

Beethoven in 1970, Bernstein and the ORF: Cultural Memory and the Audiovisual

Cornelia Szabó-Knotik (University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna)

The material for the following case study of the 200th anniversary of Beethoven's birth, which was celebrated in Vienna in 1970, is taken from the broadcasts of the ORF (the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation). It is undertaken with the aim of drafting a working method in the context of (music) history informed by audiovisual media.¹ This case study strives to define those aspects and contexts of Beethoven's popularized image which would otherwise be hardly recognizable or differently apprehended. Beethoven's 1970 bicentenary, celebrated in Vienna, was accompanied by a rather heavy media presence. Under the auspices of mass media's growing spread and importance,² the city of Vienna organized a special exhibition, *Die Flamme lodert* (The Flame Blazes), which featured, for the first time at such an event, a 'music program' of Beethoven's works, consisting of 15 compilationst³ on audiotape, taken from LP stereo recordings on the Decca, Deutsche Grammophon, and Philips labels. The program was accompanied by introductions

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- 1 Such an approach is only possible because the amount of video material available online has reached critical mass; it is based not so much on the reading (of texts), as is traditional in academia, but is meant to involve hearing and seeing instead. Cf. the research project *Telling Sounds'* agenda (www.mdw.ac.at/imi/tellingsounds), which inspired the publication of this book.
 - 2 TV sets entered households and tape recorders became popular (as did CDs, at the end of the following decade). In 1969, VCRs and video cameras became available, with VHS becoming a widely accepted standard towards the end of the following decade. Perné, "Eine kleine Geschichte der Schallaufzeichnung." <https://www.mediathek.at/unterrichtsmaterialien/eine-kleine-geschichte-der-schallaufzeichnung/>
 - 3 Split into segments of 5 recordings for each of the three chronologically defined periods "early (up to 1802) [...] middle (1803–1815) [and] late (until 1815)." Racek, *Die Flamme lodert* 145.

written by Fritz Racek and narrated by the then popular newsreader, presenter, and radio play announcer Wolfgang Riemerschmid. The program was played at three listening stations, following a schedule published in the exhibition's catalogue.⁴ In an essay for the *Vienna Festival Almanac*, Fritz Racek calls the use of "the modern media of video and sound projection" one of the exhibition's more important features.⁵ Also, he makes reference to the "smash hit" that was the 1927 commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Beethoven's death, which, he claims, could easily have been "resurrected" because "in effect the stock of historical documents has remained essentially unchanged."⁶ He continues to point out that this approach was nevertheless avoided because of the public's changed attitude; informative, 'educational' material became at that time preferred to a collection of valuable objects; media were included in the exhibition.⁷ In contrast to the anniversary celebrations of composers that were held both in earlier and later years, neither a biopic nor a documentary was produced in Austria in 1970, which was typical of the country's contemporary film industry. International films (mainly US-produced) dominated in cinemas, which in turn had conceded their traditional popularity as places of mass entertainment to home TV sets.⁸ A glance in the most popular program guide of the time, *Hör Zu*,⁹ followed by a database search of the ORF media archive provided the necessary information (table 1 in appendix). The resulting network of AV material with different

4 The Volkshalle of the Vienna City Hall, Tue 26.05.—Sun 30. 08.1970. Racek, *Die Flamme lodert* 145–48.

5 Racek, "Zur Wiener Beethoven-Ausstellung" 101–02.

6 "[...] wäre es nicht eine reizvolle Aufgabe gewesen, für sie die erfolgreiche Monsterschau von 1927 nochmals erstehen zu lassen? Nun, diese Möglichkeit hätte durchaus bestanden; tatsächlich ist ja, [...] der Effektivbestand an dokumentarischen Erinnerungsobjekten in der Hauptsache derselbe geblieben." Racek, "Zur Wiener Beethoven-Ausstellung" 102.

7 In fact, this is in a sense also true for the 1927 centenary—not regarding the exhibits themselves, as tape was not yet available and records were still pressed on shellac—but regarding radio broadcasts. For its contemporary effect on the Early Music movement in Austria: Szabó-Knotik, "Zwischen Rückbesinnung und Aneignung" 199–208.

8 Walter Fritz devotes a considerable part of the last of his three volumes on Austrian film history to the detailed description of this situation. Fritz, *Kino in Österreich* 93–162.

9 The Dokumentationsarchiv Funk keeps all volumes of this periodical in full-text-searchable pdfs on its site: [http://www.dokufunk.org/upload/periodika_digitalisiert_20200117\(1\).pdf](http://www.dokufunk.org/upload/periodika_digitalisiert_20200117(1).pdf). My thanks to Herbert Hayduck and Michael Liensberger for their support of this and other studies in the frame-work of the abovementioned project research.

production contexts together with additional detailed analyses of images (including facial expressions and gestures) and sound (including tone of voice and articulation) is meant to convey insights into the interrelationship of meanings in the communication and popularization of (music) historical content. This, however, is not done here with regard to the music repertoire performed, but to the dissemination of the 1970 Beethoven celebration's ideas and meanings to the consumers of mass media.¹⁰ In short, we are concerned with the question of which images were transmitted on that occasion. A comparison between the anniversary celebration's numerous events and their coverage on TV reveals, unsurprisingly, a focus on the festival in Vienna and, in turn, on the contributions of Leonard Bernstein. His concert with the Vienna Philharmonic as well as his new staging of *Fidelio*¹¹ were the subjects of a wide variety of programs throughout the year,¹² among which we find a politically significant performance at the Social Democratic Party's convention, and Bernstein in the role of presenter for a documentary coproduced by CBS and ORF (table 2 in appendix). The latter two are good examples of the different strata of distribution typical of the essentially achronological construction that such video material has. They were therefore chosen as the main examples for this case study.

Bernstein's 'Beethoven Moment'

The German-language version of the documentary film *Beethoven's Birthday* (80 minutes in length), coproduced by CBS and ORF, was shown on TV; it was subtitled "a music festival in Vienna with Leonard Bernstein." Inserts divide it into three parts, beginning with a general introduction to the celebrations

10 Television had a largely monopolistic position in Austria at the time; there were two Austrian TV channels, it was only possible to tune in to others near the border, and private television did not yet exist. The restriction of broadcasting times and the gradual spread of TV sets also contributed to television's becoming considered a leisure activity. "Geschichte des Fernsehens in Österreich." https://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Geschichte_des_Fernsehens_in_%C3%96sterreich&oldid=194523170

11 Note that *Fidelio*—not in Bernstein's staging—is also the subject of an episode of *Opernführer* (with Marcel Prawy, 22.11.) and of a broadcast from the Berlin Opera of the production, conducted by Karl Böhm (13.12.). Cf. table 1.

12 Thus, nothing is reported about the *Beethoven Symposium* (01.06.–05.06.), and there is only one broadcast about the already mentioned Vienna *Beethoven Exhibition* (*Kultur aktuell*, 30.05.).

in Vienna and Bernstein's role in them, then focusing on two major events in turn: the new production of *Fidelio*—in itself an important Austrian *lieu de mémoire*¹³—and the performance of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9.¹⁴ The use of color film was, besides the presenter's celebrity status, one of the features emphasized in announcements for the film. Another, as mentioned in one of Bernstein's on-screen statements, was the film's careful use of historical documents and landscape paintings, many of which were used as illustrations and mentioned in the credits as having been taken from H.C. Robbins Landon's biography of the composer¹⁵ and from "Beethoven, Pall Mall Press."¹⁶ Producer and director Humphrey Burton had already by that time had experience with classical music productions for both TV and radio.¹⁷ The film promptly earned him an Emmy (1972) together with James Kray (awarded as executive producer) and Leonard Bernstein (awarded as the star)¹⁸ and was initially distributed on VHS (1992), then on DVD (2006)¹⁹—proof of the continuing popularity of both big Bs. The film opens with Bernstein conducting the Vienna Philharmonic performing the second movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 and a bird's eye view of the Ringstrasse and the Opera House ("Before us is Vienna, B's adopted country [...]"). Bernstein continues speaking off-camera, mentioning the three events he has taken part in, namely the performance of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9, the staging of *Fidelio*, and the performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15. At the word "*Fidelio*," we are shown an excerpt from the performance: Pizzarro (Theo Adam) is

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- 13 This is documented and reinforced by performances right after the end of World War II, when the first opera season at Theater an der Wien opened with this work (06.10.1945) as well as by the spectacular re-opening of the rebuilt State Opera house a decade later (05.11.1955). Cf. Marcel Prawy's recollection of this in Prawy, *Die Wiener Oper* 323. As a matter of fact, *Fidelio* is also a cornerstone of the 2020 Vienna Beethoven Celebration; all three versions are staged (1805, 1806, 1814). "Viennese Beethoven Events in 2020." <https://musik2020.wien.info/en-us/beethoven-events-2020>
- 14 "Zweiter Teil *FIDELIO*" (13:21) with two inserts listing the staging's main performers (13:46); "Dritter Teil 9. *SYMPHONIE*" (53:38) begins with Bernstein's statement on the importance of Beethoven's music (to 57:20). See below in this text.
- 15 Landon, *Beethoven: sein Leben*.
- 16 Most probably the edition of a book (re)issued several times: Schmidt-Görg, *Ludwig van Beethoven*.
- 17 "Humphrey Burton." https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Humphrey_Burton&oldid=946250094
- 18 Outstanding Single Program—Variety or Musical—Classical Music. "Primetime Emmy Awards." <https://www.imdb.com/event/ev0000223/1972/h>
- 19 Wulff, *Ludwig van Beethoven im Film* 6.

singing the vigorous motif of the famous aria “Ha, welch ein Augenblick,”²⁰ which itself acts as an allusion to Bernstein’s emotional state. Following the chronology just laid out, Bernstein is subsequently seen performing the Piano Concerto No. 1, which is repeatedly heard in the film’s next section, starting (at 02:25) with the *topos* of ‘Vienna, the city of music’ and dedicated to a description of Beethoven’s biography blended with what seems to be Bernstein’s personal assessment of the composer’s character and personality. The following segment, on *Fidelio* (13:21–53:34), opens with the end of the final choir; the curtain closing to fervent applause; this is followed by excerpts from rehearsals (including some spoken instructions and gestures from director Otto Schenk) and some behind-the-scenes shots.²¹ Bernstein’s energetic conducting gestures and his intense facial expressions during a choir’s piano rehearsal, repeatedly shown in close-up (15:23–16:33), captivate the singers as well as the film’s viewers. By contrast, a short sequence (33:16) documents the performers’ exhausted and subdued mood after an evening rehearsal. At the end of that sequence (34:08–35:55), Bernstein is shown alone in the venue, in a long shot, standing in the orchestra pit, the seating in the background empty, the conductor’s baton twirling in his hands. He tells us in English (dubbed over in German²²) that at that very moment he is experiencing “Beethoven’s spirit” and is thus overwhelmed by a sense of identification with the composer, who had conducted from the very same spot. He describes this moment of identification as creating an intense empathy with what Beethoven must have felt when, due to hearing loss, he could not understand the performers’ questions and also when—and here Bernstein’s face is shown in close-up—he intensely felt the boredom and resentment of the audience, then consisting not of the usual sympathetic Viennese but of French officers, present because Napoleon had occupied Vienna that very week. Beethoven must have felt their stares drilling right into his back. In terms of the effect created, this narrative is very moving and impressive. However, it strays from the known historical facts, as Beethoven conducted neither the opera’s first and indeed unsuccessful performance in 1805, which Bernstein alludes to, nor one of the following premieres

20 “Ah! the moment has arriv’d.” “Ludwig van Beethoven, Beethoven’s Opera *Fidelio*. German Text, with an English Translation [1805].” <https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/beethoven-beethovens-opera-fidelio-german-text-with-an-english-translation>

21 Similar material was used to make a special feature, broadcast on 19.07. Cf. table 2.

22 Because of the asynchronous dubbing (we hear both the original English and the German voiceover) and Bernstein’s impassioned facial expressions, a distinct feeling of irritation is caused.

(in 1806 and 1814) of the work's revised versions.²³ Nevertheless, there is the remarkable fact that Bernstein's story about his identification with Beethoven forms a narrative pattern which recurs, almost word-for-word, in a recording produced that year in Vienna, under rather different circumstances and meant for another purpose. In a so-called voice portrait (02:47) stored in the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences,²⁴ Bernstein begins with the phrase, "I've had an extraordinary experience this week, these last two weeks in fact, conducting *Fidelio* in Vienna." He goes on to mention that he stood "on the same podium" as Beethoven and that he also studied the latter's remaining documents and work while working on a film about the bicentenary celebration in Vienna for American audiences. What follows is a repetition of the same narrative pattern about his moment of intense identification, while standing on the podium, with Beethoven at the opera's first premiere. But this time the tale is more personal: "I felt that this was *my* opera I had just written—I was very worried about it—and as I went through it—I kept feeling 'oh no, I should've used the other overture, I, why did I end that piano instead of forte, I meant to let that aria out, I meant to correct that bar, the audience isn't getting it [...]" (01:04—01:25). And it is even more emotionally laden; we even hear the claim (01:43), "at one point I even felt I was hard of hearing, that I was deaf." Bernstein didn't hear the second oboe and realized his error only when, as an afterthought, he looked at the orchestra and saw that the oboist was not playing (01:54). Throughout this recording Bernstein's sonorous voice gets even more under the listener's skin than in the film, probably because no images distract from its effect, and perhaps also because the film's German voiceover sounds more read than spoken and its mixture with Bernstein's original commentary somewhat ruins both. Its surprisingly personal, almost intimate character can be explained by the circumstances under which it was recorded.²⁵ Remarkably, both interviews dif-

23 The cast list: "Fidelio." https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fidelio#cite_ref-7

24 "Katalog." http://catalog.phonogrammarchiv.at/sessions.php?id_sessions=5119&action=view&sortieren=signatur&vonBis=10-19. I thank Gerda Lechleitner, who is also the project leader for the Phonogrammarchiv's cooperation with the *Telling Sounds* project, for giving me the opportunity to listen to this recording.

25 The following information about its production are taken from an interview with the Phonogrammarchiv's former director, Dietrich Schüller, as well as from the recollections of Elisabeth Deutsch (born Pohl), who was the secretary of the Phonogrammarchiv at the time. My interview with Schüller (04.09.2019), stored in the Phonogrammarchiv (22:49–26:42), as well as an interview with Elisabeth Deutsch, recorded on 07.02.2020.

fer in some details regarding how the music recording in question had been arranged and where it took place. This is a good example of a characteristic that these kinds of sources have: views and attitudes, rather than mere documented facts, are provided. While Dietrich Schüller remembers the establishment where Elisabeth Deutsch had her second job at the time—the Loyalty Club²⁶—as the location of her acquaintance with Bernstein, Deutsch herself confidently identifies her friend Sylvia (the secretary of the office of the Vienna Philharmonic at the time) as the one who had introduced her to Bernstein. Elisabeth eventually asked him to provide a recorded statement for the Phonogrammarchiv's unique collection of historical voice portraits. Bernstein agreed and the meeting was scheduled one morning at his lodgings at a downtown hotel,²⁷ where he was busily organizing his affairs. He seemed to have just wanted to get the task over with and gave a short, rather general statement. In retrospect it becomes obvious that Bernstein had already had to memorize his remarks for the documentary, which must have been filmed at the time of the staging's premiere in May. In fact, the Phonogrammarchiv recording tells the same story but in different words and in a different tone. The performative variation of the same narrative pattern, recorded more than a week after the documentary scene had been shot,²⁸ was obviously influenced by its very different circumstances of time and place. That said, the short voice portrait proves to be a telling example of the fundamental importance that performativity acquires in an audio(visual) recording. All its production and audio (as well as visual) details, such as tone of voice, articulation, and vocabulary, add meaning to the words which a written text doesn't possess. Bernstein's happy-go-lucky attitude gives his educational remarks a dimension that textbooks cannot achieve.²⁹ Another group of recordings, these on the topic of Bernstein's performance of the Piano Concerto No. 1 both as performer and conductor, helps support this argument. Its ramifications are additionally extended into the 21st century and broaden the scope of the

26 This club's name was, as Dietrich Schüller demonstrates (23:54), usually spoken with German rather than English pronunciation. It was allegedly founded by one Dr. Fellner.

27 Exactly which hotel this was is unclear; all parties involved identified different ones.

28 According to its identification code (19700601.M001) the recording date was June 1st 1970 at the latest.

29 Bernstein's *Young People's Concerts* (1958–72) where he maintains a conventionally 'serious' attitude. "Young People's Concerts." https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Young_People%27s_Concerts&oldid=938766812

sociocultural context of Bernstein's contribution to Beethoven's bicentenary celebration, reaching into Austria's political history.

Bernstein, Beethoven, and Bruno Kreisky

The performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 is also part of the above-mentioned documentary, both on screen and as part of the soundtrack to the brief sketch of Beethoven's life and fate. The documentary was additionally mentioned on TV several times in 1970, starting with a preannouncement of the performance at the Musikverein, broadcast in the cultural news program one day before the actual event (06.06.) with excerpts from a rehearsal; this was followed by a political news segment three days after the concert (10.06.) and later that year (03.10.), where it became the main subject of a special program (cf. table 2). The reason for its unexpected appearance in the ORF primetime news program³⁰ was another performance at the opening of the Social Democratic Party's annual convention, attended by 600 national and 70 international delegates. This was in many ways a special occasion, the first such meeting after the party had gained a relative majority in the national council elections in March, resulting in Bruno Kreisky's election to the office of federal chancellor in a minority government (established with the consent of the FPÖ, the national liberal party). To celebrate this achievement, the convention took place at the Wiener Konzerthaus, with Bernstein and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra performing.³¹ In his opening speech during the first clip,³² (02:15) Kreisky explains this by remarking not only on the *Vienna Festival* which had just taken place, but also on the "great tradition of the Social Democratic cultural movement," the *Arbeitersymphoniekonzerte*,³³ the last of which took place in that very same concert hall "on Saturday, February 10th 1934, two days before the dark night of dictatorship fell over Austria"

30 These two news excerpts from the ORF archive are marked as restricted and can therefore not be published but only viewed on-site.

31 The full program can be viewed in the Wiener Konzerthaus database. "Suche in der Archivdatenbank." <https://www.konzerthaus.at/datenbanksuche>

32 From its format I assume it was exactly what was shown in the news: it begins with a commentator's introduction of the event, then Kreisky begins his talk, followed by a recording of Bernstein's conducting the *Leonore Overture* No. 3.

33 Information about the *Arbeitersymphoniekonzerte*: "Arbeitermusik." <https://www.geschihtewiki.wien.gv.at/Arbeitermusik>

(00:46–01:15). A second clip from the same event (04:13) features another excerpt from Kreisky's speech, which begins with the statement, "Beethoven was an unbending and courageous confessor of freedom, not only in the musical sense as in his *Fidelio*"³⁴ (00:22–00:29). Kreisky reminds the viewers of the social conditions under absolutism and quotes Beethoven's self-confident statement to prince Lichnowsky: "Prince, what they are they owe to the circumstances of their birth, and what I am I owe to myself" (00:54).³⁵ Finally stating that he has answered the questions of "why this concert, why Beethoven, why the Philharmonic and Leonard Bernstein," he praises the latter, describing him as someone "who himself is also a deeply committed person in the truest sense of the word" (01:16).³⁶ Commitment to a similar cause might have also been the reason behind the alleged friendship between the two, a relationship that is said to have led to Bernstein's interference in political matters sixteen years later, an event which itself seems to have become a *lieu de mémoire* in the historiography of the Austrian Social Democrats.³⁷ Its background is the conflict that arose between Bruno Kreisky and Hannes Androsch, the minister of finance (1970–1981) as well as the vice chancellor (1976–1981). When a circle of friends wanted Androsch to succeed Kreisky as chancellor (who for his part would have become federal president, a representative rather than a powerful position), the latter searched for a reason to get his political rival out of the way.³⁸ A conflict of interests was claimed based on the fact that the minister of finance was also the owner or partner of a tax consultancy firm which, among other things, received orders from state-owned companies. In view of this discord, in 1986 Bernstein invited both men to his hotel room on the occasion of Yom Kippur, wishing to mediate between the two. In a 2010 interview, two decades after Bruno Kreisky's death,³⁹ Hannes Androsch claimed that Kreisky not only refused Bernstein's mediation but also stopped talking to the musician and composer from that point on. Androsch

34 "Beethoven war ein mutiger und unbeugsamer Bekenner der Freiheit, nicht nur im musikalischen Sinne wie etwa in seinem *Fidelio*."

35 "Fürst, was sie sind verdanken sie dem Zufall ihrer Geburt, was ich bin, verdanke ich mir selbst." This often-quoted letter was supposedly written in 1806 but may never have been sent to the prince. Lockwood, *Beethoven* 492.

36 "der selber auch ein im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes zutiefst Engagierter ist."

37 I thank *Telling Sounds* researcher Elias Berner for calling my attention to this.

38 "Die Welt bis gestern." <https://www.diepresse.com/375875/die-welt-bis-gestern-androsch-mit-ihm-verlor-kreisky-sein-gluck>

39 Rief, "Androsch: 'Es war nie eine Vater-Sohn-Beziehung.'" <https://www.diepresse.com/543118/androsch-es-war-nie-eine-sohn-vater-beziehung>

repeated the same story in an interview for another periodical the following year, the 100th anniversary of Kreisky's birth.⁴⁰ Later, in the second of a four-part TV documentary on Austria in the 1960s to the 1990s, *Es muss sich was ändern* (Something has to change), broadcast first in 2012 and then again in 2013, 2014/15, and in 2017/18, Androsch himself mentions this same event⁴¹ (the clip is viewable on YouTube⁴²). And in an interview given by Peter Pelinka for a tabloid in 2015, the meeting is again described, but in much more detail:

"During one of his numerous visits to Vienna, the aghast Bernstein made an attempt at reconciliation: he persuaded the secretary general of the Konzerthaus, Peter Weiser (deceased in 2012), to invite Kreisky to the Hotel Bristol on 3 October 1986. He himself would 'bring in' Androsch and his former colleague Vranitzky (who had just moved from the Ministry of Finance to the Chancellery): 'I love them both and I want them to love each other again.' The evening went pleasantly enough at first: Bernstein had served up vanilla croissants, apple slices and honey, the guests discussed politics (a little), religion (more) and music (the most). As a farewell, Bernstein, deeply disappointed, took Weiser aside: Kreisky had told him never to invite him again along with these 'horrible guys.' Bernstein never saw Kreisky again. Four years later, 25 years ago, he died in New York on 14 October 1990—ten weeks after Kreisky."⁴³

40 John, "100 Jahre Kreisky." <https://www.derstandard.at/story/1293370216401/100-jahre-kreisky-androsch-kreisky-hat-die-rote-katze-ein-fuer-allemal-verbannt>

41 *Wie wir wurden, was wir sind: Generation Österreich*. <https://www.fernsehserien.de/wie-wir-wurden-was-wir-sind>

42 "Österreich Geschichte 1976–2008." 56:05–56:44. <https://youtu.be/rDGjWoTao8M>

43 "Bei einem seiner zahlreichen Wien-Besuche unternahm der darüber entsetzte Bernstein einen Versöhnungsversuch: Er überredete den Generalsekretär des Konzerthauses, Peter Weiser (2012 verstorben), Kreisky am 3. Oktober 1986 ins Hotel Bristol einzuladen. Er selbst würde dort Androsch und dessen Exmitarbeiter Vranitzky (gerade vom Finanzministerium ins Kanzleramt gewechselt) 'einbringen': 'I love them both and I want them to love each other again.' Der Abend verlief vorerst friedlich: Bernstein hatte Vanillekipferl, Apfelscheiben und Honig aufgetischt, man sprach über Politik (wenig), Religionen (mehr) und Musik (am meisten). Zum Abschied nahm Bernstein Weiser tief enttäuscht beiseite: Kreisky habe ihm gesagt, er solle ihn niemals wieder mit diesen 'horrible guys' einladen. Bernstein sah Kreisky nie wieder. Vier Jahre später, vor 25 Jahren, starb er am 14. Oktober 1990 in New York—zehn Wochen nach Kreisky." Pelinka, "Der Frust des Dirigenten." <https://www.news.at/a/pelinka-leonard-bernstein-kreisky>

Thus Kreisky's acquaintance with Bernstein, which is related to the latter's musical performance at the 1970 party convention, had not only resulted in a failed attempt at mediating a conflict, the consequences of which defined the Social Democratic Party's fate in Austria's subsequent political development, but also firmly positioned the two in an ongoing historical narrative, the narrative, as usual, taking on detail and structure in retrospect. The fact that related documentary video material is available online strengthens its presence as *lieu de mémoire* and makes it possible to recognize the further networks of sociocultural context to which it belongs or in the formation of which it participates.

One such network is centered around the work this chapter opened with, namely Bernstein's performance of the Piano Concerto No. 1 which was, as mentioned, performed a second time at the party convention. Its main performance was made the subject of a whole program, a sequel to the series *Die Wiener Philharmoniker in Probe und Konzert* (broadcast 03.10.), its significance emphasized by its being filmed in color. As the credits appear, Bernstein, sitting at the piano, conducts as the orchestra plays the stirring main theme of the concert's final *rondo* movement, then joins in as a soloist and plays with the orchestra until the movement's last sections, which end to enthusiastic applause (up to 01:48). Images of the performers bowing are accompanied by presenter Marcel Prawy's voice reminding viewers of the performance in June and its occasion, the Beethoven bicentenary. Corresponding to the composition's movements, the following documentary consists of three parts, separated by segments from Prawy's interview with Bernstein (at 02:48, 35:22, and 51:12), recorded on the occasion of the performance. Each part begins with Bernstein's rehearsal, followed by a cut to the performance itself, which is now and again further explained by inserts with Bernstein's comments on the composition, taken from the previously shown part of the interview. Thus the film's didactic task is achieved by the combination of Bernstein's performance (his facial expressions and gestures) as conductor and pianist, his spoken comments in the interview (often demonstrated with passages of music on the piano), several statements by presenter Marcel Prawy, and the repetition of Bernstein's main points inserted into the actual musical performance. It is remarkable that classical music education in such a tightly structured format was made with such care and broadcast at a popular time and day, on Saturday afternoon (03:10–04:00 pm). This seems to indicate that public broadcasting's fundamental task of education was in those times not regarded as unpopular but instead widely accepted.

In the abovementioned interview's last section (51:12–54:42), Prawy's introductory statements were dedicated, because of Bernstein's educational achievements, to "Beethoven today, tomorrow and in the future." This deserves closer examination because it is especially interesting both in terms of its explicit content and with regard to its performative subtext. As Prawy mentions, and as can also be deduced from Bernstein's attire, the interview was shot after the rehearsal. The musician, quite exhausted, lights a cigarette at the beginning of this section, and smoke drifts across the screen.⁴⁴ We see a considerable difference in the attitude and attire of Prawy and Bernstein; the former's hair is neatly styled, and he is wearing a dark grey suit with a white shirt and tie. He stands at the piano and looks down intently on Bernstein, who sits at the instrument in a checkered blazer and black turtleneck sweater, his hair rather disheveled, a cigarette in his hand. He answers Prawy's question about his view on Beethoven's contemporary importance with "[h]e's always the greatest—for everyone, for the youth too...there's a Beatles movie with Beethoven's Ninth"⁴⁵ (51:26) while slightly smiling, then turns his head to take a drag from the cigarette. When Prawy retorts with the question of whether he would judge this "a sacrilege," Bernstein replies in the negative, bowing his head and making a dismissive gesture, cigarette in hand, and emphasizes his subsequent words with his facial expressions (shot in close-up), gestures (just partly recognizable at the image's lower margin) and tone of voice: "No, it's common property, children, experts, connoisseur, amateur, dilettantes, doesn't matter—and he has something to say to everyone. The greatest connoisseur can always find something new in it, and amateurs, children can find something new in it"⁴⁶ (52:22). He also seems, at first, to not even understand Prawy's next question of whether today the composer still is ahead of mankind ("this I don't understand"⁴⁷), and upon further

44 The interview was recorded on the stage of the Musikverein's Golden Hall, which is, in spite of its being empty, a striking if not shocking sight for (young) viewers of this interview today.

45 "Er ist immer der Größte,—für Alle, für die Jugend auch—es gibt einen Beatles-Film mit Beethovens Neunter." For a description of the respective scene in *Help* (Engl. 1965, dir.: Richard Lester). "Help! (film)." [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Help!_\(film\)&oldid=943912318](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Help!_(film)&oldid=943912318)

46 "Nein, es ist common property, Kinder, experts, connoisseur, Amateur, Dilettantes, macht nix—und er hat etwas allen zu sagen. Der größte connoisseur kann etwas immer Neues daran finden, und Amateurs, Kinder können etwas daran finden."

47 "Das versteh ich nicht."

insistence finally claims, starting in English (which might be taken as a sign of exhaustion) “It’s not a question of ahead, it’s timelessness, without period, it doesn’t matter, it will always be something fresh, something new—it’s like this—there is no composer—in the whole history—of music—like Beethoven [...]”.⁴⁸ (52:43–53:07) During this part of the clip the close-up of Bernstein’s face (repeatedly partially obscured by wisps of smoke), and as mentioned, his tone of voice, give his speech a certain intensity, his accented and sometimes ‘broken’ language adding to the effect.

One has to remind oneself that this interview was of course quite staged, the words prepared rather than spontaneous and the video material edited to fit the format. And one becomes even more impressed by how this constructed combination—Prawy’s traditional ‘old-world’ personality and views⁴⁹ and Bernstein as a representative of the ‘modern, new-world’ way of teaching (reminiscent of what would later be labeled ‘edutainment’)—is made to fit its task. Written texts can never achieve such intensity as they lack the subtext of facial expressions and gestures. Neither can live presentations achieve the same effect because they cannot make use of camera angles (such as close-up shots), lighting, or careful editing. In addition to revealing the meanings created by their achronological, multilayered network, the closer, detailed analyses of the techniques and structure of video productions may reveal their particular significance.⁵⁰

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- 48 “It’s not a question of ahead, it’s timelessness, zeitlos, ohne Periode, es macht nix, es wird immer etwas Frisches, Neues sein—es ist so—es gibt keinen Komponisten—in der ganzen Geschichte—der Musik—wie Beethoven [...]”
- 49 Beginning in 1962, he was popular for decades on Austrian TV as a presenter of classical music, especially opera (the series *Opernführer*, which began airing in 1965). “Marcel Prawy.” https://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Marcel_Prawy&oldid=197989899; “Marcel Prawy.” https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Marcel_Prawy
- 50 Much in the manner of what Lawrence Kramer has called ‘tropes’ and defined as an approach to cultural-studies-informed analysis of music: “Under the hermeneutic attitude, there is and can be no fundamental difference between interpreting a written text and interpreting a work of music—or any other product or practice of culture.” Kramer, “Tropes and Windows” 6.

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Appendix

Table 1: Beethoven Celebrations Vienna 1970; Dates – Events⁵¹ – TV-Broadcasts

Sat 07.02.		Die große Glocke: Annual Preview
Sat 21.02		Tonopticum: 200 Years of Beethoven
Fri 27.02.		Famous Conductors: Karl Böhm and the Vienna Symphony. Rehearsals
Sun 22.03.	Recordings from the series of performances from 19.12.–21.12.1969	Die Wiener Philharmoniker in Probe und Konzert. Cond.: Eugene Ormandy; Presenter: Marcel Prawy. Beethoven, 'Egmont' Overture
Sat 04.04., Sun 05.04.	Konzerthaus. Vienna Phil.; Cond.: Leonard Bernstein. Beethoven, Symphony No. 9	
Sat 09.05.		Kultur aktuell: Beethoven, Incidental Music (= performance 30.05. Altes Rathaus)
Sun 10.05.		Die Wiener Philharmoniker in Probe und Konzert. Cond.: Eugene Ormandy; Sol.: Henryk Szeryng; Presenter: Marcel Prawy. Beethoven, Violin Concerto
Sat 23.05.	Opening of the Vienna Festival	Kultur aktuell
Sun 24.05.	Theater an der Wien. New Production: Beethoven, 'Fidelio' (repetitions. 27. u. 31. 05.)	

Sun 24.05.	Musikverein. Vienna Sym.; Cond.: David Oistrach; Sol.: Igor Oistrach. Beethoven, Violin Concerto; Prokofiev, Symphony No. 5	
Tue 26.05. to Sun 30.08.	The Vienna Beethoven Exhibition: 'Die Flamme lodert'	
Thu 28.05.	Künstlerhaus-Kino. Mauricio Kagel, Ludwig van	
Fri. 29.05.	Musikverein. Collegium musicum Pragense. i.a. Beethoven, Rondino	
Sat 30.05.		Kultur aktuell
Sat 30.05.	Musikverein. Jörg Demus. Beethoven, Piano Sonatas	
Mon 1.06.	Musikverein. Hermann Prey. Beethoven, Songs	
Mon 1.06.	Musikverein. Jörg Demus. Beethoven, Piano Sonatas	
Thu 4.06.	Musikverein. Jörg Demus. Beethoven, Piano Sonatas	

Fri 5.06 Sat 6.06. Sun 7.06.	Musikverein. Vienna Phil.; Cond. and Sol.: Leonard Bernstein. Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 1; Bruckner, Symphony No. 9	Kultur aktuell
Sat 6.06.	Musikverein. Jörg Demus. Beethoven, Piano Sonatas	
Sun 7.06.	Musikverein. Vienna Phil.; Cond. and Sol.: Leonard Bernstein. Beethoven, String Quartet Op. 131 version for string orchestra; Piano Concerto No. 1	
Sun 7.06.	Musikverein. Octet of the Berliner Phil. Beethoven, Septet; Schubert Octet	
Tue 09.06. to Sun 14.06.	Musikverein. Berliner Phil.; Cond.: Herbert v. Karajan. Beethoven-Cycle	
Tue 9.06.	Staatsoper. Beethoven, 'Fidelio.' (Repeti- tion of the New Production, cf. 24. 05.)	

Wed 10.06.	Konzerthaus. Convention of the SPÖ. Opening speech from the party chairman, Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. Welcome addresses by the rep- resentatives of the Socialist In- ternational. Vienna Phil.; Cond.: Leonard Bernstein. Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 1 and 3; 'Leonore' Ouver- ture; Josef Scheu: Lied der Arbeit; Austrian National Anthem	Zeit im Bild 1 (News Program): Convention of the SPÖ
Wed 10.06.	Theater an der Wien. Royal Ballet, London. Beethoven, 'Geschöpfe des Prometheus' (Chor.: Frederick Ashton); Repetition. 21.06.	
Wed 10.06.	Musikverein. Paul Badura-Skoda. Beethoven, Piano Sonatas	
Sat 13.06.	Musikverein. Paul Badura-Skoda. Beethoven, Piano Sonatas	
Tue 16.10.	Musikverein. Peter Schreier. Beethoven, Song Recital	

Thu 18.06.	Musikverein. Paul Badura-Skoda. Beethoven, Piano Sonatas	
Thu 18.06.	Musikverein. Vienna Sym.; Cond.: Eduard Serov; Cond.: Dmitrij Kitajenko (both had won the Herbert v. Karajan Conducting Competition). Beethoven, 'Egmont' Overture; Strawinsky, 'The Firebird'; Mozart, Symphony KV 550; Strauss, 'Don Juan'	
Sat 20.06.	Musikverein. Paul Badura-Skoda. Beethoven, Piano Sonatas	
Sat 20.06.		Kultur aktuell
Sun 21.06.	Musikverein. Vienna Phil.; Singverein; Cond.: Josef Krips; Sol.: Wilma Lipp, Anna Reynolds, Peter Schreier, Theo Adam. Beethoven, 'Missa Solemnis'	

Fri 26.06.	Musikverein. UN Gala Concert for the 25th Anniversary of the UN Charta (The net proceeds of the event benefited the United Nations disaster relief) ORF-Sym.; Cond.: Milan Horvat; Sol.: Alexander Jenner; Speaker: Fred Liewehr. Beethoven, Ouverture for the Ballet 'Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus.' The Preamble to the United Nations Charter. Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 3; Ligeti, 'Apparitions' for Orchestra; Schubert, Symphony No. 6	UN Gala in Cooperation with the Austrian division of the UN – live broadcast
Sun 19.07.		The Creation of a Stage Design – 'Fidelio.' From Sketch to Premiere
Sat 01.08.		Kultur aktuell
Sun 23. 08.	Salzburg Cathedral. ORF-Sym.; ORF-Choir; Cond.: Gottfried Preinfalk; Sol.: Gerhard Zuckriegel, Rotraud Hausmann, Ingrid Mayr, Kurt Equiluz, Kurt Ruzizcka. Beethoven, Mass C major	Eurovision from the Salzburg Cathedral
Sun 27. 09.		Vienna – Home of Great Masters. In the footsteps of Ludwig van Beethoven

Sat 03.10.		Das ORF-Konzert. Die Wiener Philharmoniker in Probe und Konzert. Cond. and Sol.: Leonard Bernstein; Presenter: Marcel Prawy. Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 1
Sun 11.10.		ORF-Sym.; Cond.: Milan Horvat. Beethoven, 'Geschöpfe des Prometheus'
Sat 17.10.		Das ORF-Konzert. Concertgebouw Orch.; Cond.: Rafael Kubelik. Beethoven, Symphony No. 2; 'Leonore' Overture No. 3 (no Viennese performance)
Sat 31.10.		Das ORF-Konzert. Vienna Phil.; Cond.: Claudio Abbado. Beethoven, Symphony No. 8 (recorded at the Musikverein 22. and 23.10.)
Sat 07.11.		Das ORF-Konzert. Berliner Phil.; Cond.: Herbert v. Karajan. Beethoven, Symphony No. 5 (recorded at the Musikverein 09.06.)
Sat 07.11.		Die Welt des Buches
Sat 14.11.		Das ORF-Konzert. Berliner Phil.; Cond.: Rafael Kubelik. Beethoven, Symphony No. 3
Sun 15.11.		Eurovision from Berlin. Gala-Abend der Schallplatte (Gala of Records)
Sat 21.11.		Das ORF-Konzert. Berliner Staatskapelle; Cond.: Kurt Masur. Beethoven, Symphony No. 1 and 4 (no Viennese performance)

Sun 22.11.		Opernführer. Marcel Prawy presents 'Fidelio' by Ludwig van Beethoven
Sun 22.11., 29.11., 06.12.,		Ludwig van Beethoven. Documentary for the Composer's 200 th Anniversary (Dir. Barry Gavin)
Sun 13.12.		German Opera Berlin; Cond.: Karl Böhm; Sol.: Gwyneth Jones, James King, Gustav Neidlinger, Josef Greindl. Beethoven, 'Fidelio'
Tue 15.12.		Beethovens Geburtstag (Beethoven's Birthday). Wiener Musikfest with Leonard Bernstein. Co-production ORF, CBS, (dir.: Humphrey Burton)
Sat 19.12.		Das ORF-Konzert. Vienna Sym.; Cond.: Karl Böhm. Beethoven, Symphony No. 7 (no Viennese performance?)
Fri 25.12.		ORF-Konzert (in Farbe). Berliner Phil.; Choir of the German Opera Berlin; Cond.: Herbert v. Karajan; Sol.: Gundula Janowitz, Christa Ludwig, Jess Thomas, Walter Berry. Beethoven, Symphony No. 9 (the performance on 14.06. featured different soloists; therefore this is from another one, probably not from Vienna)

Table 2: Beethoven Vienna 1970 in TV: Leonard Bernstein's contributions
Dates – Broadcast formats – Contents

Sat 23.05.	Kultur aktuell	Opening of the Vienna Festival, scene excerpts from 'Fidelio'
Sat 6.06.	Kultur aktuell	Item 3 (10:15): Bernstein's rehearsal of Piano Concerto No. 1
Wen 10.06.	Zeit im Bild 1	Convention of the SPÖ speech Kreisky. Bernstein as Cond. and Sol. of Piano Concerto No. 1 (4:13); 'Leonore' Overture No. 3 (2:36)
Sun 19.07.	Ein Bühnenbild entsteht – 'Fidelio.' Von der Skizze zur Premiere.	Excerpts from the rehearsal and the performance, several interviews with people involved
Sat 03.10.	Das ORF-Konzert (in Farbe). Die Wiener Philharmoniker in Probe und Konzert	Excerpts from the rehearsal and the performance of Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 1, Bernstein as Cond. and Sol., presenter Marcel Prawy (with interview)
Tue 15.12.	Beethovens Geburtstag (in Farbe). (Beethoven's Birthday). Ein Musikfest in Wien mit Leonard Bernstein	Bernstein's Viennese stay during the festival, excerpts from rehearsals; with his comments both diagetically and off-screen (in English) and with German voiceover

