

# ‘Malipiero Germanised’ – Traces of Cultural Usurpation in Nazi Germany

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## I

During the last months of the former axis alliance between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, Hans Engel, Professor of Musicology in Königsberg, published a study of the musical-historical relationships between Germany and Italy.<sup>1</sup> Relying on racial theories as well as on common aesthetic stereotypes of the time, he argued that the ‘true’ history of European music essentially developed along a North-South axis. From this perspective, Germany and Italy embodied two opposite poles of musical ideals, which could be discerned as popular (Italian) and high (German) art. This is not to say that Italy did not have a proper ‘high’ art, but that this high art could be found predominantly in the northern part of the country, where a ‘Nordic’ quality – i.e. a biological influence deriving from the former presence of Germanic tribes – was more likely to be present.<sup>2</sup> The greatest musical talent in music history was to be found in the former Hapsburg territories in the Alpine region, where an ideal of artistic standard and popular ‘connectedness’ had been achieved, and which ultimately had to be considered ‘German’ (FIGURE 1).

FIGURE 1. Hans Engel, *Deutschland und Italien in ihren musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen*, 1944, p. 28<sup>3</sup> (translation from German is mine)

	Southern Italy	Northern Italy	Southern Germany	Northern Germany	North-east
Physique Colour	mainly brown-eyed	S. Alpine	N. Alpine		mainly blue-eyed
Facial shape	pointy		average		flat
Build	small	large	average		very large
Psyche	integrated	(unint)	(int)		unintegrated
	open	closed	open	closed	dull
	changeable				
involuntary nerves	excitable	cheerful		cool	apathetic
Musical talent	34%	66%	74%	26% (of musicians)	
music	melody	mixed	polyphonists	homophonists	linear polyphony
Characteristics	temperament				quiet passion
	pathos				feeling
	gesture				pensiveness
	bel canto		lied		choir
	coloratura		lied		
	ornamentations in folk-music				
Excess	brilliance				pendantry
	pretty sound				structure overloading
	simplistic-infantile				erudite-dry
Humour	comic	satyric	merry	heavy	sharp

This table which, needless to say, would never hold water in the light of empirical evidence, is a characteristic example of the long German tradition of thinking about music as the ‘most German of the arts’ as opposed to an Italian (and French) counterpart.<sup>4</sup> In early twentieth century Germany this tradition of thought was fused with contemporary racial theory which suggested a general superiority of the ‘Germanic race’. Therefore, if a composer was successful in the eyes of the Germans in the 1930s, it was due to his fair share of ‘Nordic’ qualities, as it was the ‘Nordic’ essence that ultimately guaranteed musical quality. In other words, ‘good’ music was not primarily a sign of musical genius, but of pure racial descent.

This also applied to foreign composers, as the German reception of the Italian composer Gian Francesco Malipiero shows. Based on archival sources from the Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, I wish to demonstrate how Malipiero fitted into German musical thought in the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>5</sup>

## II

For a foreign composer of modernist convictions, Malipiero certainly had a particular reputation in interwar Germany. Besides his regular appearances in concert programmes he was prominently featured during the festival seasons. He was the only Italian composer to be represented at the prestigious *Festspiele Baden-Baden* every year between 1936 and 1939, at the festivals of the *Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten* [Permanent Council for International Cooperation of Composers] in Dresden in 1937 and Stuttgart in 1938, but it was his operas that were the most successful. Of all the composers of the so-called 'generazione dell'80', he had by far the largest number of world premieres of stage works in Germany between the 1920s and the 1940s; more than half of Malipiero's eleven operas that were staged during this period premiered in German theatres.<sup>6</sup>

Given the special occasion of the world premieres of these foreign works, the performances received great attention in the national and local media. Especially after Mussolini's proclamation of the 'Berlin – Rome Axis' in November 1936, many newspapers emphasised the cultural-political importance of these representations.<sup>7</sup> Besides reports on the works and their creator, the coverage made sure to mention all the numerous representatives and functionaries of government, party, foreign diplomacy and Wehrmacht who regularly attended these manifestations. To give the occasion a festive outlook, the theatres were decorated with national flags and symbols. Occasionally, as in the performance of *Giulio Cesare* at the *Deutsch-Italienische Kunstwoche* in Hamburg in 1941, local dignitaries were invited to official receptions at the premieres, where they seized the opportunity to hail the artistic productivity of both countries in times of common war efforts.<sup>8</sup> All things considered, there was no doubt about the political dimension of the artistic events.

It is thus not appropriate to assess Malipiero's standing in Nazi Germany as 'nicht wohlgelesen [not well seen]'<sup>9</sup> or his music as contrary to a howsoever defined ideal of Nazi music. It would also be misleading to refer solely to Goebbels's harsh judgement, written in his diary after he attended a performance of *Pause di silenzio* in 1937, that Malipiero was one of the 'modern bunglers, who surround themselves with all sorts of mystic fog to cover for their incapability'.<sup>10</sup> Even the well-known scandal of the first performance of *La favola del figlio cambiato* at Darmstadt in March 1934 had no further consequences. After the opera had suddenly been prohibited by the Hessian minister of the Interior for its 'atonale und kulturzerstörerische Merkmale und Tendenzen [atonal and culture-subverting characteristics and tendencies]',<sup>11</sup> it was immediately reinstated by Goebbels and performed again a few days later at Darmstadt and

Brunswick without any disturbances.<sup>12</sup> Just one month earlier, Goebbels had issued a decree to prevent local officials from pursuing their own agenda in the arts sector, as the balance of power was still far from being established in this early phase of the German regime.<sup>13</sup>

Differently from in Italy, where Mussolini personally forbade further performances of *La favola* despite the composer's revisions,<sup>14</sup> none of Malipiero's works was prohibited at any point during the Nazi era. Perhaps this was partly due to the fact that an official ban on a composer from an allied country might have had further negative consequences for Germany's already damaged international reputation (and especially since German-Italian relationships at the time of *La favola* were still tense). But it was rather his friendship with people of considerable artistic and political importance which contributed to Malipiero's success in German art life.

Malipiero's fortune in 1930s Germany is, in fact, inseparably linked to Oskar Walleck (1890–1976). After the war, Walleck had started a promising career as impresario in Frankfurt, Nuremberg, and Dortmund, before becoming director of the Landestheater Coburg in 1931. One year later, Walleck joined both the NSDAP and the SS and played a crucial role in the *Gleichschaltung* of German cultural life after the Nazis came to power.<sup>15</sup> His activities seemed to pay off as, after a brief interval at the Landestheater Brunswick from 1933 to 1934, he was appointed General Intendant of the Bavarian State Theatres, becoming one of the most influential figures in the German theatrical landscape. After continuing differences with the music director Clemens Krauss, he left Munich after the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia to continue as Superintendent of the theatres in Prague.

During the 1930s, he developed a penchant for Malipiero's works and became their most industrious promotor and even the composer's personal friend, as their vast correspondence shows. Almost every premiere of Malipiero's works in Germany was staged by Walleck, beginning with the world premieres of *Il mistero di Venezia* in Coburg in 1932, *La favola* in Brunswick in 1934, and followed by the national premiere of *Antonio e Cleopatra* in Bremen in 1939. In 1938 *Giulio Cesare* had its German premiere in Gera after Walleck's warm recommendation.<sup>16</sup>

Walleck also used his political contacts several times to advocate Malipiero, especially after the scandal of *La favola* in Darmstadt. Since the composer was left in some doubt by the events – whether his works were banned in Germany or not – Walleck personally spoke in Malipiero's favour in front of Goebbels and helped him writing an explanatory (and fairly submissive) letter to Goebbels, even procuring him a personal audience with the German propaganda minister during the 1936 Olympic Games – a meeting Malipiero described as 'satisfying'.<sup>17</sup>

This naturally raises the question of his attitude towards the regimes which, however controversially discussed, is not the topic of this essay.<sup>18</sup> To say that Malipiero sympathised with National Socialist ideals is more than doubtful, notwithstanding his bold declaration to a German interviewer in 1934 that all the 'Tartarennachrichten [Tartary reports]' of the foreign press on Germany and Italy were merely expressions of 'the people's envy, who don't have a Hitler or a Mussolini'.<sup>19</sup> Also, when Walleck asked him 'with the utmost discretion' to provide information on the Arian descent of the composer Vittorio Giannini, whose opera *Lucedia* was to be performed in Munich in late 1934, he obliged without a second thought.<sup>20</sup> However, according to the composer himself, it was predominantly the artistic possibilities of the German theatres as well as the quality of the performers that made German representations of his works so desirable.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, in his constant craving for artistic recognition, as Fiamma Nicolodi argued, 'neither a pessimistic view of life, nor the *tedium vitae*, nor a contentious agreement with reality, nor a poetics of the negative would suffice as a vaccine to resist the allure of power' and, one could add, to reject a performance of one of his works, as long as the artistic conditions were favourable.<sup>22</sup>

### III

Concerning the reception of his works, I wish to focus on some aspects and recurring motives in German music critique. As his meticulously compiled collections of press material reveal, Malipiero's works won much positive acclaim, even if there were the usual (and predictable) objections from time to time.<sup>23</sup> A wide majority held his works and his determination to develop a new form of opera in high regard, independently of the newspapers' political and aesthetic directions and their circulation. Thus his music was equally praised for its 'gesunder Sinn für die Melodie [healthy sense for lyricism]' by the *Hakenkreuzbanner*, the National Socialist bulletin for Mannheim and Baden, as well as being described by the liberal (but meanwhile *gleichgeschaltet*) *Kölner Volkszeitung* of the former catholic *Zentrum* Party as 'geistig hochstehend [intellectually outstanding]'.<sup>24</sup> Almost every critic considered Malipiero wilful, headstrong and even idiosyncratic – having a 'eigener Kopf [mind of his own]', and being an 'Ausnahmeerscheinung [exceptional appearance]'.<sup>25</sup> However, he was far from being called a 'cerebral' or 'intellectualistic' composer, which at the time were the major invectives against more advanced forms of musical expression; none of his works showed any symptoms of 'degeneration' or 'überspitzte Experimentiersucht [excessive addiction to experimentation]'.<sup>26</sup> Known as the rediscoverer and editor of Claudio

Monteverdi's *Opera Omnia*, he was considered an intelligent and ambitious artist, who showed 'Heimatverbundenheit [connectedness to his own soil]' by trying to revive an aesthetic ideal of Italy's glorious musical past.<sup>27</sup>

More confusing for German critics was coping with the essentially 'un-Italian' character of Malipiero's works. One reviewer characterised *Giulio Cesare* as an 'Italian opera without arias, without pretty sensualism of sound, without lyricism to contrast with the austere and harsh world of the dramatic action'.<sup>28</sup> Another author acknowledged that 'he had the courage to break with everything the tradition of his home country had stood for over the previous two and a half centuries'.<sup>29</sup>

Somehow the result of Malipiero's exceptionality and artistic eccentricity was therefore the 'difficulty in classifying' his compositions.<sup>30</sup> Most reviewers tried to identify Malipiero's artistic affinities in order to describe the 'phenotype' of his works and to explain their particular appeal. Common references were Stravinsky's 'opera-oratorio forms' (as exhibited exemplarily in *Oedipus Rex*) and his 'bold and harsh musical language', as well as Debussy's 'neo-French Impressionism'.<sup>31</sup> Others compared his compositions to the works of Monteverdi, Puccini and, above all, to the German composers Handel (because of his *Giulio Cesare*),<sup>32</sup> Gluck and Wagner (for their music dramatic concepts of a 'folkish derived Gesamtkunstwerk'),<sup>33</sup> as well as to Strauss and Pfitzner (for their orchestral technique).<sup>34</sup> Over all, the German impact on Malipiero's artistic affinities was regarded as substantial in the eyes of German commentators.

Some reviewers even mentioned Malipiero's (in fact brief and hardly influential) studies with Max Bruch in Berlin in 1908, implying that traces of a musical 'Germanness' were already to be found in his early artistic formation.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, it was obvious to the critics that his music comprised qualities usually associated with German music. As one writer mentioned, Malipiero's works were 'an outstanding example for spiritual chastity and clarity, dramatic veracity, artistic will to formal construction'.<sup>36</sup> By stating the almost complete replacement of 'harmonic function' with 'linear part-writing' in his works,<sup>37</sup> authors implied both distinction from the melody-based lyricism (recalling the 'popular' *bel canto*) and affinity to the polyphonic 'profoundness' of German 'high' art as ideally incorporated by Johann Sebastian Bach. In other words, as far as his musicality was concerned, Malipiero had to be located on the 'Northern half' of the dialectical relationship between Italy and Germany as symbolised by Engel's table.

Statements on the 'truthfulness' of musical expression were deeply rooted in the above-mentioned tradition of thinking about German music as 'pure' and 'true' – in short 'absolute music' – as opposed to Italian and French operatic

forms, by then considered as superficial and 'stagy' products destined to satisfy the demands of the theatrical industry. Many authors thus compared Malipiero and Giuseppe Verdi in order to underline the difference between both (supposedly) opposed music traditions. In contrast to Verdi's emotional settings of Shakespearean dramas, critics noted, Malipiero had chosen a more intellectual – hence Germanic – approach. 'He turned his back on the *bel canto* that represents the essence of "Italianismo" from Scarlatti to Puccini, to achieve a new truthfulness of music-dramatic expression'.<sup>38</sup>

The term 'music drama', regularly used for Malipiero's operas, clearly echoed Richard Wagner's works. Especially in the adaptations of Shakespeare's *Giulio Cesare* and *Antonio e Cleopatra*, Malipiero, according to the reviewers, had advanced to the 'dramatic core' of the plays by omitting all unnecessary scenes, and focusing instead on the psychological momentum of the action – an otherwise typical Wagnerian trait. 'What he has in common with him [Wagner] is the leading idea on the one hand, and its condensation to the psychological core on the other'.<sup>39</sup>

Beyond the musical level, German critique diagnosed a convergence of spiritual affinities, a fact increasingly incited as the 'Berlin – Rome Axis' gradually consolidated. Repeatedly, authors discovered similarities between the Italian composer and the most promising members of the younger German generation, namely Werner Egk and Carl Orff. The affinity to the latter had already resulted from the choice of a common subject: 'Both arranged "Orfeo" and other stage works of the great early-Baroque madrigalist [Monteverdi] as a result of a common *Zeitgeist*, which seeks a new, symbol- and ethos-fusing expression [...]'.<sup>40</sup> With respect to Egk, one review mentioned four factors as common denominators, namely the refusal of a nineteenth century operatic ideal, the renouncement of merely sensual or inebriating sound effects, the importance of the dramatic idea and the spiritual function of music, and the wish to educate the audience ethically.<sup>41</sup>

Some writers went even further. As mentioned above, music quality, for the German critique, was a sign of 'Nordic' predisposition. Thus, if one critic noted that Malipiero represented the 'type of the Nordic Italian',<sup>42</sup> he suggested more than just Malipiero's birth region in the Northern part of Italy. Instead he designated the descent from an area where a 'Nordic' influence was supposedly still recognisable. The final 'proof' of Malipiero's 'Nordic' descent was to be found in his physique. 'At first glance, one wouldn't expect him to be an Italian – he has low set grey eyes, sometimes shimmering with a blue glow, and his sharp-featured head with greying hair appears entirely German'.<sup>43</sup> It was somehow the logical consequence for commentators, to tie the composer's

‘Nordic’ appearance to his artistic output. In his review of *Antonio e Cleopatra*, Heinz Fuhrmann assessed that Antonio had been ‘idealised by the blue-eyed, grey-haired Italian Malipiero “Nordically”’ (leaving to interpretation, or rather imagination, what he intended with this claim).<sup>44</sup>

The fixation on the physical appearance and especially the eye colour of the composer bore a striking resemblance to the German reception of Giuseppe Verdi at around the same time, even if he was considered a typical representative of Italian music.<sup>45</sup> In 1934, Herbert Gerigk, one of the most radical fanatics among the German musicologists under Hitler, wrote that with his ‘blue eyes and brown hair’ Verdi simply must have had a fair share of ‘Nordic blood’.<sup>46</sup> He continued, ‘[c]onsidering the Italian nation, we always have to make a distinction between the small, racially valuable part and the refuse that this area, as the heart of the ancient world, has been forced to accept during thousands of years’.<sup>47</sup> From a German perspective, Verdi and Malipiero both belonged to that ‘valuable’ part of Italians, precisely because they were not entirely Italian after all. This was the utmost degree of evaluating a composer, to which artistic output and even nationality became secondary to racial descent, foreshadowing all the by now well-known fatal consequences of racial policy.

#### IV

Malipiero owed his considerable success in 1930s and 1940s Germany to his influential friends and supporters and the general appreciation of his music by German audiences. His pronounced dissociation from the canonised Italian operatic tradition ranging from Rossini to Puccini, his innovative approaches to music-dramatic concepts and his advanced but not overly experimental language made his music attractive to a broad public. Particularly his operas, which defied common stereotypes of Italian music, left room for interpretation and (self-) identification – Malipiero’s music clearly struck a chord in 1930s Germany.

What should also have become clear by now is that writing about Malipiero’s works in Nazi Germany first and foremost meant writing about German music itself or, on a more basic level, about the Self and the Other in general. It is thus a phenomenon described by recent sociological research according to which ‘people tend to create a positive self-concept / self-image by means of a self-affirmative perspective on the world and others’.<sup>48</sup> Naturally, this form of self-affirmation is neither limited to music nor to Nazi Germany nor to the 1930s and 1940s in general.<sup>49</sup> What distinguished the 1930s and 1940s from preceding and especially subsequent decades is not the fact that foreign artistic



works could be claimed as part of the local culture but the degree to which this was possible.

The hegemonic implications of such claims have long since been revealed by the various cultural anthropological studies since the 1970s. Scholars have asserted that speaking or writing about another culture can be a form of exercising power as it often produces an asymmetrical relation between one's own and the other culture.<sup>50</sup> In terms of writing about music, German critics tried to grasp the value of a foreign composer's *oeuvre* by applying categories usually associated with German music. Since German music was considered more 'valuable' than its Italian counterpart they generated the above-mentioned asymmetries. By accrediting the identifying characteristics of a foreign composer with characterisations of their own culture, they carried out what might be called cultural usurpation. Musical 'Germanness' could derive from either a biographical, aesthetical, spiritual or a biological/racial level – or, as in the case of Malipiero's 'Germanisation', all of them at once.

## Notes

- 1 Hans Engel, *Deutschland und Italien in ihren musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen*, Regensburg: Bosse, 1944.
- 2 Engel, 'Historische und rassische Grundlagen', in: Engel, *Deutschland und Italien in ihren musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen*, pp. 9–30.
- 3 Cited after the translation by and reproduced with kind permission of Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987, p. 192. For a discussion of Engel see Mauro Fosco Bertola, 'Beyond Germanness? Music's History as "Entangled History" German Musicology from the End of the Nineteenth Century to the Second World War', in: *Nazi Germany and Southern Europe, 1933–45. Science, Culture and Politics*, ed. by Fernando Clara and Cláudia Ninhos, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 25–37.
- 4 See Pamela Potter, *Most German of the arts. Musicology and society from the Weimar Republic to the end of Hitler's Reich*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998; *Music and German national identity*, ed. by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- 5 Most of the following sources are cited after Malipiero's own vast collections of press material, preserved at Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero (FGFM), subsequently referred to as 'Albums'. I should like to thank Dr. Francisco Rocca, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, for his generous support of my research.
- 6 *L'orfeide*, Düsseldorf, 5 November 1925; *Tre commedie goldoniane*, Darmstadt, 24 March 1926; *Il mistero di Venezia*, Coburg, 15 December 1932; *Torneo notturno*, Munich, 15 May 1931; *La favola del figlio cambiato*, Brunswick, 13 January 1934; *La vita è sogno*, Breslau, 30 June 1943.
- 7 Heinrich Strobel, 'Ein musikalisches Cäsar-Drama', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 8 December 1938 (Album 'Vol. 8 – Giulio Cesare, La Passione, I capricci di Callot, Tre commedie goldoniane'); Edwin Gild, 'Antonius und Cleopatra', *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 5 March 1939 (Album 'Vol. 9 – Antonio e Cleopatra, Ecuba').
- 8 Hortensia Weiher-Waage, 'Kühner Geist im jungen italienischen Operschaffen', *Hamburger Anzeiger*, 17 February 1941 (Album 'Vol. 9').
- 9 Andrea Hoffend, *Zwischen Kultur-Achse und Kulturkampf: die Beziehungen zwischen "Drittem Reich" und faschistischem Italien in den Bereichen Medien, Kunst, Wissenschaft und Rassenfragen*, Frankfurt a. M. et al.: Peter Lang Verlag (Italien in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 10), 1998, p. 245.
- 10 'Das sind die modernen Nichtsköner, die sich mit einem mystischen Nebel umgeben, um dahinter ihre Unfähigkeit zu verbergen'. Joseph Goebbels, 'Tagebucheintrag vom 9. Oktober 1937', in: *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Im Auftrag des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte und mit Unterstützung des Staatlichen Archivdienstes Rußlands hrsg. von Elke Fröhlich*. Teil I: Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941. Band 4: März – November 1937. München: K. G. Saur, 2000, pp. 350–351.
- 11 [Without title], *Mitteldeutsche Zeitung*, [without date] (Album 'Articoli su G.F.M. Vol. I').
- 12 Letter from Oskar Walleck to Gian Francesco Malipiero, Brunswick, 13 April 1934 (FGFM, fasc. 'La favola del figlio cambiato. (Braunschweig, 1934)').
- 13 [Without title], *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, LXI/6, 9 February 1934, p. 71.

- 14 Enrica Bojan, “La favola del figlio cambiato”: Lettere di Pirandello a Malipiero’, *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali*, V–VI, 1989–1990, pp. 301–330.
- 15 Some biographical information and documentation on Walleck in Joseph Wulf, *Theater und Film im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt a. M.: Ullstein, 1983, pp. 124–127.
- 16 Letter from Oskar Walleck to Erbprinz Reuß, Munich, 1 December 1937 (FGFM, fasc. ‘Giulio Cesare. Gera 1938’).
- 17 Letter from Walleck to Malipiero, Munich, 17 June 1936 (FGFM, fasc. ‘Walleck, Oskar’). The draft of the letter to Goebbels is in FGFM, fasc. ‘Walleck, Oskar’: letter from Malipiero to Walleck, Asolo (Treviso), 4 June 1934. After the war, Malipiero described the meeting as rather unpleasant, Gian Francesco Malipiero, *Così va lo mondo*, Milano: Il balcone, 1946, pp. 60–61.
- 18 For different opinions on Malipiero’s political views see Luigi Pestalozza, ‘Malipiero: Oltre la forma. Gli anni della *Favola del figlio cambiato*’, in: *Italian music during the fascist period*, ed. by Roberto Illiano, Turnhout: Brepols (*Speculum musicae*, 10), 2004, pp. 401–425; Fiamma Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel ventennio fascista*, Fiesole: Discanto Edizioni, 1984, pp. 200–235.
- 19 ‘[...] Neid der Leute, die keinen Hitler oder Mussolini haben’. Martin Koegel, ‘Malipiero über Deutschland und Italien’, *Braunschweigische Landeszeitung*, 13 January 1934 (Album ‘Vol. 7 – La favola del figlio cambiato’).
- 20 Letters from Walleck to Malipiero, 6 September 1934, 17 September 1934, and 27 September 1934 (FGFM, fasc. ‘Walleck, Oskar’). Walleck later thanked Malipiero for helping with his ‘investigation’, see letter from Walleck to Malipiero, Munich, 26 November 1934 (*ibidem*).
- 21 Gian Francesco Malipiero, ‘Lettera di un musicista al suo editore’, *L’Ambrosiano*, 1 February 1934 (Album ‘Vol. 7’).
- 22 ‘né una concezione pessimistica, né il *tedium vitae*, né un’intesa conflittuale con il reale, né la poetica del negativo, risultano antidoti sufficienti per resistere alle lusinghe del potere’. Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti*, p. 200.
- 23 ek., ‘Welt-Uraufführung im Landestheater Braunschweig’, *Braunschweiger Tageszeitung*, 15 January 1934 (Album ‘Vol. 7’); Hellmut Ludwig, ‘Shakespeare in neuer Veroperung’, *Hamburger Tageblatt*, 7 May 1938 (Album ‘Vol. 9’).
- 24 Carl J. Brinkmann, ‘Wertvolle Werke lebender Komponisten’, *Hakenkreuzbanner*, 17 April 1941 (Album ‘Vol. 4 – Alla berlina (1933–1944)’); Paul Wittke, ‘Malipieros Julius Cäsar’, *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 20 February 1941 (Album ‘Vol. 8’).
- 25 Georg Bonte, ‘Die Renaissance des frühbarocken Musikdramas’, *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, 8 December 1938 (Album ‘Vol. 8’).
- 26 Peter Funk, ‘Shakespeares Drama in der jungitalienischen Oper’, *Hakenkreuzbanner*, 28 January 1942 (Album ‘Vol. 9’).
- 27 Friedrich Rock, ‘Malipieros “Antonio und Cleopatra”’, *Neue Mannheimer Zeitung*, 25 January 1942 (Album ‘Vol. 9’); Max Broesike-Schoen, ‘Malipieros “Julius Cäsar” in der Staatsoper’, *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 17 February 1941 (Album ‘Vol. 8’).

- 28 'Eine italienische Oper ohne Arien, ohne schöne Sinnlichkeit des Klanges, ohne Lyrik als Kontrast zu einer strengen und herben Welt des dramatischen Geschehens'. Broesike-Schoen, 'Malipieros "Julius Cäsar"'.  
 29 '[...] er [hatte] den Mut, mit allem zu brechen, was seit zweieinhalb Jahrhunderten die Tradition seiner Heimat ist'. Fred Hamel, 'Oper nach Calderón', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21 June 1943 (Album 'Vol. 6 – Mistero Venezia, Orfeide, La vita è sogno').  
 30 "'Julius Cäsar" auf jungitalienische Art', *Hamburger Tageblatt*, 17 February 1941 (Album 'Vol. 8').  
 31 Max Broesike-Schoen, [without title], *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, 1 March 1939 (Album 'Vol. 9'); Friedrich Suennemann, 'Francesco Malipiero: "Die Legende vom vertauschten Sohn". Welt-Uraufführung im Landestheater', *Braunschweiger Allgemeiner Anzeiger*, 15 January 1934 (Album 'Vol. 7').  
 32 Hans Lyck, 'Italiens musikalisches Volksdrama', *Deutsche Zukunft*, 18 December 1938, p. 11.  
 33 'Malipiero erstrebt jene bei Gluck und Wagner Erfüllung gefundene Einheit, jenes aus dem Volkhaften kommende "Gesamtkunstwerk", bei dem vollkommene musikalische Ausgestaltung mit tiefschürfender geschlossener Dramatik Hand in Hand geht'. Std., 'Die Legende vom vertauschten Sohn', *Braunschweigische Staatszeitung*, 15 January 1934 (Album 'Vol. 7').  
 34 Suennemann, 'Francesco Malipiero'.  
 35 Weiher-Waegel, 'Kühner Geist'; Wittke, 'Malipieros Julius Cäsar'.  
 36 '[...] ein überragendes Beispiel geistiger Zucht und Klarheit, dramatischer Wahrhaftigkeit, künstlerischen Formwillens'. Karl H. Ruppel, "'Julius Cäsar" als Musikdrama', *Kölnische Zeitung*, 10 December 1938 (Album 'Vol. 8').  
 37 'Die harmonische Funktion ist weitgehend abgelöst durch eine lineare Stimmführung [...]'. [Without author], "'Julius Cäsar" auf jungitalienische Art', *Hamburger Tageblatt*, 17 February 1941 (Album 'Vol. 8').  
 38 'Er wandte sich ab vom Belcanto, der von Scarlatti bis Puccini der Inbegriff des "Italianismo" ist, um zu neuer Wahrheit musikdramatischen Ausdrucks zu gelangen'. Hamel, 'Oper nach Calderón'.  
 39 'Was er mit ihm gemein hat, ist einmal die leitende Idee, und zum anderen eben ihre Verdichtung auf den psychologischen Kern'. Fred Hamel, 'Musikalisches Drama in Italien. Zur Uraufführung von Malipieros "Antonius und Cleopatra"', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 May 1938 (Album 'Vol. 9').  
 40 'Wenn beide den "Orfeo" und andre Bühnenschöpfungen des großen frühbarocken Madrigalisten bearbeitet haben, so geschah es im gemeinsamen Geist einer Zeit, die nach einem neuen, Symbol und Ethos verschmelzenden Ausdruck sucht [...]'. Karl Schoenewolf, 'Malipieros "Leben ein Traum". Uraufführung im Breslauer Opernhaus', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 22 June 1943 (Album 'Vol. 6').  
 41 "'Antonius und Cleopatra". Die neue Oper von Malipiero', *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 29 January 1942 (Album 'Vol. 9'); Funk, 'Shakespeares Drama'.  
 42 Max Broesike-Schoen, 'Malipieros "Antonius und Cleopatra"', *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 27 February 1939 (Album 'Vol. 9').

- 43 'Auf den ersten Blick würde man ihn kaum für einen Italiener halten – er hat so tiefliegende graue Augen, über die manchmal ein blauer Schein zieht, und sein Kopf mit weißmelierem Haar und den scharf geschnittenen Zügen mutet ganz deutsch an'. ek., 'Erste Begegnung mit Francesco Malipiero', *Braunschweiger Tageszeitung*, 11 January 1934 (Album 'Vol. 7').
- 44 'Antonius [...] wird von dem blauäugigen, grauhaarigen Italiener Malipiero "nordisch" idealisiert [...]'. Heinz Fuhrmann, 'Antonius und Cleopatra', *Hamburger Tagblatt*, 1 March 1939 (Album 'Vol. 9').
- 45 Gundula Kreuzer, *Verdi and the Germans: from unification to the Third Reich*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- 46 Herbert Gerigk, 'Das Heroische bei Verdi', *Die Musik*, XXVI/2, September 1934, pp. 891–893: 892.
- 47 'Wir müssen bei der Betrachtung der italienischen Nation stets die Scheidung in den kleinen rassisch wertvollen Bestandteil vornehmen und in den Unrat, den dieses Gebiet als das Herz der alten Welt ebenfalls Jahrtausende hindurch aufzunehmen gezwungen war'. Gerigk, 'Das Heroische', p. 892.
- 48 Lajos Brons, 'Othering, an Analysis', *Transcience*, VI/1, 2015, pp. 69–90: 76.
- 49 Joseph Imorde, *Michelangelo Deutsch!*, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009.
- 50 For one of the most influential studies in this field see Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London: Penguin Books, 2003 (1978), pp. 5–9.