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Version: Accepted Version

Article:

Gusejnova, Dina (2016) Jazz anxiety and the European fear of cultural change: towards a transnational history of a political emotion. *Cultural History*, 5 (1). pp. 26-50. ISSN 2045-290X

<https://doi.org/10.3366/cult.2016.0108>

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Accepted May 2016.

Jazz Anxiety and the European Fear of Cultural Change:
Towards a Transnational History of a Political Emotion¹

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When jazz became widespread in Europe in the aftermath of the First World War, it elicited strong emotional reactions from contemporaries. Much of this had to do with the extramusical meanings with which jazz music became associated. The concept of jazz absorbed clichéd projections of ‘American’ urban modernity along with the performance of an archaic ‘African’ primitivism. Its quality as an ostentatiously non-European cultural form made jazz a quintessential element for defining the cultural frontiers of Europe, as well as the European sources of American cultural identity. Inseparable from the history of cultural migration resulting from the history of slavery in the American case, and wartime cultural change in the cases of Europe and Asia, the image of the jazz musician came to personify an otherwise ambiguous threat which many Europeans and European Americans associated with modernity.

In looking at the association of jazz with anxiety about modernity, we are dealing with an increasingly global emotional script. The history of jazz music and its reception can serve as a challenging case for studying the relationship between emotions, identities and political ideas in transnational perspective.² As a transnational phenomenon, jazz music emerged in an age when sound became reproducible.³ Feelings about jazz thus crossed not only political but

also geographical and linguistic boundaries. But despite this geographically fluid character, the jazz discourse nonetheless evolved in very specific settings, which responded to very particular perceived threats.

It is with one such context that I shall be concerned in what follows. For the German-speaking intellectual communities of the early to mid-twentieth century, the idea of jazz signified more than just the onset of an abstract age of modernity. It also marked a watershed moment in the dissolution of a specific system of imperial multiculturalism, whose multiple forms of prestige arising from cultural difference were now lost. By sharing ambivalent feelings about new cultural forms, many artists and intellectuals from Germany and Austria vented their fears of European decline to a more global audience, a widening impact that was a by-product of their enforced exile and emigration from Nazi-occupied Europe. Their feelings about jazz were visibly linked to a more biographical reflection on the loss of a homeland in Europe. If this was true of many societies affected by the First World War, this fear had a more distinctive colour in the successor societies to the Habsburg and the Hohenzollern empires and in the émigré communities of exiled Germans living in Britain and the United States.

I hope to shed some new light on the writing on jazz produced by a small network of Germans and other Central and Eastern Europeans in transnational perspective. Looking at intellectuals whose individual biographies are well known in different disciplinary contexts, I wish to highlight the cultural significance of their interconnected, yet autobiographically charged, references to jazz for the evolution of a distinct concept of the European self. One of them, the artist Max Beckmann, has interested scholars of art chiefly as a representative of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, or new objectivity, a new visual language of social criticism. Beckmann repeatedly used jazz instruments as attributes that made prominent the crisis of Weimar culture

as a crisis of global modernity. In another case, the Austrian modernist composer Ernst Krenek achieved fame among musicologists and cultural historians with what is now known as the world's first jazz opera, *Jonny spielt auf*. Unlike his contemporary Kurt Weill, who absorbed jazz elements willingly into the script of his musical *The Threepenny Opera*, in Krenek's work jazz itself was impersonated by a character in blackface, who performs a visibly jarring intrusion into European high culture. Finally, the critic Theodor W. Adorno, a founding author of critical theory, made jazz a centrepiece of his social criticism of the modern culture industry. By tracing their intellectual trajectories to the community of cultural sceptics centred around Prince Karl Anton Rohan, I suggest that we can obtain better insights into the experience of imperial decline in continental Europe as a prehistory to the cultural Cold War of the 1950s.⁴ European intellectuals who saw the popularity of jazz in a dystopian, or at least ambivalent, light have puzzled many interpreters who associate these individuals with the political left, social critique and aesthetic modernism. But when placed in transnational and global perspective, the emotional discourse on jazz in which Beckmann, Krenek and Adorno participated through different media reveals that jazz was less an object and more often an emblem of their own fear of cultural change.

A further aim of this entangled case study is to invigorate a new approach to the study of the emotions, which would bridge the gap in the use of textual and non-textual sources in the fields of intellectual and cultural history. The transnational perspective on multimedia sources helps us to understand how a 'European' sense of self developed across linguistic and political borders.⁵ Thus, anxiety about jazz crossed seemingly established boundaries between so-called progressive and reactionary thinkers and artists, forming an affective genealogy of its own.

Since the late nineteenth century, emotions have usually been seen as a destructive factor in politics. Negative emotions in particular are often said to motivate primarily aggressive political action, because they preclude the use of reason and judgement.⁶ Fear and hatred, to name just two, are frequently linked to the rise of nationalist or totalitarian ideologies. Even at an international level, they tend to be blamed for the destruction of progressive political movements, while the expression of positive emotions like love tends to be associated with more humanist international movements.⁷ As an element of the popular mentality, emotional discourses are also often contrasted with the realm of ideas, and as such they can be attributed to non-elite historical actors, groups and communities, which historians call ‘emotional communities’ or ‘emotional regimes’.⁸ But jazz evoked the expression of ambivalent sentiments and doubts among the elites of Europe’s continental empires, an entanglement between emotions and ideas which also calls into question the existing disciplinary separation in how historians approach intellectual and cultural history. Like ideas, emotions have an intentional quality, an impact on audiences, and they depend heavily on the context of the media within which they were expressed. In contrast to the study of geographical emotions, which the Annales School pioneered, the affective genealogy of ‘jazz anxiety’ can form a starting point for exploring the emotional life of transitional and migrant intellectual communities.⁹

Cultural migration as a threat

In interwar Germany and Austria, jazz criticism evolved in a discursive sphere constituted by journals, newspapers and performance art that took a variety of forms, including opera and modern dance. The theme of cultural migration and the ensuing loss of selfhood was a dominant

subject of discussion in a variety of genres and media. In 1927 Krenek's opera *Jonny spielt auf* premiered in Leipzig.¹⁰ It is known as the world's first 'jazz opera', but it would be more apt to describe it as an operetta in which the fear of jazz is part of the plot line. Its chief protagonist was 'Negro' Jonny, a bar entertainer at a hotel. In a key scene set in Paris, Jonny and an acclaimed European violinist called Daniello compete in seducing the singer Anita. She, in turn, has left behind a previous love interest, a reclusive composer called Max, in a remote town in the Alps. But the work's main subject is the notion of European culture itself, embodied by the violin, which Jonny steals from Daniello, along with Anita's passion. Because of the publicity around the incident, Anita's love, Max, finds out about her infidelity and tries to commit suicide. What stops him is Anita's voice, which reaches him through the loudspeaker of a nearby Alpine hotel, interwoven with jazz music. In the end, Daniello is thrown under a train, Max and Anita escape to America, and Jonny remains in Europe, playing jazz on Daniello's violin as master of the universe. Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* is about the triumph of jazz over a decadent Europe that is seeking to escape from itself to other shores in the world beyond Europe. In this sense it was as much a jazz opera as it was an anti-jazz opera.

Krenek's work presented jazz as a provocation to the very core of European identity, the opera form.¹¹ His judiciously estranged use of the jazz idiom presented jazz as an ambivalent attribute of modernity. Contrary, in a sense, to Walter Benjamin's warning, his work showed that the peculiar aura of jazz was its distinct reproducibility, which also meant that even if what one person meant by *jazz* could differ from what another person meant by it, some degree of mutual understanding could be reached by sharing the experience of 'it' simultaneously via records and radios.¹² Using the textual, aural and visual sources which

contributed to the concept of jazz among an increasingly global public, we can reconstruct the evolution of a separate language of jazz loathing which spread across multiple communities.

Fear of jazz as a music of uprooted peoples was not unique to Germany. In fact, the association of jazz with the intrusion of a racially foreign culture was equally prominent in the United States. Thus, the American composer Daniel Gregory Mason, a pioneer of the so-called music appreciation movement, lamented that ‘American music’ was being ‘contaminated by Jazz and Jews’ and denounced the ‘superficial charm and persuasiveness of Hebrew art’.¹³ He particularly disliked that jazz, with the ‘jerk and rattle’ of the city, had become America’s prime cultural export product to the world. He instead thought America was best represented by pastoral themes inspired by Thoreau and Emerson. On the political left, in the United States, newspapers such as *The Daily Worker* aired pieces in which jazz listeners were similarly described as ‘lounge lizards, and jazz hounds and sex degenerates, who moan and whine in Oscar Wildean monotones about not sufficiently satisfying their degenerate appetites, their sadistic cravings, their abnormal thirsts’. Others spoke of the unholy trinity of ‘gin, jazz and sex’.¹⁴

But for the community of Austrian and German intellectuals and artists to which Krenek belonged, the characteristic tension in the idea of jazz between humanity’s ‘African’ past and ‘American’ future was of interest in its own right. This limbo was a situation that was emblematic of Europe itself in the aftermath of imperial decline. The intellectuals associated with cultural modernism were searching for the foundation of a new, post-imperial world, and in this context thinking about jazz served as a sort of compass. Jazz, ‘this evil something’, the Austrian music critic Stefan Berger, who represented this community, said in 1925, ‘could be the beginning of a revolution’.¹⁵ It was an American music of ‘chaos, machine, noise’, but also

a triumph of ‘new melody, new colour’, which constituted a break from the stale ‘cosiness’ of the previous era. By the interwar period, jazz had come to symbolize the cultural ascendancy of an alien element in global culture. For critical audiences in Asia and Europe, it was above all an American music with African roots; in the United States, it was variously perceived as quintessentially American or dangerously un-American. As such, jazz became a source of inspiration for some, and of fear and disorientation for others. Reflections on jazz served a small but transnationally connected community of new-music aficionados as a foundation for imagining their respective ‘others’ both within and beyond the world of new music.

In Berger’s journal, *Musikblätter des Anbruchs*, gathering global opinion about jazz acquired a value in itself. The International Society for Contemporary Music, for which the journal served as the main outlet, had been founded in Salzburg in 1922. Amongst other functions, it served as a site for the collection of emotions on different kinds of ‘new music’ from a global community of composers and critics. With chapters throughout Europe, including Soviet Russia, this society devoted an entire issue to questioning what sort of new music jazz was. Notable figures of non-German background – who belonged to this circle in virtue of having studied or worked in Germany or Austria between the 1890s and the 1920s – subsequently shaped debates on music and cultural policy in Europe and the United States. They included the Russian composers Vladimir Rebikov, Nicolas Nabokov and Boris Asafiev; the English music critic Edward Dent; the German composer Hanns Eisler; and many others. In the 1950s many found themselves on opposing sides of the Cold War. Eisler’s contacts with Hollywood, for instance, led to an investigation by the US House Un-American Activities Committee, and after 1948 he spent the rest of his life as a Soviet music ideologue. Nabokov, conversely, became the chief music programmer of the Central Intelligence Agency’s

Congresses for Cultural Freedom. Asafiev became the chief Soviet music ideologue and critic of jazz under the 'Russian' pseudonym Igor Glebov.¹⁶ For many young composers who took an interest in jazz, such as the French Darius Milhaud, the Australian Percy Grainger and the Russian American Louis Gruenberg, the non-European identity of jazz was a symptom of Europe's waning cultural force. One composer called it a 'turning of the times' (*Zeitwende*), using a phrase that Oswald Spengler had coined in his *Decline of the West*.¹⁷ Gruenberg saw in jazz a 'new beginning' arising from rhythm that originally had 'no contact with European civilization'.¹⁸ In seeking to shape a distinctly American musical style, Gruenberg believed, jazz would have to occupy a primary role, not 'because it came from the Negro', but because it suited the 'American temperament'.¹⁹ Darius Milhaud was shocked by jazz when it first came to the Casino de Paris in 1918, which resulted from its absolute novelty of melody, rhythm and instruments, including 'claxons', sirens and brass instruments. The 'ethnic' elements remained intact, and even when it was appropriated by white musicians such as George Gershwin, it retained its 'African character'. Journalist César Saerchinger, a radio enthusiast, mused how 'everywhere in America' people listened to the 'same piece called jazz, pronounced "schäs"'.²⁰ As the basic forms of the 'Nigger-rhythm' lived on in Africa, he remarked, the 'lost tribes of Israel, who are wandering about on New York's Broadway', have secured its continuity in America, such as Irving Berlin's 'Alexanders Ragtime Band'.²¹

From its earliest manifestations, speaking about jazz involved drawing on a number of sensory experiences. Writings on jazz were therefore highly ekphrastic; that is they often entailed the description of one's experience of sound through the powers of visual representation, and vice versa.²² Sharing emotions about jazz required channelling a combination of multiple sensory experiences into one image or word. The very word *jazz*

became one of the ‘untranslatables’ of the twentieth century (even though it is missing from Barbara Cassin’s interesting dictionary).²³ It was a word that described multiple new sensory impressions. Most contemporaries called it ‘jass’, ‘Yazz’, ‘dzhaz’ or ‘jazz’. There were some attempts to translate it into vernacular terms, but these did not last.

Against this background, artists and intellectuals of German background played a key role in making jazz a central object of reflection for all those who were preoccupied with the future of European culture. A key setting for this was an organization called the Kulturbund, or Cultural Union, which was founded in 1925 by a Viennese intellectual, Prince Karl Anton Rohan. Working under the auspices of the League of Nations, the association, together with its publicistic outlet, the *Europäische Revue*, worked to establish in the cultural sphere what had clearly become impossible in the political sphere: a union of Greater Germany as envisaged in 1848, for which the journal enlisted the support of a number of leading intellectuals in the field.²⁴ A second major concern of the journal and its community was the discussion of European culture in what we might call a transnational perspective. Many contributors to the *Europäische Revue* advocated a corporatist state, which could, but did not necessarily have to, contain elements of democracy, in a way that came close to the Austro-fascism of Chancellor Dollfuß.²⁵ But they were also committed to a wider, supranational idea of cultural hierarchies and were increasingly thinking of the European frontier in relation to the United States and the new European power, the Soviet Union.

In his book *Moscow*, which served in part as a travelogue, in part as an anatomy of the new Soviet culture, Rohan reflected on the threat which new cultural phenomena like jazz and the Charleston posed to the very fabric of European life:

The prime example for this was the subversion of social life through dances like the Charleston. There is a higher meaning in the tradition that those in power ... do not dance with people, or, what is even more important, do not dance in front of people who are not of the same social standing. Today, you can see in any dance café people of high nobility, duchesses, wives of the large industrial and financial magnates, even girls of the underworld entwined in the Charleston with their legs, arms, and other body parts, swinging amongst other unknown people to Negro rhythms. And at the same time, those in power in Europe attend meetings with rumpled hats and trousers. The dance of political representation has disappeared, to be replaced by the wacky body parts wobbling in Negro chaos.²⁶

Along with his personal publications, his periodical the *Europäische Revue* served as an outlet for those who sought to vent their fears of European decline among like-minded readers. Its activities comprised international congresses held in different countries throughout the interwar period.

The visual arts played a key role in disseminating the ideational world view of this group without consideration of linguistic boundaries. One of Rohan's closer friends and associates, the cultural patroness Lily Malinckrodt-Schnitzler, actively promoted the work of Beckmann, an artist who was a regular participant at Rohan's gatherings. Like Rohan, Beckmann moved freely in elite circles of European sociability, which he documented in one of his best-known paintings, *Paris Society* (1930). Beckmann's painting exhibited in pictorial terms what Rohan had put into words: in his view, cultural forms like jazz had become an inalienable, if profoundly alienating, form of modern life. He pushed this verdict in a different

direction than Rohan did by suggesting that this intrusion of jazz into Europe had permeated his very sense of self.

Beckmann linked the emergence of jazz to the intoxicating effects of Dionysian ecstatic dance in the culture of archaic Greece. For him, jazz was an expression of popular mentalities, of the ‘instinct of the masses’, which he tended to connect to his own confusion in the modern world.²⁷ In Beckmann’s self-portraits with a saxophone, produced in 1930 and 1938–40 respectively, jazz instruments became the main attributes through which he displayed his alienation from his environment.

Figure 1 Max Beckmann, *Selbstbildnis mit Saxophon* (1930). Oil on canvas. © Kunsthalle Bremen - Der Kunstverein in Bremen. Photograph by Lars Lohrisch.

When asked to put his relationship to jazz into words, he exclaimed sarcastically: ‘I love jazz so much. Especially because of the cowbells and the automobile horns. At least that’s decent music.’²⁸

The first portrait, called *Selbstbildnis mit Saxophon* (1930) (Fig.1), shows the artist in a morning gown in front of an exotic plant, holding a phallic-looking saxophone. In this portrait the phallic saxophone appears strangely disconnected from his body and seems to develop agency of its own, with two eyes of its own looking at the viewer. As such, it becomes a curious example of its owner’s impotence. It is reminiscent of the kind of surrealism that characterizes Russian literature, as in Nikolai Gogol’s short story ‘The Nose’, which discusses the ‘emancipation’ of a state official’s nose from its owner.²⁹ A ‘painter of sounds’, as Marsha Morton has called him, Beckmann was also one of a network of Germans and Austrians who

sought to navigate a world in which the received hierarchies of elite and mass culture were rapidly shifting.³⁰

Beckmann's painting shows the exaggerated features of virile, saxophone-playing black men, whose visages haunt an inadequate white 'jazz subject'. He turned jazz into an attribute of the decline of the European self.³¹ Looking at his self-portraits, we see Beckmann the way he would see himself in the mirror: exposed in his morning gown, the very opposite of the black-tie look that was typical for jazz musicians at the time. Seen through the mirror, the self becomes available as an object of contemplation and self-critical reflection.³² A second self-portrait, this time with a horn, was produced in exile in New York almost ten years later. It used the same language to express a new theme of alienation through exile. Beckmann's large hands are, once again, spread before the viewer passively, as he gazes forward in his morning gown. Like Rohan's writings and the gatherings of the Cultural Union, Beckmann's paintings identified jazz as an irrevocable but disturbing feature of modern life.

Jazz and the memory of kitsch from the imperial borderlands

If Beckmann's work sheds light on jazz as an emblem of fear in Rohan's circle, then the work of cultural critic Theodor W. Adorno can elucidate further how jazz came to occupy a central place in self-contemplation among this circle of post-imperial Europeanists. Adorno's own attitude to jazz has puzzled and irritated even some of his devotees, who found it contradictory to his political affinities with the left.³³ Yet it is worth underlining that Adorno's first work on jazz was published in Rohan's *Europäische Revue* and not in the outlets of aesthetic modernists or left cultural critics. Unlike Paul Lazarsfeld, a socialist radio enthusiast who would later end

up in exile in the United States working under the auspices of the Rockefeller foundation, Adorno was scornful about the mass appeal of jazz to the Viennese public in the interwar period.³⁴ In large part, his treatment of jazz drew on a language of jazz which the community of music critics to which he belonged had imported from the United States in the 1920s.

Like Rohan, Adorno praised Beckmann for his capacity to describe the alienation of the modern subject by connecting ‘the divorced life with the baby’, which ‘remains quiet’; meanwhile, the ‘downtrodden gramophone horns reassert themselves as proletarian loudspeakers.’³⁵ This confusion of the senses, which was characteristic of modern alienation, came out most clearly Beckmann’s series of self-portraits with jazz instruments.³⁶ His paintings illustrate not just *a* modern subject’s alienation but that of a distinctly European modern subject in a world which is alien not only by virtue of its modernity but also because of its cultural difference.

Adorno himself professed a type of social criticism that he variously associated with concepts such as the ‘Socratic Left’, ‘progressive’ thought and ‘minima moralia’.³⁷ His jazz essays, the first of which was published in 1933, therefore struck interpreters as an intellectual faux pas: even to his admirers, they appeared politically authoritarian and outright racist.³⁸ Why, especially given the prominence of jazz in Nazi practices of racist cultural criticism, did Adorno publish such a critical piece on jazz in the year the Nazis came to power, and why did he reaffirm his judgement even in later years?³⁹ For the Nazis, jazz represented ‘cultural Bolshevism’ (*Kulturbolschewismus*): a term used to describe cultural practices that were to be excised from the Aryan society of the future.⁴⁰ Looking at Adorno in the context of the intellectual communities he formed part of provides insights into another aspect of his jazz criticism, namely his own engagement with Jewish identity in an increasingly global space

spanning from Vienna to New York and even Moscow.⁴¹ He formed part of a wider network of intellectuals who searched for ways of disseminating jazz by making the identity of jazz musicians visible. Adorno's jazz essays concentrated on the non-musical aspects of jazz, particularly, on the centrality of enacting a non-European identity for the success of this art form. For him, the jazz subject, which was frequently embodied as an African in visual culture, in fact represented a racialized caricature of Jewish identity. As his essay highlighted, the jazz fashion fostered a transnational concept of the non-European in which anti-Semitic stereotypes were conflated with the image of the 'Negro'.

With these observations, Adorno was closer to Beckmann's social circle of cultural sceptics than to the political left at the time. It is noteworthy that in choosing the Viennese community within which to address his feelings about jazz, Adorno avoided the modernists and instead turned to a very different kind of audience by publishing his jazz work in the journal *Europäische Revue* – the journal of modernist sceptics which Rohan published in association with his Cultural Union.⁴² Like others living in post-Habsburg Vienna, Adorno feared the dissolution of a particular imperial lifeworld, which had offered them concrete forms of cultural prestige. Adorno's view of jazz resonated with Rohan's circle because it highlighted a kind of deception concerning social order which jazz brought with it: according to Adorno, it pretended to have African roots but in fact had more structural similarities with eighteenth-century European music; it claimed to be the music of modern-day 'Negroes' but in fact was usually played by whites in blackface; it had developed its own 'jargon' instead of a new musical idiom.⁴³ It gave the illusion of non-European, world culture, but to a central European, it was more reminiscent of musical entertainment derived from the eastern fringes of the Habsburg Empire.⁴⁴ The fear of jazz was a widespread sentiment in central European culture before Nazi

ideology had appropriated this discourse, and it remained in place even after the demise of the Third Reich.

Upon his return from the United States, Adorno's summary piece on jazz was published in 1953 in another German journal which did not specialize in music: *Merkur. Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken*.⁴⁵ *Merkur* was a direct successor to Rohan's *Revue*, whose final editor, Joachim Moras, founded it in 1945. It provided another step in the transposition of post-imperial fears of the non-European by blending status anxieties in post-Habsburg Vienna with racial anxieties in the United States.⁴⁶

As I have suggested, a key element which explains the contradictory features in Adorno's interwar and wartime reflection on jazz is the place of Jewish identity in the European history of jazz. By choosing the pseudonym of Hektor Rottweiler, Adorno performed a Jewish identity that was acerbically ironic.⁴⁷ He later explained this performative aspect in his jazz writing in more detail, speaking of the 'jazz subject' in embodied form as the modern equivalent to Peter Schlemihl, the protagonist of a Romantic novella. Adelbert von Chamisso, the novella's author, called Schlemihl the man who sold his own shadow. In the 1940s the tale of Peter Schlemihl was a common reference point for refugees like Adorno and Hannah Arendt.⁴⁸ This reference to German folklore, where the figure of Schlemihl has a double connotation of Jewishness and bad luck, provided the jazz subject with a lineage tracing to the Romantic age.⁴⁹ Adorno's attempt to illustrate what he saw as an evident racialization of the jazz subject was not itself racist. The fusion of Jewish and African identities in the image of the jazz subject acquired a new sociological (and racist) potency in the context of post-war Germany in the 1950s, where African American GIs, Jewish survivors and 'to be Denazified' Germans mixed in social contexts that were constantly reinventing Germany's fraught languages of racism. On

the contrary, Adorno's take on jazz could be considered as a form of reflection on varieties of being Jewish and an attempt to transcend bodily stereotypes.⁵⁰ His reference to the imagined non-community of German Jewish poets in exile, reaching from Heinrich Heine in the nineteenth century to Yvan (in German: Ivan) Goll in the twentieth. Both invoked this protagonist of Chamisso's novella as a quintessential embodiment of the modern wanderer.⁵¹ At the same time, by adopting a sarcastic pseudonym Adorno also precluded the possibility of jazz becoming the source for anything like a transnational Jewish solidarity.⁵²

By making Jewish identity visible in his discussion of jazz, whilst resisting assuming it, Adorno alienated himself from those who wanted him to become an unequivocal leader of the political left, as well as from those to whom jazz was a music of the left. The link between jazz and Jewishness was particularly relevant for Viennese cultural life in that it articulated a particular kind of Jewish identity, that of the Eastern European Jews.⁵³ Adorno, too, perceived Vienna as the capital of an 'internal empire', with the Eastern Jews constituting a kind of subaltern group within it. In particular, he associated kitsch culture in music in post-Habsburg Vienna with the influences of the Eastern European Jews from the fringes of the former Habsburg Empire.⁵⁴ It was to this Vienna that Adorno came as a student of Alban Berg in 1925. In this way, Adorno's version of the genealogy of jazz was very different from that of his critics in West Germany after the Second World War, to whom jazz was 'a music of protest', by the few and for the few, which cried out 'against social and racial and spiritual discrimination'.⁵⁵ Adorno's theory of the culture industry can thus be used as a source for understanding the cultural and intellectual history of the relationship between Jewish culture and the history of kitsch in late-Habsburg and interwar Vienna. In light of his discussion, jazz was to him an analogue to 'jargon', the dialect of the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe.⁵⁶ Unlike authors

such as Franz Kafka, Adorno and some of the late Viennese modernists he associated with rejected the quest for human emancipation via subaltern sensibilities.

Jazz as an attribute of cultural alienation

As Beckmann, Adorno and other members of Rohan's intellectual community underlined, a central element in the practice of jazz was the performance of a non-European identity. In the literature on jazz, such animosity has mostly been presented as an expression of the reactionary status anxieties of a white middle class, often with a focus on the United States and France. In these societies, the heightened visibility of populations of non-European origin associated with the jazz fashion served as an unwelcome reminder of the history of slavery and colonialism, challenging their own Eurocentric definition of their national identity.⁵⁷ Historians have pointed to an overlap between negative feelings towards jazz and the national chauvinist political beliefs of such French and German authors as Charles Maurras, Oswald Spengler, Joseph Goebbels and others.⁵⁸ Ideologically motivated criticism of jazz has been discussed as an aspect of the history of totalitarian states, especially Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.⁵⁹

But, generally speaking, the perception of jazz as something 'non-European' was not restricted to conservatives and reactionaries. It also had effects on the formation of supranational communities, as well as on ways of defining personal identity.⁶⁰ In wartime Zurich in 1916, the avant-garde artists Tristan Tzara, Richard Huelsenbeck and Hugo Ball presented jazz – which they called 'Negermusik' (Negro music) – along with Russian folk and balalaika music and Danish chansons as part of an 'international revue' of culture. Their intention was to criticize 'war beyond the boundaries of the fatherlands' and undermine the

entire logic of European rationality, an aim they continued on such occasions as the Dada art fair in Berlin in 1922.⁶¹ ‘Rag-time has conquered Europe; we dance to rag-time under the name of jazz in all our cities.’⁶² Like the Swiss conductor Ernest Ansermet, the first generation of jazz listeners noticed that it was an altogether new phenomenon. Jazz was a product of diasporic and international networks of communication and cultural exchange, which spread with the American army in Europe, but which many associated with an antimilitaristic stance and a new form of cultural consumption. Valentin Parnakh, the poet who brought jazz from Paris to Russia, first translated it as *perepolokh* (tumult).⁶³ What made jazz appealing across cultural boundaries was its new mimetic vocabulary. Contemporary descriptions of jazz varied from ‘an Arab riding a camel’ to a ‘pagan idol’, or the ‘mannequin’ in a modern warehouse of goods. The instruments – saxophones, claxons and drums – and the bodies of the performers, the ‘Negroes’, were part of the phenomenon. As Parnakh put it, ‘[a]ll this jumping, throwing, dragging, ... forms a mimetic system of its own ... The clear, hieroglyphic quality of the mimic orchestra opens up progressions of a whole set of sentimentalities, among them – a new pathos, joy, irony, a new tenderness.’⁶⁴

Between the 1930s and the 1950s, jazz later obtained the complicated status of an officially illegal yet unofficially permissible art form in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Considered in global perspective, jazz became a ‘frontier’ that established community boundaries which were as transnational as the language of jazz itself.⁶⁵ Echoing the archaic associations of jazz, some cultural historians have described jazz enthusiasts as a global tribe whose members saw themselves as no longer bound by the standards of their society’s traditional culture.⁶⁶ On the flip side of this ‘transnational’ effect of the jazz idiom on jazz

lovers, however, those who were repelled by jazz cultures frequently also formed connections across national and ideological boundaries.

One particular connection between the fear of jazz in Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union was the link between the performance of jazz as a non-European cultural phenomenon and the Jewish identity of many jazz musicians. Prominent musicians of Jewish origin included Irving Berlin and George Gershwin in the United States and Leonid Utesov in Soviet Russia. The visual history of the jazz subject, in art and onstage, provided a way of performing ‘white noise’ in ‘blackface’, as Michal Rogin has termed it with reference to Franz Fanon.⁶⁷ Because of the global character of this imagined Jewish African jazz subject, the history of jazz loathing cuts across the societies of allegedly multicultural nation states such as the United States and the Soviet Union, and of multinational areas like Europe, inviting one to think of jazz as a quintessentially non-territorial phenomenon.

By articulating negative feelings about jazz in particular, the artists and intellectuals who migrated within and beyond Europe created a reservoir of emotional scripts, which were utilized towards ideological production. The negative and complex emotions about jazz generated in the 1920s and the 1930s provided the proponents of Europe’s most virulent ideologies, National Socialism and Soviet socialism, with a rich resource base from which to construct caricatured images of the social enemy. Notably, the poster for Krenek’s jazz opera became the foundation for a Nazi propaganda poster for the exhibition *Degenerate Music* (1938). The exhibition was organized as a follow-up to the more famous *Degenerate Art* exhibition of 1935, with the aim of demonstrating that non-realist and non-classical forms of art, as well as artists of Jewish background, were no longer welcome in Nazi Germany. Both exhibitions used the word *Negermusik*, originally used by avant-garde artists such as the Dada

group to celebrate the vigour of African rhythm, as a disparaging term. The same Nazi propaganda brochure that proscribed jazz (see Fig. 2) used references to Krenek's opera and Adorno's music journal to expose 'degenerate' ideas of music among the Viennese and the German left. It reprinted the cover of an edition of the modernist journal *Anbruch*, with an article by Adorno (on Mahler) featured prominently on the front page (Fig. 3). He was branded as one of the intellectual authorities who had propagated music which the Nazis considered degenerate.

Figure 2 Hans Severus Ziegler, *Entartete Musik, eine Abrechnung* (1938), MS in British Library General Reference Collection, 7901.bb.57.

Figure 3 From Ziegler, *Entartete Musik*. Photographic reproduction of advertising for Ernst Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* and of the cover of the journal *Anbruch. Monatsschrift für Moderne Musik*, for a special issue dedicated to Gustav Mahler with the first article by Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno ('Mahler heute').

The embodied jazz subject, as discussed in literary texts by Maxim Gorky and others, was equally the object of visual derision within Soviet ideology, where it was associated with the effeminate life forms of the *stilyagi*.⁶⁸ This term stood for a caricatured image of people who were unduly concerned with styles borrowed from the American Broadway, including wearing colourful clothes and seeking products by Western brands, usually acquired on the black market. In the Soviet Union, too, prominent jazz musicians were of white, yet non-Slavic origin: Jewish, Caucasian and Baltic.⁶⁹ Seen in this light, ideologues such as Goebbels and

Andrei Zhdanov made use of the association of jazz with Jewish identity.⁷⁰ ‘Jazz’ became associated with a cluster of concepts employed by music critics, which ranged from ‘kitsch’ (with reference to visual arts) to the word for ‘chaos’ in Russian, *sumber*, which came to be associated with alien and atonal elements in Soviet modernist music.⁷¹ In the figure of the jazz musician, the Stalinist concept of the enemy of the people became visibly merged with a much older imperial concept of the ethnic others, the *inorodtsy*.

The evolution of jazz loathing and jazz anxiety as an emotional mentality and an ideological script reveals one important commonality: the salience of the non-European was perceived as a particular threat because it had ‘infiltrated’ the emotional fabric of the Europeans from within, affecting the way they articulated their desires. When personified, jazz, emblematically represented through a man in blackface, also evoked sensibilities towards foreign influences, which frequently had Jewish identity as their object.⁷² Crucially, this association of ‘blackface’ with the precarious position of Jews in the mid-twentieth century emerged before the growth of National Socialist ideology and spanned anti-Semitic discourses on the American left as well as among the ideologues of Soviet socialism.

Authors like Adorno contributed to a thicker understanding of jazz as Europe’s alien self. As such, it remained available for ideological appropriation by a variety of users. Their ways of representing the jazz subject as a foreign element in European and American cultures were often emotionally charged and transcended the boundary between right and left, as well as boundaries between particular national or neo-imperial states. Jazz called for dramatization because it was so noticeably the product of multiple sensory impressions, from aural to visual and even bodily sensations. Some historians have therefore used the more capacious term *jazz anxiety* to express the ambivalent, and often synaesthetic, quality of the jazz discourse in the

twentieth century.⁷³ Negative discourse on jazz provides a case study for the history of political emotions, whose development mirrored general cultural mechanisms of translation, description and contagion. Intellectual communities such as the one fostered by Rohan created the conditions of possibility for sharing in much wider, transnational contexts a fear of cultural change that used to be particular to Habsburg culture. Racialized in association with African as well as Jewish culture, the concept of jazz became an emblem of anxiety about cultural alienation which could be both personified, as it was by the Nazis, and impersonated autobiographically, as it was in the work of Beckmann and Adorno. In this way, jazz anxiety formed the emotional core in the evolution of a common idea of Europe that crossed both the Iron Curtain and the Atlantic.

¹ I would like to thank the fellows at the University of Chicago and the Cambridge Research Seminar in Political Thought for opportunities to discuss early versions of this paper. I also greatly benefited from participation in Jan Plamper's seminar on the history of emotions at Goldsmiths University, as well as discussions of the history of emotions with my co-conveners of the Passionate Politics group at University College London, Tim Beasley-Murray, Axel Körner and Uta Staiger. Raymond Geuss, Suzanne Marchand, Simon Macdonald, Axel Körner, Christopher Forth and two anonymous reviewers gave generous feedback on this paper at various stages of completion, for which I am enormously grateful. Thanks are also due to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting my work at University College London's Centre for Transnational History. Last but not least, I thank Margarita Dement'eva for sharing her memories of jazz and the culture of the stilyagi in the Soviet Union.

² Cf. Manfred B. Steger, *The Rise of the Global Imaginary: Political Ideologies from the French Revolution to the Global War on Terror* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2008); and Akira Iriye, 'Culture and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations', *Diplomatic History*, 3:2 (1979), pp. 115–28. See also Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (New York: Palgrave, 2007); and Sarah B. Snyder, *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). For historical case studies, see David Trim (ed.), *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Allison Schachte, *Diasporic Modernisms: Hebrew and Yiddish Literature in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Tara Zahra, 'Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis', *Slavic Review*, 69:1 (2010), pp. 93–119.

³ For a more systematic overview of this literature, see Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol and Patricia Seed, 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', *American Historical Review*, 111:5 (2006), pp. 1440–64; Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14:4 (2005), pp. 421–39; Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, 'Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History: Definitions', in Cohen and O'Connor (eds), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York:Routledge, 2004), pp. ix–xxiv; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Une nouvelle sensibilité: la perspective "transnationale"', *Cahiers Jaurès*, 200:2 (2011), pp. 173–80; and Ian Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice', *Journal of Global History*, 4:3 (2009), pp. 453–74. See also Matthias Middell, 'Global History als kritische Perspektive', in 'Weltgeschichtsschreibung im 20. Jahrhundert', spec. issue, *Comparativ*, 12:3 (2002), pp. 7–16; Matthias Middell, 'Die Verwandlung der Weltgeschichtsschreibung. Eine Geschichte vom Beginn des

21. Jahrhunderts’, *Comparativ* 19:6 (2009), pp. 7–19; Immanuel Wallerstein, ‘1968 – Revolution im Weltsystem bzw. 1989 – die Fortsetzung von 1968’, in Etienne François, Matthias Middell, Emmanuel Terray and Dorothee Wierling (eds), *1968 – ein europäisches Jahr?* (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 1997), pp. 19–36, 147–64; and Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, ‘Globalgeschichte und die Einheit der Welt im 20. Jahrhundert’, in ‘Weltsystem und Globalgeschichte’, spec. issue, *Comparativ*, 4:5 (1994), pp. 13–46.

⁴ Previous scholars have associated this kind of discourse with love. See, for instance, Luisa Passerini, *Europe in Love, Love in Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999).

⁵ Approaches to this have been particularly prominent in the fields of music, media and gender, as well as other fields of identity studies. See especially Axel Körner, ‘Uncle Tom on the Ballet Stage: Italy’s Barbarous America, 1850–1900’, *Journal of Modern History*, 83:4 (2011), pp. 721–52; and Michelle Hilmes, *Network Nations: A Transnational History of British and American Broadcasting* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012). For more overviews, see Georg G. Iggers, Q. Edward Wang and Supriya Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008); and Charles Maier, ‘Transformations of Territoriality, 1600–2000’, in Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad and Oliver Janz (eds), *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 32–56; See also Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, ‘Where in the World is America? The History of the United States in the Global Age’, in Thomas Bender (ed.), *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 63–99.

⁶ For a good overview of this predicament, see Michael Freeden, ‘Editorial: Emotions, Ideologies, and Politics’, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 18:1 (2013), pp. 1–10. For some classic discussions in the modern period, see Gustave le Bon, *Psychologie des foules* (Paris:Alcan, 1895); Georges Lefebvre, *La Grande Peur de 1789* (Paris: A. Colin, 1932); and Karl Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie* (Bonn:Cohen, 1929). For a recent link between love and liberalism, see Martha Nussbaum, *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

⁷ For more recent takes on this, see, for instance, Michael Laffan and Max Weiss (eds), *Fear: The History of an Emotion in Global Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); and Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (Emeryville, CA: Shoemaker and Hoard, 2005).

⁸ For the most comprehensive overview of the history of emotions as a field, see Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, ‘Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards’, *American Historical Review*, 90:4 (1985), pp. 813–36; Barbara Rosenwein, ‘Worrying about Emotions in History’, *American Historical Review*, 107:3 (2002), pp. 821–45; and William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁹ Lucien Febvre, ‘Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past’, in Peter Burke (ed.) and K. Folca (transl.), *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 12–26; Lucien Febvre and Albert Demangeon (eds), *Le Rhin, problèmes d’histoire et d’économie* (Paris: Colin, 1935); and Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* (Paris: Alcan, 1925).

¹⁰ Aber Adolf, ‘Ernst Krenek: “Jonny spielt auf”. Uraufführung in Leipzig’, in *Musikblätter des Anbruch. Monatsschrift für Moderne Musik*, 9:3 (1927), pp. 127–32. For an intellectual biography of Krenek, see Peter Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2013). The journal title changed from *Musikblätter des Anbruch. Halbmonatsschrift für Moderne Musik* (1919–23) to *Musikblätter des Anbruch. Monatsschrift für Neue Musik* (1923–5), then to *Anbruch. Monatsschrift für Moderne Musik* (1929–35) and, finally, under political pressure, to *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Musik* (1935–7).

¹¹ On the globalization of the European opera form and its politics in transnational perspective, see Axel Körner, ‘Masked Faces: Verdi, Uncle Tom and the Unification of Italy’, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 18:2 (2013), pp. 176–89; and Axel Körner, ‘Music of the Future: Italian Theatres and the European Experience of Modernity between Unification and World War One’, *European History Quarterly*, 41:2 (2011), pp. 189–212.

¹² Walter Benjamin, ‘L’œuvre d’art à l’époque de sa reproduction mécanisée’, Pierre Klossowsky (transl.), *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 5:1 (1936), pp. 40–66. On the reproducibility of jazz, the recording industry and jazz as a lingua franca, see Stuart Nicholson, *Jazz and Culture in a Global Age* (Lebanon, NH: Northeastern University Press, 2004).

¹³ Daniel Gregory Mason, *Tune In, America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, reprinted Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 158–69. Also Daniel Gregory Mason, ‘Is American Music Growing Up? Our Emancipation from Alien Influences’, *Arts and Decoration*, 14:1 (November 1920), p.40., cited in Daniel Albright (ed.), *Modernism and Music:an Anthology of Sources* (Chicago:the University of Chicago Press, 2004),

p. 382. Cf. David Yaffe, *Fascinating Rhythm: Reading Jazz in American Writing* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Robin Dunbar and Mike Gold, cited in Paul R. Gorman, *Left Intellectuals and Popular Culture in Twentieth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 116, 133.

¹⁵ Paul Stefan, 'Jazz?', in *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 7:4 (1925), 1.

¹⁶ On Nabokov, see Nicolas Nabokov papers, correspondence with Theodor W. Adorno, Series I, 2.8, Harry Ransome Center, the University of Texas at Austin. See also Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam (eds), *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe 1945–1960* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); and Amy Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). On Eisler, see the declassified Federal Bureau of Investigation file LA 100-161, which mentions contacts between Eisler, Horkheimer and Adorno in Los Angeles as well as the *Tribüne für Freie Deutsche Literatur* (Tribune for Free German Literature) and the *New York Daily Worker* in New York. It consists of seventy-nine pages, including a statement by Eisler, dating to 1946-1947.

¹⁷ Alexander Jemnitz, 'Der Jazz als Form und Inhalt', in *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 7:4 (1925), p. 188-196; Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, Charles Francis Atkinson (transl.) (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1926–8).

¹⁸ Louis Gruenberg, 'Der Jazz als Ausgangspunkt,' *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 4 (April 1925), pp. 196–9, p. 196.

¹⁹ Darius Milhaud, 'Die Entwicklung der Jazz-Band und die Nordamerikanische Negermusik,' *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 7:4 (1925), pp. 200–5 (p. 202).

²⁰ César Saerchinger, 'Jazz,' *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 7:4 (1925), pp. 205–10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

²² On ekphrasis, see W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

²³ Barbara Cassin, *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies: Dictionnaire des intraduisibles* (Paris: Seuil, 2004).

²⁴ See Karl-Anton Rohan, 'Deutschland-Frankreich-Europa,' in *Europäische Revue*, 6:10 (1930), pp. 713-20, a comment on the German Reichstag elections of 14 September 1930.

²⁵ The main Austrian theorist of corporate government was Othmar Spann, *Der wahre Staat* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1921). In the *Europäische Revue*, the position developed was one close to conservative syndicalism, as in this publication: André Fourgeaud, 'Die syndikale Republik', *Europäische Revue* 4:12 (1929), pp. 771-85.

²⁶ Karl Anton Rohan, *Moskau: ein Skizzenbuch aus Sowjetrußland* (Karlsruhe: Braun, 1927), pp. 14–15.

²⁷ Max Beckmann, 'Creative Credo' (1918), in *Max Beckmann: Self-Portrait in Words. Collected Writings and Statements, 1903–1950*, Barbara Copeland Buenger (ed.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 181-86, p.p. 184.

²⁸ Beckmann, 'Letter for the Piper Almanach', in *Max Beckmann: Self-Portrait in Words*, pp. 272-77 (p. 275).

²⁹ Nikolai Gogol, 'Nos' [The nose], *Sovremennik*, 3 (1836), pp. 54–90.

³⁰ Morton, "'Painted Sounds": Music in the Art of Max Beckmann', in Rose-Carol Washton Long and Maria Makela (eds), *Of 'Truths Impossible to Put in Words': Max Beckmann Contextualized* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 135–65 (142).

³¹ In their play with uncertainty concerning the viewer's status in relation to the object, Beckmann's self-portraits with gramophones and jazz attributes are reminiscent of Édouard Manet's *Bar aux Folies Bergères* (1882). This painting has become a classic example of an image that plays tricks with the viewer's perspective. At first sight, the viewer seems merely a detached observer, looking at a young woman working in a bar, but because a man's image is reflected in the mirror behind her in the same spot where the imaginary viewer's image would appear, were he or she looking at the woman in reality, the viewer gets the uncertain feeling that he or she is a client of the young lady.

³² Maurice Merleau-Ponty, 'Cézanne's Doubt', 'The Child's Relations with Others', and 'Eye and Mind', in Ted Toadvine and Leonard Lawlor (eds), *The Merleau-Ponty Reader* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 2007), pp. 69–85, pp. 143–85 and pp. 351–79, respectively.

³³ Robert Witkin, 'Why did Adorno "Hate" Jazz?', *Sociological Theory*, 18:1 (2000), pp. 145–70; Harry Cooper, 'On "Über Jazz": Replaying Adorno with the Grain', *October*, 75 (1996), pp. 99-133; Richard Leppert, introduction in Adorno, *Essays on Music*, Richard Leppert (ed.), Susan H. Gillespie (transl.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 1–81; Richard Wolin, *The Terms of Cultural Criticism: The Frankfurt School, Existentialism, Poststructuralism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), p. 72. Others have simply ignored the jazz essay. See, for instance, Henry A. Giroux, 'What Might Education Mean after Abu Ghraib: Revisiting Adorno's Politics of Education', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 24:1 (2004), pp. 3–22; and Eric Hobsbawm, *The Jazz Scene* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), p. 300.

- ³⁴ Desmond Mark (ed.), *Paul Lazarsfelds Wiener RAVAG-Studie 1932. Der Beginn der modernen Rundfunkforschung* (Vienna: Guthman und Peterson, 1996).
- ³⁵ Adorno, 'Nadelkurven,' *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 10:2 (1928), pp. 47–50, cited from Adorno, 'The Curves of the Needle,' Y. Levin (transl.), *October*, 500 (1990), pp. 48–55 (52).
- ³⁶ On Beckmann's self-portraits, see also *Max Beckmann: Self Portrait in Words*; and Barbara C. Buenger, 'Some Portraits from Frankfurt's Weimar Era', in Washton Long and Makela (eds), *Of 'Truths Impossible to Put in Words'*, pp. 165–98.
- ³⁷ On the 'Socratic Left', see Theodor W. Adorno, *Jargon der Eigentlichkeit. Zur deutschen Ideologie* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1964); Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno, 'Reaktion und Fortschritt. Wo stehen wir?', *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 12:6 (1930), pp. 191–5; and Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1951).
- ³⁸ Adorno, 'Abschied vom Jazz', *Europäische Revue*, 9:5 (1933), pp. 313-16, reprinted in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 20 vols. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970-2003), vol. 18, pp. 795–9; Hektor Rottweiler, 'Über Jazz', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 5 (1936), 235-59, reprinted in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 17, pp. 74–108; and Adorno, 'Oxfordener Nachträge', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 17, pp. 100–8.
- ³⁹ Rottweiler, 'Über Jazz'; Adorno, reviews of Wilder Hobson, *American Jazz Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1939), and Winthrop Sargeant, *Jazz Hot and Hybrid* (New York: Arrow Editions, 1938, in *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung. Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, 9 (1941), pp. 167–78, German originals reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 19, pp. 382–9; Adorno, 'Jazz', in Dagobert D. Runes and Harry G. Shrikel (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Arts* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1942), pp. 511–13, German original reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 15, pp. 70–3.
- ⁴⁰ Most explicitly, for instance, in Joseph Goebbels, 'Around the Gedächtniskirche' (1928), in Anton Kaes et al. (eds), *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 560-62. Originally published as 'Rund um die Gedächtniskirche,' *Der Angriff*, 23 January 1928.
- ⁴¹ See Adorno, *Jargon der Eigentlichkeit*; Wiesengrund-Adorno, 'Reaktion und Fortschritt'; and Adorno, *Minima Moralia*.
- ⁴² Adorno published as Wiesengrund-Adorno or Wgd. For a full list of his contributions to *Anbruch* and other periodicals at the time, see Max Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 333–6. I used the digital edition of the journal available through <http://www.digento.de/titel/102029.html>.
- ⁴³ Adorno, 'Abschied vom Jazz'; and Rottweiler, 'Über Jazz'.
- ⁴⁴ Adorno published as Wiesengrund-Adorno or Wgd. For a full list of his contributions to the *Anbruch* and other periodicals at the time, see Max Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 333–6. I used the digital edition of the journal available through <http://www.digento.de/titel/102029.html>.
- ⁴⁵ Theodor W. Adorno, 'Perennial Fashion-Jazz', in *Prisms*, Samuel and Shierry Weber (transl.) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 129–30.
- ⁴⁶ Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, Peter Labanyi, Jamie Daniel, and Asenka Oksiloff (transl.) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
- ⁴⁷ Rottweiler, 'Über Jazz'; Adorno, reviews of *American Jazz Music* and *Jazz: Hot and Hybrid*; and Adorno, 'Jazz'.
- ⁴⁸ On references to Schlemihl in the context of refugee writing, see Hannah Arendt, 'We, Refugees', *Menorah Journal*, 31:1 (1943), pp. 69-77. Cited after the publication in Marc Robinson (ed.), *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile* (New York: Faber and Faber, 1994), pp. 110-119 (p. 114). Adorno's former radio editor at Südwestfunk, Ernst Schoen, also used a pseudonym to write autobiographical notes. He created it using an anagram of the word 'the Traveller' (*der Wandersmann*), Hans Werdmann, *Londoner Elegien* (Weimar: G. Kiepenheuer, 1950).
- ⁴⁹ Adelbert von Chamisso, *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (Nuremberg: Johann Leonhard Schrag, 1814).
- ⁵⁰ Cf. Daniel Wildmann, *Der veränderbare Körper. Jüdische Turner, Männlichkeit und das Wiedergewinnen von Geschichte in Deutschland um 1900* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2009).
- ⁵¹ Heinrich Heine refers to Chamisso as the 'Dean of the schlemihls', in 'Jehuda ben Halevy', in Heine, *Romanzero* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1852), pp. 213-61 (p. 253); Ivan Goll, 'Die Neger erobern Europa', *Die literarische Welt*, 2 (15 January 1926), pp. 3–4. When the Alsatian Jewish poet Ivan (in French: Yvan) Goll observed with admiration that the 'Negroes are Conquering Europe', 'with their howls, with their laughter',

reviving it from a period of decline, he identified with musicians of African origin from his own position of cultural inferiority as a Jew.

⁵² Maria Höhn, 'Heimat in Turmoil: African-American GIs in 1950s West Germany', in Hanna Schissler (ed.), *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 145–63.

⁵³ Stephen A. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East-European Jew in German and German-Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

⁵⁴ In Adorno, 'Schönberg und der Fortschritt', in *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1975), pp. 36–127 (63–4, n. 17); on foreign words, see Adorno, 'Wörter aus der Fremde' (1959), in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 11, pp. 216–32,

⁵⁵ Joachim Berendt, *The Jazz Book: From Ragtime to the 21st Century*, Dag Morgenstern (transl.) (St. Albans: Lawrence Hill, 1976), p. 284.

⁵⁶ Franz Kafka, 'Einleitungsvortrag über Jargon' (1912), in *Nachgelassene Schriften und Fragmente*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer, 2002). See also Yasemin Yildiz, 'The Uncanny Mother Tongue: Monolingualism and Jewishness in Franz Kafka', in *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), pp. 30–66.

⁵⁷ Cf. Bernard Gendron, "'Moldy Figs" and Modernists: Jazz at War (1942–1946)', and Steven B. Elworth, 'Jazz in Crisis, 1948–1958: Ideology and Representation', both in Krin Gabbard (ed.), *Jazz among the Discourses* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 31–51 and pp. 57–76, respectively, as well as other essays in that volume.

⁵⁸ Cf. Philippe Gumpłowicz, 'Musicographes réactionnaires des années 1930', *Le Mouvement Social*, 3:208 (2004), pp. 91–124. See also Charles Maurras, *Romantisme et Revolution* (Paris: Nouvelle librairie nationale, 1922); Goebbels, 'Around the Gedächtniskirche', p. 561; and Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, vol. 2, p. 103.

⁵⁹ Cf. Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); S. Frederick Starr, *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union 1917–1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); and Barry D. Kernfeld (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London: St. Martin's, 1994).

⁶⁰ For instance, see the jazz memories of Philip Larkin, *All What Jazz. A Record Diary 1961–68* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970).

⁶¹ Karl Riha (ed.), *Dada Zürich: Texte, Manifeste, Dokumente* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1992).

⁶² Ernest Ansermet, 'On a Negro Orchestra' (1919), in Daniel Albright (ed.), *Modernism and Music: An Anthology of Sources* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 368–72, (p. 369). Originally as 'Sur un orchestre nègre', in *Revue romande*, 3:10 (1919), p. 11.

⁶³ Parnakh, 'Mimicheskii orkestr', in *Zrelishcha*, 1:4 (1922), pp. 12–15.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁶⁵ See, for instance, E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 90; and Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

⁶⁶ In a sense, Ted Gioia does this in his *The History of Jazz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), when he speaks about 'global ambassadors', 'global audiences' and fans of jazz and related musical forms.

⁶⁷ Michael Rogin, 'Blackface, White Noise: The Jewish Jazz Singer Finds his Voice', *Critical Inquiry*, 18:3 (1992), pp. 417–53.

⁶⁸ Starr, *Red and Hot*; and Alexei Yurchak, *Everything was Forever, Until it was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005). On stilyagi, see Marina Dmitrieva, 'Jazz and Dress. Stiliagi in Soviet Russia and Beyond', in Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter (eds.), *Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 239–56.

⁶⁹ The first generation of Soviet jazz musicians, or jazz musicians recording in the Soviet Union, was mostly Jewish, e.g. Leonid Utesov, Aleksandr Tsfasman and Eddy Rosner; in the 1960s, musicians included the Armenians Artyemy Aivazian and Georgy Garanian; the Azerbaijanis Tofiq Kuliev, Tofiq Babaev and Vaqif Mustafah Zadeh; the Georgians Geno Nadirashvili and Givi Gachechiladze; the Latvian U. Stabluniekis; the Estonian Emil Laansoo; and the Lithuanian Rimvydas Radzevičius. See Aleksei Batashev, *Sovetskiy dzhaz. Istoricheskiy ocherk pod redaktsiei A.V. Medvedeva* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1972); see also the full discography of Soviet jazz in the Thaw era, 1960–84, in Aleksandr Medvedev and Olga Medvedev (eds), *Sovetskiy dzhaz. Problemy, Sobytiya, Mastera* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1987), pp. 522–80.

⁷⁰ Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*.

⁷¹ See Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939–1953* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 22; Leonid Maksimenkov, *Sumbur vmesto muzyki: Stalinskaia kul'turnaia revoliutsia* (Moscow: Yuridicheskaia kniga, 1997); and the infamous article 'Sumbur vmesto muzyki', *Pravda*, 28 January 1936, p. 3.

⁷² Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Une nouvelle sensibilité: la perspective "transnationale"', *Cahiers Jaurès*, 200:2 (2011), pp. 173–80; Nicola Miller, conclusion in Axel Körner, Nicola Miller and Adam Smith (eds), *America Imagined: Explaining the United States in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 225–41.

⁷³ Cf. Kristin K. Henson, *Beyond the Sound Barrier: The Jazz Controversy in Twentieth-Century American Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 37.