁷⁶ Ekkehard Jost, *Free Jazz* (New York: Da Capo Press, [1974] 1994), 12.

⁷⁷ "Streichquartette von Bartók wurden gehört, der 'Pierrot Lunaire' wirkte wie eine Droge. Der im Schönbergschen Sinne unzulässige Terminus 'Atonalität' war das Zauberwort. Ein wahres Pandämonium neuer Klänge, Formen und Rhythmen hatte sich aufgetan und bot denen, die zufaßten und das Glück hatten, Gleichgesinnte zu finden, eine Fülle schöpferischer Möglichkeiten." Schlippenbach, *Free Jazz*, 244.

studied his theory of harmony and frequently listened to his works, and read his texts, which impressed me greatly and which certainly influenced me in my practical work.”⁷⁸

Arguably one of the most significant ideas Schlippenbach borrowed from Schoenberg was the notion of what Peter Watson has referred to as “inherent historical necessity.”⁷⁹ Drawing upon a pervasive trope of nineteenth-century philosophy of history, Schoenberg had utilized this idea strategically in order to legitimize his innovations, such as his breakthrough into the realm of free chromaticism between 1907 and 1909. For instance, in a foreword to a concert that took place on January 14, 1910 in which Schoenberg’s *Gurrelieder* (*Songs of Gurre*) were performed alongside the song cycle *Das Buch der hängenden Gärten* (*The Book of Hanging Gardens*), the composer anticipated the resistance towards his newest work: “I feel how hotly even the least of temperaments will rise in revolt, and suspect that even those who have so far believed in me will not want to acknowledge the necessity of this development.”⁸⁰

It was precisely Schoenberg’s evolutionary notion of historical inevitability that Schlippenbach would transfer to the context of 1960s jazz by construing the moment in which European improvisers found themselves as analogous to that of Austro-German modernist

⁷⁸ “Ich bin z. B. ein großer Anhänger von Schönberg. Ich habe seine Harmonielehre studiert, seine Werke sehr oft gehört und seine Texte gelesen, die mich sehr stark beeindruckt haben, die mich sicherlich auch in meiner praktischen Arbeit beeinflusst haben. Storb, “Fragen an Alexander von Schlippenbach,” 4.

⁷⁹ Peter Watson, *Ideas: A History of Thought and Invention, from Fire to Freud* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006), 322.

⁸⁰ Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 78. As Schoenberg scholar Joseph Auner has asserted: “Schoenberg justified the revolutionary elements of his music in part by arguing that he was driven by historical necessity to synthesize the two paths in nineteenth-century music represented by Brahms and Wagner, and thus to bring about the next stage in the Austro-German tradition. He identified the Brahmsian features in works like his String Quartet No. 2 in F# Minor. Op. 10 (1908) as the use of traditional forms and an emphasis on polyphony and contrapuntal devices. Most important was the technique he called ‘developing variation,’ which implies a logical process by which the components of a theme or motive are elaborated to produce both unity and variety, with each transformation building on the previous stage.” Joseph Auner, *Music in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2013), 46.

composers during the early twentieth century. In a 1979 article written for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* Schlippenbach elaborated on the notion of an assumed evolutionary logic underlying jazz history:

Free jazz is not, as frequently and willingly asserted, a transient style of the Sixties. In fact its origins at the beginning of the past decade mark an evolutionary turning point for jazz from an evolutionary point of view that is of the highest importance, comparable for instance to the significance of the Viennese School for the further course of the development of occidental art music since the beginning of our century. The comparison is permissible since similar processes from, as the phrase goes, 'tendencies of the material,' have led to those evolutionary processes, and not a rebellious stance, as is often prematurely assumed with regard to the contemporaneous worldwide emerging student movement.⁸¹

By invoking the aesthetic authority of Schoenberg and Adorno, whose notion of the "tendency of the musical material" had been instrumental in arguing for a single line of development in terms of musical modernism represented by the Second Viennese School, Schlippenbach sought to legitimize not only the historical validity of free jazz as such but especially the European free jazz movement. Given Adorno's well-known antipathy to jazz that had been known to jazz fans via the 1953 *Merkur* debate between Adorno and Berendt, Schlippenbach's reference to the former's line of thought was not devoid of a certain irony.

The construct of free jazz's historical emergence as analogous to the emergence of the Second Viennese School's atonality also allowed Schlippenbach to disavow the music's discursive framing as oppositional in a socio-political sense. In doing so, he was moreover able to distinguish himself aesthetically from Wuppertal-based improvisers such as Brötzmann and

⁸¹ "Free Jazz ist nicht, wie häufig und gerne behauptet wird, ein vorübergegangener Stil der 60er Jahre. Seine Anfänge zu Beginn des vergangenen Jahrzehnts markieren vielmehr einen für den Jazz entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Wendepunkt von höchster Bedeutung, vergleichbar etwa der Bedeutung der Wiener Schule für den weiteren Verlauf der Entwicklung abendländischer Kunstmusik seit Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts. Der Vergleich ist erlaubt, weil ähnliche Vorgänge aus den, wie man so schön sagt, 'Tendenzen des Materials' heraus zu den evolutionären Prozessen geführt haben und nicht etwa eine Protesthaltung, wie oftmals im Hinblick auf die gleichzeitig weltweit entstehende studentische Bewegung voreilig angenommen wird." Schlippenbach, "Free Jazz," 244.

Kowald, who emphasized free music's socio-political implications. Schlippenbach's reasoning opened up the possibility for white European musicians to insert themselves into the historical narrative of a music in which they were deemed marginal at most. At the same time his ideas also exemplified what scholar Heike Raphael-Hernandez has denoted as "a black American/black diasporic, European/white European hybridity" that provided a way for European improvisers to reaffirm their place in European intellectual and cultural history despite their adoption of a perceived "foreign" music.⁸²

For Schlippenbach, the harmonic innovations associated with the bebop and cool jazz movements had already prefigured the sounds of 1960s free jazz. Bypassing musical elements such as melody, rhythm, and timbre, he maintained that with bebop "through substantially strengthened chromaticism the notion of harmony was altered," a feature for which he viewed Bud Powell's frequent use of tone clusters as emblematic.⁸³ Schlippenbach regarded Lennie Tristano's 1949 recording "Intuition" as an "early monument of a language emancipated from functional harmony, keys, and meters."⁸⁴ He also asserted that with Tristano's 1953 solo recording "Descent into the Maelstrom," "everything is already there that eventually unfolded so stunningly with Cecil Taylor."⁸⁵ The emergence of Coleman's "sensational quartet" on the music scene signaled that things "had come full circle for the first time."⁸⁶

⁸² Heike Raphael-Hernandez, "Introduction: Making the African American Experience Primary," in *Blackening Europe: The American Presence*, ed. Heike Raphael-Hernandez (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3.

⁸³ "Wesentlich verstärkte Chromatik der Harmoniebegriff gewandelt." Schlippenbach, "Free Jazz," 244.

⁸⁴ "Frühes Mahnmal einer von Funktionsharmonik, Tonarten und Metren befreiten Sprache." Ibid.

⁸⁵ "Ist schon alles da, was später bei Cecil Taylor so überwältigend zur Entfaltung gekommen ist." Ibid.

⁸⁶ "Sensationellen Quartett... hatte sich der Kreis zum ersten Mal geschlossen." Ibid.

In 1963 Schlippenbach joined the quintet of multi-instrumentalist Gunter Hampel, who during the second half of the 1960s would establish sense himself as one of the key figures of the European free jazz movement. Born on August 31, 1937 in Göttingen, Hampel received piano lessons at the age of five, and later, instruction on various reed instruments before he learned to play the vibraphone in 1952. By 1958 he was leading his own professional group to critical acclaim, and in the fall of 1963 his quintet, which by then included Schlippenbach and Pierre Courbois, participated in performances of Gershwin's musical *Girl Crazy* at the Düsseldorf Schauspielhaus. In August of the following year Hampel's quintet, which by now included Schoof and Niebergall, performed at the International Jazz Festival at Comblain-la-Tour in Belgium, where Hampel was presented as "le Mozart du Jazz."

On January 30, 1965, through the initiative of Berendt the Gunter Hampel Quintet recorded the album *Heartplants* for the independent record label SABA.⁸⁷ Berendt also became the supervisor of the label's newly established jazz series. As Hurley has maintained, "Berendt's intention as a supervisor of the jazz series was to record and promote musicians who had been overlooked by the commercial labels or who were at the beginning of their careers."⁸⁸ Moreover, according to Hurley, "Saba was responsible for increasing the international exposure of German (and European) jazz during the 1960s."⁸⁹ The establishment of SABA's jazz series took place in the context of an increasing interest of major record labels such as CBS, Brunswick, and Philips, who, beginning in 1963, respectively started recording leading German jazz groups. Among the recordings produced for the above major labels in 1963 were *Tension* by the Albert Mangelsdorff

⁸⁷ Gunter Hampel, *Heartplants* (SABA POCJ-2672, [1965] 1999), compact disc.

⁸⁸ Hurley, *The Return of Jazz*, 85.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 84.

Quintet (CBS), the Michael Naura Quintet's *European Jazz Sounds* (Brunswick), and *Jazz Made in Germany* by the Klaus Doldinger Quartet (Philips).⁹⁰

The pursuance of a European jazz identity, of which the above productions and especially the titles of Naura's and Doldinger's albums were clearly emblematic, point to a crisis-laden self-image on the part of post-war German jazz musicians. Already in a 1962 article, Berendt had faced the this moment of crisis squarely by stating in unmistakable terms, "The white jazz musician's situation is hopeless. It has never been as hopeless as today."⁹¹ For Berendt the entire history of jazz in the US boiled down to a contention between black and white musicians. In his reading, in the past white musicians had perfected the major innovations predominantly created by black musicians and thereby had become more successful. However, by the late 1950 and early 1960s the situation had decisively changed in that "also the things that up to now had been a specialty of whites lie exclusively or almost exclusively with Negroes."⁹² Berendt exemplified this in terms of the most recent developments associated with the "new thing" and the significance of what he denoted as "abstraction": "Black musicians such as Charlie Mingus, Ornette Coleman or Eric Dolphy abstract in such a vital and self-evident fashion that was impossible for white musicians, who only a few years ago abstracted by experimenting. White

⁹⁰ I am indebted to independent jazz historian and Schlippenbach scholar Klaus Kürvers for bringing this information to my attention. Doldinger's *Jazz made in Germany*, which predominantly featured compositions by US musicians was released in the US as *Dig Doldinger!* Albert Mangelsdorff, *Tension* (CBS 62336, 1963), vinyl recording; Michael Naura, *European Jazz Sounds* (Atelier Sawano AS 052, [1963] 2005), compact disc; Klaus Doldinger, *Jazz Made in Germany* (Philips P 48 024 L, 1963), vinyl disc.

⁹¹ "Die Situation des weißen Jazzmusikers ist verzweifelt. Sie war noch nie so verzweifelt wie heute." Joachim-Ernst Berendt, "Schwarz contra Weiß," *Jazz-Echo*, May 1962, 40.

⁹² "Auch die Dinge, die bisher eine Spezialität der Weißen waren, liegen jetzt ausschließlich oder nahezu ausschließlich bei den Negern." Ibid.

musicians forfeited expressiveness and vitality when they abstracted. Blacks retain them.”⁹³

Echoing the contemporaneous charges of “Crow Jim” voiced by some white US critics and musicians against alleged racism and self-segregation on the part of African American musicians, Berendt asserted that due to the fact that “not only the major developments but also the minor tendencies in jazz of the past few years have been clearly established as ‘black.’”⁹⁴ He therefore contended “the white musicians have now got the complex that back then the black ones had.”⁹⁵

While Berendt in the above article confined his discussions of the perceived racial dynamic that decisively shaped jazz to the US context, the issues he raised were by no means irrelevant to white European jazz musicians. Highly revealing in terms of the attempts of white European jazz musicians to move beyond the moment of crisis identified by Berendt is a 1963 *Jazz Podium* article, written by Albert Mangelsdorff on the occasion of the release of *Tensions*, in which he stated: “Of course, among colored people the feeling for swing, for rhythmic intensity and tension can be found more frequently and is in any case more highly developed than with Europeans or among America’s average white population. That is also the reason why there are more and most of the time better colored musicians than white ones.”⁹⁶ As Mangelsdorff

⁹³ “Schwarze Musiker, wie Charlie Mingus, Ornette Coleman oder Eric Dolphy, abstrahieren auf so vitale, selbstverständliche Weise, wie es den weißen Musikern, die noch vor wenigen Jahren abstrahierten, indem sie experimentierten, nicht möglich war. Die weißen Musiker verloren Expressivität und Vitalität, wenn sie abstrahierten. Die Schwarzen bewahren sie.” Ibid.

⁹⁴ “Nicht nur die großen Entwicklungen, sondern auch die kleineren Tendenzen im Jazz der letzten Jahre eindeutig auf ‘schwarz’ festgelegt.” Ibid., 41.

⁹⁵ “Die weißen Musiker bekommen jetzt den Komplex, den damals die schwarzen hatten.” Ibid.

⁹⁶ “Natürlich ist bei Farbigen das Gefühl für Swing, für rhythmische Intensität und Spannung häufiger zu finden und auf alle Fälle starker ausgeprägt als beim Europäer oder dem Durchschnitt der weißen Bevölkerung Amerikas. Das

stated, US jazz musicians' main criticism leveled against their European counterparts was a lack of originality. Mangelsdorff concurred with this assessment by stating, "too few European musicians are anxious to develop a distinct creative personality, which means to really emancipate themselves from patterned thinking and to take advantage of the freedoms accorded to them by jazz."⁹⁷ He therefore suggested ameliorating this perceived insufficiency, asserting that despite all the admiration for "American colleagues' masterful accomplishments" one had to be mindful "that above all one should express one's own personality, one's own conception of jazz."⁹⁸

European jazz musicians during the mid-1960s therefore found themselves in a peculiar situation since their attempts to catch up with the latest developments took place against a discursive backdrop that rendered free jazz as an essentially black musical practice. The twofold identity crisis that emanated from this situation was the result of the superimposition of two distinctive yet interrelated factors. On the one hand, European jazz musicians sought to break free from the musical conventions associated with the mainstream of US jazz by catching up with the innovations of the first wave of free jazz musicians. On the other hand, they could not allow themselves to be pulled too much into the gravitational field of their African American

ist auch der Grund warum es mehr und meistens bessere farbige Musiker gibt als weiße." Horst Lippmann and Albert Mangelsdorff, "Langersehnter Startschuss: Horst Lippmann beginnt CBS-Plattenserie mit deutschen Musikern," *Jazz Podium* 12, no. 10, October 1963, 211.

⁹⁷ "Zu wenige europäische Musiker darauf bedacht sind, eine eigene schöpferische Persönlichkeit zu entwickeln, d.h., sich wirklich von Schablonevorstellungen [sic] frei zu machen und die Freiheiten zu nützen, die ihnen der Jazz bietet." Ibid.

⁹⁸ "Meisterliche Leistungen amerikanischer Kollegen... daß man in erster Linie seine eigene Persönlichkeit, seine eigene Konzeption des Jazz musikalisch ausdrücken soll." Ibid.

spiritual fathers, since they ultimately sought to overcome their epigonal phase and therefore to come into their own artistically.

The notion of a distinct European version of free jazz, which Berendt began to promote by 1965, seemed to offer a way out of this crisis. Hampel's album *Heartplants* became of major significance for this endeavor. In his liner notes Berendt construed Hampel's album as signaling nothing less than the hour of birth of a new European jazz. For Berendt, the Hampel Quintet was exceptional in that it not only "has provided the main German contribution to avant-garde jazz during the past few years" but "it does not do this in the way numberless European musicians simply copy the latest American rave."⁹⁹ Starting with the premise that "the dissolution of tonality" affecting contemporaneous jazz provided the toughest challenge "in the history of modern jazz, and perhaps of all jazz," he asserted that Hampel's group "is working – as no other German ensemble - towards a solution of this problem."¹⁰⁰ For Berendt, who framed his ideas solely in terms of a US-Europe binary opposition, Schoof and Schlippenbach above all had decisively contributed to the music's perceived Europeanness:

Gunter Hampel's music is absolutely "un-American." It is drenched in the European tradition – the thought tradition. "Cogito ergo sum." That has nothing to do with intellectual calculus. Count von Schlippenbach's piano playing is brim full of romanticisms. Schumann and Chopin have, as it were, been pinned down. Manfred Schoof's trumpet sings as though it were singing **Lieder**, with a clear, lyrical ton [sic] like a Bach counter-trumpet, but then suddenly bursting forth into Hubbard-like fire. Out of the chaos of "Iron Conceptions" [sic] we imagine we hear an old chorale.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Joachim-Ernst Berendt, liner notes to *Heartplants*, translated by Nigel Whittaker, Gunter Hampel recording, SABA 150 26 ST, vinyl recording, 1965.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

While Berendt's attempt to construe the music's Europeanness by overstating its assumed grounding in the European classical tradition seems fairly obvious, it is less clear how drawing on romanticism and Bach might contribute to addressing the salient issue of the dissolution of tonality. Perhaps even more puzzling is Berendt's reference to African American trumpet virtuoso Freddie Hubbard with regard to Schoof in the context of the music's alleged "un-American" nature.

Berendt's characterization of Heartplants as "un-American" sat uncomfortably with US critic Bill Mathieu, who in a *Down Beat* review stated squarely, "I find Hampel's music to be archetypically eclectic. If these German musicians are distinctive, it is not because they have arrived at a unique musical personality but because they have developed an easy fluidity among many current styles of American jazz."¹⁰²

Shortly upon the release of *Heartplants*, Berendt's intensified his journalistic endeavors regarding the project of a self-reliant European and German jazz. In a 1966 article he stated unambiguously, "This is one the most important outcomes within the development of jazz in recent years: European jazz stands on its own feet and has something to say of its own."¹⁰³ A few months later he sought to highlight the historical significance of the album for the project of a distinctive German jazz by musing, "Perhaps we already really have a distinctive kind of 'Free Jazz – made in Germany.' I think we have it more pronouncedly than ever before in any other

¹⁰² Bill Mathieu, review of *Heartplants*, Gunter Hampel recording, *Down Beat*, February 10, 1966, 31.

¹⁰³ "Das ist eines der wichtigsten Ergebnisse in der Jazzentwicklung der letzten Jahre: Der europäische Jazz steht auf eigenen Füßen und hat Eigenes zu sagen." Joachim-Ernst Berendt, "Europas Jazz formt sein Gesicht: Ist Jazz in Deutschland anders als in Polen, Schweden oder anderswo?," *Twen*, no. 3, March 1966, 106.

jazz style even though my colleague Bill Mathieu cast a doubt on that in a Down Beat review of the Gunter Hampel Quintet.”¹⁰⁴

Things eventually came full circle in Berendt’s 1977 “Emancipation” article. Sidestepping the work of Jamaican-born alto saxophonist Joe Harriott, who had pioneered what he denoted as “free form” music in the UK as early as 1960, Berendt elaborated on the perceived exceptional significance of *Heartplants*: “It was the first German and generally European free jazz record, the record, which revealed to a wider audience that a new European jazz had emerged.”¹⁰⁵

In a 1978 essay entitled “European Jazz Avantgarde - Where Will Emancipation Lead?” Jost examined Berendt’s assertions regarding the relative importance of *Heartplants* for the emergence of European free jazz. Challenging Berendt’s historicization, Jost argued the record “presents Free Jazz as harmonic-metrical, consequently ‘free’ interaction music only in one piece, in *Iron Perception* by Schlippenbach.”¹⁰⁶ As Jost elaborated:

The other pieces are influenced by various stylistic levels of “Modern Jazz,” much less representing a synthesis than a concurrence of diverse structural patterns, including modal structures as initiated by Coltrane/Davis during the Milestones-phase (*Heartplants* and *Our Chant*) as well as free tonal lines à la George Russell (*No Arrows*) and even reminiscences of the beauty-sound-aesthetics of the Modern Jazz Quartet (*Without Me*).

¹⁰⁴ “Vielleicht haben wir wirklich schon eine eigene Art von ‘Free Jazz – made in Germany.’ Ich denke wir haben sie ausgeprägter als je zuvor in irgendeinem anderen Jazz-Stil, obwohl mein Kollege Bill Mathieu das in einer Down Beat-Kritik des Gunter Hampel Quintetts bezweifelt.” Joachim-Ernst Berendt, “Das gibt es: Free Jazz – made in Germany,” *Twen*, no. 8, August 1966, 8.

¹⁰⁵ “Es war die erste deutsche - und überhaupt europäische - Free Jazz-Platte: die Platte, die zum ersten Mal für ein größeres Publikum offenbar machte, daß ein neuer europäischer Jazz entstanden war.” Berendt, *Ein Fenster aus Jazz*, 215.

¹⁰⁶ Ekkehard Jost, “European Jazz Avantgarde: Where Will Emancipation Lead?,” Translator unknown, http://www.fmp-label.de/freemusicproduction/labelsspecialeditions/forexample_Jost_en.html.

And although all this is sporadically blended i.e. interlaced with more or less extensive Free Jazz eruptions, one could hardly call it a truly original style.¹⁰⁷

For Jost, the album was transitional in character, and therefore “marked a first hesitant step within a gradual process of detachment,” whereby “the notion ‘detachment’ means less the American Jazz itself than its traditional procedures of making music.”¹⁰⁸

In July and August 1965 the Gunter Hampel Quintet had a month-long engagement at the Blue Note in Paris, where they shared the bill with African American drummer and bebop pioneer Kenny Clarke’s quintet. The residence provided the members of Hampel’s ensemble with the opportunity to hear and meet Don Cherry, who was performing at the Quarter Latin jazz club Chat qui Pêche. By the end of 1964, Cherry had formed an international quintet, which consisted of musicians drawn from the reservoir that made up the club’s house band, such as German pianist and vibraphonist Karl Berger, French bassist Jean-François Jenny-Clark, and Italian drummer Aldo Romano in addition to Argentine saxophonist Gato Barbieri.¹⁰⁹ The encounter with Cherry and the music performed by his quintet left a deep impression on Schoof and Schlippenbach. Furthermore, Schoof’s first meeting with Cherry proved significant in another manner. Schoof recalls being in an awkward situation, as he was without a trumpet for his Blue Note engagement after leaving his instrument at a bar the night before. He then turned to Cherry: “I had to go the job in the evening and then I asked Don Cherry and he sold me, for very little money, one of his cornets. Henceforth I played cornet for a long time.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ For the only studio recording featuring the above lineup, see Don Cherry, *Togetherness* (Durium ms A 77127, 1966), vinyl recording.

Cherry, whom Schoof has referred to as “for me a very important human being,” would soon become an important reference in terms of a form of structural organization utilized first by Hampel’s group and then eventually by Schoof’s own quintet.¹¹¹ For Jost Cherry’s mid-1960s music is characterized by “a central idea,” namely that “monothematic pieces are dropped and several thematic complexes are integrated into a suite whose ‘movements,’ while clearly identifiable thanks to their contrasted thematic material, are linked with one another.”¹¹² Cherry’s idea soon began to inform the music of Hampel’s group. As Schlippenbach remembers regarding the impact of Cherry’s group on Hampel’s quintet, “Already toward the end of the ‘Blue Note’ engagement (Summer 1965) with this quintet we proceeded according to the model of Don Cherry (whom we had heard back then a couple of times at the ‘Chat qui pêche’) to merge composed sections, solos, and collective improvisations.”¹¹³

In October 1965 Schoof, Schlippenbach, and Niebergall left Hampel’s quintet, and together with Gerd Dudek and Jaki Liebezeit formed the Manfred Schoof Quintet. Dudek had quit Edelhagen’s orchestra in August 1964 and had done his first forays into free-form playing during jam sessions with bassist Barre Phillips and drummer Stu Martin. Liebezeit had returned from Spain where he had worked with Tete Montoliu, Chet Baker, and Kenny Drew; an

¹¹⁰ “Ich musste abends zum Job gehen und habe dann Don Cherry gefragt. Dann hat er mir, ich glaube für ganz kleines Geld, eines von seinen Kornetten verkauft. Von da ab habe ich ziemlich lang Kornett gespielt.” Schoof, interview with the author, November 26, 2010.

¹¹¹ “Ein ganz wichtiger Mensch für mich.” Ibid.

¹¹² Jost, *Free Jazz*, 141.

¹¹³ “Wir gingen schon mit diesem Quintett gegen Ende des ‘Blue Note’ Engagements (Sommer 1965) dazu über, nach dem Beispiel Don Cherrys (den wir damals ein paarmal im ‘Chat qui pêche’ gehört hatten) die komponierten Teile, Soli und Kollektivimprovisationen ineinander fließen zu lassen.” “Zwanzig Fragen an Alexander von Schlippenbach,” *Sounds*, no. 3, Summer 1967, 10.

opportunity for Schoof to join the band of Woody Herman, whom the trumpeter had met in Paris through Kenny Clarke, had not materialized due to work authorization issues.

The Schoof Quintet began rehearsing in mid-October at a Marburg jazz club and shortly after started performing at local clubs in various cities in West Germany. Highly revelatory with regard to the ensemble's self-conception is a 1966 *Jazz Podium* conversation, in which Schoof, Schlippenbach, and Niebergall discussed their respective ideas in terms of aesthetic and historical self-positioning. Schoof began by stating, "We proceeded to combine various pieces without a break. Don Cherry also attempted this in Paris. It is not a matter of a potpourri, instead this performance practice verges on symphonic form. Everything merges into a grand form."¹¹⁴ Taking a cue from Schlippenbach, who referred to Coleman as the "figurehead of jazz avant-garde," Schoof asserted, "Of course, we are influenced by Coleman but we preferably want to stay independent and reach our own results. Out of the collaboration of us five musicians, who play almost exclusively music that grows out of our own ranks, arose the musical result that we can relate to and that we can offer."¹¹⁵

Schoof's remarks are emblematic of the seemingly irresolvable tension between the acknowledgment of their indebtedness to African American spiritual fathers such as Coleman and Cherry and the desire for a stable European jazz identity. Moreover, the reference to Coleman points to deep-seated ambiguities surrounding the projected notion of a distinctive

¹¹⁴ "Wir sind dazu übergegangen, verschiedene Stücke ohne Pause miteinander zu verbinden. Don Cherry hat das in Paris auch versucht. Es handelt sich dabei nicht um ein Potpourri, vielmehr nähert sich diese Spielpraxis der symphonischen Form, alles fließt in eine Großform zusammen." "'Own Thing': Drei vom Manfred Schoof Quintett in einem JP Gespräch," *Jazz Podium* 15, no. 3, March 1966, 67.

¹¹⁵ "Die Bugfigur der Jazz Avantgarde"... "Natürlich sind wir von Coleman beeinflusst, aber wir wollen doch möglichst unabhängig bleiben und zu eigenen Resultaten gelangen. Aus der Zusammenarbeit von uns fünf Musikern, die wir fast ausschließlich eine Musik spielen, die aus unseren Reihen herauswächst, ergab sich das musikalische Resultat, mit dem wir uns identifizieren und das wir jetzt zu bieten haben." *Ibid.*, 68.

European free jazz that is analogous to the workings of Harold Bloom's notion of intrapoetic anxiety of influence.¹¹⁶ In this sense, what prompted a reorientation of what it meant to be a European jazz musician during the mid-1960s was not so much a response to African American claims of cultural ownership but the result of the idea that too close a proximity to African American experimentalism would render their music as derivative and therefore preclude European improvisers from coming into their own and achieving true originality.

Accordingly, in a 1966-67 *Sounds* interview Schoof elaborated on the centrality of the issue of musical self-discovery: "We want to break away from clichés and role models. We no longer want to be epigones. Our goal is to come up with our own style, so that each of us becomes a musical personality. That is why we preferably play original compositions, in which we can realize our full potential better."¹¹⁷

On May 2, 1966 the Schoof Quintet recorded its first album *Voices* for CBS.¹¹⁸ The record was produced by the influential concert promoter Horst Lippmann, the founder of the German Jazz Festival in Frankfurt and co-owner of the concert agency Lippmann + Rau, who brought many important jazz, blues, and rock musicians to West Germany. The day before the recording session the Schoof Quintet performed for the first time in front of a large audience at

¹¹⁶ For the notion of anxiety of influence, see Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, [1973] 1997). For musical studies that have employed Bloom's theory, see Joseph N. Straus, "The 'Anxiety of Influence' in Twentieth-Century Music," *The Journal of Musicology*, 9, no. 4 (Autumn 1991), 430-447; and Kevin Korsyn, "Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence," in *Musical Analysis*, 10, no. 1/2 (Mar. – Jul. 1991), 3-72.

¹¹⁷ "Wir wollen uns von den Klischees und Vorbildern lösen. Wir wollen keine Epigonen mehr sein. Unser Ziel ist, zu einem eigenen Stil zu kommen, so daß jeder von un seine musikalische Persönlichkeit wird. Deswegen spielen wir auch möglichst eigenen Kompositionen, in denen wir uns besser verwirklichen können." Kaiser, "Interview mit Manfred Schoof," *Sounds*, no. 1, Winter 1966/67, 14.

¹¹⁸ Manfred Schoof, *Voices* (Bellaphon CDLR 710528, [1966] 2008), compact disc.

the 10th German Jazz Festival. The performance, which was broadcast by various state-funded radio networks, provided the group with a breakthrough. In a concert review, *Jazz Podium* editor Dieter Zimmerle compared Schoof's group to Don Cherry's quintet, attesting that they had "a similar presence."¹¹⁹ In his liner notes for *Voices* Lippmann sought to dissociate Schoof's music from the US free jazz movement and to reposition it thusly:

Listening to it superficially, the Schoof Quintet could be related to free jazz. But the music which is performed is more than only "free in order to be free." It plays freely within chosen themes; freely within a framework of a strict formal structure in the current of a composition; or also in the stringing together of originally independent compositions to achieve a higher overall concept. It is the kind of music which could find its origin here in Europe because it breaks through standards in order to find a new form of freedom.¹²⁰

Of major significance in terms of the pursuance of a pan-European jazz identity became the pronounced embrace of the European classical tradition and contemporaneous new music embodied by Zimmermann on the part of Schoof. As he remembers:

There was, I believe, for a start of course this awareness that we are Europeans, and we have the opportunity to be epigones no longer because we do have our European tradition that impacts us much stronger than the Americans, who live under completely different circumstances and in different situations, who have to think differently because they are not subsidized...At our Musikhochschule we have always listened to and lived with the entire classical realm. And I would say again, that is where Zimmermann helped us with his thought, the encounters with him, with his talk, and so forth. We read books about the theory of harmony by Schoenberg and all of that had some influence on it. Eventually that gave us the awareness that we said this is how we reach our identity.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ "Eine ähnliche Ausstrahlung." Dieter Zimmerle, "Resümee eines Jubiläums: Zum 10. Mal Deutsches Jazz Festival," *Jazz Podium* 15, no. 6, 1966, 152.

¹²⁰ Horst Lippmann, liner notes to *Voices*, Manfred Schoof recording (CBS 62621, 1966), vinyl recording.

¹²¹ "Das war, glaube ich, einmal natürlich das Bewusstsein, dass man sich sagte, wir sind Europäer, und wir haben hier die Chance, nicht mehr Epigonen zu sein, weil wir ja unsere europäische Tradition haben, die viel stärker ist, als sie wirkt auf die Amerikaner, die unter ganz anderen Umständen leben, in ganz anderen Verhältnissen, die ganz anders denken müssen, die nicht subventioniert sind...Wir haben in unserer Musikhochschule den ganzen klassischen Bereich ständig mitgehört, mitgelebt. Und ich würde da immer wieder sagen, da hat uns der

Schoof's working out of the centrality of the European classical tradition for the emergence of a European free jazz sensibility, which he has perceived as a distinguishing characteristic, would form one the most pervasive tropes surrounding European free jazz for decades to come. For instance, music historian Robert von Zahn has identified the Schoof Quintet's "strong attachment to European music history and at the same time to the avant-garde" as an enabler of European jazz's emancipation.¹²² As Zahn has asserted, "Whereas many American musicians perceived jazz's past as a burden and repudiated European-informed art music for musical, social as well as political-emancipatory reasons, most European musicians were aware of historical and stylistic contexts, particularly the Zimmermann-informed Cologne musicians."¹²³ Only recently, music journalist Christoph Wagner has stated the perceived difference between European and US free jazz concepts in a similar fashion: "In the merging of experimental compositional practice and free improvisation was the decisive difference with radical jazz in the US, who, as abstract as it was, in the final analysis was always rooted in the black tradition of blues, gospel, and New Orleans jazz."¹²⁴

Zimmermann eben geholfen mit seinem Denken, mit seinen Begegnungen mit ihm, mit seinem Reden und so. Wir lasen Bücher über die Harmonielehre von Schönberg, und das alles ist da eingeflossen. Und das gab uns dann irgendwann das Bewusstsein, dass wir gesagt haben, dadurch finden wir zu unserer Identität." Schoof, interview with the author, November 26, 2010.

¹²² "Starke Bindung...an die europäische Musikgeschichte und gleichzeitig an die Avantgarde." Zahn, *Jazz in Köln*, 146.

¹²³ "Während viele amerikanische Musiker die Vergangenheit des Jazz geradezu als Ballast empfanden und europäisch geprägte Kunstmusik aus musikalischen, sozialen und auch politisch-emanzipatorischen Gründen ablehnten, waren sich die meisten Musiker Europas der historischen und stilistischen Kontexte bewußt, zumal die Zimmermann-geprägten Musiker." Ibid.

¹²⁴ "In der Zusammenführung von experimenteller Kompositionspraxis und freier Improvisation lag der entscheidende Unterschied zum radikalen Jazz in den USA, der - so abstrakt er auch war - letztlich immer in der schwarzen Tradition von Blues, Gospel und New Orleans-Jazz wurzelte." Wagner, *Der Klang der Revolte*, 130.

In both Zahn's and Wagner's readings, African American free jazz musicians are construed as being cut off from pan-European musical knowledge and therefore bound by a narrowly defined tradition of black music. In doing so, Zahn and Wagner extended a line of thought put forth by Berendt, who, as George E. Lewis has pointed out, already in 1976 "asserted that the European improviser 'knows his Stockhausen and his Ligeti more closely than any of his American colleagues.'"¹²⁵

Whereas for Zahn these limitations resulted from self-imposed ideological blinders, in Wagner's reading African American musicians experience their musical tradition as a black hole whose gravitational pull they are ultimately incapable of escaping from. Of course, both readings are at variance with the experiences of jazz-identified African American experimentalists, whose sustained engagement with European musical concept, methods, and practices are well known. A necessarily incomplete list of these musicians would have to include George Russell, who studied with Stefan Wolpe, Andrew Hill, who received music lessons from Paul Hindemith, Eric Dolphy, who, as previously mentioned, not only studied with Severino Gazzelloni but was also a strong advocate of the European avant-garde. As trumpeter Lester Bowie, a member of the Art Ensemble of Chicago, which on the 1970 soundtrack album *Les Stances a Sophie* included two compositions entitled "Variations sur une Theme de Monteverdi" put it succinctly, "We're free to express ourselves in any so-called idiom, to draw from any source, to deny any limitation. We weren't restricted to bebop, free jazz, Dixieland, theater or poetry. We could put it all together. We could sequence it any way we felt like it. It was entirely up to us."¹²⁶

¹²⁵ George E. Lewis, "Gittin' To Know Y'all," <http://www.criticalimprov.com/article/view/6/14>.

¹²⁶ Quoted in Lincoln T. Beauchamp, Jr., ed., *Art Ensemble of Chicago: Great Black Music: Ancient to the Future* (Chicago: Art Ensemble of Chicago, 1998), 46.

What is at work in both Zahn's and Wagner's readings is the deployment of a discourse of limitation on the part of African American musicians, contrasted with a discourse of possibility on the part of their European counterparts, where the latter are construed as being capable of drawing upon various musical traditions. What is being advanced here is a convenient narrative of European jazz exceptionalism that is predicated upon black subjects' lack of mobility in terms of musical methods, concepts, and practices. Ultimately, at work here is, as Lewis has asserted, "the dominant culture's generally high levels of investment in white positional diversity, with its complementary disinvestment in black positionality."¹²⁷

In a 1966 article Berendt identified the Schoof Quintet as "the leading free jazz group in Germany."¹²⁸ By October 1966, Schoof's group began to perform at major European festivals such as the International Jazz Festival in Prague, the Woche der leichten Musik (Week of Light Music) in Stuttgart, Jazz à Juan in Antibes, and the Montreux Jazz Festival. Articulations by Schoof emphasizing the self-reliant nature of European free jazz notwithstanding, between March and April, 1967 the Schoof Quintet added Don Cherry as soloist during performances in various European cities such as Prague, Brno, and Munich.

The extent to which segments of the critical establishment found fault with the Schoof Quintet's new sounds was voiced unmistakably in a review of the group's performance at the 3rd International Jazz Festival in Prague, published in the East German music periodical *Melodie und Rhythmus*: "What the avant-garde Schoof Quintet (West Germany) presented exceeded the

¹²⁷ George E. Lewis, "Afterword to 'Improvised Music After 1950': The Changing Same," in *The Other Side of Nowhere: Jazz, Improvisation, and Communities in Dialogue*, ed. Daniel Fischlin and Ajay Heble (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 166.

¹²⁸ "Führende freie Jazzgruppe in Deutschland." Berendt, "Das gibt es: Free Jazz made in Germany," *Twen*, no. 8, August 1966, 8.

normal level of what is auditorily ascertainable by far. Abstruse playing past each other and not with each other. Is that still jazz? It transgresses the limits of the grotesque, caricature, and buffoonery if, for example, pianist von Schlippenbach, with the help of elbows and fists, turns the upright piano into a percussion instrument. For whom is music being played here?"¹²⁹

In a 1966-67 *Sounds* review, editor-in-chief Rainer Blome challenged assertions regarding the Schoof Quintet's self-reliance. In his review of the October 20 "New Action Jazz 1966" performance, which was part of a concert series organized by the previously mentioned New Jazz Artists' Guild, Blome emphasized what he perceived as the derivative nature of the Schoof Quintet's musical practices. For Blome, the members of Schoof's group were under the spell of the Cecil Taylor Unit, which had performed four days prior to the New Action Jazz event for the first time in Germany, at the Woche der leichten Musik (Week of Light Music) in Stuttgart. As Blome observed:

The five Cologne musicians still must have been under the spell of Cecil Taylor since they played like a reproduction of his from Stuttgart. They had brought a box full of little instruments that could have been taken from Cecil Taylor's catalog, starting with Tibetan bell chains. And Alexander von Schlippenbach exactly exemplified the cluster techniques with two overlapping hands that he had seen four days earlier with Cecil Taylor. Of course, he also had prepared the piano.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ "Was das avantgardistische Manfred-Schoof-Quintett (Westdeutschland) bot, ging über den normalen Grad des gehörmäßig Erfassbaren weit hinaus. Abstruses Neben- und nicht Miteinandermusizieren, ist das noch Jazz? Es überschreitet die Grenzen der Groteske, Karikatur und Clownerie, wenn beispielsweise der Pianist von Schlippenbach den Flügel mit Hilfe seiner Ellenbogen und Fäuste zum Schlaginstrument macht. Für wen wird hier musiziert?" "Altmeister Rex Stewart in Prag: Melodie und Rhythmus berichtet vom 3. Internationalen Jazz-Festival," *Melodie und Rhythmus*, no. 23, 1966, 24.

¹³⁰ "Die fünf Kölner Musiker müssen noch immer im Banne von Cecil Taylor gestanden haben, denn sie spielten wie eine Reproduktion von ihm aus Stuttgart. Sie hatten sich eine Kiste voller Geräuschinstrumente mitgebracht, die dem Cecil Taylor Katalog entnommen sein konnten, bis hin zur tibetanischen Glockenkette. Und Alexander von Schlippenbach exemplifizierte genau die Clustertechniken mit zwei übereinanderliegenden Händen, die er vier Tage zuvor bei Cecil Taylor gesehen hatte. Natürlich hatte er auch das Piano präpariert." Blome, "Heimatfront," *Sounds*, no. 1, Winter 1966/67, 40.

Whereas segments of Weimar era musicologists and critics during the 1920s were aghast by the incorporation of jazz-identified elements by Austro-German modernist composers such as Krenek, Hindemith, and Schulhoff, it was now the embrace of advanced compositional techniques on the part of German improvisers and composers such as Schoof and Schlippenbach that was viewed not only as transgressive but as ultimately threatening to the music's vital functions. Arguably the most far-reaching reservations against Schoof's music were voiced in a 1966 review of his quintet's performance at the Nuremberg Jazz Ost-West Festival. For critic Karl Heinz Nass, in the final analysis, the quintet's engagement with contemporaneous compositional techniques represented a threat to the well-being of jazz. Unlike the performance of Dutch pianist and composer Misha Mengelberg's ensemble, which for Nass bore a resemblance to slapstick comedy, with the members of the Schoof Quintet there could be no doubt regarding the "sincerity of their intentions."¹³¹ As Nass cautioned, however, "Even if they took a path that hopefully jazz won't pursue (since it would merge with new music and thereby become redundant) one has to certify their good intentions, as well as the skills to put their musical intentions into action."¹³²

Beginning in 1965, Schoof's and Schlippenbach's studies with Zimmermann spawned a series of collaborations that lasted until 1969. This series included Zimmermann's only completed opera *Die Soldaten (The Soldiers)*, music written for Elias Canetti's radio play *Die Befristeten (The Numbered)*, the ballet *Musique pour les soupers du Roi Ubu*, and *Requiem für*

¹³¹ "Aufrichtigkeit ihrer Intentionen." Karl Heinz Nass, "Anatomie eines Festivals," *Jazz Podium* 15, no. 11, November 1966, 301.

¹³² "Und wenn sie auch einen Weg eingeschlagen haben, auf dem ihnen der Jazz hoffentlich nicht folgen wird (weil er dann mit der Neuen Musik verschmelzen und dadurch überflüssig werden würde), so ist ihnen doch sowohl die beste Absicht als auch die Fähigkeit zu attestieren, ihre musikalische Absicht in die Tat umzusetzen." Ibid.

einen jungen Dichter (Requiem for a Young Poet). Furthermore, in 1969 Schoof performed Zimmermann's trumpet concerto *Nobody knows de trouble I see. Medea*, a projected second opera in which Zimmermann envisioned a crucial role for Schoof, could not be completed, as the composer took his own life on August 10, 1970.

As Schlippenbach remembers about their collaborations with Zimmermann, "Then it was just so that he had this interest in jazz, and he knew that is what we do. And then he had a few new pieces in which he wanted to have jazz improvisers, as he saw them, and he inserted something. And back then he added us then with the Schoof Quintet."¹³³ As Schoof sees it, the composer became "a kind of interested fatherly friend of our clique," but the flow of idea between Zimmermann and the trumpeter's quintet was by no means unilinear.¹³⁴ "Zimmermann already watched us and above all, I believe, he of course noticed this fascination that emanated from this improvised music and from this freedom that young musicians whose credo it was exuded. He noticed that, of course, and he viewed it, I believe, simply as an enrichment of his own work," observes Schoof.¹³⁵

In *Die Soldaten* Zimmermann treated jazz as one of many stylistic-idiomatic layers within the pluralistic compositional method he had devised. In the second act's first scene a jazz group, which according to Hans Kumpf was originally scored for clarinet, trumpet, guitar, and

¹³³ "Und dann war es eben so, dass er dieses Interesse für Jazz hatte und er wusste, dass wir das machen. Und dann hat er ein paar neue Stücke gehabt, in denen er Jazzimprovisatoren, so wie er sie sah, haben wollte und irgendetwas eingearbeitet hat. Und dann hat er damals uns mit dem Schoof Quintett dazu genommen." Schlippenbach, interview with the author, March 3, 2011.

¹³⁴ "So eine Art interessierte(n), väterliche(n) Freund unserer Clique." Quoted in Jörn Peter Hiekel, *Bernd Alois Zimmermanns Requiem für einen jungen Dichter* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), 197.

¹³⁵ "Zimmermann hat uns da schon irgendwie beobachtet. Und vor allen Dingen hat er, glaube ich, diese Faszination, die von dieser improvisierten Musik ausging und von dieser Freiheit, die diese jungen Jazzmusiker ausgestrahlt haben, die deren Credo war, natürlich irgendwo beachtet und hat es, glaube ich, einfach als Bereicherung für seine Arbeit gesehen." Schoof, interview with the author, November 26, 2010.

bass, appears on stage in order to accompany a female Andalusian dancer.¹³⁶ In his stage directions Zimmermann required that “exclusively jazz musicians are to be charged with the performance of the music for the scene.”¹³⁷ Deploying sonic signifiers, such as the walking bass in 4/4 but falling short of providing them with space to improvise, the musicians according to Kumpf “mostly have to execute lines in jazz intonation, which in their simplicity are in contrast to the complex opera’s rhythm.”¹³⁸

In 1966 Zimmermann wrote the music for a radio realization of *Die Befristeten*, which was recorded by the Schoof Quintet for a WDR production on July 8, 1966 and broadcast for the first time on November 9, 1966.¹³⁹ Written as a dramatic play in 1956 but unpublished until 1964, in his play Canetti presented a utopian society, in which the social contract is based on each member’s allocation of definitive life spans. In this social system, in which pacification is achieved through an assumed management of death social status is directly derived from allocated life expectancy. As German studies scholar Helga Kraft has asserted, in this play “Canetti tackles the basic trauma of human beings: they know that they will die, and fear death throughout life.”¹⁴⁰ Zimmermann scholar Klaus Ebbeke has remarked, “Zimmermann’s

¹³⁶ See Hans Kumpf, *Postserielle Musik und Free Jazz: Wechselwirkungen und Parallelen: Berichte – Analysen – Werkstattgespräche* (Rohrdorf: Rohrdorfer Musikverlag, [1976] 1981), 77.

¹³⁷ “Es sind ausschließlich Jazzmusiker mit der Durchführung der Szenen-Musik zu beauftragen.” Quoted in Kumpf, *Postserielle Musik*, 77.

¹³⁸ “Müssen meist Linien, die sich durch ihre Simplität von dem sonst so komplexen Rhythmus der Oper abheben, in Jazz-Intonation ausführen.” Ibid.

¹³⁹ See Ebbeke, “*Sprachfindung*,” 66.

¹⁴⁰ Helga Kraft, “Staging a Critique of Modernism: Elias Canetti’s Plays,” in *A Companion to the Works of Elias Canetti*, ed. Dagmar C. G. Lorenz (Woodbridge: Camden House, 2004), 151.

compositions had the function of separating specific scenes designed by the principle of ‘black out’ as well as providing certain scenes with a sonic background.”¹⁴¹

This was arguably the most significant example of Zimmermann’s collaboration with the Schoof Quintet and of his engagement with post-1950s jazz concepts. As Hans Kumpf has argued, “Zimmermann worked out a successful fusion between the two music genres only with ‘Die Befristeten,’ which primarily gains life and charisma through a jazz ensemble’s adequate and energetic reading.”¹⁴² Schoof has emphasized the work’s integral character for Zimmermann’s late works:

For me the most obvious was the music for a radio play by Elias Canetti, *Die Befristeten* and that was really incredibly intensive and that is where he [Zimmermann] recreated our improvisations. Thus he wrote something that we also could have done and it became fully clear to us that he could not have continued his compositional work without jazz music, therefore that essentially jazz music and in a certain sense through our work with him had been very much transplanted into his music.¹⁴³

In 1967 Zimmermann composed a second version entitled *Die Befristeten: Ode an Eleutheria in Form eines Totentanzes*, which was recorded in the same year by the Schoof Quintet for the record label WERGO.¹⁴⁴ As Klaus Ebbeke has emphasized, this composition

¹⁴¹ “Zimmermanns Kompositionen haben dort sowohl die Funktion, die einzelnen nach dem Prinzip des ‘blackout’ gestalteten Szenen voneinander zu trennen, als auch bestimmte Dialoge mit einem Klanghintergrund zu versehen.” Ebbeke, “*Sprachfindung*,” 66.

¹⁴² “Eine geglückte Verbindung der beiden Musikarten gelang Zimmermann erst mit ‘Die Befristeten’, welche aber auch primär von der adäquaten und vitalen Interpretation durch ein Jazz-Ensemble zum Leben und zu einer Ausstrahlungskraft kommen.” Kumpf, *Postserielle Musik*, 78.

¹⁴³ “Was also für mich am augenscheinlichsten war, das war diese Musik zu einem Hörspiel von Elias Canetti, *Die Befristeten*, und das war wirklich unglaublich intensiv, und da hat er unsere Improvisationen irgendwo nachempfunden. Er hat was geschrieben, was wir auch hätten machen können, und da war für uns völlig klar, dass er ohne die Jazzmusik seine kompositorische Arbeit nicht weiter so fortsetzen konnte, also dass die Jazzmusik doch im wesentlichen und in gewissem Sinne durch unsere Arbeit mit ihm sich sehr in seiner Musik verpflanzt hatte.” Schoof, interview with the author, November 26, 2010.

“was conceived specifically for the Wergo album and was not intended by the composer to be performed in concert as a recital piece.”¹⁴⁵

Established in 1962 by art historian Werner Goldschmidt and musicologist Helmut Kirchmayer, the record label WERGO and especially its *studio-reihe neuer musik* (*studio series new music*) has been of critical importance for the recording and documentation of twentieth-century avant-garde and experimental musics. By 1967 Goldschmidt had established the short-lived WERGO Jazz Series, which spawned the eponymously titled *Manfred Schoof Sextett* (1967), *Gunter Hampel Group + Jeanne Lee* (1969), and *Pierre Favre Quartett* (1970) recordings.¹⁴⁶

Music scholar Jörn Peter Hiekel has remarked with respect to this second version of *Die Befristeten* that “the acoustic pattern, which the composer – in close cooperation with Manfred Schoof – inaugurated seems influenced in equal measure by the climate of cool jazz as by the expressivity of free jazz.”¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, Ebbeke has suggested that “the stylistically far-reaching turn,” associated with this composition and representative of Zimmermann’s last phase

¹⁴⁴ Bernd Alois Zimmermann, *Die Befristeten: Ode an Eleutheria in Form eines Totentanzes aus der Musik zum Hörspiel “Die Befristeten” von Elias Canetti/Improvisationen über die Jazz-Episode aus dem II. Akt 2. Szene der Oper “Die Soldaten”/Tratto: Komposition für elektronische Klänge in Form einer choreographischen Studie* (1966) (WERGO WER 60031, 1967), vinyl recording.

¹⁴⁵ “Wurde eigens für die Wergo-Schallplatte konzipiert und war vom Komponisten nicht als ein im Konzert auszuführendes Vortragsstück gedacht.” Ebbeke, “*Sprachfindung*,” 66.

¹⁴⁶ Manfred Schoof, *Manfred Schoof Sextett* (WERGO WER 80003, 1967), vinyl recording; Gunter Hampel and Jeanne Lee, *Gunter Hampel Group + Jeanne Lee* (WERGO WER 80001, 1969), vinyl recording; Pierre Favre, *Pierre Favre Quartett* (WERGO WER 80004, 1970), vinyl recording.

¹⁴⁷ “Scheint das Klangbild, das der Komponist – in enger Zusammenarbeit mit Manfred Schoof – inaugurierte, gleichermaßen vom Klima des Cool-Jazz wie von der Expressivität des Free-Jazz beeinflusst.” Hiekel, Bernd Alois Zimmermanns *Requiem für einen jungen Dichter*, 197.

of engagement with jazz, “may externally be explained by the fact that Schoof put him in touch with the newest varieties of jazz.”¹⁴⁸

Zimmermann’s late 1960s engagement with contemporaneous jazz concepts, methods, and practices was reflected in his comments on *Die Befristeten*, which was published in a booklet that accompanied the WERGO album. As a point of departure Zimmermann sought to come to terms with the question of why contemporaneous composers, who did not hail from jazz, were with very few exceptions fascinated by it. Asserting that the distinction between art music and jazz had become invalid, he suggested this fascination might be attributed to the music’s perceived “unspent energy,” which “possibly characterizes authentic jazz to a greater extent than music that aims to suggest ‘unspent energy’ under the occasionally illusionary designation ‘new music.’”¹⁴⁹ Zimmermann observed that in recent years attempts towards a convergence between jazz and new music had been made, as “there are jazz musicians who play new music and avant-garde musicians who play jazz.”¹⁵⁰ He therefore argued that the right time for an encounter between jazz and art-identified musics had come: “In the so-called post-serialist phase of new music methods have been developed (or, if you wish, have been revived), which provide improvisation or aleatorics with the space that jazz absolutely is in need of in order to be able to

¹⁴⁸ “Die auch stilistisch einschneidende Wende mag äußerlich durch die Tatsache erklärt werden, daß Manfred Schoof...ihn mit der [sic] neueren Spielarten des Jazz bekannt machte.” Ebbeke, “*Sprachfindung*,” 65.

¹⁴⁹ “Unverbrauchtheit...der den originären Jazz womöglich in größeren Umfänge zu kennzeichnen vermag als eine Musik, die ‘Unverbrauchtheit’ unter der gelegentlich illusionären Bezeichnung ‘neue Musik’ zu suggerieren vermag.” Bernd Alois Zimmermann, “Kommentare zu ‘Die Befristeten’,” *Die Befristeten: Ode an Eleutheria in Form eines Totentanzes aus der Musik zum Hörspiel ‘Die Befristeten’ von Elias Canetti/Improvisationen über die Jazz-Episode aus dem II. Akt 2. Szene der Oper ‘Die Soldaten’/Tratto: Komposition für elektronische Klänge in Form einer choreographischen Studie*, Bernd Alois Zimmermann recording (WERGO WER 60031, 1967), vinyl recording.

¹⁵⁰ “Es gibt Jazzer, die neue Musik machen, und Avantgardisten, die Jazz machen.” Ibid.

be certain of itself. Thereby it seems possible to deepen jazz's realms of form and expression substantially and to enlist it for services hitherto reserved entirely for so-called art music."¹⁵¹

Of central concern for Zimmermann was the on-going problem of how to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the necessity of improvisatory freedoms associated with post-1950s jazz practices and the demand to retain control over the faithful realization of the composer's work represented in the score. He described the solution that he deployed in *Die Befristeten*:

Thus, I was occupied with the question of how, on the one hand, one could leave enough space for the jazz musician's improvisation, each player's idiom (which leaves its particular imprint since the musician expresses himself to a high degree, up to the autistic) without, however, on the other hand, letting the actual composition slip away. This question was all the more important since the players were not provided with the usual kind of improvisatory options: motives, themes, standards, for which certain models of improvisation – no matter which kind – were available. Rather, the point was that the jazz musicians got under way according to more or less determined musical facts, such as above all: formal structures, temporal proportions, pitches, timbres, (register, positions, embouchure), and performance instructions (according to various facts), namely in such a way that the compositionally fixed and, within the delineated framework, the improvisatory free interpenetrate, complement each other and alternate with one another.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ "In der sogenannten postseriellen Phase der neuen Musik sind Verfahren ausgearbeitet (oder, wenn man so will, wieder lebendig geworden), die der Improvisation oder Aleatorik jenen Raum geben, dessen der Jazz unbedingt bedarf, um seiner gewiß sein zu können: damit erscheint es möglich, Form- und Ausdrucksbereich des Jazz wesentlich zu vertiefen und für Aufgaben heranzuziehen, die bisher lediglich der sogenannten Kunstmusik vorbehalten waren." Ibid.

¹⁵² "So beschäftigte mich die Frage, wie man auf der einen Seite der Improvisation der Jazzer, dem Idiom jedes Spielers, (das ja gerade dadurch seine besondere Prägung erhält, weil der Spieler sich in hohem Maße selbst ausdrückt: bis zum Autismus) genügend Raum lassen konnte, ohne jedoch auf der anderen Seite die eigentliche Komposition aus der Hand zu geben. Diese Frage war umso wichtiger, da ja den Spielern nicht Improvisationsmöglichkeiten der üblichen Art zur Verfügung gestellt wurden: Motive, Themen, Evergreens, für die gewisse Improvisationsmodelle – welcher Art auch immer – verfügbar waren, sondern es ging vielmehr darum, dass sich die Jazzer um mehr oder weniger festgelegte musikalische Fakten, wie vor allem: formale Strukturen, Zeitproportionen, Tonhöhen, Klangfarben (Register, Lagen, Ansatz) und Spielvorschriften in Bewegung bringen sollten (um diverse Fakten herum), und zwar dergestalt, daß sich kompositorisch Festes und in beschriebenem Rahmen improvisatorisch Freies gegenseitig durchdringen, ergänzen, abwechseln." Ibid.

Whereas Zimmermann's statements suggest that he viewed this work as emblematic of a delicate balance between predefinition and freedom, the Schoof Quintet's subsequent performances can be read as attempts to widen the space afforded for improvisation.

For instance, as Kumpf has stated, during a 1970 performance of *Die Befristeten* the Schoof Quintet's "musicians did not adhere exactly to the pitches and durations determined by Zimmermann."¹⁵³ According to Kumpf, "to them an absolute faithful reading seemed secondary for them; above all the music's atmosphere was important."¹⁵⁴

In a 1974 *Jazz Podium* blindfold test, Kumpf confronted composer Helmut Lachenmann with the music of various important US and European free jazz proponents such as Coleman, Coltrane, Taylor, Brötzmann, Schoof, and composers Zimmermann and Hans-Joachim Hespos, who both collaborated with experimental jazz musicians. The choice of Lachenmann seemed apt since, as Kumpf stated, Lachenmann "also had some practical experience with jazz," which he had performed and recorded with guitarist Complesso Garatti's group while studying in Venice with Luigi Nono between 1958 and 1960.¹⁵⁵ Among the recordings played for Lachenmann was the Schoof Quintet's recording of *Introduzione I* from *Die Befristeten*. Post-1950s jazz practices' renunciation of harmonic, rhythmic, and structural patterns notwithstanding, Lachenmann saw the music as in need of liberation: "Here is where I see something, whereby jazz gets out of its prison, in which it is situated in terms of sound and its entire character into other experiences,

¹⁵³ "Hielten sich die Musiker nicht exakt an die von Zimmermann fixierten Tonhöhen und Dauern." Kumpf, *Postserielle Musik und Free Jazz*, 79.

¹⁵⁴ "Ihnen schien eine absolut werkgetreue Interpretation zweitrangig zu sein, für sie war vor allem die Atmosphäre dieser Musik wichtig." Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ "Hat er auch etwas praktische Erfahrung mit Jazz." Hans Kumpf, "Plattentest mit Helmut Lachenmann," *Jazz Podium* 23, no. 10, October 1974, 20.

without losing its identity. The players become aware of the elements they utilize and look at them a little bit.”¹⁵⁶

In 1966 Schlippenbach received a commission from RIAS, a US-owned and Berlin-based radio and TV network, and Joachim-Ernst Berendt. At that time Berendt was the artistic director of Berlin Jazz Days, while RIAS was one of the festival’s main sponsors. For the 1966 festival’s opening concert, Berendt had a meeting between jazz and new music in mind, “namely from the two possible points of departure: from concert music and from jazz.”¹⁵⁷ He therefore suggested that Schlippenbach partake in a collaborative composition with Boris Blacher, conceived for two string quartets and jazz soloists, to be performed at the 1966 Berlin Jazz Days.¹⁵⁸ However, Schlippenbach had something altogether different in mind and came up with a counterproposal: “At that moment I had very strong ideas about what to do with a larger group, and I immediately briefed Berendt and asked him if he could picture it and if one could champion it, since I was certain that this would be something interesting and new.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ “Hier sehe ich so etwas, wodurch der Jazz aus seinem Gefängnis, im dem er sich vom Klang und vom Typ her befindet, herausgelangt in andere Erfahrungen, ohne daß er gleich sein Gesicht aufgeben muß. Die Spieler werden sich hier der Elemente bewußt, die sie benützen, und schauen die so ein bißchen an.” Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ “Und zwar von beiden möglichen Ausgangspunkten her: von der Konzertmusik und vom Jazz.” “Zum 1. Konzert,” Programmheft der Berliner Jazztage, 1966, 3.

¹⁵⁸ See Noglik, *Jazzwerkstatt International*, 102.

¹⁵⁹ “Ich hatte aber gerade da zu diesem Zeitpunkt sehr starke Vorstellungen, was man mal mit einer größeren Gruppe machen könnte und habe sofort den Berendt informiert und ihn gebeten, dass er sich das vielleicht vorstellen könnte und man sich dafür einsetzen könnte, denn, da wäre ich ganz sicher, dass es was Interessantes, Neues wäre.” Schlippenbach, interview with the author, March 3, 2011. Blacher, at that time president of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, realized RIAS’s commission and wrote *Improvisation über Plus Minus Eins*, a piece for string quartet and jazz soloists Carmell Jones and Leo Wright, both Berlin-based African American expatriates. Blacher’s piece premiered during the Berlin Jazz Day’s 1966 opening concert and was widely dismissed by the critical establishment.

Convinced by Schlippenbach's idea to compose a piece for a large free jazz ensemble, Berendt accepted the counterproposal. By the time Schlippenbach received the commission, both he and Schoof had been toying with the idea of creating a free jazz orchestra for some time. Accordingly, Schoof asserted in a 1966 *Jazz Podium* conversation: "The new jazz music is not tied to a certain lineup. What has emerged in the smaller group can be transferred to larger orchestras. That can even be very interesting, and we also toy with the idea of putting together a larger orchestra to try out which sonic possibilities can result from that. We definitely think it's feasible to extend our kind of music to a larger formation."¹⁶⁰

Among the free jazz ensembles that emerged during the mid-1960s in West Germany, Schlippenbach was especially impressed with the Peter Brötzmann Trio, which at that time besides Kowald included drummer Mani Neumeier. Retrospectively, Schlippenbach felt that he had identified "a new gesture of dramatic veracity of making music, which perhaps was given expression in the most radical fashion with Brötzmann."¹⁶¹

Beginning in July 1966 Brötzmann's trio and the Schoof Quintet already performed side by side in the context of concerts organized by the New Jazz Artists' Guild and occasionally also performed as an octet. As Brötzmann remembers regarding the recognition he received from his academically-trained peers Schoof and Schlippenbach in the wake of his February 1966 Paris performances with Don Cherry: "After I came back from Paris the guys got a bit more interested

¹⁶⁰ "Die neue Jazzmusik ist nicht an eine bestimmte Besetzung gebunden. Was sich in der kleineren Gruppe entwickelt hat, kann auf größere Klangkörper übertragen werden. Das kann sogar sehr interessant sein, und auch wir spielen mit dem Gedanken, ein größeres Orchester zusammenzustellen, um auszuprobieren, welche klanglichen Möglichkeiten sich daraus ergeben können. Wir halten es also durchaus für realisierbar, unsere Art von Musik auf eine größere Formation auszudehnen." "Own Thing," *Jazz Podium* 15, no. 3, March 1966, 69.

¹⁶¹ "Einen neuen Gestus dramatischer Wahrhaftigkeit des Musizierens, der vielleicht bei Brötzmann am radikalsten zum Ausdruck kam." Schlippenbach, "Free Jazz," 245.

and we got together. We organized concerts for the two groups in Cologne and we did our thing in Wuppertal. Out of that, I think, the Globe Unity Orchestra was organized.”¹⁶²

Whereas “the Manfred Schoof Quintet and the Peter Brötzmann Trio provided, as it were, a double nucleus of ‘Globe Unity,’” Schlippenbach added suitable European musicians, such as Gunter Hampel, Willem Breuker, trumpeter Claude Deron, baritone saxophonist Kris Wanders, trombonist Horst Gmeinwieser, and tubaist Willi Lietzmann.¹⁶³ The establishment of Schlippenbach’s large ensemble was preceded by various attempts in the US to transfer methods, concepts, and practices associated with free jazz to an orchestral framework. Among the critically important recordings in this regard were Coltrane’s two versions of *Ascension* (1965), Sun Ra’s *The Heliocentric Worlds of Sun Ra, Volume 1* (1965), and the Jazz Composer’s Orchestra’s *Communication* (1966).¹⁶⁴ The Jazz Composer’s Orchestra was of special relevance in this regard since several members of this ensemble, such as Carla Bley, Mike Mantler, and Steve Lacy, performed and recorded in Hamburg on October 29, 1965 with Austrian saxophonist Hans Koller and Hungarian guitarist Attila Zoller as part of the Norddeutscher Rundfunk’s Jazz Workshop series.

For Schlippenbach, the realization of his musical ideas was inextricably linked to a specific notion of musical personality:

¹⁶² Brötzmann, interview with the author, June 8, 2011.

¹⁶³ Alexander von Schlippenbach, liner notes to *Globe Unity 67 & 70*, translated by Jeb Bishop, Alexander von Schlippenbach’s Globe Unity Orchestra recording (Atavistic UMS/ALP223CD, 2001), compact disc.

¹⁶⁴ John Coltrane, *Ascension* (Impulse 543 413-2, [1965] 2000), compact disc; Sun Ra, *The Heliocentric Worlds of Sun Ra, Volume 1* (ESP Disc CD 1014, [1965] 2000), compact disc; The Jazz Composer’s Orchestra, *Communication* (Fontana 881 011 ZY, 1966), vinyl recording.

I was very lucky to be allowed to work with musicians who wholeheartedly committed themselves to the realization of my music. That was a prerequisite for the success of my project, in that the execution of particular structures was left to the performers themselves. It has turned out again and again that the execution of so-called aleatoric areas exceeds the skills of traditional orchestral musicians in a purely ancillary function by far. Many things sound et al. in the new music so bad because the orchestras don't play properly. The most crucial task for the one who directs a rehearsal as composer or conductor is to get the musicians to 'play.' Playing requires the dedication of the entire personality. Equally essential is the instantaneous bringing about of the highest concentration in the entire orchestra, which makes the performer listen to each sound so that the parts can ultimately respond to each other in their most delicate movements.¹⁶⁵

After three days of rehearsals in Cologne, Schlippenbach's 14-piece ensemble performed his composition *Globe Unity* during the Berlin Jazz Days' opening concert on November 3, 1966.

Despite the fact that Schlippenbach performed in the same concert in which the Albert Ayler Quintet made its German debut, Schlippenbach's orchestra gained by far the most media attention and notoriety, achieving a veritable *succès de scandale* and polarizing its audience in an unprecedented fashion. For critic Werner Burckhardt, *Globe Unity* was nothing less than the first instance of a successful confluence of jazz and new music concepts and practices:

The evening was dominated by those twenty minutes, which, commissioned by RIAS, Alexander von Schlippenbach had written for a 13-piece [sic] ensemble and called "Globe Unity." The amalgamation of jazz with its respective contemporaneous art music, for decades again and again an endeavor as alluring as problematic for both parts, succeeded here. The language's radicalism, the uninhibited outburst of uproar, hissing, gurgling, screaming, jumping into the listener's face, never flirts with chaos. Even in the bubbling, even in the cringing stammering-approaching gesture, one senses organization.

¹⁶⁵ "Ich hatte das große Glück, mit Musikern zusammen arbeiten zu dürfen, die sich alle voll und ganz für die Ausführung meiner Musik einsetzten. Das war für das Gelingen meines Vorhabens insofern Voraussetzung, weil die Ausführung der Einzelstrukturen zum Teil den Spielern selbst überlassen war. Es hat sich immer wieder gezeigt, daß die Ausführung sogenannter aleatorischer Flächen die Fähigkeiten des traditionellen Orchestermusikers in einer rein dienenden Funktion bei weitem übersteigt. Vieles klingt u. a. in der Neuen Musik deshalb so schlecht, weil die Orchester nicht richtig spielen. Die wesentlichste Aufgabe für den, der als Komponist oder Dirigent eine Probe leitet, ist es, die Musiker 'zum Spielen' zu bringen. Spielen verlangt den Einsatz der ganzen Persönlichkeit. Ebenso wesentlich ist die Herbeiführung von momentan höchster Konzentration im ganzen Orchester, die den Spieler dazu bringt, jedem Klang nachzuhören, so daß die Stimmen schließlich selbst in ihren feinsten Bewegungen aufeinander reagieren können." "Zwanzig Fragen an Alexander von Schlippenbach," *Sounds*, no. 3, Summer 1967, 11.

Nothing falls apart. The adventure of getting a convincing large form out of jazz succeeded here.¹⁶⁶

By way of contrast, Heinz Lukasz, writing for the tabloid *B.Z.*, referred to Schlippenbach's performance as being outside of the realm of music. In doing so, he redeployed sexualized tropes of music criticism that had been utilized by Hans Pfitzner in 1907 against Ferruccio Busoni: "When a certain Alex von Schlippenbach brought 15 [sic] musicians onstage beside himself to produce indefinable noise, there the fun stopped. Musical impotence eludes any critical standard whatsoever. Puberty issues just should not be vented in front of an assembled audience."¹⁶⁷

Through Berendt's intercession, on December 6 and 7, 1966, Schlippenbach was able to record *Globe Unity* for SABA, in addition to another composition of his entitled *Sun*.¹⁶⁸ The recording's lineup was almost identical to the ensemble's performance at the Berlin Jazz Days, with the exception of Karl Berger, who was added solely for the recording of *Sun*. Disregarding earlier ventures by ensembles such as the Jazz Composer's Orchestra, Berendt, who was also the

¹⁶⁶ "Den Abend beherrschten jene zwanzig Minuten, die Alexander von Schlippenbach im Auftrag des RIAS für ein dreizehnköpfiges [sic] Ensemble geschrieben und 'Globe Unity' genannt hatte. Die Verschmelzung des Jazz mit der jeweils zeitgenössischen Kunstmusik, seit Jahrzehnten ein für beide Teile immer wieder so verlockendes wie problematisches Unterfangen – hier ist sie gelungen. Die Radikalität der Sprache, die ungehemmten, dem Zuhörer ins Gesicht springenden Ausbrüche des Tobens, Fauchens, Gurgelns, Schreiens bündeln nie mit dem Chaos an. Noch im Brodeln noch in der aufzuckenden, dem Stammeln sich nähernden Gebärde, spürt man Organisation. Nichts bröckelt auseinander. Das Abenteuer, dem Jazz eine schlüssige Großform abzugewinnen – hier ist es bestanden." Quoted in "Berliner Jazztage: 3. bis 6. Nov. '66," *Sounds*, no. 1, Winter 1966/67, 8.

¹⁶⁷ "Als ein gewisser Alex von Schlippenbach, außer sich selbst, 15 Musiker auf die Bühne brachte, um undefinierbaren Lärm zu erzeugen, da hörte der Spaß auf. Musikalische Impotenz entzieht sich jeglichen kritischen Maßstabes. Pubertätsschwierigkeiten reagiert man nun mal nicht vor versammeltem Publikum ab." Quoted in *ibid.*, 13. For an in-depth discussion of the ideological and political underpinnings of Pfitzner's sexualized notion of "musical impotence," see John, *Musikbolschewismus*, 71-86.

¹⁶⁸ Alexander von Schlippenbach, *Globe Unity* (SABA POCJ-2698, [1967] 1999), compact disc.

recording's producer, in his liner notes referred to *Globe Unity* as “the first attempt to bring the experiences of Free Jazz to bear on a modern orchestral composition.”¹⁶⁹

By 1969 Schlippenbach and the German jazz experimentalism movement began to receive attention from US jazz critics. For instance, in a *Jazz & Pop* article entitled “A New Front: The Creative Reservoir of German Jazz Artists,” writer and producer Michael Cuscuna declared, “now a rich school of players is emerging in Germany.”¹⁷⁰ He identified “an understanding of the essence of jazz, a creativeness, a freshness in their work and an uncanny sense of form” as features distinguishing musicians such as Schlippenbach, Mangelsdorff, Hampel, Dauner, Berger, and Rolf and Joachim Kühn.¹⁷¹ For Cuscuna, Schlippenbach, “one of the most fascinating musicians,” had achieved nothing less than the creation “of the first successful new music big band.”¹⁷² Furthermore, Cuscuna asserted that the German jazz experimentalism movement had reached a critical mass that could no longer be overlooked, thereby decentering New York's role as the epicenter of jazz-identified innovations: “Germany is growing into as strong a creative center for jazz as it has been for classical music for so many eras. These musicians are proof of that for they possess the articulation, creativeness in solo and conception, idea of form and technique of the best American artists. Also, they and the wealth of

¹⁶⁹ Joachim-Ernst Berendt, Liner notes to *Globe Unity*, translated by John Wilde, Alexander von Schlippenbach recording, SABA SB 15109, vinyl recording, 1967.

¹⁷⁰ Michael Cuscuna, “A New Front: The Creative Reservoir of German Jazz Artists,” *Jazz & Pop*, no. 7, July 1969, 25.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid., 26.

talent that fills Chicago prove that New York is no longer the necessary mecca of important and fresh jazz.”¹⁷³

In September 1967 Siegfried Schmidt-Joos, editor-in-chief for the music department of the public broadcasting station Radio Bremen, established the Free Jazz Sessions, a new jazz concert series. Since the beginning of his tenure at Radio Bremen in 1959, Schmidt-Joos had been an avid advocate for jazz, and presented the Ornette Coleman Trio on December 3, 1965 at the broadcasting center. For his newly conceived concert series, which was recorded and broadcast subsequently, Schmidt-Joos invited “various new jazz musicians and groups for one night into the broadcasting center, where without any kind of preparation, regulation or time limit a mixture of new jazz jam session and happening takes place.”¹⁷⁴ Even though the sessions were officially declared as a studio production with guests, by means of a whispering campaign interested parties from throughout Northern Germany were able to attend the event.¹⁷⁵

For the first Free Jazz Session, which took place on September 9, 1967, Schmidt-Joos invited the Manfred Schoof Quintet, the Peter Brötzmann Quartet, and the trio of Swiss pianist Irène Schweizer, who with the exception of German pianist and violinist Donata Höffer, was the only female instrumentalist to emerge during the mid-1960s as part of the European free jazz movement. Schweizer was born on June 2, 1941 in Schaffhausen, where she began to learn the accordion at the age of eight. Four years later she taught herself drums and piano, and co-

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ “Verschiedene New Jazz Musiker und Gruppen eine Nacht lang ins Funkhaus ein, wo da ohne jegliche Vorbereitung, Reglementierung ode Zeitbeschränkung eine Mischung von New Jazz Jam Session und Happening stattfindet “Streiflichter,” *Sounds*, no. 4, Fall 1967, 42.

¹⁷⁵ See Manfred Miller, “Viel Lärm um nichts?: Bericht von einer Avantgarde-Session,” *Jazz Podium* 16, no. 10, October 1967, 290.

founded a Dixieland student band. Shortly after she immersed herself in the sounds of James P. Johnson, Fats Waller, and Erroll Garner. At the age of seventeen, Schweizer became fascinated with the music of Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers and the Horace Silver Quintet, and performed in the hard bop idiom with the Schaffhausen-based group Modern Jazz Preachers. A one-year long au pair visit to London provided Schweizer with the opportunity to hear the free-form music of Joe Harriott, whose quintet at that time performed regularly at Ronnie Scott's. Inspired by the trio recordings of Bill Evans and Paul Bley, in the fall of 1963 she put together her first trio, which included bassist Uli Trepte and drummer Mani Neumeier, occasionally joined by saxophonist Alex Rohr. The group would soon emulate the music of John Coltrane's "Classic Quartet" to the point of even performing some of his compositions.¹⁷⁶

Of great significance for Schweizer were her encounters with the music of South African exiles, including Abdullah Ibrahim's or, as he was known then, Dollar Brand's trio and the Blue Notes, both of which held extended residencies at Zurich's Café Africana between 1963 and 1965. The lineup of both groups included many of South Africa's foremost improvisers, such as saxophonist Dudu Pukwana, trumpeter and flautist Mongezi Feza, pianist Chris McGregor, bassist Johnny Dyani, and drummers Louis Moholo-Moholo and Makaya Ntshoko. As Schweizer remembers regarding the transformative impact on her of the Blue Notes' performances: "That was something entirely new for me, that you could play such beautiful songs, this kwela music, these beautiful African songs, so vigorously with such power...For me

¹⁷⁶ The information pertaining to Irène Schweizer's biography is derived from a personal interview that I conducted with her on February 22, 2011 in Zurich.

it was once again almost a shock and influenced me greatly.”¹⁷⁷ Schweizer and her trio frequently performed with the South African exiles in the context of jam sessions at the Café Africana. These interactions spawned a series of significant collaborations between Schweizer and respectively Dyani, Moholo-Moholo, and Ntshoko, which began between the late 1960s and the mid-1970s. As Schweizer has remarked in this regard: “The connection with black musicians was always important to me. And I’m actually incredibly proud that the black musicians play with me because that is not a given. That black and white are in a band, nowadays that is no longer an issue, but back then it wasn’t yet quite that normal at that time.”¹⁷⁸

By the mid-1960s Schweizer and her trio had begun to disengage from formative principles such as functional harmony progressions and continuous meter that had defined jazz practices by and large until the late 1950s. As Schweizer recalls about this decisive shift, which occurred during a 1965 rehearsal: “Without coordinating, it suddenly went on freely without tempo, thus without continuous beat and without harmony. Suddenly we noticed, ah, we freed ourselves wholly organically without coordinating it. Suddenly we were in the free world (laughs).”¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ “Das war für mich was ganz Neues auch, dass man so schöne Lieder, diese Kwela-Musik, diese schönen afrikanischen Lieder, so stark spielen kann mit so einer Kraft... Es war für mich nochmal fast ein Schock und hat mich sehr beeinflusst.” Irène Schweizer, interview with the author, Zurich, February 22, 2011.

¹⁷⁸ “Es war mir auch immer wichtig, also der Bezug zu den schwarzen Musikern. Und ich bin auch eigentlich wahnsinnig stolz, dass die schwarzen Musiker mit mir spielen, weil das ist auch nicht selbstverständlich. Denn, dass schwarz und weiß in einer Band sind, jetzt ist das ja kein Thema mehr, aber damals war das dann doch schon noch nicht ganz so normal zu der Zeit.” Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ “Ohne abzusprechen, ging es plötzlich frei weiter ohne Tempo, also ohne durchgehenden Beat und ohne Harmonien. Plötzlich haben wir gemerkt, ah, jetzt haben wir uns gelöst, so ganz organisch, ohne das abzusprechen. Plötzlich waren wir in der freien Welt drin (lacht).” Irène Schweizer, interview with the author, Zurich, February 22, 2011.

After performing at the German Jazz Festival in Frankfurt in May 1966, Schweizer established connections to some of the leading German improvisers, such as Brötzmann, Kowald, and Schoof, with which she began to collaborate and participated in several concerts organized by the New Jazz Artists' Guild. Following a performance at the important International Jazz Festival in Comblain-la-Tour in August 1966, in January of the following year Schweizer made her recording debut. Originally produced by the Munich-based music publisher Hans Wewerka, the recordings were only released in 1978 by Free Music Production's head Jost Gebers as *Early Tapes*.¹⁸⁰

As one of the only two female instrumentalists associated with the European jazz experimentalism movement who were active during the latter half of the 1960s, Schweizer's presence as a lesbian woman on a predominantly male scene quite often proved challenging in several regards. As Julie Dawn Smith has remarked about both the free jazz and the free improvisation communities' failure to face the salient issue of gender inequality squarely: "Neither free improvisation nor free jazz, however, extended their critiques to include the aesthetic, economic, or political liberation of women. For the most part, a practice of freedom that resisted gender oppression and oppression on the basis of sexual difference was excluded from the liberatory impulses of male-dominated improvising communities. The opportunity for freedom in relation to sexual difference, gender, and sexuality for women improvisers was strangely absent from the discourses and practices of both free jazz and free improvisation."¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Irène Schweizer, *Early Tapes* (FMP 0590, 1978), vinyl recording.

¹⁸¹ Julie Dawn Smith: "Playing like a Girl: The Queer Laughter of the Feminist Improvising Group," in *The Other Side of Nowhere: Jazz, Improvisation, and Communities in Dialogue*, ed. Daniel Fischlin and Ajay Heble (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 229.

Schweizer's attendance at the Vierte Kongress für Fraueninteressen (Fourth Congress for Womens' Interests) in Bern got her "politicized as a lesbian" and brought about her activism in the Swiss and European Womens' Liberation and Gay and Lesbian Movements.¹⁸² However, it wasn't until the latter half of the 1970s that Schweizer had an opportunity to work with all-female ensembles, among them the important Feminist Improvising Group, which she joined in 1978. As Schweizer has recalled, the contrast she experienced between performing with all-female ensembles during the latter half of the 1970s and being the only woman in almost exclusively male contexts during the 1960s and early to mid-1970s could not have been starker:

And then it began during the latter half of the 1970s when the Womens' Movement arose in Europe as well. In Switzerland there were all of a sudden womens' music groups too, all-womens' music groups. I was in one of them as well and I began to work with women for the first time as well. And for me that was like night and day but not like night in day in a negative sense. It was a completely different experience because I was now and then adversely affected by always with these men. Some of them were even pretty hardcore too. The whole thing how they acted. Actually, they always behaved decently towards me but I experienced things and of course I noticed how they treated women on stage or after the concert. There were time and again inappropriate moments and it didn't suit me. But what was I supposed to do? I was alone. I was alone and I think that is why I became so strong. I had to fight.¹⁸³

In his review of the September 1967 Free Jazz Sessions, Manfred Miller emphasized the significance of finding common ground among European improvisers, whose concepts and

¹⁸² "Politisiert als Lesbe." Schweizer, interview with the author, Zurich, February 22, 2011.

¹⁸³ "Und dann fing es ja an so in der zweiten Hälfte der 70er Jahre, als die Frauenbewegung aufkam auch in Europa. Bei uns in der Schweiz gab es dann plötzlich auch Frauenmusikgruppen, reine Frauenmusikgruppen. Und ich war dann ja auch in einer, und ich hab dann das erste Mal angefangen, mit Musikerinnen zu arbeiten auch. Und das war für mich wie Tag und Nacht, also Tag und Nacht nicht jetzt im negativen Sinne. Es war so ein ganz anderes Erlebnis, weil ich hatte schon ab und zu darunter gelitten immer mit diesen Männern. Und einige davon waren ziemlich hardcore eben auch. Das Ganze, wie sie sich verhalten haben. Mir gegenüber waren sie anständig eigentlich immer, aber ich habe ja Sachen erlebt und natürlich mitgekriegt, wie sie auf der Bühne oder nach dem Konzert mit Frauen umgegangen sind. Da gab es schon immer wieder unschöne Momente, und mir hat das nicht gepasst. Aber was sollte ich machen? Ich war alleine. Ich war alleine, und ich glaube, ich bin auch deshalb so stark geworden. Ich musste kämpfen." Schweizer, interview with the author, Zurich, February 22, 2011.

practices were at times afflicted by aesthetic differentiation: “Especially since the avantgardists of jazz have gained so much freedom it becomes tremendously important that the musicians, who perform together, know each other, that they learned and trained themselves to think collectively. A free jazz musician has to be able to detect his fellow musicians’ intentions at any given moment if the piece is not supposed to fall apart hopelessly.”¹⁸⁴

These sessions proved to be highly significant in that they provided the participating musicians with their first opportunity to create ad hoc improvisations without relying on compositional frameworks. Accordingly, during the sessions music was realized as an open process, which took place in front of an audience and allowed the improvisers to experiment with unusual instrumentations. Furthermore, the sessions became an enabler in terms of fluctuating concerts and lineups. For instance, during the 1967 sessions Schoof, Brötzmann, and Dudek recorded an unaccompanied trio.

In addition, the Free Jazz Sessions broke with the tradition of recording techniques heretofore universally utilized in jazz. Whereas until then it had been customary during studio recordings to place microphones in such a way that soloists were in the foreground and accompanists were in the background, the Free Jazz Sessions’ producers dispensed with this differentiation and put musicians on an equal footing.¹⁸⁵ Ultimately, these sessions became important with respect to the emergence of networks of jazz experimentalism that would extend transnationally towards the end of the 1960s.

¹⁸⁴ “Gerade weil die Avantgardisten des Jazz so viel Freiheit gewonnen haben, wird es ungeheuer wichtig, daß die zusammen spielenden Musiker sich gegenseitig kennen, daß sie gelernt und sich geübt haben, miteinander zu denken. Ein Freier Jatzer muß in jedem Moment die Intentionen seiner Mit-Musiker erkennen können, soll das Stück nicht hoffnungslos auseinanderbrechen.” Manfred Miller, “Viel Lärm um nichts?,” 289-290.

¹⁸⁵ I am indebted to Klaus Kürvers for pointing this out to me.

In establishing the Free Jazz Session at Radio Bremen, Schmidt-Joos had probably taken a cue from Joachim-Ernst Berendt, who established the Free Jazz Meeting in 1966 in Baden-Baden, a small town located in the German Black Forest. Beginning in the latter half of the 1960s, West Germany became an important place in terms of transnational extension of networks, providing an infrastructure for face-to-face intercultural collaborations between Afro-diasporic and European jazz experimentalists. Funded by the state-owned radio network Südwestfunk, the Free Jazz Meeting became one of the vital sites for these encounters. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, in the words of Lewis, the Free Jazz Meetings were “musician-centered events, assuming a diplomatic model in presenting opportunities for intercultural unity in the wake of the Emancipation, while framing improvisation itself as a site for musical and cultural exchange.”¹⁸⁶

The 1967 Free Jazz Meeting, which took place between December 16 and 18, provided an opportunity for European improvisers such as Schoof, Brötzmann, Hampel, Parker, and Niebergall to work with African American experimentalists such as Cherry, saxophonist Marion Brown, and vocalist Jeanne Lee. These meetings, recorded for broadcasting purposes, led to new collaborations and were instrumental in fostering a sense of cohesion across national lines. As Brötzmann remembers in an interview with Andrew Wright Hurley, “these meetings...were very important just for all of us to develop a kind of togetherness...A feeling for ‘Yes, we can do it!’”¹⁸⁷.

¹⁸⁶ Lewis, “Gittin’ To Know Y’all,” <http://www.criticalimprov.com/article/view/6/14>.

¹⁸⁷ Hurley, *The Return of Jazz*, 109.

On June 20-21, 1969 Radio Bremen's jazz and pop editorial department, which by October 1968 was headed by Manfred Miller, organized a follow-up to its 1967 Free Jazz Session. Miller sought to provide "leading European free jazz musicians with the opportunity to work on new compositions, try out new concepts free from the constraints of an official concert or of an exactly planned studio session without having to forego the stimulating contact with an interested audience."¹⁸⁸ On both days Radio Bremen made its broadcasting center available for a "'work session' for 17 musicians and up to 220 interested parties."¹⁸⁹ Besides the musicians who had comprised the Manfred Schoof Quintet, invitees included the Peter Brötzmann Trio, Irène Schweizer, Evan Parker, Danish trumpeter Hugh Steinmetz, British trombonist Paul Rutherford, Dutch trombonist Willem van Manen, and Swiss drummer Pierre Favre.¹⁹⁰

For the 1969 Free Jazz Session Schoof was commissioned to write a new piece to be rehearsed and recorded by this large ensemble. He decided to name his composition programmatically--*European Echoes*. For Schoof this title was emblematic of a pan-European free jazz identity in that he, as a European composer and improviser, presented music, which

¹⁸⁸ "Führenden europäischen Free Jazz-Musikern die Möglichkeit geben, frei von den Zwängen eines offiziellen Konzerts oder denen einer exakten Studio-Produktion neue Kompositionen zu erarbeiten, neue Konzeptionen zu erproben, ohne deshalb auf den stimulierenden Kontakt mit einem interessierten Publikum verzichten zu müssen." "Jazz News: Free Jazz im Sendesaal in Frankfurt und Bremen," *Jazz Podium* 18, no. 6, June 1969, 186.

¹⁸⁹ "'Arbeits-Session' für 17 Musiker und bis zu 220 Interessierte." Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ The Schoof Quintet's original lineup had changed by January 1968. Having become increasingly disenchanted with free jazz, Jaki Liebezeit left the group and co-founded the critically important experimental rock group Can in May 1968. The new drummers for Schoof's quintet/sextet became Sven-Åke-Johansson and Mani Neumeier, who would occasionally perform side by side. In March 1968 Dudek left Schoof's group and was replaced by Luxemburgian bass clarinetist Michel Pilz. Dudek rejoined Schoof's group for a June 1968 performance at the Montreux Jazz Festival. In December 1968 the lineup of Schoof's sextet included Brötzmann and Bennink. During a Poland tour in March 1969, Schoof's sextet included Evan Parker. In May 1969, Paul Lovens became the drummer for Schoof's quintet.

“also invokes the European music tradition as well as the new music.”¹⁹¹ The participating musicians for the recording session came from no less than seven different European countries. As Jost has asserted with respect to what he has denoted as the “large orchestras” led by Brötzmann, Schoof, and Schlippenbach, which emerged towards the end of the 1960s, “this new intra-European internationalism was without a question a new phenomenon.”¹⁹²

It is not devoid of a certain irony that Ornette Coleman’s trio had recorded a composition also titled *European Echoes* in early December 1965 during a performance at the Golden Circle in Stockholm.¹⁹³ Schoof, however, was unaware of the fact that Coleman had recorded a homonymic composition:

I learned that only later that he too made a piece called “European Echoes.” I didn’t know that at all. That was the trio record with David Izenzon. I said to myself: ‘Alas, well, well.’ I thought I had invented *European Echoes* for myself spontaneously because all the Europeans were close together. I thought: ‘How do I call the piece?’ I said: ‘It’s called *European Echoes*.’ We become attuned to one another. In the case of Ornette it probably was the European echoes to America. With me it was the European musicians’ echo among ourselves. A different starting point but the participation is the same.¹⁹⁴

According to Hans Kumpf, the notated parts of Schoof’s work were determined by three different techniques: “serial sequences of notes, graphically notated structural indications, and

¹⁹¹ “Die sich auch auf die europäische Musiktradition, auch der Neuen Musik, beruft.” Schoof, interview with the author, March 2, 2011.

¹⁹² “‘Großen Orchester’ (...) Dieser innereuropäische Internationalismus war ohne Frage eine neues Phänomen.” Jost, *Jazzgeschichten*, 248.

¹⁹³ Ornette Coleman, *At the “Golden Circle” Stockholm*, Volume 1 (Blue Note 7243 5 35518 2 7, [1965] 2002), compact disc.

¹⁹⁴ “Das hab ich aber erst hinterher erfahren, dass er auch ein Stück gemacht hat, das “European Echoes” heißt. Das hab ich überhaupt nicht gewusst. Das war mit dem David Izenzon diese Trio-Platte. Da hab ich gedacht, ach, sieh mal an! Ich glaubte, ich hätte *European Echoes* spontan für mich erfunden, weil eben die ganzen Europäer da auf einem Haufen waren. Da hab ich gedacht, wie nenn ich das Stück? Da hab ich gesagt: “Das heißt *European Echoes*”. Wir spielen aufeinander ein. Bei Ornette Coleman waren es wahrscheinlich die europäischen Echos nach Amerika. Bei mir war es das europäische Echo der Musiker untereinander. Ein anderer Ansatzpunkt, aber die Anteilnahme ist die gleiche.” Schoof, interview with the author, March 2, 2011.

riffs.”¹⁹⁵ After a day of rehearsals Schoof’s large ensemble recorded *European Echoes* on June 21 with a slightly different lineup. While Manen did not participate in the recording, Schoof added Italian trumpeter Enrico Rava, English guitarist Derek Bailey, and Dutch bassist Arjen Gorter for the recordings. As Schoof recalls regarding the recording:

The basic structure could have emerged better if we had had more time. But it was spontaneous, I would say by all means, relating to Ornette Coleman’s Double Quartet. Although it became different, in that we had different ideas and a different background than Ornette Coleman for example. I believe he was academically well educated too but ours is simply a European tradition. If one has Zimmermann, whom we had witnessed in the background, then one has this way of thinking. One also has this relationship towards compositions. Degrees of pitch intensity and all these terms that circulated in new music, which we adopted as well, or degrees of density and things like that. Those were things we worked with and which in this sense the Americans didn’t do because they didn’t know them. They have evolved out of the jazz tradition.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ “Serielle Tonfolgen, graphisch notierte Strukturangaben und Riffs.” Hans Kumpf, “Der Komponist Manfred Schoof: Plattendokumente aus den Jahren 1965-1969,” *Jazz Podium* 22, no. 1, January 1973, 21.

¹⁹⁶ “Die Grundstruktur hätte besser rauskommen können, wenn wir mehr Zeit gehabt hätten. Aber es war ein sehr spontanes auch sich, ich würde ruhig sagen, Beziehen auf Ornette Colemans Double Quartet. Obwohl das wurde schon wieder anders dadurch, dass wir andere Vorstellungen und einen anderen Background hatten als zum Beispiel Ornette Coleman - ich glaube, der war auch sehr akademisch gebildet - aber unserer ist eben eine europäische Tradition. Wenn man so Zimmermann, den wir ja schon erlebt hatten, im Hintergrund hat, dann hat man auch diese Denke. Man hat auch dieses Verhältnis zu Kompositionen. Tonhöhenintensitätsgrade und all solche Begriffe, die hier so in der Neuen Musik kursierten, die haben wir ja auch übernommen oder Dichtegrade und so was alles. Das waren so Dinge, mit denen wir gearbeitet haben und die die Amerikaner in dem Sinne gar nicht gemacht haben, weil sie die gar nicht kannten. Die haben sich aus der Jazztradition weiterentwickelt.” Schoof, interview with the author, March 2, 2011.

CHAPTER THREE:

“Like a Cry You Wanted to Answer”: Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky and the Emergence of Jazz Experimentalism in East Germany

In this chapter I examine the rise of jazz experimentalism in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) with a focus on one of its major proponents: multi-reedist and improviser Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky. Petrowsky’s development and engagement with post-1950s jazz practices took place within the context of politico-aesthetic debates that were decisively shaped by the Cultural Cold War. Emphasizing the conditions in the East German state socialist system, I reconstruct the critical reception of post-war jazz in the GDR and discuss Petrowsky’s engagement with African American experimentalism during the 1960s. Furthermore, this chapter focuses on the founding of the critically important West Berlin-based musicians’ cooperative and record company Free Music Production (FMP). I discuss FMP’s and its head Jost Gebers’ significance for the first intra-German encounters between improvisers during the early 1970s and for the documentation of East German jazz experimentalism.

Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky was born in the town of Güstrow on December 10, 1933 to a mercantile family.¹ In terms of music, his childhood was characterized by military marches widely performed during the National Socialist Regime. Petrowsky remembers the first years following the regime’s downfall as ultimately unshackling, as they allowed for his first encounter with jazz in the guise of the Glenn Miller Orchestra’s hugely popular 1939 recording “In The

¹ The information pertaining to Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky’s biography is derived from a personal interview that I conducted with him on February 28, 2011 in Berlin.

Mood”: “For me, as opposed to Nazi military marches, that was such liberation and it grabbed me like a type of infection. I was no longer really in control of myself.”²

He soon developed a fascination with jazz, which for him was “like a cry that you wanted to answer.”³ Even though at that time he had an aversion towards European classical music, Petrowsky sang in both a school and a church choir and occasionally performed with the latter on the violin. The instrument was forced on him by his parents in order to instill him with a sense of the artistic. After meeting classical musicians from the local church and theater orchestras, the young Petrowsky took an immediate liking to them, as they seemed emblematic of an alternative world: “They were already different from the average citizens that I knew otherwise. I went so far as to think, ‘No matter what they play but I want to be around them. That is where I want to be. That is my world as opposed to the petit bourgeois one.’”⁴

Petrowsky began to teach himself the saxophone at the age of seventeen and shortly after met trombonist, pianist, composer, and arranger Eberhard Weise, a member of Güstrow’s theater orchestra who shared Petrowsky’s fascination with jazz. Meanwhile he studied clarinet with Gottfried Wolf, who played in the same orchestra. In 1956 Petrowsky attended the Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt Weimar, where he received instruction on violin and on piano in the context of the academy’s music education program. Petrowsky received crucial impulses through Weise in terms of music and discipline and immersed himself in the sounds of the cool and West

² “Für mich war es, im Gegensatz zu dem Nazimarsch, eine solche Befreiung, und das hat mich wie eine Art Infektion gepackt. Ich war nicht mehr richtig Herr meiner selbst.” Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky, interview with the author, Berlin, February 28, 2011.

³ “Ein Schrei, den man beantworten wollte.” Noglik, *Jazzwerkstatt International*, 324.

⁴ “Die waren auch schon anders als die Normalbürger, die ich sonst so kannte. Und ich hab mich so weit verstiegen, dass ich dachte, egal, was die spielen, aber ich will in ihrer Nähe sein. Da will ich hin. Das ist meine Welt gegenüber dieser kleinbürgerlichen.” Petrowsky, interview with the author, February 28, 2011.

Coast jazz movements, especially those of Lennie Tristano, Lee Konitz, Chet Baker, and Paul Desmond.⁵

Meanwhile, at a youth camp at the seaside health resort Graal-Müritz, Petrowsky met Polish pianist and composer Krzysztof Komeda. During the 1960s Komeda not only emerged as a key figure on the Polish jazz scene but, as Ekkehard Jost has maintained, also kicked off the first attempts at “European musicians’ partial emancipation from their American father figures.”⁶ Before his untimely death in 1969, Komeda would also gain notoriety beyond the jazz world as the composer of the scores for Roman Polanski’s feature films *Knife in the Water*, *Rosemary’s Baby*, and *The Fearless Vampire Killers*. After performing together at nightly sessions, Komeda asked Petrowsky to join his band in Poland, which, however, did not materialize since the saxophonist sought to continue his studies at the Musikhochschule in Weimar.⁷

By the mid-1950s Petrowsky and Weise had formed a combo and in 1957, after moving to the town of Görlitz, they co-founded the Orchester Eberhard Weise, a modern jazz ensemble modeled after Miles Davis’ short-lived late-1940s nonet. As musicologist Bert Noglik has observed, “regarding the commitment to contemporary jazz the band occupies a special position within the 1950s GDR.”⁸ In a 1958 typescript, Petrowsky delineated the ensemble’s idealistic

⁵ See Bert Noglik and Heinz-Jürgen Lindner, *Jazz im Gespräch* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1978), 119.

⁶ “Partiellen Emanzipation europäischer Musiker von ihren amerikanischen Vaterfiguren.” Jost, *Jazzgeschichten*, 213. For a discussion of Komeda’s significance, see Rüdiger Ritter, “Jazzmusiker als ‘Gründungsväter’ für nationale Jazzszenen? Krzysztof Komeda und der polnische Jazz,” in *Albert Mangelsdorff: Tension/Spannung: Darmstädter Beiträge zur Jazzforschung*, vol. 11, ed. Wolfram Knauer (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 2010), 29-49.

⁷ Noglik and Lindner, *Jazz im Gespräch*, 117-18.

⁸ “Nimmt die Band, was das Engagement für den zeitgenössischen Jazz anbelangt, in der DDR der 50er Jahre eine Sonderstellung ein.” Bert Noglik, “Hürdenlauf zum freien Spiel: Ein Rückblick auf den Jazz der DDR,” in *Jazz in*

impetus: “The Orchestra Eberhard Weise is jazz music’s consequential and substantive impact on some young people who are more serious about things than to be able to afford to deal with musical and spiritual problems only in passing, from the perspective of a safe bourgeois existence.”⁹

As Petrowsky and his bandmates would soon find out, their musical performances during the latter half of the 1950s not only lacked audience appeal but also faced considerable resistance on the part of audience members. The Weise Orchestra sought to make concessions to the preferences of their East German audiences by incorporating jazz versions of then-popular songs during their performances, which usually would take place at dance nights. As Petrowsky has remarked, these compromises were to no avail: “We had these starting difficulties. Everywhere we played we practically caused sheer horror... There was no jazz scene. Those were dancing parties. People only wanted to dance, essentially like nowadays.”¹⁰

The lack of acceptance with respect to jazz as witnessed by Petrowsky has to be viewed within the wider context of what musicologist Fred K. Prieberg has denoted as “the volatile history of jazz in the GDR.”¹¹ During the period between June 1945 and the GDR’s establishment on October 7, 1949, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany encouraged

Deutschland: Darmstädter Beiträge zur Jazzforschung, vol. 4, ed. Wolfram Knauer (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 1996), 210.

⁹ “Das Orchester Eberhard Weise ist die konsequente und reale Auswirkung der Jazzmusik auf einige junge Leute, denen es um die Dinge ernster ist, als daß sie sich vom Blickwinkel einer gesicherten bürgerlichen Existenz nur nebenbei mit musikalischen und geistigen Problemen befassen konnten.” Quoted in *ibid.*, 211.

¹⁰ “Wir hatten diese Startschwierigkeiten. Überall, wo wir spielten, lösten wir eigentlich das blanke Entsetzen aus... Es gab überhaupt keine Jazzszene. Das waren Tanzabende, die Leute wollten nur tanzen, im Grunde genommen wie heute auch.” Rainer Bratfisch, “‘Aber Montreux war fürchterlich’: Interview mit Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky,” in *Freie Töne: Die Jazzszene in der DDR*, ed. Rainer Bratfisch (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2005), 126.

¹¹ “Die wechselhafte Geschichte des Jazz in der DDR.” Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im anderen Deutschland* (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1968), 325.

jazz in its Occupation Zone, as the Soviet authorities viewed it as “anti-fascist” due to its suppression and designation as “degenerate” by the National Socialist Regime.¹² Under the supervision of the Soviet Military Administration the record label and publishing company Amiga, which became state-operated in the GDR, was established and began to release jazz recordings by January of 1947.¹³ The Soviet Military Administration supervised and supported the establishment of radio orchestras in its Occupation Zone, such as the Radio Berlin Tanzorchester, directed by trombonist and composer Walter Dobschinski, and the Tanzorchester des Senders Leipzig, directed by saxophonist Kurt Henkels. In August 1948, Henkels’s orchestra, which soon after its establishment became the premier big band in the Soviet Occupation Zone, recorded a piece composed and arranged by its clarinetist Rolf Kühn, titled “Rolly’s Be-Bop.” Kühn’s composition represented arguably the earliest documented engagement of German musicians with the innovations advanced by Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie. According to music historian Rainer Bratfisch, “Rolly’s Be-Bop” “however, provoked intense discussion due to its modernness.”¹⁴

The discussions about “modern jazz’s” aesthetic validity that took place in the Soviet Occupation Zone were accompanied by intensifying ideological divisions that were themselves informed by the onset of the Cold War. Insurmountable differences between the major powers

¹² See Christian Schmidt-Rost, “Heiße Rhythmen im Kalten Krieg: Swing und Jazz hören in der SBZ/DDR und der VR Polen (1945–1970),” *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History*, Online edition, 8 (2011), vol. 2., <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Schmidt-Rost-2-2011>.

¹³ See Bert Noglik, “Vom Linden-Blues zum Zentralquartett: Fragmentarisches zur Entwicklung des Jazz in der DDR,” in *That’s Jazz: Der Sound des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Klaus Wolbert (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Erwin Bochinsky, 1988), 421.

¹⁴ “Allerdings aufgrund seiner Modernität heftige Diskussionen aus.” Bratfisch, “Soviell Anfang war nie: Eine Spurensuche nach 1945,” in *Freie Töne*, 24.

regarding the “German question” had already surfaced during the March/April 1947 Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers. As historian Andreas Malchya has argued, “accordingly they intensified their endeavors to integrate the parts of Germany occupied by them into their spheres of interest and to match the political conditions with their own social concept of order.”¹⁵

Already in his “The Sinews of Peace” speech given on March 5, 1946, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, Churchill had stated, “now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas.”¹⁶ As historian Hermann Weber has asserted, “the US foreign policy with the ‘Truman Doctrine’ from Spring 1947 and then with the Marshall Plan boiled down to a confrontation with the USSR, whereby the doctrine of ‘containment’ supplied the ideological background.”¹⁷

In September 1947, Andrei Zhdanov, Second Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, delivered the keynote speech on the occasion of the founding of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, in which he delineated his doctrine of “the two camps.” In his speech Zhdanov ascertained, “the division of the political forces operating in the international arena into two major camps: the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp, on the other.”¹⁸ The deepening ideological

¹⁵ “Folglich intensivierten sie ihre Bemühungen, die von ihnen besetzten Teile Deutschlands in ihre Interessenssphäre einzugliedern und die politischen Verhältnisse an die eigenen gesellschaftlichen Ordnungsvorstellungen anzupassen.” Andreas Malchya, *Geschichte der DDR*, vol. 312, Informationen zur politischen Bildung, March 2011, 17-18.

¹⁶ Winston S. Churchill, *His Complete Speeches: 1897-1963*, vol. 7: 1943-1949, ed. Robert Rhodes James (New York: Chelsea House Publishers in association with R. R. Bowker Company, 1974), 7291.

¹⁷ “Die US-Außenpolitik mit der ‘Truman-Doktrin’ vom Frühjahr 1947 und dann mit dem Marshallplan lief auf eine Konfrontation mit der UdSSR hinaus, wobei die Doktrin der ‘Eindämmung’ den ideologischen Hintergrund abgab.” Hermann Weber, *Geschichte der DDR* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, [1985] 1999), 92.

divisions between the Soviet Union and the US also began to afflict the arts and aesthetic discourse surrounding them. Of crucial significance in this context was the notion of socialist realism. According to historian David G. Tompkins, “Stalin and leading cultural figures such as Maxim Gorky formulated the term itself in the spring of 1932” in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution of 1928-1931.¹⁹ Already in a 1934 speech delivered in front of the First Congress of Soviet Writers Zhdanov had formulated his notion of socialist realism, whose method he delineated as a way to “depict reality in its revolutionary development ...combined with the ideological remolding and education of the toiling people in the spirit of socialism.”²⁰ In the wake of its proclamation the ideas advanced by Zhdanov became a state doctrine in the Soviet Union.²¹ According to musicologist Martin Lücke, “Zhdanov authored four well-known cultural resolutions for literature, theatre, film, and music between 1946 and 1948,” of which “each addressed the fight against allegedly increasing influences from outside the Soviet Union and against capitalism in the arts.”²² In his 1948 resolution about music, which was aimed against Vano Muradeli’s opera *The Great Friendship* and the works of Dmitri Shostakovich, Sergei Prokofiev, and Aram Khatchaturian, Zhdanov campaigned against socialist realism’s ideological antipode, which he denoted as “formalism.” Zhdanov conceived of formalism as an aesthetic

¹⁸ Andrei Zhdanov, Speech at the founding of the Cominform (a Communist International Organization), September 1947, <http://educ.jmu.edu/~vannorwc/assets/ghist%20102-150/pages/readings/zhdanovspeech.html>.

¹⁹ David G. Tompkins, *Composing the Party Line: Music and Politics in Early Cold War Poland and Germany* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2013), 17.

²⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*

²¹ See Irmgard Jungmann, *Kalter Krieg in der Musik: Eine Geschichte deutsch-deutscher Musikideologien* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2011), 77.

²² Martin Lücke, “The Postwar Campaign against Jazz in the USSR (1945-1953),” in *Jazz behind the Iron Curtain*, ed. Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 93.

stance that gave formal aspects and abstraction priority over ideas, while disregarding art's socially relevant content. He viewed these characteristics as symptomatic of a perceived Western decadence. In his 1948 resolution he identified the ostensible dangers emanating from musical modernism, which were to have important implications for the reception of post-war jazz in state socialist systems:

Characteristic of this music are the negation of the basic principles of classical music; the glorification of atonality, dissonance and disharmony, which are allegedly an expression of progress and innovation in the development of the musical form; further, the refusal of the important basis of composition like melody, the devotion to the abstruse, neuropathic combinations which transforms music into a cacophony and a chaotic accumulation of tones [...] This music strongly follows the spirit of the present modernistic music in Europe and America, which reflects the mud of bourgeois culture and a complete denial of musical art.²³

As music scholar Irmgard Jungmann has argued, “Zhdanov’s deliberations would become the basis for a mostly non-disputable doctrine of aesthetic debates in the GDR as well.”²⁴ The extent to which these aesthetic debates, which began to set in by autumn 1948, were informed by Zhdanov’s ideas is exemplified by the scholarly discourse around jazz in the GDR’s early years. According to music historian Michael Rauhut, “in February of 1950, the Soviet Union intervened with a frontal assault on ‘abhorrent American jazz’ and demanded that the SED (Socialist Unity Party – the ruling regime in East Germany) follow the party line.”²⁵ In an article for the East German newspaper *Tägliche Rundschau*, Soviet cultural commissars S. Timofejew and W. Nicolajew declared: “The resolute battle against the tasteless American jazz music (Boogie-

²³ Quoted in *ibid.*, 93-94.

²⁴ “Shdanovs Ausführungen sollten zur Grundlage einer weitestgehend nicht mehr anfechtbaren Doktrin der kunstästhetischen Debaten auch in der DDR werden.” Jungman, *Kalter Krieg in der Musik*, 78.

²⁵ Michael Rauhut, “The Voice of the Other America: African-American Music and Political Protest in the German Democratic Republic,” in *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present*, ed. Timothy Brown and Lorena Anton (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 93.

Woogie etc.) and against the formalistic direction in the music, so hostile toward the *Volk*, is necessary, as is the nurturing of the traditional German classical and folk music and the expounding of the musical classics from all over the world, of which, as is well known, not one composer is an American.”²⁶

As historian Dietrich Staritz has stated, “in March 1951 the Central Committee had concerned itself with the situation of the arts and had detected almost everywhere ‘formalism.’”²⁷ The Central Committee’s resolution of the 5th Plenum of the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED) confronted the issue of formalism in no uncertain terms: “Formalism’s most significant characteristic is comprised of the endeavor, under the pretense or the misguided intention, to develop something ‘entirely new,’ to break completely with the classical cultural heritage. This brings about the uprooting of national culture, the destruction of a sense of national identity, promotes cosmopolitanism, and denotes direct support for the war policy of American imperialism.”²⁸

A prominent role within these debates played various musicologists, who by April 1951 were organized in the Verband Deutscher Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler (Union of German Composers and Musicologists). The Union’s umbrella organization was the cultural mass organization Kulturbund der DDR (Cultural Association of the GDR). As arguably the

²⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*

²⁷ “Im März 1951 hatte sich das Zentralkomitee mit der Situation der Künste befaßt und beinahe überall ‘Formalismus’ entdeckt.” Dietrich Staritz, *Geschichte der DDR* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, [1985] 1996), 72.

²⁸ “Das wichtigste Merkmal des Formalismus besteht in dem Bestreben, unter dem Vorwand oder auch der irrigen Absicht, etwas ‘vollkommen Neues’ zu entwickeln, den völligen Bruch mit dem klassischen Kulturerbe zu vollziehen. Das führt zur Entwurzelung der nationalen Kultur, zur Zerstörung des Nationalbewußtsein, fördert den Kosmopolitismus und bedeutet damit eine direkte Unterstützung der Kriegspolitik des amerikansichen Imperialismus.” Quoted in Manfred Jäger, *Kultur und Politik in der DDR: 1945-1990* (Cologne: Edition Deutschland Archiv, [1994] 1995), 38.

most prominent detractor of jazz within the field of musicology, which, in the words of Ekkehard Jost, “played a very inglorious role in the debate about jazz,” emerged Georg Knepler.²⁹ Knepler was not only the GDR’s preeminent music scholar but also the rector of the Deutsche Hochschule für Musik in East Berlin. On the occasion of the April 1951 founding conference of the Verband Deutscher Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler, Knepler gave a talk in which he supplemented the presentation of composer and musicologist Ernst Hermann Meyer, who, in the words of David G. Tompkins, was “the most important figure for propagating socialist realism in the GDR.”³⁰ On the outset, Knepler referenced Meyer, who declared that “under certain circumstances music can also be a tool for preparation for war and that nowadays in many cases it clearly is.”³¹ Drawing upon ideas advanced by J. S. Bach’s immediate predecessor as Thomaskantor Johann Kuhnau, Knepler asserted one of music’s oldest functions was to divert “from the most important things of the day.”³² For Knepler, imperialism had perfected music’s function of diversion. As he elaborated on the dangers associated with music’s seductive power: “Music has the ability to make very plausible and very imposing what it emphasizes. It possesses so to speak great power to impress and to propagate.”³³

²⁹ “Eine sehr unrühmliche Rolle in der Auseinandersetzung um den Jazz spielte.” Jost, *Jazzgeschichten aus Europa*, 214.

³⁰ Tompkins, *Composing the Party Line*, 20.

³¹ “Musik auch unter bestimmten Bedingungen ein Instrument der Kriegsvorbereitung sein könne und daß sie es heute in vielen Fällen eindeutig ist.” Georg Knepler, “Musik, ein Instrument der Kriegsvorbereitung,” *Musik und Gesellschaft* 2 (1951): 56.

³² “Von den wichtigsten Dingen des Tages.” Ibid.

³³ “Die Musik hat die Fähigkeit, das, was sie unterstreicht, sehr einleuchtend, sehr eindrucksvoll zu machen. Sie hat eine großartige Kraft, gleichsam einzuprägen, zu propagieren.” Ibid., 57.

Knepler singled out US jazz as being especially culpable within the alleged scheme of diversion. To illustrate his assertions Knepler confronted his audience with Stan Kenton's 1946 recording "Fantasy," which he introduced as an instance of "progressiv [sic] jazz."³⁴ Delivered with the gravitas of professorial authority Knepler's verdict was damning: "This is music which represents chaos, which is chaos, which is not only preparation for war but is war. This is an attempt to smuggle war into peoples' brains. You noticed how this is done. These are mere shreds of melodies. What resembles melodic clichés gets ripped up and disrupted. These are harsh dissonances. It is the relentless hammering rhythm. It is the unnatural utilization of instruments."³⁵

During the 1950s the SED's cultural policy guidelines concerning jazz were subject to considerable changes of course, which were themselves to a certain extent responses to policy shifts that took place in the Soviet Union following Stalin's death in 1953. As musicologist Michael Rauhut has remarked with regard to the history of jazz in the GDR during the 1950s: "It presents itself as the up and down between state recognition as far as partial funding (media productions, forums, events, and much else) and official damnation up to massive repression (defamation, ban, criminalization etc.)."³⁶ In the wake of Stalin's death East German jazz proponents countered the official reading of jazz as a propagandistic tool of imperialism

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "Das ist eine Musik, die das Chaos darstellt, die das Chaos ist, die nicht nur Kriegsvorbereitung, sondern der Krieg ist. Das ist ein Versuch, den Krieg in die Hirne der Menschen einzuschmuggeln. Sie haben gemerkt, wie das gemacht ist. Es sind bloße Fetzen von Melodien. Was an Anklängen von Melodiefloskeln da ist, wird sofort zerfetzt, zerrissen. Es sind scharfe Dissonanzen. Es ist der unerbittlich hämmernde Rhythmus. Es ist die unnatürliche Verwendung der Instrumente." Ibid.

³⁶ "Sie stellt sich dar als ein Auf und Ab zwischen staatlicher Anerkennung bis partieller Förderung (Medienproduktionen, Foren, Veranstaltungen u.v.a.m.) und offizieller Ablehnung bis massiver Repression (Diffamierung, Verbot, Kriminalisierung etc.)." Michael Rauhut, *Beat in der Grauzone: DDR-Rock 1964 bis 1972, Politik und Alltag* (Berlin: BasisDruck, 1993), 20.

consistent with the SED's dissociation from Western capitalist culture by arguing that some forms of jazz and African American music were in fact an authentic expression of the oppressed black working class and were therefore imbued with an oppositional potential regarding the anti-imperialist struggle. As Rauhut has argued, "African-American music was destined to become a 'second culture' in the sense of Lenin, both through its proletarian roots and through the cross of racism."³⁷

Instrumental for bringing about this "recoding," by which "African American musicians were celebrated as fighters for the civil rights of the oppressed" was political scientist, journalist, and dissident Reginald Rudolf.³⁸ In the words of historian Uta G. Poiger, Rudolf was the "most outspoken" voice among those who "sought to make jazz officially acceptable" in East Germany.³⁹ During the 1950s Rudolf worked tirelessly toward the valorization of jazz through radio broadcasts, lectures, and journal articles. Already in a 1952 article, Rudolf outlined his ideas about the history of jazz, which, informed by the notion of formalism, he essentially framed as a history of corruption. He denoted the music that emerged towards the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in New Orleans as "Urjazz" since "in this authentic urban folk music of the Negroes, jazz, the blues is the lamenting message about the dreadful life of the

³⁷ Rauhut, "The Voice of the Other America," 97-98.

³⁸ Umkodierung... afroamerikanische Musiker wurden als Kämpfer für die Bürgerrechte der Unterdrückten gefeiert." Schmidt-Rost, "Heiße Rhythmen im Kalten Krieg," <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Schmidt-Rost-2-2011>.

³⁹ Uta G. Poiger, "Searching for Proper New Music: Jazz in Cold War Germany," in *German Pop Culture: How "American" Is It?*, ed. Agnes C. Mueller (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 87. For an in-depth discussion of Rudolf's 1950s jazz campaign, see Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 150-162.

exploited.”⁴⁰ For Rudolf, beginning in the 1920’s the culture industry’s commercialization of hitherto “authentic” jazz set in and caused the music’s corruption, which he viewed as symptomatic of US capitalism’s intrinsic decadence. In a 1954 article Rudolf raised the charge of formalism against the bebop movement, as he identified “nihilistic tendencies” in Charlie Parker’s playing.⁴¹ He maintained that “in ‘modern jazz’ there is simply a ‘unity’ between decadent content and decadent form.”⁴²

After Petrowsky had worked with the Tanz- und Schauorchester Max Reichelt between 1960 and 1962, together with baritone saxophonist Manfred Schulze he co-founded the Manfred-Ludwig-Sextett in January 1962, which included trumpeter Heinz Becker. Born on May 28, 1938 in Dresden, Becker became intrigued with the playing of Chet Baker and started taking lessons from a trumpeter at a local theatre.⁴³ He joined a youth dance orchestra that was modeled after the Count Basie band, and eventually became one of the founders of an orchestra, whose instrumentation was identical to that of the Dresden Tanzsinfoniker led by pianist and composer Günter Hörig. Encouraged by the orchestra’s success, Becker and some of his colleagues sought to pursue a professional music career, which in the GDR as a general rule was inextricably linked with the receipt of a Spielerlaubnis, a state permission required for public performances

⁴⁰ “In dieser echten, städtischen Volksmusik der Neger, dem Jazz, ist der Blues die klagende Mitteilung von dem entsetzlichen Leben der Ausgebeuteten.” Reginald Rudolf [sic], “Für eine frohe, ausdrucksvolle Tanzmusik,” *Musik und Gesellschaft* 2, no. 8 (August 1952): 248.

⁴¹ “Nihilistischen Tendenzen.” Reginald Rudolf, “Die Tanzmusik muß neue Wege gehen,” *Musik und Gesellschaft* 4, pt. 2 (March 1954): 93.

⁴² “Im ‘modern jazz’ besteht eben eine ‘Einheit’ von dekadentem Inhalt und dekadenter Form.” Ibid.

⁴³ The information pertaining to Heinz Becker’s biography is derived from a personal interview that I conducted with him on September 7, 2011 in Gelting, Germany.

by musicians. As academic training at a Hochschule was considered a prerequisite for the Spielerlaubnis, Becker began to study at the Carl Maria von Weber Hochschule in Dresden. As Becker has related about the Hochschule training's impact on his musical skills: "I noticed later on to begin that this wasn't just harassment with but brought about that you had actually well trained musicians in the GDR to some extent better than in the West."⁴⁴

The Manfred-Ludwig-Sextett, which soon after its formation emerged as one of East Germany's leading jazz ensembles, toured in Czechoslovakia and Poland, appeared on a TV and a radio program in Bratislava and was even featured in a Czechoslovakian film.⁴⁵ At that time the Sextett was one of the few jazz groups in the GDR that was given the opportunity to record its music. In 1963 the group contributed four tracks for the Amiga compilation *Modern Jazz Studio Nr. 2*, among them a rendition of Paul Desmond's hugely successful "Take Five."⁴⁶ In the following year the Manfred-Ludwig-Sextett recorded an entire album for the Amiga label featuring African American contralto Dorothy Ellison, which included well-known songs such as Ray Charles' "Hit the Road Jack" and Billy Strayhorn's iconic "Take the 'A' Train."⁴⁷

Of great significance for the subsequent course of Petrowsky's musical career was his encounter with pianist Joachim Kühn. Born on March 15, 1944 in Leipzig to a family of artistes, Kühn began to receive piano lessons as a five-year old from Arthur Schmidt-Elsey and began

⁴⁴ "Später habe ich erst mal gemerkt, dass das nicht nur eine Schikane war, sondern das hat dazu geführt, dass man eigentlich gut ausgebildete Musiker hatte in der DDR, zum Teil viel besser als im Westen." Heinz Becker, interview with the author, Gelting, September 11, 2011.

⁴⁵ See Bratfisch, "'Aber Montreux war fürchterlich,'" 126.

⁴⁶ *Modern Jazz Studio Nr. 2* (Amiga 850067, 1966), vinyl recording.

⁴⁷ Manfred-Ludwig-Sextett, *Jazz mit Dorothy Ellison & dem Manfred Ludwig-Sextett* (ITM Records 14120, [1965] 2005), compact disc.

performing in public at the age of six. Influenced by his older brother, clarinetist Rolf Kühn, the young pianist developed a fascination with jazz. Through word of mouth Petrowsky learned about Joachim Kühn, who during the early 1960s emulated Bobby Timmons's style of playing and was a member of the Werner Pfüller Quintet, a Leipzig-based hard bop group. Petrowsky visited Kühn at home whenever he was in Leipzig and brought his saxophone. He remembers playing saxophone duets with Kühn, who had recently purchased a straight alto saxophone. As Petrowsky has related about the transformative impetus of these musical encounters:

I received a musical impulse of the first order through my acquaintance with Joachim Kühn. Kühn pursued jazz with a consequence known to me by very few musicians...Kühn practiced day and night. When I was on a visit to Leipzig, I had to take out the saxophone right away and even though that didn't happen too often I learned a great deal through this interaction. The decisive listening experience at that time was the record "Life Time" by drummer Tony Williams. Together with Joachim Kühn und [bassist] Klaus Koch I practically got into the freer ways of playing after all.⁴⁸

Kühn and Petrowsky performed for the first time together in Leipzig on October 30, 1962, where they played music by Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers among others.⁴⁹ In December 1964 Kühn put together a trio, which included bassist Klaus Koch, and drummer Reinhardt Schwarz, who all had been with the Werner Pfüller Quintet. During the mid-1960s the Kühn Trio performed with Petrowsky on various occasions. As Bert Noglik has remarked regarding Kühn's significance for the history of jazz in the GDR: "*Kühn*, at the beginning still strongly influenced by role models such as *Horace Silver* and *Bobby Timmons*, within a relatively short time span found a personal

⁴⁸ "Einen musikalischen Impuls ersten Ranges empfig ich durch meine Bekanntschaft mit Joachim Kühn. Kühn betrieb den Jazz mit einer Konsequenz, wie sie mir nur von wenigen Musikern bekannt ist...Kühn übte Tag und Nacht. Wenn ich in Leipzig zu Besuch war, mußte ich gleich das Saxophon auspacken, und obwohl das gar nicht so oft passierte, habe ich in diesem Zusammenspiel unwahrscheinlich viel gelernt. – Das entscheidende Hörelebnis jener Zeit war für uns die Platte 'Life Time' des Schlagzeugers Tony Williams. – Zusammen mit Joachim Kühn und Klaus Koch kam ich schließlich auch praktisch in eine freiere Spielweise hinein." Noglik and Lindner, *Jazz im Gespräch*, 119-120.

⁴⁹ See Bratfisch, "Aus Leipzig in die Welt: Interview mit Joachim Kühn," in *Freie Töne*, 141.

style and respectively a flow of play predetermined for the group that anticipated much of what would significantly later become common practice in GDR's jazz. This flow of play was, if one disregards stapling themes or rather fragments of themes, already to the greatest extent free associative and no longer conclusively based on the model of eventual American heroes.⁵⁰

As Bert Noglik has maintained, in the wake of the August 1961 Building of the Berlin Wall, 'in the cultural policy of the GDR appeared ambivalent streaks – some were handled more rigorously, others more informally.'⁵¹ During the 1960s, however, the trope of decadence continued to inform the debates around jazz. According to Bratfisch, "the notion of 'decadence' became a central category of totalitarian strategies of exclusion against cultural anomalies."⁵² Furthermore, this notion was oftentimes utilized as a negative foil for the policing of experimental-minded concepts and practices of post-1950s jazz in the GDR. The 1962 edition of *Meyer Neues Lexikon*, a major encyclopedia, defined decadence as "above all the general cultural decline in capitalist countries due to imperialism's parasitic character."⁵³ The encyclopedia identified its characteristics as "pessimism, world withdrawal, exaggerated interest

⁵⁰ "Kühn, anfang noch stark von Vorbildern wie *Horace Silver* oder *Bobby Timmons* beeinflusst, fand innerhalb eines relativ kurzen Zeitraums zu einem Personalstil bzw. zu einem von ihm für die Gruppe vorgegebenen Spielfluß, der vieles antizipierte, was erst erheblich später im Jazz der DDR geläufige Praxis werden sollte. Dieser Spielfluß war, sieht man von den klammernden Themen bzw. den Themenfragmenten ab, bereits weitgehend frei-assoziativ und nicht mehr eindeutig auf ein Modell etwaiger amerikanischer Vorbilder bezogen." Noglik, "Vom Linden-Blues zum Zentral-Quartett," 424.

⁵¹ "Zeigten sich in der Kulturpolitik der DDR ambivalente Züge – einiges wurde rigoroser, anderes lockerer gehandhabt." Noglik, "Hürdenlauf zum freien Spiel," 211.

⁵² "Der Begriff 'Dekadenz' wurde zu einer Zentralkategorie der totalitären Ausgrenzungsstrategien gegen kulturelle Normabweichungen." Bratfisch, "Soviel Anfang," 44.

⁵³ "In erster Linie der allgemeine kulturelle Verfall in den kapitalistischen Ländern auf Grund des parasitären Charakters des Imperialismus." Quoted in *ibid*.

in society's outsiders (such as criminals and lunatics), in perversion, diseases, and all things morbid.”⁵⁴

The extent to which the above ideologically charged notion made incursions into the lives of experimental-minded jazz musicians during the mid-1960s manifested on the occasion of a performance of the Kühn Trio with Petrowsky on December 8, 1965. Both Petrowsky and Kühn were among the select artists to perform at the Dresden Hygiene Museum during what Bratfisch has referred to as “the first representative concert of modern GDR jazz with radio and TV broadcasts.”⁵⁵ Promoted by the Konzert- und Gastspieldirektion Dresden, the city's branch of the East German artist agency, and initiated through promoter and radio host Karlheinz Drechsel, the “All-Star Concert” featured more than twenty musicians, among them Petrowsky, who appeared with various lineups. Immediately before their joint performance Kühn and Petrowsky were confronted with charges of decadence, of which their music was allegedly emblematic. As Petrowsky remembers: “The trio and I were accused of playing decadently. And Kühn said very hurt but very confident as well: ‘You can kiss our asses. We don't let anyone meddle with our music anyway. You have no clue.’ We said: ‘We have our contract and we play.’ But we had overlooked the small-printed stipulation that the fee was to be cancelled if the music was deemed decadent by those responsible. And the radio broadcast would get cancelled too. Then we said

⁵⁴ “Pessimismus, Weltflucht, das übertriebene Interesse für Außenseiter der Gesellschaft (wie Verbrecher, Wahnsinnige), für Perversionen, Krankheiten und Morbides.” Quoted in *ibid.*

⁵⁵ “Das erste repräsentative Konzert des modernen DDR-Jazz – mit Funk- und Fernsehaufzeichnung.” Bratfisch, “Die sechziger Jahre: Jazz in der (ein)geschlossenen Gesellschaft,” in *Freie Töne*, 89.

that they just shouldn't record but we wanted our money and we've had it up to here with them."⁵⁶

In his concert review for the popular music magazine *Melodie und Rhythmus*, one of the few East German periodicals, which covered jazz, Drechsel referred to Petrowsky's collaboration with Kühn as the former's "first-time concert performance in the realms of 'free jazz'" and called it "the big surprise."⁵⁷ Drechsel summarized his impressions regarding the joint Kühn and Petrowsky performance as follows:

The quartet presented avant-garde 'free jazz' and thereby made aware the widely drawn range jazz occupies with us by now. Even though attitudes regarding this current of music-making may be rather varying, it is nonetheless evident that this ambitious group offered high achievements. J. Kühn's harmonic work and the playing of the downright fantastic bass player Klaus Koch astonish again and again... Even though with E. L. Petrowsky the inclination for longstanding practiced forms of expression instinctively 'filtered through' the Görlitz-based musician succeeded due to his frequently invoked skills to demonstrate the quest for new ways artistically convincingly and honestly.⁵⁸

On May 11, 1966 Kühn performed for the last time in the GDR during a concert in Mittweida with the Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky Quartet. A week later the pianist participated in the Internationale Jazzkonkurrenz competition in Vienna organized by famed Austrian pianist

⁵⁶ "Dem Trio und mir wurde vorgeworfen, wir würden dekadent spielen. Und Kühn sagte, sehr verletzt, aber auch sehr selbstbewußt: 'Ihr könnt uns mal am Arsch lecken, wir lassen uns in die Musik sowieso nicht reinreden, ihr habt ja alle keine Ahnung.' Wir sagten: 'Wir haben unseren Vertrag und spielen.' Aber wir hatten die kleingedruckte Klausel übersehen, dass das Salär entfällt, wenn die Musik von den Verantwortlichen für dekadent gehalten wird. Und der Rundfunkmitschnitt würde auch entfallen. Da haben wir gesagt, dann sollen sie eben nicht mitschneiden, aber wir wollen unser Geld und dann können sie uns mal." Bratfisch, "Aber Montreux war fürchterlich," 127.

⁵⁷ "Erstmaliges Konzertaufreten in 'free-jazz'-Gefilden... die große Überraschung." Karlheinz Drechsel, "Jazzkonzert mit DDR-Solisten," *Melodie und Rhythmus*, no. 9, May 1966, 24.

⁵⁸ "Das Quartett bot avantgardistischen 'free jazz' und ließ damit bewußt werden, welche weitgezogene Skala inzwischen der Jazz auch bei uns einnimmt. Mögen die Ansichten zu jener Musizierströmung auch recht unterschiedlich sein, so wurde dennoch offensichtlich, daß die strebsame Gruppe hohe Leistungen offerierte. J. Kühns harmonische Arbeit und das Spiel des geradezu phantastischen Bassisten Klaus Koch frappten immer wieder... Obwohl bei E. L. Petrowsky unwillkürlich der Hang zu jahrelang praktizierten Ausdrucksformen 'durchschimmerte,' gelang es dem Görlitzer Musiker - dank seines schon oft zitierten Könnens -, das Suchen nach neuen Wegen künstlerisch überzeugend und ehrlich zu demonstrieren." Ibid., 26.

Friedrich Gulda. With the help of both his brother Rolf Kühn, who had left East Germany in 1950, and Gulda, Joachim Kühn was able to escape from the GDR and moved to Hamburg before he relocated to Paris in 1968.⁵⁹

While the Manfred-Ludwig-Sextett increasingly played at dancing parties, Petrowsky formed his own group in 1966 as a “band within the band” with members of the sextet. Petrowsky’s new group “appeared in public with a quintet and accordingly with a quartet lineup exclusively with jazz music.”⁶⁰ He located his music squarely within the realm of African American jazz experimentalism by stating: “My music moves within modern bop, however within this area that has knowledge of Eric Dolphy, Ornette Coleman, Archie Shepp, and Joe Henderson.”⁶¹ On December 12, 1966 the Petrowsky Quintet performed in the context of the recently established “Jazz in der Kammer” concert series, where it played compositions by Horace Silver, Sonny Rollins, John Coltrane, and Manfred Schoof alongside original pieces by Petrowsky himself, among them the composition “Variationen zu Joe Henderson.” “Jazz in der Kammer” was initiated by a group of jazz enthusiasts, which included dramaturg Martin Linzer, actor Dieter Mann, and landscape gardener Erhard Schmidt, who was the brother of Siegfried Schmidt-Joos.⁶² The group proposed the establishment of a jazz concert series to the artistic and executive directors of the Deutsche Theater and suggested the adjacent Kammerspiele, a modern

⁵⁹ For an account of Joachim Kühn’s escape from East Germany, see Maxi Sickert, *Clarinet Bird: Rolf Kühn – Jazzgespräche* (Berlin: Christian Broecking Verlag, 2009), 114-115.

⁶⁰ “Die in Quintett-bzw. Quartett-Besetzung ausschließlich mit Jazzmusik an die Öffentlichkeit geht.” “Jazz in der Kammer”, Playbill no. 9, December 12, 1966.

⁶¹ “Meine Musik bewegt sich innerhalb des modernen Bop, allerdings in jenem Bezirk, der um Eric Dolphy, Ornette Coleman, Archie Shepp und Joe Henderson weiß.” Helmut Hilbert, “Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky: Moderner Bop mit Free-Impulsen,” *Jazz Podium* 16, no. 10, October 1967, 291.

⁶² Martin Linzer, “‘Jazz in der Kammer’ 1965-1990,” in Bratfisch, *Freie Töne*, 93.

drama stage established by Max Reinhardt in 1906, as a location for the prospective events. On November 1, 1965 the series took off with a performance by the Joachim Kühn Trio, which in Linzer's words was "the weirdest that was available back then in terms of modern jazz in the GDR."⁶³ Consistent with the choice of the Deutsches Theater as a location, where productions by dramatist Heiner Müller were staged, the "Jazz in der Kammer" organizers sought to dissociate jazz from popular music and especially dancing music. The program for the first concert outlined the goals behind the series' establishment in the following terms: "'Jazz in der Kammer' is intended to become – the interest of Berlin jazz fans implied – a constant concert series thereby to create a permanent podium for jazz as an art form in Berlin... 'Jazz in der Kammer' is intended to serve the advancement and popularization of modern jazz in our republic and exclude any type of commercial dancing music, any pseudo jazz, and unqualified amateur music."⁶⁴

In 1966 composer Andre Asriel published his study *Jazz: Analysen und Aspekte*, the first comprehensive scholarly account of jazz published in the GDR. Viennese-born Asriel, who drew upon jazz in many of his compositions, was a protégé of Hanns Eisler, who himself had engaged in the East German jazz debate during the 1950s. For instance, in a 1956 interview Eisler stated flatly: "If we concern ourselves with American culture we have to maintain the proportions and

⁶³ "Das Schrägste, was derzeit an modernem Jazz in der DDR zu haben war." Ibid., 94.

⁶⁴ "'Jazz in der Kammer' soll – das Interesse der Berliner Jazz-Freunde vorausgesetzt – zu einer festen Veranstaltungsreihe werden und damit dem Jazz als Kunstform ein ständiges Podium in Berlin schaffen... 'Jazz in der Kammer' soll der Förderung und Popularisierung des modern jazz in unserer Republik dienen und jede Art von kommerzieller Tanzmusik, jeden Pseudojazz und unqualifizierte Amateurmusik ausschließen.'" "Jazz in der Kammer", Playbill no. 1, November 1, 1965.

in a critical fashion separate the good from the bad even in jazz. Even in the worst depraved jazz something from the rebellion of the oppressed Negroes lingers on.⁶⁵

In his study Asriel divided the history of jazz into three distinctive periods, which he denoted as “folksy jazz,” “commercial jazz,” and “snobbish jazz,” while suggesting a transitional period between the first two main periods.⁶⁶ He traced the emergence of “snobbish jazz,” which he used synonymously for modern or contemporary jazz, to the mid-1930s, while asserting “that the development, which only set in fully during World War II and then spread to Europe, has not been concluded.”⁶⁷ Furthermore he differentiated within “snobbish jazz” between a nonconformist and a conformist tendency, whereupon bebop, hard bop, soul jazz, and free jazz were subsumed under the former category. For Asriel “snobbish jazz” was “a bourgeois-individualistic music and wants to come across as concert music, however without achieving its wealth of ideas or depth of feeling in general.”⁶⁸ Asriel’s deliberations can be read as a response to the phase-delayed onset of a dynamic that George E. Lewis has described for the US context in the following terms: “By the mid-1950s, black music was being rapidly transformed from a passive source of raw materials for the experiments of pan-European composers to a feared

⁶⁵ “Wenn wir uns mit der amerikanischen Kultur beschäftigen, müssen wir die Proportionen wahren und in kritischer Weise Gutes vom Schlechten trennen, auch im Jazz... Auch im schlechtesten, verkommenen Jazz lebt noch etwas von der Empörung der unterdrückten Neger.” Quoted in Bratfisch, “Soviel Anfang war nie,” 42.

⁶⁶ “Volkstümlicher Jazz... kommerzialisierter Jazz... snobistischer Jazz.” Andre Asriel, *Jazz: Analysen und Aspekte* (Berlin: VEB Lied der Zeit Musikverlag, 1966), 19-22.

⁶⁷ “Die Entwicklung, die erst während des zweiten Weltkriegs voll einsetzte und danach auf Europa übergriff, ist noch nicht abgeschlossen.” *Ibid.*, 22

⁶⁸ “Eine bürgerlich-individualistische Musik und will als Konzertmusik verstanden sein, ohne im allgemeinen allerdings deren Gedankenreichtum und Gefühlstiefe zu erreichen.” *Ibid.*, 23.

competitor offering a trenchant alternative to the latest products of the pan-European high art tradition.”⁶⁹

The extent to which Ariel’s historical narrative was rooted in the still prevalent notion of formalism was exemplified by his characterization of “snobbish jazz” as shaped by “tendencies towards pessimism and abstraction.”⁷⁰ He identified free jazz as a form of “experimental music,” whose practitioners continued the perceived self-indulgence that the bebop movement had initiated.⁷¹ In Ariel’s reading, however, free jazz largely fell short of what qualified as music: “There is no longer a binding formal scheme, no common harmony and key, even now and then no common tempo. The results are, unsurprisingly, often chaotic (Ornette Coleman) and only become music where the regulatory hand of the jazz composer intervenes in the individualistic collective improvisation (Charlie Mingus).”⁷²

When Petrowsky performed in 1966 at a ball, he was approached by Karl-Heinz Deim, the deputy editor-in-chief for music at the Rundfunk der DDR (Radio of the GDR). A trained musicologist, Daim was not only a champion of jazz but also a high-ranking SED party official who was frustrated with the amateurish bands utilized for the Radio of the GDR’s jazz programs. He sought to ameliorate the situation by establishing a permanent professional jazz ensemble for prospective radio broadcasts. Petrowsky recalls Daim making him the following offer: “Listen,

⁶⁹ Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself*, 377-378.

⁷⁰ “Tendenzen zu Pessimismus und Abstraktion.” Asriel, *Jazz*, 22.

⁷¹ “Experimentalmusik.” *Ibid.*, 24.

⁷² “Es gibt kein bindendes Formschema mehr, keine gemeinsame Harmonik und Tonart, ja mitunter auch kein gemeinsames Tempo. Die Resultate sind, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, oft chaotisch (Ornette Coleman) und werden nur dort zu Musik, wo die ordnende Hand des Jazzkomponisten in die individualistische Kollektivimprovisation eingreift (Charlie Mingus).” *Ibid.*, 177.

what do you think about that? I want you to be the boss of a group and to pick six people. You can choose them. And then I guarantee you a small fee and that you have a session once a month, where you play compositions or even freely but in any case professionally.”⁷³

As a result Petrowsky assembled the radio jazz sextet Ensemble Studio IV, whose significance Rainer Bratfisch has described as an “initial spark for the development of relatively independent styles of playing jazz in the GDR.”⁷⁴ Led by Petrowsky, the ensemble, which became “the first permanent jazz ensemble of the Radio of the GDR,” was named after the broadcasting studio in which the group recorded and included trumpeter Joachim Graswurm, trombonist Hubert Katzenbeier, pianist Eberhard Weise, bassist Klaus Koch, and drummer Wolfgang Winkler.⁷⁵ At that time Graswurm, Katzenbeier, Koch, and Winkler were members of the Rundfunk-Tanzorchester Berlin (Radio Dance Orchestra Berlin), whereas Weise was associated with the Rundfunk-Tanzorchester Leipzig (Radio Dance Orchestra Leipzig). Petrowsky, Weise, and Graswurm emerged as the ensemble’s primary composers, but Ensemble Studio IV’s repertoire also included compositions by Sonny Rollins, Freddie Hubbard, Joe Henderson, and Krzysztof Komeda.⁷⁶ The ensemble had a monthly day of rehearsals and

⁷³ “Hör mal, was hältst du davon? Ich möchte, dass du der Boss einer Band bist und dir sechs Leute suchst. Kannst du dir aussuchen. Und dann garantiere ich euch ein kleines Salär, dass Ihr einmal im Monat ‘ne Session habt, wo ihr Kompositionen spielt oder auch frei, aber jedenfalls professionell.” Petrowsky, interview with the author, February 28, 2011.

⁷⁴ “Initialzündung für die Entwicklung relativ eigenständiger Jazz-Spielweisen in der DDR.” Bratfisch, “Die sechziger Jahre,” 88.

⁷⁵ “Erstes ständiges Jazz-Ensemble des Deutschen Demokratischen Rundfunks.” Wolfgang Lange, “Man spricht von Luten und Studio IV,” *Melodie und Rhythmus*, no. 3, 1969, 6.

⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, 8.

recorded between 20 and 30 minutes of music on the following day for productions, which were broadcast every six weeks on Radio of the GDR's "Jazz vor zehn" program.⁷⁷

Petrowsky delineated Ensemble Studio IV's conceptual approach, which he linked to the endeavor to musically come into one's own, in the following terms: "Musically we don't want to tie ourselves to categories but we try to play ourselves. At the same time I view our music as an artistic reflection of contemporary art particularly, of course, as a reflection of the music of our time whereas I include popular music too, all forms of jazz, and non-European music cultures as well."⁷⁸

A conceptual model for Ensemble Studio IV was the sextet of US composer, theorist, and pianist George Russell. Between 1960 and 1964 Russell made a series of recordings for the Decca and Riverside labels, in which he utilized a sextet whose instrumentation was identical to that of the Petrowsky-led ensemble and which included Eric Dolphy, trumpeter Don Ellis, and trombonist David Baker. In 1964 Russell relocated to Scandinavia where he taught and collaborated with up and coming Norwegian jazz experimentalists such as saxophonist Jan Garbarek, guitarist Terje Rypdal, and drummer Jon Christensen. During the late 1960s and early 1970s Russell also worked with German musicians such as Schoof, Dudek, and Mangelsdorff. As Petrowsky stated in a 1969 interview regarding Russell's significance for Ensemble Studio IV's musical concepts: "Contemporary jazz knows the most varied instrumental combinations.

⁷⁷ See Bratfisch, "Die sechziger Jahre," 88.

⁷⁸ "Musikalisch wollen wir uns nicht in Kategorien festlegen, sondern versuchen, uns selbst zu spielen. Dabei sehe ich unsere Musik als künstlerische Reflexion der zeitgenössischen Kunst an, - besonders natürlich als Reflexion der Musik unserer Zeit, wobei ich auch die populäre Musik, alle Formen des Jazz und auch die außereuropäische Musikkulturen miteinbezogen wissen möchte." Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky, Program notes, "Jazz in der Kammer," Playbill no. 15, February 5, 1968. I am indebted to Wolf-P. "Assi" Glöde, who kindly provided me with copies of the "Jazz in der Kammer" concert programs.

But eventually a sextet lineup, common in today's jazz, in which for instance the internationally renowned group of George Russell, who lives in Sweden, makes music, seemed very suitable, especially since modern-playing fine musicians were available for these instrumental positions.”⁷⁹

Petrowsky was especially intrigued with Russell's “three-part horn section, which with him sounded like nobody else and you didn't feel the need of other parts” and “the slightly different compositions as well,” which were informed by the composer's *Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization*.⁸⁰ Music critic Rolf Reichelt has described Ensemble Studio IV's engagement with freer ways of playing in the following terms: “The themes are often arranged in a dissonant minor mood, the pieces end with a recapitulation, free improvisations occur in a duo and trio (horns with bass and drums), however, these passages rarely undergo development in accordance with a present-day understanding of free jazz.”⁸¹ Petrowsky himself has referred to this moment as characterized “by a compulsory desire for Free Jazz.”⁸²

⁷⁹ “Der zeitgenössische Jazz kennt die vielfältigsten Instrumentalkombinationen. Schließlich aber schien uns eine im Jazz unserer Zeit gebräuchliche Sextett-Form, in der beispielsweise auch die international anerkannte Gruppe des in Schweden lebenden George Russell musiziert, sehr geeignet, zumal uns für diese instrumentalen Positionen modern spielende gute Musiker zur Verfügung standen.” Lange, “Man spricht von Luten,” 7.

⁸⁰ “Der dreistimmige Bläusersatz, der bei ihm so klang wie bei niemandem sonst, und man vermisste auch keine Stimme. Und dann auch diese etwas andersgearteten Kompositionen.” Petrowsky, interview with the author, February 28, 2011. For a discussion of Russell's *Lydian Chromatic Concept*, see Ingrid Monson, “Oh Freedom: George Russell, John Coltrane, and Modal Jazz,” in *In the Course of Performance: Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation*, ed. Bruno Nettl and Melinda Russell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 149-168.

⁸¹ “Through the use of three wind instruments, there arise in the course of time certain arranger-clichés and sound patterns which are varied, to be sure, but never given up. The themes are often arranged in a dissonant minor atmosphere; the piece ends with a reprise of the theme; there are free improvisation passages in duets or trios (winds with bass and drums), but these passages rarely were given much development in the sense of today's Free Jazz.” Rolf Reichelt, “A Few Aspects of the Development of Free Jazz in the German Democratic Republic,” translated by John Evarts, http://www.fmp-publishing.de/freemusicproduction/labelsspecialeditions/snapshot_reichelt_en.html.

⁸² Quoted in *ibid*.

In June 1968 Ensemble Studio IV was invited to perform at the Montreux Jazz Festival, which was established in the previous year. At the 1968 festival its organizers had asked public service broadcasters in Western and Eastern Europe to dispatch groups to Montreux, whose members had to be under thirty-five years of age, to participate in a contest. Through the initiative of Radio of the GDR, Ensemble Studio IV was chosen to represent East Germany in this contest, in which up-and-coming European jazz musicians, who also represented their respective countries, competed for a US tour. As Petrowsky has related in an interview with Bratfisch, before the festival “there were anonymous letters according to which at the very least Klaus Koch and I were supposed to be enticed away by Joachim Kühn, who at that time already was in the West.”⁸³ To prevent their eventual escape Radio of the GDR sent a watchdog along.

Among the European musicians participating in the competition were Manfred Schoof, Alexander von Schlippenbach, Jan Garbarek, English saxophonist John Surman, and Danish trumpeter Palle Mikkelborg. For the members of Ensemble Studio IV, this was not only their first performance in the West but also in front of a large audience. Petrowsky remembers this performance as particularly dreadful:

A band of a similar nature, the Manfred Schoof Sextet with Alexander von Schlippenbach, therefore awesomely manned, performed and, of course, they played in a very relaxed fashion whereas we could get our beautiful arrangements just barely across. There was a kind of turret, the stage in the middle, and all around the people were seated. I will never forget that. We were, so to speak, ‘visible’ from all angles. It was stage fright-intensifying and the whole situation was psychologically awful. We were only used to playing at dancing parties in our small country at culture or club houses. When we got on that stage all colleagues whispered to me: ‘I am not playing a chorus today!’⁸⁴

⁸³ “Es hatte anonyme Briefe gegeben, wonach zumindest Klaus Koch und ich von Joachim Kühn, der damals schon im Westen war, abgeworben werden sollten.” Bratfisch, “Aber Montreux war fürchterlich, ” 128.

⁸⁴ “Es trat da eine ähnlich geartetete Band auf, das Manfred Schoof Sextett mit Alexander von Schlippenbach, also toll bestetzt, und die spielte natürlich ganz relaxt, während wir unsere schönen Arrangements nur mit Mühe und Not über die Bühne bringen konnten. Das war so eine Art Rondell, die Bühne in der Mitte und ringsherum saßen die

Among the critics who attended Ensemble Studio IV's unsuccessful performance was Joachim-Ernst Berendt. In his review, he correlated Ensemble Studio IV's perceived uptight way of playing with the state socialist system by quoting from a personal letter written to him by Radio of the GDR's editor-in-chief Wilhelm Penndorf. In this letter Penndorf posited a distinctive path of development for jazz in state socialist countries, which supposedly deviated from that in capitalist countries. According to Berendt, Penndorf stated, "in principle we have independent conceptual thoughts on the advancement of jazz music according to socialist conditions."⁸⁵ In doing so, Penndorf voiced ideas that were consistent with SED governmental cultural policies that, as Irmgard Jugmann has suggested, sought "to establish a distinctive popular music, which was in accordance with the demands of a socialist conceived social responsibility."⁸⁶ Taking a cue from Penndorf's deliberations, Berendt stated sardonically:

At that time everyone who saw that letter laughed about it. Meanwhile I wonder if it does not contain a sad truth. These musicians played just as 'unrelaxed' and self-conscious as the above quoted sentences are phrased. One of the Scandinavian critics reckoned: 'One has to live in an uptight fashion in order to play in an uptight fashion.' Under these circumstances it would have been better if Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky had just played with a rhythm section. Then, unimpeded by arrangements and presentation issues, he could have just given proof of his musical and technical skills, which he possesses without a doubt, and by that outperformed some other of the numerous existing alto saxophonists.⁸⁷

Leute, das werde ich nie vergessen, wir waren von allen Seiten sozusagen 'einsehbar.' Das war lampenfielerverstärkend und die ganze Situation psychologisch furchtbar. Wir waren ja nur gewohnt, in unserem kleinen Land zu spielen, in Kultur- bzw. Klubhäusern. Und als wir da auf dieses Podium stiegen, raunten mir alle Kollegen zu: 'Ich spiele heute keinen Chorus!'" Ibid.

⁸⁵ "Wir grundsätzlich eigene konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur Weiterentwicklung der Jazzmusik unter sozialistischen Bedingungen haben." Quoted in Joachim-Ernst Berendt, "Jazzfestival in Montreux," in *Jazz Podium* 17, no. 8, 1968, 248.

⁸⁶ "Eine eigenständige Populärmusik aufzubauen, die den Forderungen nach sozialistisch verstandener gesellschaftlicher Verantwortung entsprach." Jungmann, *Kalter Krieg in der Musik*, 152.

In April and May 1969 Ensemble Studio IV was provided with an opportunity to record an album for the Amiga label. Entitled *Jazz mit dem Ensemble Studio 4*, the album contained primarily compositions by Petrowsky and Weise.⁸⁸ In the wake of the album's release, however, the palpable lack of acceptance of contemporary jazz practices on the part of audiences and fellow musicians became an extraordinary challenge. The extent to which jazz musicians during the late 1960s could still be categorized as potentially subversive was voiced by culture secretary Klaus Gysi in 1967 in unmistakable terms. Gysi identified "the beautiful euphoria of a state of intoxication" as a "basic means of imperialist manipulation" and denoted music as "one of its major instruments."⁸⁹ As Petrowsky recalls: "Through the radio network we sometimes had events – among others in Dresden at the Keller am Weißen Hirsch, where usually [popular band leader] Theo Schumann played. There were hardly any people. And those few were appalled. That gave them the creeps. At a major event in Leipzig, with the radio network as well, together with Günter Hörig, not even the Hörig folks were looking at us. They thought we were as mad as a hatter."⁹⁰

⁸⁷ "Damals haben alle, die diesen Brief gesehen haben, darüber gelacht. Inzwischen frage ich mich, ob nicht doch traurige Wahrheit darin steckt. Diese Musiker spielen wirklich so 'unrelaxed' und gehemmt, wie die oben zitierten Sätze formuliert sind. Einer der skandinavischen Kritiker meinte: 'Man muß verkrampft leben, um so verkrampft spielen zu können.' Unter diesen Umständen wäre es besser gewesen, wenn Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky nur mit einer Rhythmusgruppe gespielt hätte. Dann hätte er unbehindert von Arrangements und Präsentationsproblemen einfach sein musikalisches Können, das er ja zweifellos besitzt, unter Beweis stellen können und dadurch manchen anderen der zahlreich vorhandenen Altsaxophonisten übertroffen." Berendt, "Jazzfestival in Montreux," 248.

⁸⁸ Ensemble Studio 4, *Jazz mit dem Ensemble Studio 4* (Amiga 855 187, 1969), vinyl recording.

⁸⁹ "Die schöne Euphorie des Rauschzustandes...ein Hauptmittel der Manipulation...eines ihrer Hauptinstrumente." Quoted in Peter Wicke, "Rock 'n' Roll im Stadtpark: Von einer unerlaubten Vision in den Grenzen des Erlaubten," in *Jeans, Rock und Vietnam: Amerikanische Kultur in der DDR*, ed. Therese Hörnigk and Alexander Stephan (Berlin: Theater der Zeit and Literaturforum im Brecht-Haus Berlin, 2002), 73.

⁹⁰ "Wir hatten durch den Rundfunk manchmal Veranstaltungen – unter anderem in Dresden in dem Keller am Weißen Hirsch, wo sonst Theo Schumann spielte. Da waren fast keine Leute. Und die wenigen waren entsetzt, das

In September 1969 through the initiative of Brötzmann and then-bassist and organizer Jost Gebers the record label and musicians' collective Free Music Production (FMP) was established in West Berlin. The two men had known each other since the mid-1960s. Born in Berlin in 1940, Gebers began to play the bass after he attended a series of transformative concerts by the Jimmy Giuffre 3, John Coltrane's Quintet, which at that time included Eric Dolphy, and Sonny Rollins' quartet with Don Cherry in the early 1960s.⁹¹ While studying art and graphic design, Gebers began to organize a jazz club at a West Berlin youth club, where during the latter half of the 1960s musicians such as Gerd Dudek, Barre Phillips, and Mani Neumeier performed. Around 1966 Gebers began to collaborate with one of Brötzmann's groups and Donata Höffer's trio. After a series of events organized by the short-lived New Jazz Artists' Guild in 1966, German and Swiss jazz experimentalists organized an event at a Cologne underground garage on August 30, 1968. Featuring Brötzmann, Schlippenbach, Hampel, Schweizer, and Neumeier, the event was a response to the exclusion of free jazz musicians at the contemporaneous Jazz am Rhein Festival, which was organized by Gigi Campi.⁹² In a *Jazz Podium* review Dieter Zimmerle accordingly referred to the event as an "attack on the bastion of established jazz."⁹³

The long-cherished idea to bring together the activities of German jazz experimentalists began to be put in concrete terms during the important Internationale Essener Songtage 1968,

war ihnen alles nicht so geheuer. Bei einer Großveranstaltung in Leipzig, auch mit dem Rundfunk, zusammen mit Günter Hörig, da guckten uns noch nicht mal die Hörig-Leute an. Die dachten, wir hätten alle 'ne Meise.' Bratfisch, "Aber Montreux war fürchterlich," 129.

⁹¹ The information pertaining to Jost Gebers's biography is derived from a personal interview that I conducted with him on November 22 in Borken, Germany.

⁹² See Dieter Zimmerle, "Jazz am Rhein," *Jazz Podium* 17, no. 10, October 1968, 304.

⁹³ "Angriff gegen die Bastion des etablierten Jazz." Ibid.

West Germany's first rock festival, which took place between September 25 and 29. Among the groups featured at the festival were Brötzmann's ensemble and Gunter Hampel's Time is Now group, which included English guitarist John McLaughlin. The festival's organizers also presented recently formed German experimental rock groups such as Guru Guru Groove, which included Mani Neumeier and Uli Trepte, and Tangerine Dream, along with US underground bands such as The Mothers of Invention and The Fugs. As Gebers has recalled in a 1971 *Jazz Podium* interview, "At the Essener Songtage our decision to mount a so-called 'anti-festival' during the Berliner Jazztage 1968 came to maturity."⁹⁴

When Peter Brötzmann was disinvited from the Berliner Jazztage in 1968 due to the fact that he could not guarantee that his band members would perform in the then-required evening attire, this became the inducement for organizing and staging the first Total Music Meeting (TMM) in November 1968. Handsomely funded, in 1968 the Berliner Jazztage featured predominantly well established US musicians such as Count Basie, Dizzy Gillespie, Muddy Waters, and Art Blakey, in addition to Don Cherry. For Brötzmann, who during the late 1960s felt "underrepresented in the official music world and especially at the Berlin Jazzfest," the Total Music Meeting 1968 "was, of course, meant as an anti-demonstration against the politics of the Berlin Jazzfestival and with a certain right."⁹⁵ In a *Sounds* announcement the Berliner Jazztage were denounced as "a commercial event at which its organizers want to enrich themselves," whereas "the music of today in the process clearly gets a raw deal."⁹⁶ Advertised as an "Anti

⁹⁴ "Bei den Essener Songtagen reifte unser Entschluß, während der Berliner Jazztage 1968 ein sogenanntes 'Gegenfestival' auf die Beine zu stellen." Gees F. Margull, "Gespräch über Ziele der Free Music Production in Berlin," *Jazz Podium* 20, no. 6, June 1971, 209-210.

⁹⁵ Brötzmann, interview with the author, July 2, 2010.

Festival,” the first Total Music Meeting took place contemporaneously with the Berliner Jazztage at West Berlin’s Quartier des Quasimodo between November 7 and 10, 1968. At the cash desk the Total Music Meeting’s organizers displayed a cardboard sign, which read: “For jazz critics the double cover charge.”⁹⁷ By 1968 the term “total music” had gained currency; Don Cherry named his then-current ensemble, which included Karl Berger, the New York Total Music Company. In a 1968 *Jazz Podium* article the influential concert promoter Fritz Rau was quoted as saying: “I can’t imagine much under ‘free jazz.’ Therefore it would be more appropriate to talk of ‘total music.’ It enables the musician to express himself, whereby the boundaries of what one conceives of jazz have been pushed and transgressed by now, of course, fortunately.”⁹⁸

The first Total Music Meeting featured performances by the Globe Unity Orchestra, the groups of Brötzmann, Schoof, Hampel, Höffer, and the Spontaneous Music Ensemble. During the performance of Gunter Hampel’s Time is Now African American experimentalists Pharoah Sanders and Sonny Sharrock, who both had performed with Don Cherry’s Big Band at the Berliner Jazztage, joined Hampel’s group as special guests.

Between April 4 and 6, 1969, Gebers and Brötzmann arranged the first Workshop Freie Musik (Workshop Free Music), “3 Nights Of Living Music And Minimal Arts,” for which the

⁹⁶ “Eine kommerzielle Veranstaltung, an denen [sic] sich die Organisatoren bereichern wollen...die Musik von heute kommt dabei eindeutig zu kurz.” “Anti Festival Berlin,” *Sounds*, no. 9, 1968.

⁹⁷ “Für Jazzkritiker doppelter Eintrittspreis.” Achim Forst, “Free Music Production (FMP),” Translator unknown, http://www.fmp-label.de/freemusicproduction/texte/1981d_forst.html.

⁹⁸ “Unter ‘Free Jazz’ kann ich mir nicht viel vorstellen. Es wäre daher angebrachter, von ‘total music’ zu sprechen. Sie gibt dem Musiker die Möglichkeit, sich auszudrücken, wobei die Grenzen dessen, was man unter Jazz versteht, natürlich längst gesprengt und überschritten sind – erfreulicherweise.” Quoted in Günter Schenk, “Free Jazz,” *Jazz Podium* 17, no. 7, July 1968, 223.

Berlin Akademie der Künste (Academy of the Arts) made its premises available. During the event its organizers presented ensembles by Schlippenbach and Höffer in addition to the groups of British blues artist Alexis Korner and German trombonist Ed Kröger.

When Gebers, through the initiative of Brötzmann, founded Free Music Production in September 1969, the idea of bringing together German jazz experimentalists had been in their heads for a while. At first Brötzmann tried to persuade Gebers to establish a management that would put German ensembles in contact with prospective interested parties. By Gebers' own account, this initial idea did not materialize since he "was just completely unsuited for that, so that it completely foundered pretty quickly."⁹⁹ As Gebers has recounted, FMP's goal emerged only in retrospect:

It only emerged later that we wanted to have a stage where we could do things according to our liking apart from what was going on with the festival routine, to arrange the whole thing just so that it was more in line with the music and that it allowed more areas of freedom for the audience and for the musicians. In concrete terms, things were structured in a way that in the initial period during the five days each company, each ensemble, each soloist, could perform repeatedly, could perform three times. In the early days at the Akademie there were public rehearsals in the afternoon. Whoever was interested in these things back then had relatively good access after all to note how this works, what they were doing there.¹⁰⁰

Founded as a non-profit organization, FMP was originally and continues to be of critical importance for the presentation and documentation of post-1950s jazz and improvised music.

From the outset FMP's objective has been to create "independent from the commercial music

⁹⁹ "War dafür nun völlig ungeeignet, so dass sich das sehr schnell völlig zerschlagen hat." Jost Gebers, interview with the author, Borken, November 22, 2010.

¹⁰⁰ "Später hat sich erst herausgestellt, dass wir eine Plattform haben wollten, wo wir nach unserem Gusto Dinge machen konnten, abseits von dem, was in diesem ganzen Festivalbetrieb da ablief, das Ganze eben so zu gestalten, dass es einmal mehr der Musik entsprach und auch mehr Freiräume ließ für das Publikum und für die Musiker. Konkret waren die Dinge ja so strukturiert, dass in der Anfangszeit während dieser fünf Tage jede Truppe, jedes Ensemble, jeder Solist mehrfach auftreten konnte, also dreimal auftreten konnte. Richtig in der Anfangszeit in der Akademie gab es noch öffentliche Proben nachmittags. Wer sich damals für diese Dinge interessierte, hatte doch einen relativ guten Zugang, um festzustellen, wie das eigentlich funktioniert, was die da machen." Ibid.

industry, a better working condition for today's [sic] creative jazz musicians and composers, and to give the audiences a more suitable possibility from a general view of the new music."¹⁰¹

The foundation of FMP took place in the context of analogous endeavors of self-organization on the part of Dutch and British improvisers. Already in 1967 Han Bennink, Willem Breuker and Misha Mengelberg had founded the musicians' cooperative Instant Composers Pool (ICP). Contemporaneously with the conception of the first Total Music Meeting "discussions about an independent production of records" began to emerge.¹⁰² Beginning with Brötzmann's *For Adolphe Sax*, released on his own record label BRÖ in 1967, a growing number of European jazz experimentalists began to release self-produced recordings during the latter half of the 1960s. These included Pierre Favre's *Santana* (1968) and Schlippenbach's *The Living Music* (1969).¹⁰³ In July 1969 Gunter Hampel founded his own record label company Birth Records, whose first production *The 8th of July 1969* featured African American experimentalists such as vocalist Jeanne Lee, and AACM members multi-reedist Anthony Braxton and drummer Steve McCall.¹⁰⁴ By 1970 English improvisers Derek Bailey, Tony Oxley, and Evan Parker established the independent company Incus records. As Gebers has related, however, it was the short-lived company Debut records, established in 1952 by Charles and Celia Mingus and Max Roach, which "we related to at that time" and which despite its transitory nature served as a model for

¹⁰¹ Free Music Production Information sheet, FMP Archive, in possession of Jost Gebers, Borken, Germany.

¹⁰² "Diskussionen für eine eigenständige Produktion von Schallplatten." Bontrup et al., "Die jungen Wilden," in *sounds like whoopataal*, 211.

¹⁰³ Pierre Favre, *Santana* (PIP 1, 1969), vinyl recording; Alexander von Schlippenbach, *The Living Music* (Atavistic UMS/ALP 231 CD, [1969] 2002), compact disc.

¹⁰⁴ Gunter Hampel, *The 8th of July 1969* (Birth Records CD 001, [1969] 1992), compact disc.

FMP.¹⁰⁵ In November 1969 Schoof's *European Echoes* was released by FMP as its first album after Gebers was able to obtain the tapes of the recording from Radio Bremen free of charge.¹⁰⁶

In a *Jazz Podium* advertisement FMP promoted the album in the following terms: "To our way of thinking especially this record, with arguably at the moment the most significant European free jazz musicians, points out Free Music Production's goals: to present the new jazz independently."¹⁰⁷

In the context of its two major annual events, the Total Music Meeting and the Workshop Freie Musik, which was supported by the Akademie der Künste and its then-president Boris Blacher, FMP presented major European improvisers. FMP's pan-European focus, however, began to shift already during the early 1970s, as US musicians such as Don Cherry, Steve Lacy, Frank Wright, and Narada Burton Greene were invited to its events. Moreover, Brötzmann and Gebers were able to establish contacts with proponents of the contemporary music world such as electro-acoustic music pioneer Hugh Davies and trombonist and composer Vinko Globokar. During the 1971 Workshop Freie Musik Brötzmann's group included both Don Cherry and Hugh Davies. For Brötzmann the extension of the events' pan-European focus and the breaking down of genre boundaries were crucial considerations and features, which distinguished FMP's events from similar contemporaneous events in the Netherlands and in the UK:

We tried to have a wide range of all kinds of music and that was the kind of difference from the Dutch and the English programs. The English, the Incus people Evan Parker, Derek Bailey, Tony Oxley, they kept it quite for themselves and some of the English

¹⁰⁵ "Auf die wir uns zu der Zeit bezogen haben." Gebers, interview with the author, November 22, 2010.

¹⁰⁶ Manfred Schoof, *European Echoes* (Atavistic UMS/ALP 232 CD, [1969] 2002), compact disc.

¹⁰⁷ "nach unserer meinung zeigt gerade diese platte, mit den wohl wichtigsten europäischen free-jazz-musikern, die ziele der free music production: unabhängig den neuen jazz zu präsentieren." FMP advertisement for Manfred Schoof recording *European Echoes*, *Jazz Podium* 18, no. 11, November 1969, 370.

comrades. And the Dutch did the same. ICP was a Dutch production with Dutch musicians--sometimes a guest, as it was Derek [Bailey] or myself or Dudu [Pukwana]. But we had the possibility and maybe we had the money, too and we were willing and we were convinced that it was necessary to show really the very wide range of improvised music in these days and so we invited what we could, what we could pay.¹⁰⁸

In October 1969, a month after FMP was founded, West Germany's Social Democratic Party formed a government coalition with the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and elected Willy Brandt as the first Social Democratic Federal Chancellor. Immediately after his inauguration on October 26, 1969 Brandt began to pursue the implementation of new ideas, which aimed at a détente in terms of bilateral relations with East Germany and "Eastern Bloc" states such as Poland and the Soviet Union. Already in a 1963 speech Egon Bahr, who in 1969 became Staatssekretär (State Secretary) in the German Chancellery during the Brandt administration, had outlined the foundations of a "Neue Ostpolitik" ("new Eastern policy"). In his speech Bahr urged the rejection of what he denoted as "the policy of strength" championed by Western countries at the height of the Cold War and advocated for the transformation of "Eastern Bloc" countries through small-scale steps, for which he coined the formula "change through rapprochement."¹⁰⁹ This idea would decisively inform the foreign policy of Brandt's administration. In his government policy address on October 28, 1969, Brandt made the relations between East and West Germany a subject of discussion: "It is the task of a practical policy in the years that now lie ahead of us to warrant the national unity in this way that the relation between the two parts of Germany loses its present tension. [...] 20 years after the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the

¹⁰⁸ Brötzmann, interview with the author, July 2, 2010.

¹⁰⁹ See Egon Bahr, "Wandel durch Annäherung," *Deutschlandarchiv: Zeitschrift für Fragen der DDR und der Deutschlandpolitik* 8 (1973): 862-865.

GDR we have to prevent a further drifting apart of the German nation therefore by means of a regulated coexistence try to arrive at togetherness.”¹¹⁰

Beginning in August 1970 Brandt signed a series of treaties despite the acrimonious resistance of hard-line conservatives, in which he sought to provide a basis for normalized bilateral relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia respectively. With the 1970 Moscow Treaty, West Germany bound itself to the renunciation of the use of force, the recognition of the Oder-Neisse-Line as Poland’s Western border, and the inviolability of the border between East and West Germany. In the wake of the 1971 Viermächteabkommen über Berlin (Four Power Agreement on Berlin) and the 1972 Transitabkommen (Transit Agreement) West and East Germany’s governments initialed the Grundlagenvertrag (Basic Treaty) in November 1972 after a three-month negotiation period. In the words of historian Klaus Schroeder, the treaty “regulated fundamental issues and concrete arrangements of intra-German relations.”¹¹¹ The Basic Treaty amounted to nothing less than the Federal Republic’s de facto constitutional recognition of the GDR. This was a clear-cut break with the so-called Hallstein Doctrine, which had been put in place in 1955 during the Adenauer government. The Hallstein Doctrine posited that the Federal Republic would not establish or maintain relations with countries that recognized the GDR and accordingly made a West German

¹¹⁰ “Aufgabe der praktischen Politik in den jetzt vor uns liegenden Jahren ist es, die Einheit der Nation dadurch zu wahren, daß das Verhältnis zwischen den Teilen Deutschlands aus der gegenwärtigen Verkrampfung gelöst wird. [...] 20 Jahre nach der Gründung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der DDR müssen wir ein weiteres Auseinanderleben der deutschen Nation verhindern, also versuchen, über ein geregeltes Nebeneinander zu einem Miteinander zu kommen.” Quoted in Christoph H. Werth, “Entspannungspolitik nach außen, Repression nach innen - die deutsch-deutschen Beziehungen 1969-1989,” in *Die unerträgliche Leichtigkeit der Kunst: Ästhetisches und politisches Handeln in der DDR*, ed. Michael Berg, Knut Holtsträter, and Albrecht von Massow (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 4.

¹¹¹ “Prinzipielle Fragen und konkrete Vereinbarungen des innerdeutschen Verhältnisses regelte.” Klaus Schroeder, *Der SED-Staat: Geschichte und Strukturen der DDR 1949-1990* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2013), 258.

claim to sole representation of Germany as a whole. Hans-Ulrich Wehler has argued that the social-liberal government “however not only bowed to the normative power of the factual, when it recognized the GDR and sought to improve relations with Eastern European states as well as the Soviet Union” but that it sought “with its ‘neue Ostpolitik’ to replicate that balance in turn, which had already succeeded since Adenauer’s Western integration in relation to the Western European states.”¹¹²

In Article 7 of the Basic Treaty both German states agreed to “conclude agreements with a view to developing and promoting on the basis of the present Treaty and for their mutual benefit cooperation in the fields of economics, science and technology, transport, judicial relations, posts and telecommunications, health, culture, sport, environmental protection, and in other fields.”¹¹³ As historian Elizabeth Janik has asserted, “Brandt’s initiatives had far-reaching cultural and political consequences” as “with the easing of travel restrictions between the two Berlins, and the easing of ‘German Democratic Republic’ into the Federal Republic’s public discourse, a more open east-west musical dialogue became possible.”¹¹⁴

The above agreements regarding intra-German cooperation were preceded by what Klaus Schroeder has denoted as the SED leadership’s “confined liberalization in the realm of culture” in the wake of Walter Ulbricht’s resignation as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the

¹¹² “Beugte sich indessen nicht nur der normativen Kraft des Faktischen, als sie die DDR anerkannte und die Beziehungen zu den osteuropäischen Staaten sowie zu Sowjetunion zu verbessern suchte... mit ihrer ‘neuen Ostpolitik’ jenen Ausgleich sinngemäß wiederholen, der seit Adenauers Westintegration im Verhältnis zu den westeuropäischen Staaten bereits gelungen war.” Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 253.

¹¹³ *The Basic Treaty (December, 21 1972)*, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/print_document.cfm?document_id=172.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 289.

SED on May 3, 1971.¹¹⁵ In the words of Janik, his successor as first party secretary, Erich Honecker, “ushered in a new era of SED cultural policy.”¹¹⁶ In his closing words at the 4th Congress of the Central Committee in December 1971 Honecker declared: “If one comes from the firm position of socialism, from my point of view there cannot be taboos in the realm of art und literature. That concerns both the organization with regard to content as well as style – in short: the issues of what one designates artistic mastery.”¹¹⁷ Honecker’s statements were in contradistinction to his deliberations during the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED, which took place in December 1965, where artists such as singer/songwriter Wolf Biermann and writers Heiner Müller and Stefan Heym were pilloried and numerous bands, plays, films, books, television and radio broadcasts were banned. During what its critics called Kahlschlag-Plenum (demolition plenum) Honecker had declared, “Our GDR is a clean state. In it there are unshakable standards of ethics and morality, for decency and good manners.”¹¹⁸

As Elizabeth Janik has argued regarding the larger ramifications of the ensuing cultural policy shift, “this vantage point permitted a freer attitude towards the musical experiments of the avant-garde.”¹¹⁹ At a Ministry of Culture “Dance Music Conference,” which took place in cooperation with the East German Composers’ Union between April 24 and 25, 1972 in East

¹¹⁵ “Begrenzte Lockerung im Bereich der Kultur.” Schroeder, *Der SED-Staat*, 251.

¹¹⁶ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, 285.

¹¹⁷ “Wenn man von der festen Position des Sozialismus ausgeht, kann es meines Erachtens auf dem Gebiet von Kunst und Literatur keine Tabus geben. Das betrifft sowohl die Fragen der inhaltlichen Gestaltung als auch des Stils – kurz gesagt: die Frage dessen, was man die künstlerische Meisterschaft nennt.” Quoted in Schroeder, *Der SED-Staat*, 252.

¹¹⁸ “Unsere DDR ist ein sauberer Staat. In ihr gibt es unverrückbare Maßstäbe der Ethik und Moral, für Anstand und gute Sitte.” Quoted in Staritz, *Geschichte der DDR*, 251.

¹¹⁹ Janik, *Recomposing German Music*, 285.

Berlin, Deputy Minister of Culture Werner Rackwitz addressed the implications of Honecker's 1971 directives for musics previously deemed dangerous: "We don't renounce jazz, beat, folk, just because imperialist mass culture has misused them for the manipulation of aesthetic judgement in the interest of maximization of profits."¹²⁰

In 1972 West Berlin's Senate and the GDR government agreed on a permanent Passierscheinverfahren (permit procedure), which made it possible for West Germans to visit East Berlin on a day visa under the condition that they leave East Berlin by midnight. As Jost Gebers recalls, in 1972 he received a phone call from a certain Rolf Reichelt, who expressed interest in meeting him in person. At first Gebers assumed that Reichelt worked for a West Berlin radio broadcaster but realized during the phone conversation that the latter was the editor-in-chief for jazz at Radio DDR II, where he hosted jazz broadcasts on a regular basis. Gebers and Reichelt met in East Berlin in September 1972 and attended a rehearsal by pianist and composer Ulrich Gumpert's Workshop Band in preparation for the 48th "Jazz in der Kammer" concert at the Erich Franz youth club. The Workshop Band rehearsed the suite *Aus deutschen Landen* (*From German Lands*) composed by Gumpert and based on German folk songs, which were referenced in the second volume of music theorist Paul Schenk's educational book *Funktioneller Tonsatz*.¹²¹ Gumpert's 13-piece ensemble, whose performance of *Aus deutschen Landen* was recorded on September 4, 1972 and released on the Amiga record label in 1977, included many of the foremost East German improvisers, such as Petrowsky, Manfred Schulze, trombonist

¹²⁰ "Wir verzichten nicht auf Jazz, Beat, Folklore, nur weil die imperialistische Massenkultur sie zur Manipulierung der ästhetischen Urteilsfähigkeit im Interesse der Profitmaximierung missbraucht." Quoted in Bratfisch, "Chronologie: Jazz in der DDR," in *Freie Töne*, 299.

¹²¹ Paul Schenk, *Funktioneller Tonsatz: Harmonielehre auf Grundlage des Volksliedes*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Pro Musica Verlag, 1952).

Conny Bauer, drummer Günter “Baby” Sommer, and alto saxophonist Manfred Hering.¹²²

Attending the rehearsal provided Gebers with the opportunity to meet the above musicians. By then Gebers had been familiar with the work of Petrowsky and Gumpert through Radio DDR broadcasts he had been listening to avidly during the early 1970s.

Born on January 26, 1945 in Jena, Ulrich Gumpert began to receive piano lessons at the age of seven from his father, an amateur musician.¹²³ Soon after, Gumpert learned the alto horn, and the tuba, which he played in a local brass band. At the age of fifteen his art teacher put the young pianist in touch with jazz and encouraged him to study music and to follow the path of improvisation. A year later Gumpert was accepted at the Musikhochschule Franz Liszt in Weimar but was dismissed from its attendant boarding school, which, as he recalls, was run by a Stalinist headmaster. When recordings by Armstrong’s Hot Five and Hot Seven, which Gumpert had borrowed from a colleague, were found in his dorm, this became a bone of contention. As Gumpert remembers, “I received the second stern reprimand under threat of expulsion in the words: ‘You brought imperialist ideas into our socialist boarding school. What do you say about that?’ And I didn’t say anything about that.”¹²⁴

In 1964 Gumpert was dismissed from the Musikhochschule Franz Liszt due to the fact that he refused to engage with the doctrinaire subject of Marxism-Leninism, a then obligatory major for all students. In the years following his expulsion Gumpert immersed himself fully in

¹²² Jazz-Werkstatt-Orchester, *Retrospektive – Jazz in der Kammer Nr. 100* (Edel: Content 0208059 CTT, [1977] 2012), compact disc

¹²³ The information pertaining to Ulrich Gumpert’s biography is derived from a personal interview that I conducted with him on November 16, 2010 in Berlin.

¹²⁴ “Ich bekam den zweiten strengen Verweis unter Androhung der Exmatrikulation mit den Worten: ‘Sie haben imperialistisches Gedankengut in unser sozialistisches Internat gebracht. Was sagen Sie dazu?’ Und ich habe nichts dazu gesagt.” Ulrich Gumpert, interview with the author, Berlin, November 16, 2010.

jazz, especially the music of Charles Mingus, which during his quest for what he denoted as a “philosophical home “ represented “the anti-stance to that whole Stalinist system there.”¹²⁵ After a year of unsatisfactory piano studies at the Musikhochschule Hanns Eisler in East Berlin, Gumpert transferred to the Musikschule Berlin-Friedrichshain, where music instructor Kurt Peukert had established a dance music class in 1959, which provided training for aspiring professional musicians in the fields of jazz, pop, and chanson. According to Irmgard Jungmann, “his work with non-academically educated musicians became so successful that the Musikschule was authorized in 1963 for the Tanzmusik-Berufsausbildung (dance music professional training).”¹²⁶ Peukert’s program produced many of the foremost East German jazz and pop musicians, such as Uschi Brüning, Manfred Hering, Tamara Danz, and Veronika Fischer, and provided its graduates with the Berufsmusikerausweis (professional musician identification), which was required for professional musicians and classified them with regard to musicians’ fees.¹²⁷

Meanwhile, Gumpert engaged with the music of Cecil Taylor and the Jazz Composer’s Orchestra, whose 1968 eponymous recording impressed Gumpert profoundly and would influence his own work with the Workshop Band in terms of orchestral writing.¹²⁸ After working with the influential bandleader, composer, and arranger Klaus Lenz between 1967 and 1970,

¹²⁵ “Eine philosophische Heimat... die Antihaltung zu diesem ganzen stalinistischen System dort.” Ibid.

¹²⁶ “Seine Arbeit mit nicht-akademisch vorgebildeten Musikern war so erfolgreich, dass die Musikschule 1963 zur Tanzmusik-Berufsausbildung ermächtigt wurde.” Jungmann, *Kalter Krieg in der Musik*, 154.

¹²⁷ For an account of academic jazz programs in the GDR, see Alfons Wonneberg, “Jazzmusik als Hochschulstudium,” in *Freie Töne*, 75-78.

¹²⁸ The Jazz Composer’s Orchestra, *The Jazz Composer’s Orchestra* (JCOA Records LP 1001/2, 1968), vinyl recording.

Gumpert became a member of the fusion ensemble SOK, which also included Sommer as a permanent member; Petrowsky would often join the ensemble as a guest musician.

In 1970 the night bar Große Melodie became an important stage for East German jazz musicians, as Klaus Lenz began to initiate weekly jazz concerts and jam sessions there. These concerts and jam sessions took place on Monday nights, the bar's day off, and provided a space for the development and exchange of new musical ideas. The Große Melodie was located in the basement of East Berlin's Friedrichstadt-Palast, a revue where artists such as Josephine Baker, Louis Armstrong, and Ella Fitzgerald had performed. Among the musicians who frequently performed at the Große Melodie were Gumpert and Petrowsky, who between 1971 and 1973 collaborated with the former's quartet. Rolf Reichelt has referred to the "period from the end of 1972 into 1973" as "the decisive changing phase in the development of Free Jazz in the GDR."¹²⁹ For Reichelt during this period the Große Melodie became "the most significant 'live laboratory' for improvised music," as the sessions that took place there "represented the definitive beginning of consistent, freer spontaneous improvisation."¹³⁰

In September 1972 FMP had adopted a collective model for the direction of the company and in its company agreement declared itself "a cooperative of jazz musicians on the basis of associates."¹³¹ FMP's associates Brötzmann, Gebers, Kowald, Schlippenbach, and drummer and percussionist Detlef Schönenberg delineated its mission as the production, sales, distribution, and promotion of recordings, the planning and organization of concerts, workshops, and tours, and

¹²⁹ Reichelt, "A Few Aspects," http://www.fmp-publishing.de/freemusicproduction/labelsspecialitions/snapshot_reichelt_en.html.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ "Eine Cooperative von Jazzmusikern auf Gesellschafterbasis." Free Music Production, Company agreement, FMP Archive.

public relations. Around that time Gebers' idea to bring West German and Western European improvisers together with their East German counterparts came to fruition. He also began to think about possibilities for recording East German musicians and presenting them in the context of FMP-organized events in West Berlin. As he relates: "Then it was so that when we organized large projects that always lasted until Sunday we offered the musicians: we pay for your hotel for an additional night if you feel like going there on a Monday to play with the GRD colleagues or to talk or to booze."¹³²

Between November 1 and 5, 1972 West Berlin-based FMP staged its 5th Total Music Meeting, which featured among others the Schlippenbach Trio plus Brötzmann, Peter Kowald's quintet (including English trombonist Paul Rutherford and drummer Paul Lovens) and the duo of trombonist Günter Christmann and drummer and percussionist Detlef Schönenberg. On November 6 these musicians went to East Berlin and visited the Große Melodie, where they met and played with Petrowsky, Gumpert, Sommer, Lenz, and Graswurm. A *Jazz Podium* article informed its readership about the encounter: "Four hours of music and conversations demonstrated the fruitful impact of this first meeting. All participants agreed on the necessity of such encounters and hope to broaden the contact options."¹³³

For Petrowsky this first contact not only brought about the recognition of his West German and Western European peers but also a significant extension of playing experiences

¹³² "Dann war es so, dass wir, wenn wir große Projekte organisiert haben, die immer bis Sonntag gingen, den Musikern angeboten haben, wir bezahlen euch das Hotel noch eine Nacht zusätzlich, wenn ihr Lust habt montags da noch hinzufahren und mit den DDR-Kollegen zu spielen oder zu reden oder zu saufen." Gebers, interview with the author, November 23, 2010.

¹³³ "Vier Stunden Musik und Gespräche bewiesen die fruchtbaren Auswirkungen dieses ersten Treffens. Alle Beteiligten waren sich über die Notwendigkeit solcher Begegnungen einig und hoffen, die Kontaktmöglichkeiten erweitern zu können." "West meets East," *Jazz Podium*, 21, no. 12, December 1972, 15.

beyond the narrowly circumscribed circle of GDR improvisers. As he remembers: “It was a dream. We knew them from afar and to play with them was a dream come true. Of course, we were so dependent. We always admired them. That they also just put their pants on one leg a time is something that we actually never really noticed.”¹³⁴ For Gumpert, the Große Melodie sessions provided a significant confidence boost for East German jazz musicians: “It was just so that you get onstage but you were accepted. And that was just it. ‘Hey guys, wonderful. Wonderfully played (laughs).’ And this looseness. We became more laid-back. We got more self-assured, too. ‘Kowald, my god, Kowald. The great Kowald.’ He was here so often.”¹³⁵

As Bert Noglik has remarked regarding the wider implications of these personal and musical encounters, “Within the context of opportunities – often just within the span of a day visa – continued communication processes, also informal musical encounters, emerged, from which over the years, numerous impulses as well as eventual group constellations arose.”¹³⁶ Encouraged by Gebers, in the following years these sessions, which by then included Irène Schweizer, Sven-Åke-Johansson, Evan Parker, and West German saxophonist Rüdiger Carl, took place on a more or less regular basis and led to intensifying interaction between improvisers

¹³⁴ “Es war ein Traum. Wir kannten die ja von Weitem, und das war wirklich ein real gewordener Traum mit denen zu spielen. Natürlich waren wir so unselbständig. Wir haben die immer nur bewundert. Dass die auch nur mit Wasser kochen, haben wir eigentlich nie so richtig gemerkt.” Petrowsky, interview with the author, February 28, 2011.

¹³⁵ “Es war einfach so, man geht dort so auf die Bühne, aber man wurde akzeptiert. Und das war’s einfach. ‘Hey Jungs, wunderbar. Wunderbar gespielt (lacht).’ Und diese Lockerheit. Wir wurden etwas lockerer. Wir wurden selbstbewusster auch. ‘Kowald, mein Gott, Kowald. Der große Kowald.’ Der war so oft hier.” Gumpert, interview with the author, November 16, 2010.

¹³⁶ “Im Rahmen der Möglichkeiten – oftmals nur in der Spanne eines Tagesvisums – ergaben sich fortgesetzte Kommunikationsprozesse, auch informelle musikalische Begegnungen, aus denen im Laufe der Jahre zahlreiche Anregungen wie auch spätere Gruppenkonstellationen erwuchsen.” Bert Noglik, “Zur Bedeutung von FMP Free Music Production im Prozess kultureller Entwicklungen zwischen Ost- und Westdeutschland,” <http://www.fmp-online.de/ptxt03.htm>.

from both sides of the Wall. As Heffley has asserted, “this influx had the most impact on the Eastern players themselves, as well as providing the Westerners with a larger, more enthusiastic, better-paying, and (literally) more captive audience than they had in the West.”¹³⁷ As Brötzmann has remarked regarding the opportunities these East-West encounters opened up for him:

We made our first connections to the Künstleragentur there, the artist agency of the GDR, and we were successful at convincing them that we should come back and play. The only thing we weren't allowed to do was a German-German band, so we always had to bring our foreigner friends: the Dutch, the English, and some Americans. And, of course the, audience was great: hungry, really hungry to get information or just to look at some other people. And, of course, because we speak the same language there was time to talk and that was very interesting. We met a lot of artists besides musicians, a lot of painters. There was a great exchange going on. And after a while once, twice a year a tour in the GDR was possible. And it started, let's say, in Rostock and went down through all the cities to Suhl in the Thüringer Wald, a small town, and so we learned a lot about the way of life, about the difficulties, about the good sides. And we had sometimes really very heated discussions mainly not with musicians but people around, people organizing the concerts. I mean they all were party folks of course and they did know what they had to say but it was this kind of confrontation. It went always very friendly but intense.¹³⁸

In late summer of 1972, immediately after Gebers's first meeting with Petrowsky, Gumpert, Sommer, and other East German musicians, he got the idea of releasing their music on FMP. Through Petrowsky Gebers met Karl-Heinz Deim, who as the deputy editor-in-chief for Radio DDR was the political principal of musicians such as Petrowsky and Heinz Becker, who at that time were members of the Rundfunk Tanzorchester Berlin. After explaining the workings of the GDR to Gebers, Daim encouraged him to send a letter with a request to Werner Lamberz, the Director of the Department for Agitation and Propaganda and member of the Central Committee of the SED. As Deim had predicted, Gebers received a prompt response to his request and was asked to contact the Rundfunk der DDR's royalty and licensing department. Within a short time

¹³⁷ Heffley, *Northern Sun, Southern Moon*, 197.

¹³⁸ Brötzmann, interview with the author, July 2, 2010.

Gebers got an appointment with the department and brought Petrowsky and Conny Bauer with him, where the three of them negotiated the terms for the first contract. As Gebers recalls, Daim advised him how on how to negotiate these terms:

Daim had told me: ‘You always have to bear one thing in mind: you are a capitalist, so you have to pay them something. They don’t give you anything for free. They are very keen on that but they act on the assumption that you come from a capitalist foreign country, so you have money. The amount is irrelevant.’ And that’s exactly how this thing took place. And he also told me: ‘They are much more aware of you than you suspect.’ They socked quotes from interviews to me that I thought this cannot be true. And then it was so that for an amount we were able to acquire certain recordings in order to release them with us.¹³⁹

On April 29, 1973 Gebers was able to record the group of his choice, the Petrowsky Quartet, which at that time included Conny Bauer, Klaus Koch, and Wolfgang Winkler, at the studio of the Radio of the GDR. The contract concluded between FMP and the Radio of the GDR on May 11, 1973 stipulated: “FMP binds itself to point out in its publicity materials as well as on the record sleeve that the Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky Quartet are artists from the GDR and that the production is an acquisition from the Deutscher Demokratischer Rundfunk.”¹⁴⁰

The recordings were released in the same year under the title *Just for Fun*.¹⁴¹ As FMP’s first production with East German improvisers, *Just for Fun* has to be viewed in the context of

¹³⁹ “Der Daim hatte mir gesagt: ‘Du musst eins immer berücksichtigen: Du bist Kapitalist. Also, irgendwas zahlen musst du denen. Die schenken dir nichts. Die sind zwar scharf darauf, aber die gehen davon aus, du kommst aus dem kapitalistischen Ausland, also hast du Geld. Die Summe spielt dann keine Rolle.’ Und genauso lief das Ding ab. Und der hatte mir auch gesagt: ‘Die wissen besser über dich Bescheid als du das ahnst.’ Auch das stimmte alles. Die haben mir aus Interviews Zitate vor den Latz geknallt, dass ich dachte, das kann alles nicht wahr sein. Und das war dann so, dass wir gegen eine Summe bestimmte Aufnahmen erwerben konnten, um die bei uns zu veröffentlichen.” Gebers, interview with the author, November 23, 2010.

¹⁴⁰ “Die Free Music Production verpflichtet sich, in ihren Werbematerialien sowie auf der Plattentasche darauf hinzuweisen, daß es sich beim Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky Quartett um Künstler aus der DDR und bei der Produktion um eine Übernahme vom Deutschen Demokratischen Rundfunk handelt.” Contract between Free Music Production and Deutscher Demokratischer Rundfunk, May 11, 1973, Free Music Production Archive.

¹⁴¹ Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky, *Just for Fun* (FMP 0140, 1973), vinyl recording.

what Ekkehard Jost has referred to as the “extra-musical consequences” of the informal Große Melodie sessions, in that “roughly two-thirds of all contemporary jazz vinyl recordings from the GDR were released on and brought into international distribution by FMP.”¹⁴²

In the early 1970s Gumpert put together a quartet, which consisted of SOK’s rhythm section: Günter Dobrowolski on guitar, Gerd Lübke on electric bass, and Günter “Baby” Sommer on drums. Born on August 25, 1943 in Dresden, Sommer studied at the Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber Leipzig between 1962 and 1966, before joining the Klaus Lenz Band in 1969. Already in 1967 he began to collaborate with saxophonist Friedhelm Schönfeld’s trio, an ensemble that according to Rainer Bratfisch “was the first group in the GDR that very deliberately drew upon Ornette Coleman’s Quartet and played free jazz.”¹⁴³ In September 1972, Gumpert performed with his electric fusion-oriented quartet, in which he played electric piano and organ and guest musician Petrowsky on soprano saxophone at the Große Melodie. Gumpert recorded the performance with his tape recorder and gave a copy of the tape to Jan “Ptaszyn” Wróblewski, the artistic director of the Jazz Jamboree in Warsaw, Poland’s largest and international jazz festival. Gumpert immediately received an invitation to the Jazz Jamboree in October 1973. However, in the meantime his quartet had disbanded, which according to Rolf Reichelt happened due to “increasingly strong divergences in the opinions of the musicians.”¹⁴⁴ Gumpert was forced to put together a new line-up, which in addition to Sommer consisted of

¹⁴² “Außermusikalischen Folgen... gut zwei Drittel aller Schallplatteneinspielungen mit zeitgenössischem Jazz aus der DDR von der FMP veröffentlicht und in den internationalen Vertrieb gebracht wurden.” Jost, *Europas Jazz*, 241.

¹⁴³ “Die erste Gruppe in der DDR, die ganz bewußt an das Ornette Coleman Quartett anknüpfte und die freien Jazz spielte.” Bratfisch, “Die sechziger Jahre,” 87.

¹⁴⁴ Reichelt, “A Few Aspects,” http://www.fmp-publishing.de/freemusicproduction/labelsspecialitions/snapshot_reichelt_en.html.

Conny Bauer and intended Manfred Hering as saxophonist, with whom Gumpert and Sommer had recorded the album *The Old Song* for FMP in July 1973 as the label's second production with East German musicians.¹⁴⁵ When issues regarding the GDR artists' agency's ability to provide Hering with a then required visa for Poland arose, Petrowsky became the saxophonist for Gumpert's newly formed acoustic group, which he named Synopsis. Bauer and Petrowsky had worked together in the Manfred-Ludwig-Sextett between 1968 and 1970, after the trombonist had completed his studies at the Musikhochschule Carl Maria von Weber in Dresden. After the Manfred-Ludwig-Sextett was disbanded in 1970, both men continued to play together in the Modern Soul Band, in which Petrowsky was occasionally featured as a guest soloist.

As Bert Noglik has remarked with respect to Synopsis, "hardly planned yet still anything but coincidentally, those musicians, who would give jazz in the GDR a decisive impetus over a long period of time, had congregated in this group."¹⁴⁶ Petrowsky has emphasized the significance of improvisation as a jump-start for Synopsis' musical methods and practices: "Back then we really just improvised, and then over the years this band came together from time to time. It exists to this day. And then we also actually had fun writing down compositions, which sort of came from or grew out of improvisation, things that emerged from somewhere. Uli Gumpert started this and 'Baby' Sommer and sometimes me a bit, and Conny [Bauer]."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Gumpert Sommer Duo Plus Manfred Hering, *The Old Song* (FMP 0170, 1973), vinyl recording.

¹⁴⁶ "Kaum geplant und doch keineswegs zufällig hatten sich in dieser Gruppe jene Musiker zusammengefunden, die dem Jazz in der DDR über einen langen Zeitraum die entscheidenden Impulse geben sollten." Noglik, "Vom Linden-Blues zum Zentralquartett," 426.

¹⁴⁷ "Wir haben damals eigentlich nur improvisiert, und dann hat sich über die Jahre diese Band immer mal wieder zusammengefunden. Bis heute existiert die. Und dann haben wir eigentlich auch Spaß daran gehabt, Kompositionen, die quasi aus der Improvisation erwachsen oder entwachsen sind, so irgendwo auftauchende Geschichten, zu

Synopsis' first performance at the Warsaw Jazz Jamboree ran contrary to the expectations of its organizers who anticipated an East German fusion band. As Gumpert recalls: "In any case, as a quartet we played music that was completely different from anything the Polish had ever heard before, that is to say totally free. The Polish were angry but half of the audience was from the GDR and they celebrated us. And that was the end of it. We were hardly back home when we got an invitation from the VEB Deutsche Schallplatten for the recording of an album. Thus word had gotten around. We went into the studio and recorded an album there."¹⁴⁸

Synopsis' first album was recorded on March 6 and 7, 1974 at the Rundfunk der DDR. Through the intercession of Rolf Reichelt, Jost Gebers was able to acquire the tapes by means of a licensing agreement between the Rundfunk der DDR and FMP. The recordings, which were never made available in the GDR, were released by FMP under the Dadaist-seeming title *Auf der Elbe schwimmt ein rosa Krokodil* (*On the Elbe Swims a Pink Crocodile*) in 1976.¹⁴⁹ In a *Jazz Podium* review, critic Dirk H. Fröse accentuated "the high technical competence of all four."¹⁵⁰ Seven weeks later on April 22 and 23, Synopsis recorded its second eponymously titled album, which was released in the GDR on Amiga.¹⁵¹ Noglik has suggested that the fact "that this album

notieren. Uli Gumpert hat damit angefangen und auch 'Baby' Sommer und manchmal auch ich ein wenig und Conny." Petrowsky, interview with the author, February 28, 2011.

¹⁴⁸ "Jedenfalls spielten wir im Quartett ganz andere Musik, als die Polen das je vorher gehört hatten, nämlich total frei. Und die Polen waren sauer, aber die Hälfte des Publikums war aus der DDR, und die feierten uns. Und damit war das Ganze gelaufen. Kaum waren wir wieder zu Hause, kriegten wir eine Einladung von der VEB Deutsche Schallplatten für eine Aufnahme von einer Platte. Das hatte sich also rumgesprochen. Dann sind wir ins Studio und haben dort eine Scheibe aufgenommen." Gumpert, interview with the author, November 16, 2010.

¹⁴⁹ Synopsis, *Auf der Elbe schwimmt ein rosa Krokodil*, (Intakt CD 142, [1976] 2006), compact disc.

¹⁵⁰ "Die hohe spieltechnische Kompetenz aller vier." Dirk H. Fröse, Review of Synopsis recording, *Auf der Elbe schwimmt ein rosa Krokodil*, *Jazz Podium* 25, no. 11, November 1976, 46.

¹⁵¹ Synopsis, *Synopsis*, (Edel: Content 0208048 CTT, [1974] 2012), compact disc.

was still released in the same year indicates that this group managed, through the attention from ‘outside’ as well, with a completely nonconformist music, to reassert itself within friction-laden social conditions as well as to make its voice heard with open-minded editors-in-chief.”¹⁵²

As Petrowsky has remarked in terms of his self-positioning: “But it was never even much later, a matter of somehow being European, or this infamous word ‘GDR jazz.’ There is only ‘jazz in the GDR.’ I have said before that it is characterized especially by a certain rhythmic bumpiness. East German jazz was even further removed, in fact inaccessible, from the source, which settled in with the Americans in West Germany.”¹⁵³

Petrowsky’s experiences defy the convenient upholding of a US-Europe binary as well as simplistic East-West, oppression-freedom binaries that continue to inform historiographies of post-1950s jazz. His sustained engagement with African American musical knowledge moreover highlights the impossibility of mapping sonic identities onto national and ethnic identities.

¹⁵² “Dass dieses Album noch im gleichen Jahr in der DDR erschien, bezeugt, dass es der Gruppe – auch durch die Aufmerksamkeit ‘von außen’ – mit einer durchaus unangepassten Musik gelungen war, sich innerhalb reibungsvoller gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse einen gewissen Respekt sowie Gehör bei aufgeschlossenen Redakteuren zu verschaffen.” Bert Noglik, Liner notes for Synopsis recording, *Synopsis*, (Edel Content 0208048 CTT, [1974] 2012), compact disc.

¹⁵³ “Aber es war nie, auch ganz später, eine Auflage irgendwie in mir, europäisch zu sein. Oder dieses berüchtigt gewordene Wort ‘DDR-Jazz.’ Es gibt nur ‘Jazz in der DDR.’ Ich habe auch schon mal gesagt, der zeichnet sich besonders durch eine gewisse rhythmische Holprigkeit aus. Der ostdeutsche Jazz war von der Quelle, die sich ja dann mit den Amerikanern in Westdeutschland eingemischt hatte, noch weiter entfernt, eigentlich unerreichbar.” Petrowsky, interview with the author, Berlin, February 28, 2011.

CONCLUSION

This study was spawned by an intellectual discomfort with existing narratives that frame German jazz experimentalists largely in terms of dissociation from their African American spiritual fathers. This framing is consistent with the ongoing US-centric and complementary Eurocentric orientations in jazz studies scholarship. Challenging what scholar E. Taylor Atkins has referred to as the field's "parochial parameters and implicit nationalism," my work has both complicated and added nuance to existing historical accounts.¹

In this dissertation, I have examined the ways in which the movement of jazz experimentalism in Germany has been shaped by the breaking of boundaries across nation, race, genre, artistic discipline, and even socio-political systems. In doing so, this work challenges historiographies in which national framework overdetermines the musicians' works and life experiences. The life experiences of Peter Brötzmann, Manfred Schoof, Alexander von Schlippenbach, Irène Schweizer, Ernst-Ludwig Petrowsky, and Ulrich Gumpert show that intercultural and international engagement enabled them to artistically come into their own. At the same time, as I have shown, engagement with African American musical knowledge and black experimentalism has been of critical importance for the German improvisers' process of artistic and aesthetic individuation. This study also provides a discussion of jazz-identified musicians that goes beyond the borders of the jazz world by starting from the premise that there is no need to conceive of jazz studies as a Procrustean bed in which all things non-jazz are to be

¹ E. Taylor Atkins, "Toward a Global History of Jazz," in *Jazz Planet*, ed. E. Taylor Atkins (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), xi.

partitioned off. Cases in point in this context are Brötzmann's transdisciplinary influences from the art world and Schoof's and Schlippenbach's New Music influences.

An essential concern of mine has been to challenge the jazz experimentalism movement's framing as unified or even monolithic. Doing so allowed me to account for the respective artists' diversity of life experiences, positionalities, methods, concepts, and practices. Rather than framing the crucial period between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s as "die Emanzipation," it is best thought of as an unfolding process of decentering, in which the centrality of US jazz-identified methods, concepts, and practices is no longer presupposed. European improvisers' intercultural engagement with African American musical knowledge was much more prevalent than standard historical accounts acknowledge, thereby challenging the notion of dissociation that has oftentimes informed historical accounts of European jazz and its attendant notion of emancipation.

In particular, the case studies of Schoof and Schlippenbach have confirmed that their engagement with Ornette Coleman's ideas, which is usually thought of as having been largely confined to a US context, amounted to nothing less than a sine qua non for the process of both improvisers' artistic individuation.² Squarely facing the profound transnational significance of Coleman's innovations prompts us not only to question often held assumptions regarding the perceived self-contained character of European jazz which have decisively informed historiographies of post-1950s jazz, but also to rethink the intercultural scope of black experimentalism's impact. Doing so, at the same time, challenges the veracity of imagined pure spheres of pan-European cultural identity.

² For discussions of Coleman's influence that go beyond the US context, see Peter Niklas Wilson, *Ornette Coleman: His Life and Music* (Berkeley: Berkeley Hills Books, 1999); and Heffley, *Northern Sun, Southern Moon*.

Coming to terms with the phenomenon of black musical knowledge's impact on post-war Germany might explain why Schlippenbach, listening to Bessie Smith's 1924 recording "Lou'siana Low Down Blues" in a 1972 *Jazz Podium* blindfold test, remarked: "Bessie Smith is in a way a grandmother of all of us."³

Studying the jazz experimentalism movement in Germany helps us to make sense of the multifaceted process of cultural intermixture, which continues to inform artistic production in Europe. In post-war Germany, which functioned as connective tissue between the two Cold War power blocs, jazz experimentalism was akin to a transformative medium, essential for its practitioners' personal and artistic individuation and for self-positioning themselves in ways that effectively challenged the socio-cultural status quo.

³ "Bessie Smith ist sozusagen eine Großmutter von uns allen." Weber, "Plattentest mit Alexander von Schlippenbach," 127.

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