

ARNOLD SCHOENBERG'S
PRELUDE FROM THE SUITE FOR PIANO, OP. 25:
FROM COMPOSITION WITH TWELVE TONES
TO THE TWELVE-TONE METHOD

by

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Epigraph

It is not the heart alone which creates all that is beautiful, emotional, pathetic, affectionate, and charming; nor is it the brain alone which is able to produce the well-constructed, the soundly organized, the logical, and the complicated. First, everything of supreme value in art must show heart as well as brain. Second, the real creative genius has no difficulty in controlling his feelings mentally; nor must the brain produce only the dry and unappealing while concentrating correctness and logic.

Arnold Schoenberg, "Heart and Brain in Music" (1946)

Dedication

To my parents:

To my father, S. Paul How, for lovingly sacrificing his own Ph.D. dissertation to support a new baby when I was born.

To my mother, Li-Yung Shang How, for always putting my education at the top of her life's priority list: for the countless hours of babysitting while I prepared for my comprehensive and doctoral qualifying exams, while I taught at Mount St. Mary's College and USC, and while I was in Vienna doing dissertation research.

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And to my husband Yeh-Ching (Brian) Tung, thank you for always being at my side and for the sacrifices and compromises that you have made these past two years so that I could go back and finish.

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Abstract

Arnold Schoenberg's Suite for Piano, Op. 25, is historically significant not only because it is the first of the composer's large works to be unified by a single twelve-tone row, but also because its composition sits astride one of the most complex stylistic and technical changes—the passage from freely atonal to twelve-tone serial composition—in all of 20th-century music. This dissertation will show that Schoenberg's early serial odyssey cannot be viewed without considering external parameters, including concurrent twelve-tone models and neoclassicism, the social-political and artistic climate of the early 1920s, and Schoenberg's inherent desire—perhaps extramusically motivated—to be credited as the inventor of the twelve-tone method.

It has long been assumed that while working on the Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, in July 1921, Schoenberg discovered the "Method of Composing with Twelve Tones which are Related Only with One Another," and that this discovery would "assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years." In fact, Schoenberg made several different discoveries that were revealed or announced on at least three different occasions, in 1921, 1922, and 1923—

discoveries manifested in the compositional history of the Suite for Piano, which spanned those years. Understanding that Schoenberg's conception of "composition with twelve tones" was ever-changing in the early 1920s is crucial in discussing both his music and text manuscripts from that time. A thorough examination of Schoenberg's manuscripts, drafts, and sketches—as well as his essays, aphorisms, and letters, along with written materials of his friends, colleagues, and students—will demonstrate that the difficulties and inconsistencies of dating the transition from freely atonal to twelve-tone serial composition are a result not of discrepancies in the primary sources, but rather of shoehorning false assumptions into data that support earlier, flawed, scholarly conclusions.

The Suite for Piano, Op. 25, will be revealed as more than Schoenberg's first twelve-tone composition, as more than a laboratory of early twelve-tone row manipulations, as more than an example of Schoenberg's "neoclassical" period, but rather as a work totally representative of its time, an amalgam of ideals and idioms drawn from the various schools of musical thought evident in Europe after World War I, a composition that looks forward and reflects backward while embracing the present.

Introduction

The history of Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude (1921) from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25 (1921–1923), the composer's first twelve-tone work, is rife with paradoxes and discrepancies, conflicts and conundrums. The Suite for Piano itself is historically significant not only because it is the first of Schoenberg's large works to be unified by a single twelve-tone row, but also because its composition sits astride one of the most complex stylistic and technical changes—the passage from freely atonal to twelve-tone serial composition—in all of 20th-century music. These changes, recorded in the Suite for Piano, coincide, ironically, with a widespread rejection of the very aesthetic basis for Schoenberg's music. Their tangled history, along with their consequent effects on musical historiography, has led to a simplified and substantially incorrect account of how Schoenberg's conception of twelve-tone music, self-proclaimed as one of music history's greatest compositional "inventions," developed. The reality concealed by this account is considerably more complex, confusing as it does major stylistic, technical, and organizational transitions while reflecting the musical spirit of the times.

On 1 September 1914, an article titled “The War and the Future of Music” appeared in *The Musical Times*. Its author, English music critic Ernest Newman, observes:

It is already a commonplace among journalists that whatever be the military result of the present war it is a very different Europe that we shall know when it is over. . . . It goes without saying that art of every kind will be profoundly affected by the intellectual outcome of all these changes, and music, perhaps, more than the other arts.

. . . Were we writing about the situation as if it were five hundred years behind us, and so a subject merely for unimpassioned scrutiny of forces and correlation of causes and effects, instead of something blindingly and terrifyingly near to us, we might perhaps say that some such war was necessary for the re-birth of music. For there is no denying that of late music has lacked truly commanding personalities and really vitalizing forces. . . .

But there is one danger of which we must not lose sight,—the danger that a bad political settlement may keep the old national animosities alive till they once more find their inevitable outlet in war. French music is still suffering in all sorts of ways from 1870. It is so small because it is so bent on being exclusively French. By its refusal to fertilise itself with the great German tradition it deliberately cuts itself off from permanent spiritual elements in that tradition that would give it a wider range and a deeper humanity. The German tradition in its turn would be all the better for some cross-fertilisation from modern France; but again Chauvinism intervenes, and new harmonic possibilities are not developed as they might be because they are associated primarily with French music. . . . We can only hope that the result of the war will not be a perpetuation of old racial hatreds and distrusts, but a new sense of

the emotional solidarity of mankind. From that sense alone can the real music of the future be born.¹

After World War I, as Newman feared, musical culture in Europe splintered as composers sought to develop new ideas to better reflect their interpretation of the fractured social, political, and artistic conditions of the time. The defeat of Germany in World War I signaled a shift away from the dominance of German avant-garde music in European culture. The prominence of the Second Viennese School, comprising the expressionist ideas of total chromaticism, atonality, and the “emancipation of dissonance,” associated with Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Anton Webern in the years leading up to World War I, was questioned as composers rebelled against the ethos of German music’s immediate past—most strikingly embodied in the music and theories of Richard Wagner—and looked toward more traditional compositional techniques and cool objectivity to control the anarchy and chaos of their environment.

Newman could not have predicted that Paris, led by a Russian composer—Igor Stravinsky—would emerge as the center of music culture in the early 1920s. English journalist and music critic Rollo Myers, friend and colleague of Jean

¹ Ernest Newman, “The War and the Future of Music,” *Musical Times*, 1 September 1914, 571–72.

Cocteau, remembers the unforeseen prominence of France in the arts after World War I in his article “A Music Critic in Paris in the Nineteen-Twenties: Some Personal Recollections” (1977):

And, paradoxically, it was Paris, the capital of the country which, with the exception of Russia, had suffered the heaviest casualties in the war, that became, for the next decade at least, the hub of the artistic world.²

Standard college music history textbooks often divide European music culture in the 1920s into exactly what Newman warned against: the French aesthetic vs. the German aesthetic, specifically, Stravinsky and neoclassicism vs. Schoenberg and serialism (twelve-tone composition).³ Although composers from both the French and German movements were seeking to reorganize harmonic language and formal structure, music history students are traditionally taught that Stravinsky and Schoenberg represent two disparate postwar schools of thought. For example, H. H. Stuckenschmidt writes:

In about 1920 there was a parting of the ways between the two movements that were attempting to enrich and revitalise musical language. Twelve-tone technique entailed the composer’s subjection to the growing autonomy of the musical material; Neo-

² Rollo Myers, “A Music Critic in Paris in the Nineteen-Twenties: Some Personal Recollections,” *Musical Quarterly* 63 (1977): 524.

³ For example, see Paul Griffiths, “Neoclassicism,” in *Modern Music: A Concise History*, rev. ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1994), 63–80, and “Serialism,” 81–97. See also the writings cited in note 8.

classicism attempted to invoke the magical power of familiar forms, even if only in the borrowed robes of an earlier age. Neither was intended by their creators as a call to revolution. Both laid claim to a conservatism which public opinion hotly disputed.⁴

In the 1980s and 1990s, several scholars, including J. Peter Burkholder, Joseph N. Straus, Martha M. Hyde, Scott Messing, Alan Philip Lessem, Richard Taruskin, and Reinhold Brinkmann, delved into the meaning and implications of the term “neoclassicism,” and with their writings, a new interpretation of Schoenberg’s early twelve-tone works as influenced by 1920s “neoclassicism” appeared, thus diminishing the divide between the Stravinsky and Schoenberg schools. These scholars have focused their discussion on the paradox that Schoenberg used Baroque dance-suite forms in his early twelve-tone pieces while himself vigorously attacking neoclassical music and its underlying aesthetic. In the 1995 Wiener Urtext Edition of Schoenberg’s Piano Works, Brinkmann suggests that the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, not only embraces but indeed exemplifies the neoclassical spirit of the 1920s:

The “Hommage à BACH” in this work is no accident. With its return to pre-classical forms, . . . the *Suite* serves as a typical example of the new-classicism on the 1920s. Contrary to claims by certain apologists for Schönberg, the composer also paid tribute to this movement, not only in his *Suite*, but also in his frequently cited short essay entitled National Musik [“National Music”] of 1931:

⁴ H. H. Stuckenschmidt, *Twentieth Century Music*, trans. Richard Deveson (New York: World University Library of McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), 101.

Meine Lehrmeister waren in erster Linie Bach und Mozart; in zweiter: Beethoven, Brahms und Wagner. [“My teachers were, first of all, Bach and Mozart; secondly Beethoven, Brahms and Wagner.”] By calling on two names and suggesting a hierarchy, Schönberg himself made clear the influence of the music of the 18th century on this (new) direction in his art.⁵

In “Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology” (1993), Taruskin places this return to Baroque forms against the backdrop of discontent between Schoenberg and Stravinsky:

Given the two composers’ [Stravinsky’s and Schoenberg’s] mutual suspicion, the more is the irony that by the middle 1920s Schoenberg, too, had journeyed back to Bach, joining in the authoritarian reaction against anarchy and psychopathology (a reaction of which, as far as he was concerned, *he* was of course by rights the dictator). The early twelve-tone pieces, through which Schoenberg attempted to introduce a rigorous therapeutic order into atonal music, were cast in the form of Baroque dances—minuets, gavottes, and gigues—as a prelude to the larger sectional forms of the “Classical” tradition such as Schoenberg and his pupils had formerly sought to supersede.⁶

⁵ Arnold Schönberg, *Ausgewählte Klaviermusik*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann, fingering by Peter Roggenkamp (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, Schott/Universal Edition, 1995), 13.

⁶ Richard Taruskin, “Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology,” review of *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic*, by Scott Messing; *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik: A Study of Musical Aesthetics in the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) with Particular Reference to the Works of Paul Hindemith*, by Stephen Hinton; and *Colloquium Klassizität, Klassizismus, Klassik in der Musik 1920–1950*, ed. Wolfgang Osthoff and Reinhard Wiesend, *19th-Century Music* 16 (1993): 298.

In her article “Neoclassic and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music” (1996), Martha M. Hyde suggests that the term “neoclassicism” itself is problematic:⁷

But the works and scholarship of early twentieth-century music amply illustrate a confusing variety of answers to the question “What is a neoclassic?” The clearest instance of this confusion is among the standard surveys of twentieth-century music, which almost always include chapters entitled “Neoclassicism,” though seldom without some sort of disclaimer. . . .⁸ Any of us so foolhardy as to ask students on a final exam “Name the major neoclassical composers of the twentieth century and defend your choices” would have to give credit for almost any list.

⁷ The meaning and implications of the term “neoclassicism” have been fiercely debated over the past 25 years. See *Die klassizistische Moderne in der Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Internationales Symposion der Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel 1996, ed. Hermann Danuser (Winterthur, Switzerland: Amadeus Verlag/Bernhard Päuler, 1997); Pieter C. van den Toorn, “Neoclassicism and its Definitions,” in *Music Theory in Concept and Practice*, ed. James M. Baker, David W. Beach, and Jonathan W. Bernard (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 131–56; Pieter C. van den Toorn, “Neoclassicism Revised,” in *Music, Politics, and the Academy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 143–78; Richard Taruskin, “Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology,” 286–302; J. Peter Burkholder, Marianne Kielian-Gilbert, Scott Messing, and Joseph N. Straus in *Historical Reflection and Reference in Twentieth-Century Music: Neoclassicism and Beyond*, Conference Session of the AMS/SMT Joint Meeting, Austin, TX, October 1989, papers printed individually in *Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991); Stephen Hinton, “Review of *Colloquium Klassizität, Klassizismus, Klassik in der Musik 1920–1950* (Würzburg 1985),” *Music & Letters* 71 (1990): 126–28; Rudolf Stephan, “Schönberg und der Klassizismus (1974, 1980),” in *Die Wiener Schule*, ed. Rudolf Stephan (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989), 157–73; Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic*, Studies in Musicology, No. 101, series ed. George J. Buelow (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988); and Alan Philip Lessem, “Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Neoclassicism: The Issues Reexamined,” *Musical Quarterly* 68 (1982): 527–42.

⁸ Here, Hyde supplies examples from Bryan R. Simms, *Music of the Twentieth Century* (New York and London: Schirmer Books, 1986), 274–303; Robert P. Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1991), 126–27 and 159–200; and William Austin, *Music in the 20th Century: From Debussy through Stravinsky* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 31 and 451.

The confusion evident in historical surveys is matched by scholars' varied accounts of neoclassicism. Some argue that the ambiguities investing the term derive from semantic change, nationalistic prejudices, and the polemical torsion inevitable among composers vying to create a niche for themselves in the overpopulated state of the repertoire. Others believe that neoclassicism evolved as a reactionary ploy triggered by the social and political convulsions of the Weimar Republic. Still others—assuming a more formalistic stance—adapt Harold Bloom's Freudian "anxiety of influence" to revise radically the term's usual meaning.⁹

Hyde continues her thorough review of the neoclassicism literature with Pierre Boulez¹⁰ and Milton Babbitt, mentioning that "Not that long ago—in 1971—Milton Babbitt branded neoclassicism a meaningless slogan, an advertising gimmick in the marketing of modern music."¹¹ Her argument that fuzzy semantics plays a large role in the perception of neoclassicism is supported through the analyses of four works, each one an example of a distinct anachronistic impulse, by Ravel, Stravinsky, Bartók, and Schoenberg. Hyde states, "This article works toward a theory of neoclassicism inductively, through four extended analyses meant to illustrate four distinct impulses or strategies by

⁹ Martha M. Hyde, "Neoclassic and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 18 (1996): 201–2. Hyde references Scott Messing, Stephen Hinton, Joseph N. Straus, and Richard Taruskin.

¹⁰ Hyde cites Pierre Boulez, "Schoenberg is Dead," *Score* 6 (1952): 18–22 and Pierre Boulez, *Orientalisms*, trans. Martin Cooper, ed. Jean-Jacques Nattiez (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 31.

¹¹ Hyde, 202.

which early twentieth-century composers have created modern works that engage or reconstruct the past without sacrificing their own integrity in the history of styles."¹² By broadening the definition of neoclassical to mean music that strives "to be modern as well as ancient," Hyde "suggests how we might divest neoclassicism of some equivocation by considering how and for what purposes composers invoke the past by imitating an older piece or style and the kinds of relation to that past that such imitations suggest."¹³

To classify Schoenberg's early twelve-tone works as examples of a broadened definition of neoclassicism perhaps unjustly diminishes twelve-tone composition to the status of just another technique used by postwar composers to write in a historically reflective manner. As Schoenberg's twelve-tone compositional methods inspired composers both in Europe and the United States for many decades, this classification would appear too simplistic. In 1976, Charles Rosen offered a theory that neoclassicism and twelve-tone composition were parallel rather than opposing movements, and that the influence of Stravinsky and

¹² Ibid., 200.

¹³ Ibid., Abstract.

Schoenberg on works of Aaron Copland showed that the two schools were not mutually exclusive:

Neoclassicism and serialism (or twelve-tone music) are often considered polar opposites. The enmity between Vienna and Paris, between the school of Schoenberg and the school of Stravinsky, is a fact of history.¹⁴ This opposition has long since broken down: not only have the two “schools” drawn closer together, but their differences—even at the height of the crossfire in the late 1920s—no longer seem significant. . . . These were parallel rather than opposing movements, and the ease with which composers such as Aaron Copland combined both styles has shown how compatible they were after all.¹⁵

Rosen’s parallel-development theory allows for a reading in which neoclassicism and twelve-tone composition can be viewed as two manifestations of the general spirit of the times. Examining the literature more closely reveals that the schism was not as wide as often perceived. Stravinsky’s neoclassicism did not exclude modern dissonances and chromatic harmonies, and Schoenberg’s twelve-tone compositional techniques did not exclude the use of traditional forms and tonal relationships.

¹⁴ Here, Rosen adds, “(In passing, it may be noted that the school of Nadia Boulanger would be a better name than the school of Stravinsky for those innumerable composers who went to study in Paris. Stravinsky declined all educational responsibilities, and they were assumed, committedly in his interest, by Mlle. Boulanger.)”

¹⁵ Charles Rosen, *Arnold Schoenberg*, With a new Preface (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1975, 1996), 72.

While much has been written on the aesthetic and historiographical implications of defining “neoclassicism,” surprisingly little has been written on the aesthetic and historiographical implications of Schoenberg’s definition of “twelve-tone composition.” Many theorists have contributed to the ever-growing literature on the development of twelve-tone composition in the works of Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern in the 1920s; numerous volumes describe the actual twelve-tone compositional techniques—how the rows are manipulated, combined, partitioned; and several scholars have explored the influences of past composers, mainly Johann Sebastian Bach, on Schoenberg’s twelve-tone ideas. What is missing from the current literature is a discussion of why and how contemporary French and German music aesthetics and the general spirit of the times in the early 1920s influenced, shaped, and changed Schoenberg’s twelve-tone path during its formative years, between 1920 and 1923. Ethan Haimo, for example, takes us through Schoenberg’s twelve-tone development in his often cited work, *Schoenberg’s Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of his Twelve-tone Method, 1914–1928* (1990). He summarizes:

Looking back on the years 1920–3, one has to be impressed with the speed and power of Schoenberg’s stylistic development. In these three years he moved from the most tentative experiments in serial thinking to quite successful compositional results. From a simple, almost ingenuous conception of serialism, he developed some important serial techniques: the permutation of elements, the

reconciliation of developing variation and serial consistency, the formation of aggregates, the relationship of metre to set structure, the beginning of hierarchical thinking and multidimensional set presentations. Perhaps the serial compositions from this period are tentative and elementary by later standards, but they demonstrate the extraordinary inventiveness of Schoenberg's compositional thinking, showing as they do a steady onward progression of learning and absorbing, challenging and discovering.¹⁶

Haimo guides his readers, chronologically, fragment by fragment, sketch by sketch, through the evolution of Schoenberg's twelve-tone methods, but in an apparent vacuum, as if Schoenberg's odyssey occurred in solitary confinement. Schoenberg began working on the Prelude and Intermezzo of what would later be named the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, heralded as his first twelve-tone work, in late July 1921. After an eighteen-month gap, Schoenberg resumed working on the Suite for Piano in mid-February 1923. Haimo addresses the stylistic and procedural differences between the 1921 and 1923 movements, and shows how Schoenberg finally comes to terms with handling the linear (horizontal) presentation of a twelve-tone row for the first time in 1923. What Haimo and other scholars fail to address is the question, "Why?" Haimo implies that Schoenberg's evolution progressed in a natural way, devoid of outside contemporary influences.

¹⁶ Ethan Haimo, *Schoenberg's Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of his Twelve-tone Method, 1914–1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 105.

Much of what has been written has been based on misinterpretations of several generally accepted events, and that has led to a breakdown in the understanding of Schoenberg's early twelve-tone ideologies and methodologies. The crux of the problem lies in the assumption that in composing the Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, he discovered the "Method of Composing with Twelve Tones which are Related Only with One Another," and that this discovery would "assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years." Other such errors or oversimplifications—for example, that Schoenberg gathered all his friends and students at his home in Mödling in February 1923 to announce this discovery—have followed. In fact, Schoenberg made several different discoveries that were revealed or announced on at least three different occasions, in 1921, 1922, and 1923. Understanding that Schoenberg's conception of twelve-tone composition was ever-changing in the early 1920s is crucial in discussing both his music and text manuscripts from that time. A thorough examination of Schoenberg's manuscripts, drafts, and sketches—as well as his essays, aphorisms, and letters, along with written materials of his friends, colleagues, and students—will demonstrate that the difficulties and inconsistencies of dating the transition from freely atonal to twelve-tone serial composition are not a result

of discrepancies in the primary sources, but rather of shoehorning false assumptions into data that support earlier, flawed, scholarly conclusions.

This dissertation will show that Schoenberg's early serial odyssey cannot be viewed without considering external parameters, including concurrent twelve-tone models and neoclassicism, the social-political and artistic climate of the early 1920s, and Schoenberg's inherent desire—perhaps extramusically motivated—to be credited as the inventor of the twelve-tone method. The Suite for Piano, Op. 25, will be revealed as more than Schoenberg's first twelve-tone composition, as more than a laboratory of early twelve-tone row manipulations, as more than an example of Schoenberg's "neoclassical" period, but rather as a work totally representative of its time, an amalgam of ideals and idioms drawn from the various schools of musical thought evident in Europe after World War I, a composition that looks forward and reflects backward while embracing the present.

Chapter 1

Schoenberg Proclaims the Great Discovery: Whom Did He Tell First?

As mentioned in the Introduction, the history of Arnold Schoenberg's Suite for Piano, Op. 25, is rife with paradoxes and innovations, conflicts and conundrums.¹ Not only is the Suite for Piano the first of Schoenberg's large works to be based on a single twelve-tone row, but its composition also triggered various statements and announcements proclaiming one of music history's greatest compositional "inventions."² The intrigue begins with Schoenberg's oft

¹ For a chronology of composition for Opp. 23–26, see Martina Sichardt, *Die Entstehung der Zwölftonmethode Arnold Schönbergs* (Mainz: Schott, 1990), Anhang (Chronologie der Skizzen, Fragmente und vollendeten Kompositionen von 1917 bis Mai 1923): 205–12; Ethan Haimo, "The Formation of the Twelve-tone Idea, 1920–1923," in *Schoenberg's Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of his Twelve-tone Method, 1914–1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 69–134; Martha M. Hyde, "Musical Form and the Development of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Method," *Journal of Music Theory* 29 (1985): 85–143; Jan Maegaard, *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen Satzes bei Arnold Schönberg*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1972): 95–119; Jan Maegaard, "A Study in the Chronology of op. 23–26 by Arnold Schoenberg," *Dansk årbog for musikforskning* 2 (1962): 93–115; and Josef Rufer, *The Works of Arnold Schoenberg: A Catalogue of his Compositions, Writings and Paintings*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber & Faber, 1962), 42–46.

² Schoenberg considers some movements of the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, to be his first twelve-tone works: "The fourth movement, 'Sonett' [from the Serenade, Op. 24], is a real 'composition with twelve tones.' The technique is here relatively primitive, because it was one of the first works written strictly in harmony with this method, though it was not the very first—there were some movements of the 'Suite for Piano' which I composed in the fall of 1921. Here I became suddenly conscious of the real meaning of my aim: unity and regularity, which unconsciously had led me this way." Letter from Schoenberg to Nicolas Slonimsky of 3 June 1937, in Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, 4th ed. (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1971), 1316. The reference to "some movements" of the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, in the letter to Slonimsky is itself a conundrum and will be examined in Chapter 4.

quoted passage announcing his “new discovery” — the “method of composing with twelve tones” — in late July 1921 to his student Josef Rufer:

It must have been about the time of the composition of the Prelude [from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25] (end of July, 1921) when Schoenberg told me, during a stroll in Traunkirchen, ‘Today I have discovered something which will assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years.’ It was the method of composition with twelve tones related only to one another.³

Rufer had recently helped the Schoenberg family secure lodgings at the Villa Josef in Traunkirchen after an incident in Mattsee, where it was made clear to Schoenberg in publicly posted notices that Jewish guests were not welcome in town. Schoenberg’s use of the phrase “supremacy of German music,” however, has for years wrongly encouraged scholars to think that Schoenberg was a loyal German nationalist who desired to uphold the great German tradition of music composition. For example, Joseph Auner concludes:

It was against the backdrop of his firsthand experience of anti-Semitism that Schoenberg made his famous proclamation to his pupils about twelve-tone composition in the summer of 1921 at Traunkirchen: “I have made a discovery thanks to which the supremacy of German music is ensured for the next hundred

³ Rufer, 45. The original German passage reads, “Es dürfte zum Zeitpunkt der Komposition des Präludiums [Suite für Klavier, op. 25], Ende Juli 1921, gewesen sein, als mir Schönberg auf einem Spaziergang in Traunkirchen sagte, ‘heute habe er etwas gefunden, das der deutschen Musik die Vorherrschaft für die nächsten hundert Jahre sichere.’” Josef Rufer, *Das Werk Arnold Schönbergs* (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1959), 26.

years.”⁴ Such German nationalist sentiments became increasingly common in his writings during [t]his period.⁵

Paul Griffiths offers that the “supremacy of German music” refers to Schoenberg’s belief that the continuation of the German tradition was an absolute necessity:

In 1921, . . . Schoenberg announced to his pupil Josef Rufer that he had ‘discovered something which will assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years’. That discovery was serialism; and if Schoenberg’s words now have a rather sinister ring, one must remember that the great German tradition was for him the centre of music and its continuation an absolute necessity.⁶

Charles Rosen deduces that the statement was uttered as a response to the rising influence of French and Russian music—the neoclassical movement—in France:

When Schoenberg in 1921 privately confided to a friend that his invention of serialism would guarantee the supremacy of German music for centuries to come, his claim is not merely an example of that arrogant Prussian chauvinism characteristic of the non-Prussian citizens of the German border states. The central tradition was, indeed, German, and the rising influence of French and Russian music was as great a menace to its integrity as the

⁴ Here, in a chapter endnote, Joseph Auner cites Willi Reich, *Schoenberg: A Critical Biography*, trans. Leo Black (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 130 as the source for this quotation.

⁵ Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 159–60.

⁶ Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music: A Concise History*, rev. ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 81.

innovations of Schoenberg and his school. The aim was to reconstitute and preserve that integrity.⁷

Ethan Haimo opens the first chapter of his book *Schoenberg's Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of his Twelve-tone Method, 1914–1918* (1990) by quoting Rufer's famous statement; he finds it ironic for several reasons:

With this bit of characteristic if forgivable hyperbole, Arnold Schoenberg revealed to the world his new method of composition. The many resonances of this remark range from touching to ironic. In a little more than ten years Schoenberg would be a refugee, fleeing from a Germany embarked on a course of barbarism. German music, whose supremacy he had hoped to ensure, was destroyed as a vital force by the Nazis, who perverted the arts with their political and 'racial' ideology. The compositional method that Schoenberg thought would have such revolutionary impact achieved a degree of notoriety for a short time but then slipped from public attention. For a brief period after the Second World War the twelve-tone method was adopted by a number of composers, but today, only a handful follow Schoenberg's path. It would seem that in every possible dimension his ecstatic vision has been proved wrong.⁸

E. Randol Schoenberg, Arnold Schoenberg's grandson, in his 2002 article "The Most Famous Thing He Never Said," however, counters that Schoenberg's statement to Rufer was in fact itself filled with bitter irony:

Schönberg recognised that his discovery of the "Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One

⁷ Charles Rosen, *Arnold Schoenberg*, With a new Preface (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1975, 1996), 70–71.

⁸ Haimo, 1.

Another" would have far-reaching implications, and correctly predicted that his innovation would establish his pre-eminence among composers not only in Austria and Germany but throughout the world. . . . Schönberg recognised the supreme irony that the honour that would inure to Austria as a result of his discovery would even benefit those Austrian German nationalists who sought to expel him because of his Jewish background. The discovery of the twelve-tone method was not proclaimed as a triumph of German nationalism, but rather in spite of such nationalism.⁹

E. Randol Schoenberg supports his position by including a previously unpublished letter in his article from Schoenberg to Alma Mahler, dated 26 July 1921, in which Schoenberg foresees the importance of his new discovery to the history of German music, even though he had been persecuted by German Aryans for being Jewish:

I have begun again to work. Something completely new! The German Aryans who persecuted me in Mattsee will have this new thing (especially this one) to thank for the fact that even they will still be respected abroad for 100 years, because they belong to the very state that has just secured for itself hegemony in the field of music!¹⁰

E. Randol Schoenberg summarizes that the musicological literature has, since 1959, implied the opposite of Schoenberg's ironic intent:

⁹ E. Randol Schoenberg, "The Most Famous Thing He Never Said," *Arnold Schönberg und sein Gott, Bericht zum Symposium 26.–29. Juni 2002*, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 5 (2003): 29.

¹⁰ Letter found in ASC Schönberg Archive: Marina Mahler Satellite Collection and reproduced in E. Randol Schoenberg, 26; transcription and translation in E. R. Schoenberg, 29.

If Schönberg did say something to Rufer during the summer of 1921, it was probably similar to what Schönberg wrote to his friend Alma Mahler. But the irony in the letter to Alma Mahler is completely lost in the famous line later recounted by Rufer over thirty years later. And the implication that is often made from the Rufer quote—that Schönberg was a fanatical German nationalist—is exactly the opposite of what Schönberg expressed.¹¹

There are other scholars, however, who have previously considered that Rufer's words might be veiled in irony. Malcolm MacDonald first suggested in 1976 that the phrase "the supremacy of German music" had ironic undertones:

A question-mark, at least, ought to remain over the phrase 'the supremacy of German music'. Could not Schoenberg's remark have had an ironic dimension? He had lighted, in his searchings, on a highly versatile compositional device, germane to his own creative needs, which any other composer might take, leave or adapt at will. But his awakening re-identification with the plight of the Jewish people . . . enabled him to view dispassionately his own deep Austro-German culture. He may have recognized that in the Germanic mind, with its love of system and authority, this device was fatally easy to misinterpret as a law to be obeyed rather than a tool to be applied: as a magic formula which could take the place of hard and true creative work.¹²

The irony in Rufer's remark is perhaps only the tip of the iceberg. Is it possible that the incident at Mattsee, which caused Schoenberg to rethink his religious

¹¹ E. Randol Schoenberg, 29.

¹² Malcolm MacDonald, *Schoenberg*, 2nd ed., Master Musician Series (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 61. An almost identical passage can be found in Malcolm MacDonald, *Schoenberg*, Master Musician Series (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1976), 35.

identity and Jewish heritage, propelled Schoenberg to seek a musical way to guide his art to its promised land? The idea that his discovery as a Jew could secure the hegemony of German music evolves into a theme found in Schoenberg's writings from 1921 onward. In an essay from 1928, Schoenberg declares:

If people in Germany had a trace of understanding, they would see that the attack against me represents neither more nor less than the intention to defeat German hegemony in music. . . . Because through me alone—having set in place something independent that no nation till now could surpass—the hegemony of German music has been secured for at least this generation. But I am a Jew! Of course, what should I otherwise be if I want to give something that people are not ready to take?¹³

Before summer 1921, Schoenberg, who had converted to Protestantism in 1898, did not perceive himself as a potential target for anti-Semitic protests. The Mattsee experience simultaneously jump-started two of the most significant aspects of Schoenberg's life to follow, the method of composing with twelve

¹³ "Wenn man in Deutschland eine Spur von Verstand hätte, müßte man einsehen, daß der Kampf gegen mich nicht mehr und nicht weniger darstellt, als die Absicht, die deutsche Hegemonie in der Musik zu durchbrechen. [...] Denn durch mich allein, der ich etwas Selbständiges hergestellt habe, welches bisher von keiner Nation übertroffen werden konnte, ist die Hegemonie der deutschen Musik für wenigstens diese Generation noch gesichert. Aber ich bin Jude! Natürlich, was soll ich sonst sein, wenn ich etwas geben will, was zu nehmen man nicht imstande ist?" Arnold Schoenberg, "Ich und die Hegemonie der Musik" (1928), ASC Schönberg Archive: Text Document T05.46, transcription in Sabine Feißt, "Zur Rezeption von Schönbergs Schaffen in Amerika vor 1933," *Arnold Schoenberg in America, Bericht zum Symposium 2.–4. Mai 2001*, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 4 (2002): 288. Translation by present author.

tones and his journey back to Judaism. Jewish studies scholar Moshe Lazar writes, concerning Schoenberg's *Der biblische Weg* (The Biblical Way):

Before its central protagonist, Max Aruns, first appears on the stage, he is portrayed by some characters as an "authoritarian leader" guided by "a spirit of absolute military discipline", and by others as a "charismatic visionary genius", an inspired prophet in the mold of the biblical Moses. This double vision of Max Aruns represents without any doubt a dramatic projection of Arnold Schoenberg's perception of himself in the 1920s as a composer and musical activist who had struggled in the wilderness and had succeeded in leading a regenerated music to its promised land, and who now felt ready to sacrifice his art to a new relentless dream—that of becoming a visionary political leader who would deliver his rediscovered Jewish brethren from the bondage of a degrading diaspora and an anti-semitic Europe. The dramatic divide which brought to light Schoenberg's identity crisis and existential dilemma . . . occurred as a result of his traumatic confrontation with official anti-semitism at Mattsee during the summer of 1921, when he was forced to leave the resort because he was a Jew.¹⁴

The fact that the same incident serves as the foundation for both Schoenberg's twelve-tone compositional method and his return to Judaism cannot be ignored, but are these events related? Alexander Ringer postulates that the Mattsee incident not only shaped Schoenberg's return to Judaism, but also shaped Schoenberg's path toward achieving musical unity, and perhaps influenced the

¹⁴ Moshe Lazar, "Arnold Schoenberg and His Doubles: A Psychodramatic Journey to His Roots," *Der biblische Weg*, special double issue, *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 17, nos. 1 and 2 (1994): 11.

course of Schoenberg's compositional methods. Ringer underscores the importance of unity in Jewish thinking:

The fatefully interconnected events of the early 1920s inevitably shaped not only Schoenberg's mature religious-ethical outlook but also the strictly musical aspects of a personal universe marked by that ineluctable sense of unity that determined everything he said, wrote, and acted upon, then and forever after. Unity, oneness, and indivisibility have been the perennial hallmarks of Jewish thought. . . . The Jewish longing for unity was . . . the spiritual source both of Schoenberg's method of composing with twelve tones and of the analytical thought of Heinrich Schenker. . . . Technically, Schoenberg's Suite for Piano, Op. 25, completed in 1921, was the final test of his new method's structural and aesthetic validity. But in view of all that came thereafter one wonders whether things would have been the same had he not simultaneously reached the irrevocable decision to assume henceforth the full burden of his Jewishness.¹⁵

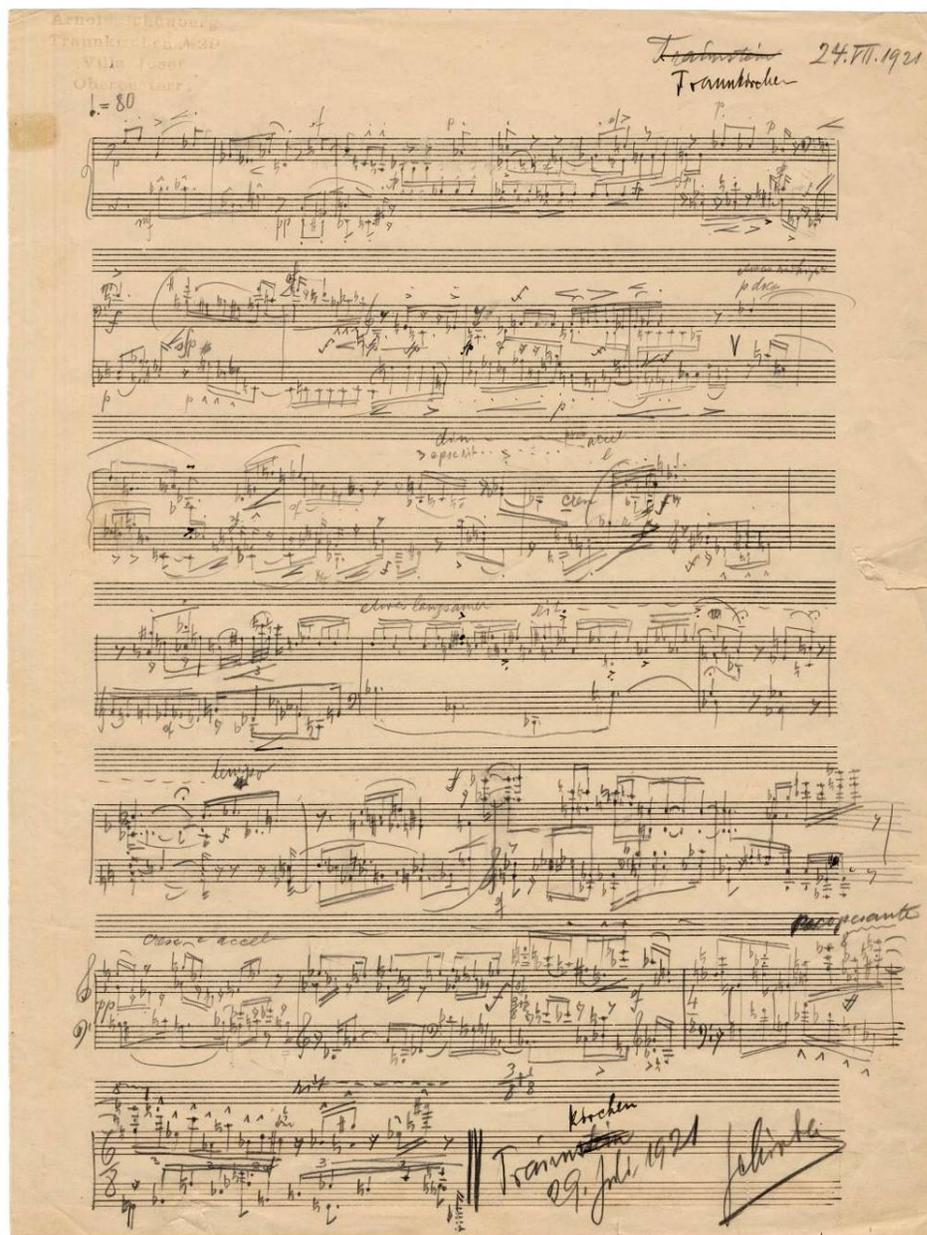
Significantly, the date of Schoenberg's letter to Alma Mahler validates Rufer's recollection that Schoenberg told him about the new discovery in late July 1921.

The late July 1921 date is also consistent with the "24.VII.1921" and "29. Juli 1921" dates found on the signed complete first draft of the Prelude, Op. 25:¹⁶

¹⁵ Alexander Ringer, *Arnold Schoenberg: The Composer as Jew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 19–20. Ringer's words "Technically, Schoenberg's Piano Suite, Op. 25, completed in 1921" are yet another example of the current Schoenberg literature contributing to the murkiness surrounding the dating of the Suite for Piano, Op. 25. There is no evidence that Op. 25 was completed in 1921.

¹⁶ The Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, will be examined in detail in Chapter 3.

Figure 1.1 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Complete First Draft (24–29 July 1921)¹⁷



¹⁷ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27A, <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27ar.jpg>. In the upper right-hand corner, Schoenberg has crossed out “Traunstein” and written “Traunkirchen.” This correction, often questioned, is easily explained; Schoenberg’s complete address in late July 1921 was Villa Josef, Traunstein No. 29, Traunkirchen (on the Traunsee), Austria. ASC Schönberg Address: Trk2.

Felix Greissle, Schoenberg's son-in-law, eloquently corroborates the late July 1921 date in his unpublished book "Arnold Schoenberg: Portrait of an Outstanding Musician":

Each student had a particular duty to perform [while in Traunkirchen in 1921]; mine was to pick up the master punctually at 5 o'clock and accompany him on his walk to the lake. . . . On one such occasion, — a beautiful day in late July, he did not come out of the studio on the hour. . . . Mathilde motioned me to be silent and not disturb him, as he was still working. . . . Suddenly he stood before me, with his remaining hair disheveled. He looked at me with a half forlorn, absent gaze: "Come on, let's walk fast, it's getting late."

We walked on. . . . He said nothing. . . . No replies, no comments and after a while, I too, fell into silence. I did not have the courage to continue, because he was obviously deep in thought; I dared not interrupt.

Nature stood still. . . . The walk seemed lengthy, but finally the lake was reached. Suddenly, he turned to me. The far-away look was still in his burning eyes when he said; "Today I found something that will insure the development of music for the next hundred years."

I was speechless with amazement. The very tone of his voice revealed the importance of what he was saying. What could I say to him? I was utterly overwhelmed by the earnestness of his words and I remained silent. Whenever Schoenberg felt he had something of importance to reveal, he would repeat the remark on several occasions. No doubt he had talked to Rufer and others at a later time, perhaps the next day — therefore the differing formulation in Rufer's report. "I found something that will insure the predominance of German music for the next hundred years." No other reference was made to twelve tone, nor did he explain it. He

merely stated, "Ich habe etwas gefunden." (I have found something.)¹⁸

Greissle's further remembrances support E. Randol Schoenberg's position that his grandfather's nationalistic sentiments have long been misrepresented.

However, Greissle appears to agree with Paul Griffith's interpretation of Rufer's account, both failing to sense the bitter irony that Schoenberg expressed about being a Jewish composer continuing the legacy of the great German masters in his letter to Alma Mahler:

Unfortunately, this [Schoenberg's statement to Rufer] is often misunderstood as having 'Wagnerian' or Nationalistic connotations, which is totally contrary to Schoenberg's intentions; actually he was referring to the music whose characteristics had been the accumulated style properties inherited in sequence by such composers as Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and Brahms.¹⁹

It has long been assumed that Schoenberg told Rufer about his new discovery first. But if we are to carefully read Greissle's words above and believe Greissle's version of the anecdote, then, conceivably, Schoenberg told Greissle first. Or, did Schoenberg write Alma Mahler first? Perhaps, as Greissle observed, "Whenever

¹⁸ Felix Greissle, "The Private History of the Composition with Twelve Tones: The Path to the New Music," in "Arnold Schoenberg: Portrait of an Outstanding Musician," TMs, ed. Jacqueline Greissle and Berthold Tuercke (1982), ASC Schönberg Archive: Felix Greissle Satellite Collection: B1: 4, 7-9. Letters found in the ASC Schönberg Archive show that Greissle was in Traunkirchen with Schoenberg in summer 1921 (see, for example, ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #6223).

¹⁹ Ibid., "Footnotes to Chapter One," note 4.

Schoenberg felt he had something of importance to reveal, he would repeat the remark on several occasions.”²⁰

To add to the uncertainty, Schoenberg later recollected that he told Erwin Stein first, that he told him in the fall of 1921, and that it was still a secret when he told him.²¹ In his “Priority” essays (1932), a collection of short documents that Joseph Auner describes as Schoenberg “defending his historical position as the originator of atonal and twelve-tone compositions,” Schoenberg writes:²²

We [Schoenberg and Hauer] then established jointly that in September 1921 I wrote the first 12-tone piece (Suite for Piano; witness: Erwin Stein in Traunkirchen), while he first wrote a 12-tone composition in December of the same year.²³

²⁰ Schoenberg’s “new discovery” will be examined in detail in Chapter 3.

²¹ Letters in the ASC Schönberg Archive show that Stein was in Traunkirchen in summer 1921 from late August through mid-September (see ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #17060, #17061, #23589, and #619).

²² Arnold Schoenberg, “Priority” (1932), ASC Schönberg Archive: Text Document T04.41. Translation in Auner, 235–40, based on transcription by Michael Beiche, as printed in *Terminologische Aspekte der “Zwölftonmusik”* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1984), 159–62. For discussion on whether or not Hauer agreed with Schoenberg’s claim that Schoenberg wrote the first twelve-tone piece, see Bryan R. Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?” *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 10 (1987): 108–33.

²³ Auner, 237.

While in his “Wiesengrund” essay (1950), a written attack on music philosopher Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno, Schoenberg states:²⁴

In the fall of 1921, when I completed the first compositions based on this new method, I called Erwin Stein (today’s Britten propagandist) to come to Traunkirchen and asked him to guard my secret for as long as I found it necessary what I thought to share with him. He gave me this promise and kept it loyally.²⁵

Herein lays the first conundrum of dates regarding the compositional history of the Suite for Piano, Op. 25. Schoenberg’s letter to Alma Mahler is dated 26 July 1921. Rufer and Greissle both remember, independently, that Schoenberg announced his discovery in late July 1921. Yet Schoenberg distinctly recalls that he told Stein first, in fall (September) 1921. Because Alma Mahler’s letter and Greissle’s recollections were only published within the past five years, several scholars had previously questioned the authenticity of Rufer’s account.²⁶ For example, Haimo writes:

Josef Rufer asserts that Schoenberg made this statement to him towards the end of July 1921 during a stroll in Traunkirchen. See

²⁴ Arnold Schoenberg, “Wiesengrund” (1950), ASC Schönberg Archive: Text Document T32.12. Translation in Auner, 336–39.

²⁵ Auner, 338.

²⁶ Select paragraphs of Felix Greissle’s writings on the July 1921 announcement were recently published in a delayed (early 2008) release of Therese Muxeneder, “Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftönmethode: Daten, Dokumente, Berichte, Anekdoten,” *Schachzüge Arnold Schönbergs: Dodekaphonie und Spiele-Konstruktionen, Bericht zum Symposium 3.–5. Juni 2004*, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 7 (2005): 301–13.

The Works of Arnold Schoenberg, trans. Dika Newlin (London, 1962), 45. However, Jan Maegaard suggests that the correct date might have been July 1922. Moreover, he presents evidence to show that Schoenberg probably first revealed his new idea to Erwin Stein and not to Rufer. See his *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen Satzes bei Arnold Schönberg* (Copenhagen, 1972), i. 96.²⁷

Jan Maegaard challenges the late July 1921 Rufer date by examining Erwin Stein's assertion that Schoenberg showed him (Stein) the new compositional methods in the third of the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23. In a footnote from his essay "New Formal Principles," Stein notes, "It was apropos of this piece, shortly after its composition, that Schoenberg first told the present writer about the new formal principles."²⁸ Maegaard, having determined that Op. 23, No. 3 was written in February 1923, has difficulty reconciling this dating discrepancy:

In his essay "New Formal Principles" Erwin Stein mentions that Schoenberg gave him the "first information about the new formal principles" in regard to this piece [Op. 23, No. 3]. . . . But from an unpublished writing of Schoenberg, it is clear that in fall 1921, when he "created the first compositions on the basis of the new method," he told Erwin Stein about it, demanding that he keep the news secret so long as Schoenberg found this necessary. "He gave me his word and he has kept it." So there are two possibilities. Either the piece was begun in 1923 and Schoenberg then gave Stein a fresh report on its new formal principles, or the piece was already conceived of in 1921 and already far enough along so that he could then explain its new method to his student. The first possibility is

²⁷ Haimo, 1, note 1.

²⁸ Erwin Stein, "New Formal Principles," trans. Hans Keller, in *Orpheus in New Guises* (London: Rockliff, 1953), 68.

by far the more likely; still, the second cannot be entirely ruled out.²⁹

Maegaard, in a footnote, further questions the dating by mentioning that Rufer was in Traunkirchen with Schoenberg in July of both 1921 and 1922—referring his readers to the dates found of the manuscripts for Op. 25—but concludes that in either case, Schoenberg told Stein first.³⁰ Curiously, although Schoenberg spent the summers of both 1921 and 1922 in Traunkirchen, Maegaard’s direction to see Op. 25 is cryptic, as no movements of Op. 25 were composed in 1922.

²⁹ “In seinem Aufsatz ‘Neue Formprinzipien’ erwähnt Erwin Stein, daß Schönberg ihm anhand dieses Stückes die ‘ersten Mitteilungen über die neuen Formprinzipien’ machte. . . . Jedoch geht aus einem unpublizierten Schreiben Schönbergs klar hervor, daß er im Herbst 1921, als er die *ersten Kompositionen auf Grund dieser neuen Methode fertiggestellt hatte*, Erwin Stein davon erzählte, indem er von ihm verlangte, daß er diese Mitteilung, solange es Schönberg für notwendig fand, als ein Geheimnis bewahre. *Er gab mir dieses Versprechen und hat es in Treue gehalten*. Daher muß mit zwei Möglichkeiten gerechnet werden. Entweder wurde das Stück erst 1923 angefangen, und Schönberg hat Stein erneut eine Erklärung über die neuen Formprinzipien anhand des Stückes im selben Jahr gegeben, oder das Stück war schon im Jahre 1921 konzipiert, was Schönberg instand gesetzt hat, bereits damals dem Schüler die neue Methode anhand dessen zu erklären. Die erste Möglichkeit ist bei weitem die wahrscheinlichere; jedoch kann die zweite nicht ganz ausgeschlossen werden.” Maegaard, *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen*, vol. 1, 96. Translation by Bryan R. Simms. This dating conundrum (Op. 23, No. 3) will be examined more thoroughly in Chapter 5; others, such as Thomas Brezinka, Áine C. Heneghan, Fusako Hamao, and Hans Oesch, also question the validity of Stein’s footnote.

³⁰ “Daß Schönberg ein Jahr spatter, im Sommer 1922, in Traunkirchen Josef Rufer eine Mitteilung über die neue Kompositionsmethode gab, wurde in *StuS* p. 82 und in *ZiV* p. 86 berichtet. Siehe auch *ReiV* p. 115, *RanAS* p. 43 und *ZiAS* p. 27. Ob diese Mitteilung tatsächlich im Sommer 1921 stattfand—siehe *RuW* p. 26—scheint z. Z. nicht sichergestellt zu sein. Beide Monate Juli 1921 und 1922 hat Schönberg in Traunkirchen verbracht, siehe Op. 25 Bl.3–4, p. 342, und *SchB* p. 68ff. Laut Schönberg war doch die Mitteilung an Stein unter allen Umständen die erste.” Jan Maegaard, *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen*, vol. 1, 96, note 147. (For a list of source abbreviations, see Jan Maegaard, *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen*, vol. 2, *Periodica und Schriften mit Beiträgen mehrerer Autoren*: 586–617.)

Richard Taruskin skirts the dating issues altogether by attributing Rufer's remark to either the summer of 1921 or 1922:

This view of his twelve-tone compositions and their heritage had informed what is now Schoenberg's most notorious remark, which he made in conversation with his teaching assistant, the musicologist Josef Rufer, in the summer of 1921 or 1922: "Today I have discovered something which will assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years." Needless to say, ever since Rufer published it in 1959 this has been one of the most pounced-upon assertions in the history of European music.³¹

Interestingly, Taruskin does not supply a citation or commentary on the attribution of the famous remark to either "the summer of 1921 or 1922"; he simply states it as a fact.

Let us assume that both Rufer and Schoenberg are telling the truth until proven otherwise. Now that Rufer's date of 1921 has been independently validated by two sources, Schoenberg's letter to Alma Mahler and the unpublished biography of Schoenberg by Greissle, let us conclude that Schoenberg told Rufer about his new discovery in late July 1921. But, let us also assume that Schoenberg's recollections were correct, that he showed Stein his new discovery in fall 1921.

Let us also assume that Stein's memory was accurate in 1924, which, at most only

³¹ Richard Taruskin, *The Early Twentieth Century*, vol. 4, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 704.

three years from the original conversation, seems to be plausible. Can all the statements be true? The Rufer-Stein conundrum can be unraveled easily by not making the same assumption that has been inadvertently perpetuated since the publication of Rufer's statement in 1959: that in late July 1921 Schoenberg announced the discovery of the twelve-tone method. In fact, Schoenberg only announced that "he found something"; he did not elaborate on it, and he did not call it "twelve-tone composition."³²

A clue to solving the discrepancies is in Greissle's writings. In the passage quoted above, Greissle states, "No other reference was made to twelve tone, nor did he explain it. He merely stated, 'I have found something.'" In Schoenberg's letter to Alma Mahler, again no reference is made to twelve-tone composition; Schoenberg simply writes, "I have begun again to work. Something completely new!"³³ It is thus plausible that Schoenberg first *told* Rufer (or Alma Mahler or Greissle) in late July 1921 that he had found something new that would assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years, and that he first *explained* his new discovery to Stein in fall 1921. As will be shown in the chapters

³² See Greissle reference cited in note 18.

³³ See letter from Schoenberg to Alma Mahler cited in note 10.

to follow, it is also possible that the new discovery explained to Stein in fall 1921 was not the same as the “New Formal Principles” that were revealed to Stein by Schoenberg around the time that Op. 23, No. 3 was composed in 1923. Many facets of Schoenberg’s conceptualization of twelve-tone methodology changed from fall 1921 to spring 1923. If those changes are kept in mind and everyone’s words are taken at face value, all the statements that have perplexed scholars for decades can finally be explained. As E. Randol Schoenberg demonstrated in his article “The Most Famous Thing He Never Said,” statements can be taken out of context and be misunderstood for years. Rufer’s statement has not only been misconstrued concerning Schoenberg’s German nationalist sentiments, but also misrepresented concerning the discovery of the twelve-tone method; it is perhaps “The Second Most Famous Thing He Never Said.” Rufer’s exact words in 1959 were:

The author may add this personal note. It must have been about the time of the composition of the Prelude (end of July, 1921) when Schoenberg told me, during a stroll in Traunkirchen, ‘Today I have discovered something which will assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years.’ It was the method of composition with twelve tones related only to one another.³⁴

If we read Rufer’s words carefully, he does not actually say that Schoenberg told him that what he discovered was twelve-tone composition, Rufer only states that

³⁴ Rufer, p. 45.

Schoenberg told him that he had “discovered something.” He clarifies the statement by proposing to his readers that Schoenberg was referring to the method of composition with twelve tones related only to one another. Scholars have been misquoting Rufer for almost forty years by interpreting that Rufer’s sentence “It was the method of composition with twelve tones related only to one another,” was part of the original statement that Schoenberg made to Rufer.³⁵

³⁵ Ironically, E. Randol Schoenberg writes: “In that book [Rufer’s *Das Werk Arnold Schönbergs*], published eight years after Schönberg’s death, Rufer stated, apparently for the first time, that during the summer of 1921, in the Austrian town of Traunkirchen, Schönberg had disclosed to him the discovery of the twelve-tone method.” E. Randol Schoenberg, 27.

Chapter 2

Schoenberg Announces Twelve-Tone Composition: Conflicts and Conundrums

Although the 1921 date conundrum examined in Chapter 1 is intriguing, it is not the most important date conflict surrounding the Suite for Piano, Op. 25. In their 1979 epic chronicle of the life and work of Anton Webern, Hans and Rosaleen Moldenhauer propose that Schoenberg first revealed the “Method of Composing with Twelve Tones” in February 1923, a curiously long year and a half after Schoenberg mentioned that he “discovered something new” to Josef Rufer, Alma Mahler, and Felix Greissle. Let us assume that although Schoenberg used techniques from this new discovery to compose at least one piece in July 1921, which would later become the Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, he did not convey what the new discovery specifically was to Rufer, Alma Mahler, or Greissle at that time. Let us also assume that Schoenberg first showed and explained at least some of the techniques and theoretical concepts from the new discovery to Erwin Stein in September 1921, and that Stein faithfully kept the new discovery a secret. The new discovery will be examined in detail in Chapter 3, but for now, we will address the “famous announcement” of February 1923.

Almost thirty years ago, the Moldenhauers stated:

One morning that same February of 1923 Schoenberg assembled his closest associates in his Mödling home and revealed to them for the first time the fundamental principles of his “method of composition with twelve tones related solely to each other,” a technique that was to add a new dimension to the craft of writing music.¹

The Moldenhauers based the February 1923 date on information from Schoenberg’s student Josef Polnauer, who in 1959 had given a speech “on the occasion of the unveiling of a memorial plaque at the Schönberg house” in Mödling. The Arnold Schönberg Center supplies the following entry for the year 1923 in the “Arnold Schönberg and Mödling” section of its “Schönberg Haus” listing online:

Arnold Schönberg’s composition classes in Mödling achieved historic importance with the development of the “Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One Another,” which he first used in the waltz from the Piano Pieces, op.23, the Serenade, op.24, the Suite for Piano, op.25, and the Quintet for Winds, op.26. “When Arnold Schönberg gathered together some friends and pupils in his house in Mödling on a February morning in 1923, to talk about the basic ideas of his method and to demonstrate them with some examples from his latest compositions, a new chapter in the history of music began.” (Josef Polnauer in his speech on the occasion of the unveiling of a memorial plaque at the Schönberg house, 1959)²

¹ Hans Moldenhauer and Rosaleen Moldenhauer, *Anton von Webern: A Chronicle of His Life and Work* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 252. See also p. 663, note 16.

² ASC Website: Arnold Schönberg & Mödling, 1923, http://www.schoenberg.at/3_moedling/schoenberg_in_moedling_e.htm. See also Áine C.

The Moldenhauers' single sentence has been unquestioningly accepted and perpetuated in the English-language musicological literature, yet the dates of Schoenberg's sketches and drafts make it highly improbable.³

To add to the confusion, in her oral history *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait* (1986), Joan Allen Smith states:

In February 1923, . . . Schoenberg called together about twenty of his students and friends and explained to them his method of twelve-tone composition.⁴

Some mystery surrounds the actual inception of the twelve-tone method and Schoenberg's relationship to it. Although his students do not recall any discussion of it prior to the famous meeting of 1923 where the method was first publicly revealed, they remember in some detail the meeting and Schoenberg's subsequent attitude toward teaching the method. Schoenberg considered the method a private affair and for some time resisted describing it both publicly,

Heneghan, "Tradition as Muse: Schoenberg's Musical Morphology and Nascent Dodecaphony" (Ph.D. diss., University of Dublin, Trinity College, 2006), 148, note 25 and Walter Szmolyan, "Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 26, no. 3 (1971): 116–17.

³ In the German-language literature, sources exist that predate the Moldenhauers' work. Besides Polanauer's speech and Szmolyan's article cited in the note above, an example of the February 1923 date can be found in Eberhard Freitag, *Arnold Schönberg in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1973), 102: "Im Februar 1923 bat Schönberg zahlreiche Freunde und Schüler in sein Haus, um ihnen in einem Vortrag die Zwölftontechnik am Beispiel seiner neuesten, noch unveröffentlichten Kompositionen zu erläutern." (In February 1923 Schoenberg invited numerous friends and pupils to a lecture at his house to explain the twelve-tone technique, using examples from his newest and still unpublished compositions.)

⁴ Joan Allen Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1986), 197.

to his own students, and regarding certain of its more intricate aspects, to anybody.⁵

Smith attempts to lend credence to the February 1923 date by supplying the accounts of several Schoenberg students and stitching their remembrances together. From the interview with Max Deutsch on 21 November 1973 in Paris:

MAX DEUTSCH:

So, . . . in 1923, when he came back from Amsterdam, [Schoenberg] called us for [an] appointment for a meeting in Mödling, . . . in the Bernhardgasse 6 in Mödling. And he spoke the first words, . . . “I finally have found out that the new technique is the completion with twelve tones of the chromatic scale, but these twelve tones in interdependence from what” — that is, those were Schoenberg’s words, and he added, “And with that, our music,” he means Austrian music, “they have for fifty years the leadership.” That was the words of Schoenberg. . . .

JOAN ALLEN SMITH:

Before this time, had he said anything to you about it?

DEUTSCH:

Never! . . . Nothing! 1923, he told it and he wrote it down. That is the truth!⁶

From the interview with Erwin Ratz on 8 November 1973 in Vienna:

ERWIN RATZ:

These ideas were already in preparation for a long time. It didn’t happen overnight. Schoenberg had for many years—already during the war he was occupied with these ideas. The real revelation was . . . 1923. . . .

⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁶ Ibid., 202.

SMITH:

I wonder if Schoenberg ever talked about this new thing to you while he was thinking about it.

RATZ:

No, he spoke first about it after it was completely worked out. After he [had written] his first composition—that was the Suite, the Piano Suite, then he showed us the thing.⁷

From the interview with Felix Greissle, Schoenberg's son-in-law on 22 June 1973

in Manhasset:

SMITH:

Who was at the meeting where Schoenberg disclosed the twelve-tone method?

FELIX GREISSLE:

. . . [People] close to Schoenberg like Wellesz, who had at one time studied a little with Schoenberg but then was not so close any more. . . .⁸

Smith also quotes a part of an interview with Greissle conducted by Hans Keller for the BBC on 4 November 1965 to elaborate on who was there and what was said. Greissle's description of Schoenberg's use of a row transposition at the tritone suggests that the piece discussed was the Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, confirming what several other Smith interviewees remember.

⁷ Ibid., 204.

⁸ Ibid., 202–3.

GREISSLE:

He all of a sudden called all of his students and friends together, you see, and we had a meeting at which there were present Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Egon Wellesz, Steuermann, Erwin Stein, and many others, and there he began to develop the twelve-tone theory; in other words, he explained to us the four forms of the row, and he also showed us certain fragments he had composed this way—a piano piece, I remember . . . —we all tried to understand and I think we came pretty close to what he meant except there was one person who resisted—who resisted more by being silent and not saying anything, and that was Anton Webern. He was the one who resisted most. At one point, when Schoenberg said, “There I use row transposition and transposed it into the tritone,” so Webern said, “Why?” Schoenberg looked at him and said, “I don’t know,” and then Webern burst out, “Ah, ah!,” because Webern was waiting for some intuitive sign in the whole matter and this was it, you see.⁹

From the interviews with Rudolf Kolisch, Schoenberg’s brother-in-law, on 4 June 1973 and 15 December 1973 in Watertown, Massachusetts:

SMITH:

So then did he present this to you as something he had already thought out completely?

RUDOLF KOLISCH:

Ja.

SMITH:

Do you think he ever discussed his ideas with anyone during this period? It was all by himself? Not with Berg or Webern?

KOLISCH:

No. In fact, it was only as a *fait accompli*. It was even presented in a very strange and solemn way. He called us all together, you know.

⁹ Ibid., 198. Smith cites Felix Greissle, interview by Hans Keller, 4 November 1965, BBC.

It was Mödling. And he told us that he—but I don't know whether he called it—probably not discovery or invention, but he said he had found something which would assure the hegemony of German music for centuries. . . . Ja. That is true. That he really said, but . . . it's very strange, no?¹⁰

Joan Allen Smith's patchwork of remembrances inadvertently creates a misleading impression of a group interview, unfortunately suggesting that Deutsch, Ratz, Greissle, and Kolisch (along with several other members of the Schoenberg circle) concurred with each others' memories, thus collectively validating February 1923 as the date of the famous announcement. Critically, however, Smith omits a concordance of dates, people, and the Schoenberg composition(s) described in the various accounts.

¹⁰ Smith, 204–5. The first published use of the idea that Schoenberg's music would assure the supremacy/hegemony of German music is found in the last sentence of Alban Berg, "Warum ist Schönbergs Musik so schwer verständlich?" *Arnold Schönberg zum fünfzigsten Geburtstage: 13. September 1924*, special issue, *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 6 (1924): 341: "So daß man schon heute, an Schönbergs fünfzigstem Geburtstage, ohne ein Prophet zu sein, sagen kann, daß durch das Werk, das er der Welt bisher geschenkt hat, die Vorherrschaft nicht nur seiner persönlichen Kunst gesichert erscheint, sondern, was noch mehr ist: die der deutschen Musik für die nächsten fünfzig Jahre." (So today, on Schoenberg's fiftieth birthday, one need be no prophet to say that through the works that he has already sent forth into the world, the supremacy [hegemony] of his own art seems assured—as well as that of German music for the next fifty years.) Translation by Bryan R. Simms. Translation also in "Why is Schönberg's Music so Difficult to Understand?" in *The Life and Work of Alban Berg*, by Willi Reich, trans. Cornelius Cardew (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965), 204: "So today on Schönberg's fiftieth birthday one can say, without having to be a prophet, that the work that he has presented so far to the world ensures not only the predominance of his personal art, but what is more that of German music for the next fifty years."

In 1987, Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris further refined the date of the famous meeting to 17 February 1923, in *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, but they do not cite any sources to support their conclusion.¹¹ In her dissertation “Tradition as Muse: Schoenberg's Musical Morphology and Nascent Dodecaphony” (2006), Áine C. Heneghan concludes, “The editors of the published Berg-Schoenberg correspondence, presumably taking their cue from the Moldenhauers’ account, elucidate a statement made by Berg in a letter of 2 September 1923 with the following footnote”:

Schoenberg officially introduced close friends and students to his concept of twelve-tone composition on 17 February of that year [1923], at which time Erwin Stein took notes that he later published in the article ‘Neue Formprinzipien’ [New Formal Principles].¹²

Heneghan continues by stating that “the date of 17 February 1923, or indeed the date of February 1923, has little or no foundation (since it is informed only by Polnauer’s recollection in 1959). . . .”¹³

¹¹ *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, ed. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1987), 330, note 3. There are errors in this footnote that have since been corrected, revised, and deleted in the parallel entry found in the new German edition of the Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg-Alban Berg, Teilband II: 1918–1935*, ed. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Andreas Meyer, *Briefwechsel der Wiener Schule*, ed. Thomas Ertelt, vol. 3 (Mainz: Schott, 2007), Letter 575: 206–8 and note 395.

¹² Heneghan, 148–49. See *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence*, 330, note 3.

¹³ Heneghan, 149.

The February 1923 date has since been accepted and endlessly repeated in the literature. For example, Joseph Auner, in *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (2003), writes:

Concerned to defend his claim to be the originator of twelve-tone composition, particularly against the Viennese composer Josef Hauer, who was also working with related techniques, on February 17, 1923, Schoenberg called his students and friends together to explain the method as he then understood it. . . .¹⁴

Allen Shawn, in *Arnold Schoenberg's Journey* (2002), states:

It wasn't until he had become aware of the experiments of Josef Hauer in what appeared to be a similar direction that he called his students together on a morning in February 1923 to explain it.¹⁵

Arved Ashby, in his Ph.D. dissertation "The Development of Berg's Twelve-Tone Aesthetic as Seen in the *Lyric Suite* and Its Sources" (1995), offers:

And, considering the margin of possible dates mentioned above, it is equally possible that Stein's text expands upon ideas Schoenberg expressed at the famous meeting he called in Mödling on February 17, 1923 to announce for the first time his discoveries in twelve-tone composition.¹⁶

¹⁴ Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 173.

¹⁵ Allen Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg's Journey* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 197.

¹⁶ Arved Mark Ashby, "The Development of Berg's Twelve-Tone Aesthetic as Seen in the *Lyric Suite* and Its Sources" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1995), 47. See also Arved Ashby, "Schoenberg, Boulez, and Twelve-Tone Composition as 'Ideal Type,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 (2001): 593.

Jennifer Shaw, in her dissertation “Schoenberg’s Choral Symphony, *Die Jakobsleiter*, and Other Wartime Fragments” (2002), also refers to the February 1923 date as a given:

Schoenberg’s comments at the February meeting were recorded by Erwin Stein and perhaps by others present. At a later stage Stein used his notes from Schoenberg’s 1923 lecture as the basis for his essay “Neue Formprinzipien” [New Formal Principles], which was published in the commemorative issue (for Schoenberg’s 50th birthday) of *Musikblätter des Anbruch* (1924).¹⁷

Recent German-language sources also perpetuate the February 1923 or 17 February 1923 dates for the famous meeting, including Martina Sichardt’s *Die Entstehung der Zwölftonmethode Arnold Schönbergs* (1990), although the date can be found in German texts that precede the Moldenhauers’ work, for example in Walter Szmolyan’s “Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik” (1971), which contains Polnauer’s 1959 speech, and in Eberhard Freitag’s *Arnold Schönberg in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (1973).¹⁸

¹⁷ Jennifer Robin Shaw, “Schoenberg’s Choral Symphony, *Die Jakobsleiter*, and Other Wartime Fragments” (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2002), 582.

¹⁸ See note 3. Freitag’s book, like the English-language sources, does not give a citation for the February 1923 date; it is accepted as a given. See also Sichardt, 73–74 and Josef Rufer, “Begriff und Funktion von Schönbergs Grundgestalt,” *Melos* 38 (1971): 282.

Why should the February 1923 date be questioned? As shown above, the date has been cited in the literature for almost thirty years. There exist many conflicts and inconsistencies if the February 1923 date truly marks Schoenberg's *first* announcement of his "method of composing with twelve tones." Schoenberg himself is inconsistent about the date of the announcement; in his essay "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows" (1936), he recollects, "I gathered about twenty of my pupils together to explain to them the new method in 1923, I did it because I was afraid to be taken as an imitator of Hauer, who, at this time, published his *Vom Melos zur Pauke*."¹⁹ In the "Sources and Notes" for p. 213 of *Style and Idea*, Leonard Stein writes, "Schoenberg most likely means *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*, which was published in 1923, rather than *Vom Melos zur Pauke*, which appeared in 1925—and was dedicated to Schoenberg." The date of publication that Leonard Stein gives for *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*, Hauer's earliest publication that mentions what he later termed "twelve-tone law" or "new principle of composition with building blocks [Bausteine] of all twelve

¹⁹ Arnold Schoenberg, "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows" (1936), in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 213. However, perhaps the confusion was with Josef Matthias Hauer's article "Sphärenmusik," *Melos* 3, no. 3 (June 1922): 132–33.

notes of the circle [of fifths],” is incorrect.²⁰ In Schoenberg’s personal library, a heavily annotated copy published in 1920 exists.²¹ Simms contends that Schoenberg read Hauer’s *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* in summer 1921, a month before composing the Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25:

In the month prior to composing this Prelude, Schoenberg apparently read Hauer’s *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*. . . . Schoenberg made numerous marginal notes in his copy of Hauer’s treatise.²²

Simms postulates that “Schoenberg suspected that Hauer’s twelve-tone law was inspired by his own doctrines,” and cites the following marginalia in

Schoenberg’s *Handexemplar* of the first edition of the *Harmonielehre* as evidence:

Josef Hauer (*Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*, p. 53) has also subscribed to this idea of late. Otherwise, he wished to know nothing about me (against which, however, his compositions are evidence), while he almost literally quotes my idea (*Übergewicht, Grundton*). This honors me all the more, since his concurrence appears only now, long after he had read my book, so that he wrote this sentence feeling that it was his own. Here, as in many other situations, he does not mention my name. 21 June 1921.²³

²⁰ For discussion of Hauer’s discovery of his “twelve-tone law,” see Bryan R. Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?” *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 10 (1987): 114–15.

²¹ Josef Matthias Hauer, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* (Leipzig and Vienna: Waldheim-Eberle, 1920). See also Simms, 115.

²² Simms, 121.

²³ *Ibid.* Simms also provides the sentence in question on p. 121: “Schoenberg writes, ‘I have noticed that doublings, octaves, rarely appear [in the new music]. The explanation for that

In his infamous “Priority” essays, Schoenberg concedes that he did read Hauer’s *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* in 1921, before composing his first twelve-tone piece, but again, the dates he gives do not match the dates found elsewhere in his writings:

I just saw that Hauer’s book *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* was sent to me by Waldheim-Eberle Press on September 18, 1920, and that it would certainly follow from this book that Hauer had already then invented “atonal” music, and further that I had read this book just before September 1921 when I wrote the first pure 12-tone piece.²⁴

The fact that Schoenberg had read and was familiar with Hauer’s twelve-tone law prior to composing the Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, suggests that Schoenberg was not working in a vacuum, and that twelve-tone ideas were circulating in the air, even if Hauer’s law was dissimilar in methodology to Schoenberg’s ideas. This will be more thoroughly investigated later in this dissertation, as will Schoenberg’s statement “just before September 1921 when I first wrote the first pure 12-tone piece” – which, along with Schoenberg’s many reiterations that he had written some twelve-tone pieces in fall 1921, form another cluster of cryptic remarks. Materials from the Schoenberg legacy reveal that the March (which is not twelve-tone) from the Serenade, Op. 24, completed

is, perhaps, that the note doubled would acquire a predominance [*Übergewicht*] over the others and would thereby turn into a kind of fundamental tone [*Grundton*], which it should not be.”

²⁴ Arnold Schoenberg, “Priority” (1932); translation in Auner, 239.

on 27 September 1921, is the only piece that Schoenberg worked on in September 1921.

Although Schoenberg had familiarity with Hauer's twelve-tone ideas as early as June 1921, as shown by the dates in his own margin notes, his later writings continue to obscure this fact and thus the date of the famous announcement.

Another date for the announcement can be found in Schoenberg's copy of Hauer's essay "Sphärenmusik" (1922), where Schoenberg drafts a letter to Hauer, which he never sent, proclaiming that he had made his announcement in the first half of 1922:

As you can imagine, I have not been asleep these 12 years. I have been concerned with the further elaboration of these ideas. Unfortunately, I am not so far advanced that I can make the fruits of my inquiries public. On the contrary, there will still be some time before I can write my "Lehre vom musikalischen Zusammenhang" ['Theory of Musical Coherence'] in which the fundamentals of "Composition with Twelve Tones" will be expounded.

Where my inquiry has led me and where it stands at the present I communicated to my students in a few lectures given several months ago. Even if the results of more than 10 years of thinking and investigating may have led to a perhaps paltry outcome in theoretical terms, it has not been so in practical ones, since I have

succeeded in applying to twelve-tone composition the logic which formerly ruled in music. . . .

Arnold Schoenberg. Traunkirchen. 25 July 1922.²⁵

Still another date can be found in notes from the summer of 1940, in which

Schoenberg reminisces:

In 1924 I had become aware that Hauer had also written twelve-tone music. Up to this time I had kept it a secret that I do it. But in order to make clear that I had not been influenced by Hauer, but had gone my own way, I called a meeting of all my students and friends where I explained this new method and the way which I had gone.²⁶

Schoenberg's own inconsistent references to 1922, 1923, and 1924 have certainly muddied the situation, but the students of his Vienna circle also seem to be vague on the date of the famous announcement.

The recollections of Joan Allen Smith's interviewees quoted above do not accord with the chronology of Schoenberg's compositions from this period. Remember that Ratz says:

²⁵ Schoenberg's letter is found in draft form as marginalia in his copy of Hauer's "Sphärenmusik." Translation in Simms, 122. Schoenberg's annotated copy of Hauer's "Sphärenmusik" is found in ASC Schönberg Archive: Box P5. See also Figure 4.3b and Chapter 4, note 19.

²⁶ Quoted in H. H. Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (New York: Schirmer Books, 1977), 443–44. Also quoted in Joan Allen Smith, 198–99. Smith corrects the 1924 date to: "[actually 1923]" based on Felix Greissle, interview by Hans Keller; see Smith, 219, note 23.

RATZ:

No, he spoke first about it after it was completely worked out. After he [had written] his first composition—that was the Suite, the Piano Suite, then he showed us the thing.²⁷

The 17 February 1923 date for the first announcement is improbable for several reasons. According to sketches, drafts, and manuscripts, the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, was not completed until early March 1923, and current evidence shows that only the Prelude, Op. 25, which had been composed in July 1921, had been completed by 17 February 1923. Could Ratz have been mistaken and meant the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, or a part (i.e., Prelude) of Op. 25? Coincidentally, the last of the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, the Waltz (No. 5)—the only piece in Op. 23 to be based on a twelve-tone row—was completed on 17 February 1923, and at some point, Schoenberg had written “Suite” across the top of the first draft of what is now Op. 23, No. 1.²⁸ This is a possibility that has not previously been considered. Notwithstanding, the 17 February 1923 date is probably erroneous, as Webern was at the Musikverein that day, according to the Moldenhauers, hearing Zemlinsky and Schalk interpret his Passacaglia, Op. 1, in a concert of

²⁷ Smith, 204.

²⁸ For the dating of the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, see Sichardt, 206–10; Jan Maegaard, “A Study in the Chronology of op. 23–26 by Arnold Schoenberg,” *Dansk årbog for musikforskning* 2 (1962): 95–98; and *Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen: Kritischer Bericht, Skizzen, Fragmente*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann, Arnold Schönberg Sämtliche Werke, ed. Josef Rufer, Abteilung II: Klavier- und Orgelmusik, Reihe B, Band 4 (Mainz: Schott and Vienna: Universal Edition, 1975), 21.

Vienna's select Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde; and, according to Felix Greissle (and several others), Webern was definitely at the famous announcement of the twelve-tone method.²⁹ Greissle also listed Erwin Stein as being present at the first announcement, so it is perplexing that there exists a letter, presented by Heneghan in her dissertation, from Erwin Stein to Rufer in which "Stein asks Rufer for the date Schoenberg first explained the [twelve-tone] method to his students." Heneghan translates:

Were you there when Schoenberg explained for the first time the method to his students? I must have been in Darmstadt at that time, but Webern, Berg, Polnauer and others were there, but Polnauer cannot remember the time. I conclude for various reasons that it was in the autumn of 1923 when Schoenberg returned from Traunkirchen. [. . .] Do you remember the lecture in Mödling? I would be very grateful for a reply. Rankl was also there, but he always gives false dates.³⁰

If Erwin Stein was not at the meeting, then his essay "New Formal Principles" could not be based on lecture notes he took on 17 February 1923, as suggested by Ashby, Shaw, and the Moldenhauers.³¹ Personal correspondence found in the ASC Schönberg Archive between Stein and Schoenberg verifies that Stein was in

²⁹ Moldenhauers, 251; Felix Greissle, interview by Hans Keller.

³⁰ Heneghan, 150–51. See also Thomas Brezinka, *Erwin Stein: Ein Musiker in Wien und London* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 191–98.

³¹ See Chapter 5.

Darmstadt from December 1922 to March 1923, and that he first revisited Mödling on 30 April 1923.³² The conflict surrounding Stein's letter to Rufer is just one of numerous examples Heneghan uses to illustrate the improbability of the famous announcement taking place in February 1923. She concludes that the announcement most likely took place in April 1923—in the spring, as many of Schoenberg's students recall—after the compositional completion of Opp. 23, 24, and 25, but before Stein had returned to Vienna from Darmstadt on 20 April 1923.³³ But that does not explain Greissle's inclusion of Stein as one of those present for the announcement, and in fact, both Rufer and Deutsch, in independent recollections, confirm Stein's presence at the announcement, despite Stein's statement to Rufer to the contrary.³⁴ Rufer and Deutsch, furthermore, both recall that Stein took notes at the meeting, which they claim took place in spring 1923, leading Thomas Brezinka, perhaps unaware of Stein's letter to Rufer, to conclude in his recently published biography of Erwin Stein that the famous announcement took place in May 1923, after Stein's return from

³² See Chapter 5, note 48. See also Heneghan, 150–51 and Brezinka, 191.

³³ Heneghan, 152.

³⁴ See Heneghan, 150. In note 32, Heneghan states: "The accounts by Deutsch and Rufer are given, respectively, in Szmolyan, 'Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik', 118; Josef Rufer, 'Begriff und Function von Schönbergs Grundgestalt', *Melos: Zeitschrift für Neue Musik* 38/7–8 (1971), 282."

Darmstadt.³⁵ The only possible solution to this conundrum is that there was more than one announcement.³⁶

With the publication in 1999 of Webern's letters to Heinrich Jalowetz, it is now known that Schoenberg *first* explained his twelve-tone compositional ideas to a group of select students by early January 1922. In a letter dated 7 January 1922, Webern writes:

Schönberg spricht in einer Reihe von Vorträgen vor uns allen—bei sich zu Haus—über ein technisches Resultat oder besser vielleicht | über eine jetzt von ihm angewendete, neue Art der motivischen Verarbeitung (es ist nicht das allein—in Kürze ist es schwer zu formulieren) u. rollt dabei den ganzen Entwicklungsgang ich darf wohl sagen unserer Technik (Harmonik u. s. w.) auf—rein theoretisch—zum erstenmale geschieht dies; an der Hand natürlich seiner letzten Werke. Und nun kannst Du Dir denken: fast alles was mich seit 10 Jahren ungefähr beschäftigt, wird da erörtert. Es ist fast zu aufregend. Den Anlaß dazu gab eine Komposition Hauers; veröffentlicht im "Melos" (Berliner Zeitschrift). In diesem Musikstück—Präludium für Celesta—glaubt Schönberg Ansätze zu Ähnlichem zu sehn, das er heute zuletzt namentlich in den Klavierstücken, die er 1921 im Sommer in Traunkirchen geschrieben hat, praktiziert. Das ist das oben Erwähnte. Und um nicht als Plagiator des Herrn Hauer dazustehn, so entwickelt er uns

³⁵ Brezinka, 191–97. Brezinka substantiates the May 1923 date with references to many letters, including those of Stein, Berg, and Schoenberg.

³⁶ See also Heneghan, 152. Here, she writes: "While Rufer's comment of 1971 about Stein's note-taking is obviously vitiated by Stein's own recollection, it is possible that Rufer had confused this formal announcement with an earlier series of lectures, to which only a small number of students/close friends were privy and at which Stein may have taken notes since he was based at that time in Vienna."

nun diese Dinge auf die er längst gekommen ist. Die Sache beruht harmonisch u. melodisch auf der 12 Ton-Skala, die Schönberg jetzt als die Grundlage unserer Musik betrachtet. Theoretisches darüber schon in der neuen Auflage der Harmonielehre. Schade, daß Du nicht diese Vorträge hören kannst. Übrigens werden sie mitgeschrieben. Ich werde Dir eine | Abschrift ehestens zukommen lassen.³⁷

(Schoenberg is speaking to us all in a series of lectures—at his house—on a technical corollary, or, perhaps better, on a new type of motivic work that he is now using (it's not only that—it's hard to formulate it briefly) and with it he unfolds the entire development of, if I may say so, our technique (harmony, etc.)—purely theoretically—this for the first time, together with his recent works. Just imagine that almost everything that has occupied me for about 10 years is being discussed. It is almost too exciting. The impetus was a composition by Hauer, published in “Melos” (a Berlin journal). In this piece—Präludium für Celesta—Schoenberg thought that he saw the beginnings of something similar to what he lately had put to use, in the piano pieces that he wrote in 1921 during the summer in Traunkirchen. This is what I mentioned above. And so as not to be seen as a plagiarist of Mr. Hauer, he is describing these things that he found long ago. The matter rests harmonically and melodically on the 12-tone scale, which Schoenberg now considers the basis of our music. Its theory is already in the new edition of the *Harmonielehre*. Too bad that you can't hear these lectures. By the way, they are being taken down. I will get you a copy as soon as possible.)

This letter corroborates Schoenberg's unsent letter to Hauer of July 1922. As Schoenberg never mailed his letter, we cannot be certain that it was actually written in July 1922, but both letters taken together make the date plausible. It is

³⁷ Anton Webern, *Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, ed. Ernst Lichtenhahn, Veröffentlichungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung, vol. 7 (Mainz: Schott, 1999), Letter 228: 499. Translation by present author.

also possible that Webern misdated his letter at the New Year and that the date should read 7 January 1923 instead of 7 January 1922, but his specific reference to Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta*, composed in September 1921 and published in *Melos* in November of that year, makes it unlikely.³⁸

During the past few years, there has been a renewed scholarly interest in establishing the date of Schoenberg's famous announcement. As noted above, Heneghan and Brezinka have also been working on a chronology, although Heneghan is primarily concerned with its implications in the early theoretical methodology and morphology of Schoenberg's twelve-tone compositional techniques, whereas Brezinka concentrates on Erwin Stein's role as the author of "New Formal Principles." Therese Muxeneder, archivist at the Arnold Schönberg Center in Vienna, has also compiled a valuable timeline, between 1921 and 1925, of the dates, documents, reports, and anecdotes associated with the announcement of the twelve-tone method, recently published in the long-awaited *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 7 (2005).³⁹

³⁸ Josef Matthias Hauer, *Präludium für Celesta*, *Melos* 3, no. 1 (November 1921): Notenbeilage.

³⁹ Therese Muxeneder, "Arnold Schönbergs Verkündigung der Zwölftönmethode: Daten, Dokumente, Berichte, Anekdoten," *Schachzüge Arnold Schönbergs: Dodekaphonie und Spiele-*

This is not the first time, however, that the implausibility of the February 1923 date has been examined. Twenty years ago, in his article “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?” (1987), Bryan Simms draws attention to the possible dating inconsistency:

Perhaps the most important bit of information which Schoenberg gives out in this unsent letter [to Hauer] is that several months before July 1922 he had met with students to reveal his twelve-tone method as it existed at that time. It has formerly been thought that Schoenberg met with students for this purpose only in February 1923.⁴⁰

In 1994, Anne Sheffler, in her examination of Webern’s first experiments with twelve-tone composition in July 1922, uses the February 1923 date as a launching point, but concludes that there must have been an earlier announcement, before July 1922:

The Präludium (op. 25, no. 1), complete in July 1921, is usually acknowledged as his [Schoenberg’s] first twelve-tone serial piece, although he only later characterized the material of the piece as a “row.” Almost two years later, in February 1923, he went public, holding a meeting at which he explained his new method.⁴¹

Konstruktionen, Bericht zum Symposium 3.–5. Juni 2004, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 7 (2005): 301–13.

⁴⁰ Simms, 123.

⁴¹ Anne C. Shreffler, “‘Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber’: The Vocal Origins of Webern’s Twelve-Tone Composition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 284. Shreffler cites Joan Allen Smith in note 19: “See Joan Smith’s oral history *Schoenberg and His Circle . . .*, 197. The basic technical information presented at the meeting was evidently the source for Erwin Stein’s article ‘Neue Formprinzipien’. . . *Musikblätter des Anbruch* (September 1924).”

The evidence is overwhelming that Schoenberg did indeed share his discoveries with several friends and students, including Webern, before his formal announcement in February of 1923. In a letter written to Hauer in August 1922, Schoenberg related quite a different version of events.⁴²

Shreffler's thorough examination of the evolution of Webern's row through analysis of sketches clearly shows that Webern could only have made his early forays into twelve-tone composition with methodological knowledge of how Schoenberg treated and manipulated the row from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25:

That Webern could even attempt relatively sophisticated row techniques in the summer of 1922 is explicable only through contact with Schoenberg, which has now been established. In particular, the sketch for "Mein Weg" resembles—in its row structure, choice of transposition, and harmonic disposition—Schoenberg's sketches for the Präludium (later op. 25, no. 1), which he had completed the previous summer.⁴³

By outlining the motivic, structural, and invariant pitch similarities between Webern's row and Schoenberg's row, Shreffler presents a solid case. At the time that Shreffler wrote her article, the letter from Webern to Jalowetz of 7 January 1922 had not yet been published. Nonetheless, she was able to arrive at the same conclusion: that by July 1922, Webern was aware of Schoenberg's compositional

⁴² Shreffler, 286. Shreffler's August 1922 date is inconsistent with the source she cites in note 25: Simms, 122; Simms provides "25 July 1922" as the date for the letter. This discrepancy is perhaps a result of a typographical error in Simms, 131, note 11: "25/VIII.1922."

⁴³ Shreffler, 294. Interestingly, the date of Webern's twelve-tone sketch for "Mein Weg" is 26 July 1922, the day after Schoenberg drafted his letter to Hauer; Shreffler, 289. See Chapter 5.

mechanisms in the row from what is now the Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25. By unequivocally showing that Webern had knowledge of Schoenberg's row concept by July 1922, Shreffler confirms that 17 February 1923 was not the first time that Webern had heard the famous announcement of the twelve-tone method. Webern's letter to Jalowetz of 7 January 1922 dispels any notion that Webern independently experimented with the four basic forms of a given row and their transpositions at the tritone, without Schoenberg's knowledge or guidance.

However, twelve years before Simms proposed that Schoenberg first made his twelve-tone theories known in 1922 instead of 1923, Clara Steuermann, then archivist of the Arnold Schoenberg Archive at California State University, Los Angeles—before its move to the University of Southern California—also tried to establish the date of the famous announcement. Newly uncovered letters found in the Felix Greissle Satellite Collection of the ASC Schönberg Archive in Vienna reveal, in an exchange of correspondence in 1975, that both Clara Steuermann and Felix Greissle had reason to believe that the famous announcement took place earlier than 1923. The response from Greissle is important, as it instructs Steuermann to ignore what musicologists have to say, especially Wellesz.

Figure 2.1 Letter from Clara Steuermann to Felix Greissle
(14 October 1975)⁴⁴

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY • LOS ANGELES
The Arnold Schoenberg Archive (213) 224-2234
5151 STATE UNIVERSITY DRIVE LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90032



October 14, 1975

Dear Jackie and Felix:

For me it was a wonderful experience to see you again, and I hope that I was able to reassure you both that time need not change us so much that communication is no longer possible.

The more I think about the book you are writing, Felix, and the possibility of your being out here for a time to work for yourself as well as to help us, the more I feel that it is something which should happen soon. I do hope that you will give it serious consideration as you plan your future activities and projects. Have you already made "oral history" tapes? Vivian Perlis has plans for some such project.

According to Reich, Schoenberg married for the second time in late August, 1924. The picture I asked you about -- with the moustache -- would then probably have been grown around the beginning of 1925. Will you include that in your book also?

May I also ask you about the meeting in Mödling when Schoenberg announced the 12-tone concept to a small group of students -- what year? 1923 is the year of the piano pieces and the Serenade, but I seem to remember Edward saying that the official statement was earlier.

Vielen Dank für Speis' und Trank, and to ein baldiges Wiedersehen! Be well meanwhile.

As ever,

Clara

*reply - not for my length of time
(Elephant suit)*

THE CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGES

⁴⁴ ASC Schönberg Archive: Felix Greissle Satellite Collection.

Figure 2.2 Letter from Felix Greissle to Clara Steuermann
(20 October 1975)⁴⁵

Felix Greissle
65 East Gate
Manhasset, N. Y. 11030

Oct. 20, 1975

Dear Clara:

Many thanks for your warm letter. Naturally I should write the book soon and I am doing the best I can. It is unfortunately a slow process because I have to find out by deduction what the correct dates and sometimes also locations are. It took me a long time f.i. to determine the time of the meeting at which Schoenberg disclosed that he had started to use 12-tone. It was February (or March) 1922. Never mind what the musicologists write about this, especially Wellesz. I also know why he called us together; which will be one of the more surprising things I will have to say.

Yes, moustache and Knize suit are about spring 1925. I may mention it to put it in contrast with what his family called the "elephant" suit, made about 4 years earlier by his first wife. The material was cheap, gray cotton and the pants were much, much too wide (hence the name we gave it), but he wore it nevertheless because he did not want to hurt Mathilde. Similar (!) character traits in both instances.

I am afraid I could not think of coming to Los Angeles for any length of time. I would have to give up all my jobs with only one exception. It may be possible, however, to arrange for several, well-spaced visits - but that would probably be much too expensive. At any rate, please write down any questions you would want to ask me and things I could perhaps explain or identify. This could all be presented to me when I come for a short time. Of course I would much more enjoy a long stay, but I cannot see any possibility.

We enjoyed your visit very much. What made you think that communication could no longer be possible? You should hear Jackie rave about you. Please give my regards to Leonard.

Love from both of us,

as ever

Felix

⁴⁵ ASC Schönberg Archive: Felix Greissle Satellite Collection

Greissle's statement, "It took me a long time f.i. to determine the time of the meeting at which Schoenberg disclosed that he had started to use twelve-tone. It was February (or March) 1922," concurs with the unsent letter from Schoenberg to Hauer, as well as the letter from Webern to Jalowetz of 7 January 1922.

Although it would appear that Greissle contradicts himself in his interview with Joan Allen Smith for her book published in 1986, in fact, Smith interviewed Greissle in 1973 and relies on material gleaned from Hans Keller's 1965 interview with Greissle for the BBC. Greissle's written response to Clara Steuermann postdates both the interviews, and perhaps Clara Steuermann's letter inspired Greissle to delve into his past and assemble a timeline of events surrounding the famous announcement.

In July 1979, Greissle was invited to give two lectures at the Schoenberg House in Mödling. In one of the lectures, "Die Anfänge der Komposition mit zwölf Tönen," Greissle addresses the 1923 dating conundrum and, as he suggested in the confusion surrounding the 1921 dating conundrum, "Whenever Schoenberg felt he had something of importance to reveal, he would repeat the remark on several occasions." Greissle states:

Now I come to a point, which is still very unclear, in as much as Schoenberg later summoned all his pupils together and reported

how twelve-tone composition was made and explained—that is the main point, and it has been fixed for the year 1923; I believe it was earlier. The misunderstanding comes from the fact that there were several such meetings. I believe the first was in 1922, soon after we came back to Mödling.

I only want to speak about the first of these pupil meetings and how it was a big surprise for all of us, including myself. I noted who was present, and it is an incomplete list. He had invited more people than ever before. At this memorable meeting were present: Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Erwin Stein, Egon Wellesz, Hanns Eisler, Karl Rankl, (Josef) Rufer, Erwin Ratz, (Eduard) Steuermann, Schoenberg's daughter Gertrud, (Otmar) Steinbauer, () Trauneck—that is all I remember definitely, but it is possible that there were still other people there.⁴⁶

The possibility of there having been at least two occasions where Schoenberg gathered his students together to explain twelve-tone composition answers dating and style questions that have long been raised regarding the early twelve-tone works of Schoenberg; it may also resolve conflicts raised by the various dating conundrums. Significantly, Greissle offers the same reason Webern did

⁴⁶ Felix Greissle, "Zwei Vorträge: I. Die Anfänge der Komposition mit zwölf Tönen" (gehalten im Schönberg-Haus zu Mödling im Juli 1979), 15: "Jetzt komme ich zu einer Sache, die noch sehr im Unklaren ist, insofern, als Schönberg etwas später alle Schüler zusammengerufen hat und ihnen die Mitteilung über Zwölfton (komposition) gemacht und erklärt hat—das war die grosse Sache, und das ist für das Jahr 1923 festgelegt; ich glaube, es war früher. Das Missverständnis kommt daher, dass mehrere solcher Schülerversammlungen waren. Die erste, glaube ich, war 1922, bald nachdem wir zurück nach Mödling kamen. Ich will nur von der ersten dieser Schülerversammlungen sprechen und von der grossen Überraschung für uns alle, auch für mich noch. Ich habe mir aufgeschrieben, wer anwesend war, und das ist eine unvollkommene Liste; er hatte mehr Leute eingeladen, denn je zuvor. Bei dieser denkwürdigen Versammlung waren anwesend: Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Erwin Stein, Egon Wellesz, Hanns Eisler, Karl Rankl, (Josef) Rufer, Erwin Ratz, (Eduard) Steuermann, Schönbergs Tochter Gertrud, (Otmar) Steinbauer, () Trauneck—das ist alles mit Sicherheit, es ist möglich, dass noch andere Leute dort waren." Translation by present author.

(in Webern's letter to Jalowetz) as to why Schoenberg called his students together in the first place. The announcement was to stave off any future perception that Schoenberg was an imitator of Hauer in light of the recent publication of Hauer's twelve-tone ideas in *Melos*. In his English adaptation of his 1979 Mödling lecture, prepared as the cornerstone chapter for his unpublished biography of Schoenberg, Greissle recalls:

Some time after the return to Mödling [Fall 1921], Schoenberg called all his disciples and friends together, for the confessed purpose of telling us about 'twelve tone.' . . . Schoenberg started out with a frank explanation, saying: "Maybe I wouldn't have talked to you, but I think I have to talk to you, because I have read *Melos*. In *Melos*, I have found an article by Hauer. I see that Hauer talks about the same thing. He came to it from an entirely different side. But I must tell you now what I did and how I came to it." He proceeded to tell us that what he had to disclose was already mentioned in the "Harmonielehre." We were all startled, it came as a surprise to us.⁴⁷

Enough evidence exists to establish that there was more than one announcement, one in 1922 and one or two in 1923; although the exact dates have yet to be

⁴⁷ Felix Greissle, "The Private History of Composition with Twelve Tones: The Path to the New Music," TMs, ASC Schönberg Archive: Felix Greissle Satellite Collection, B10, 10. The origin of this passage can be found in Felix Greissle on Schoenberg, interview by George Perle, November 1970, transcript, ASC Schönberg Archive: Felix Greissle Satellite Collection, B6, 43. In the interview by Perle, Greissle suggests that the journal in which Schoenberg read the Hauer article on twelve-tone composition was *Anbruch*. In "The Private History of Composition with Twelve Tones," "*Anbruch*" is crossed out and replaced with (handwritten) *Melos*. However, it must be noted that Greissle refers to an article by Hauer, not a composition by Hauer, published in *Melos*. Although Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* was published in *Melos* in November 1921, his article "Sphärenmusik" was not published until June 1922.

pinpointed. Fusako Hamao, in “Reconstructing Schoenberg’s Early Lectures on the Twelve-Tone Method” (2007), further differentiates the two events by describing the 1922 event as a lecture or lectures attended by a select private group of Schoenberg’s closest students and friends, while the 1923 event was more of a public announcement meeting for students not in Schoenberg’s inner circle.⁴⁸ To illustrate this distinction, Hamao cites a 1979 interview with Paul A. Pisk, a Schoenberg student who considered himself an “outsider”:

To understand the purpose of the February 1923 meeting, the following recollection from Paul Amadeus Pisk gives us a hint. Unlike Schoenberg’s students discussed so far, he was probably *not* invited to the early [1922] lectures. In an interview with Pisk, Elliott Antokoletz asked, “Were there symposia, discussions, or lectures, as well as performances at the Verein? If so, what issues were most relevant to everyone?” Pisk answered:

“There were no symposia nor lectures at the Verein. However, in Schoenberg’s private residence on Sunday afternoons, students and friends gathered for music-making and also discussing important aesthetic and stylistic questions. Schoenberg’s 12-tone system was never discussed in this framework, but only in some public lectures that he gave at the Schwarzwald School, and not at all in connection with the Verein.”

Pisk had served as secretary of the Verein, and became the co-editor of the *Musikblätter des Anbruch* in 1920. Pisk considered himself as outsider: he told [Joan Allen] Smith, “I wasn’t in the inner circle,” recalling the time he was studying with Schoenberg.

⁴⁸ Fusako Hamao, “Reconstructing Schoenberg’s Early Lectures” (working paper, 2007), 4–5. The present author would like to thank Dr. Hamao for sharing her current research and expertise in the early development of Schoenberg’s twelve-tone compositional techniques.

If we assume that the early lectures were limited to Schoenberg's inner circle, we can see the reason why Pisk claimed that there were no lectures on the twelve-tone method in Schoenberg's house. At the same time, Pisk talked about the public lectures given at the Schwarzwald School, which must have been open to the people outside the Schoenberg circle, like Pisk.⁴⁹

Hamao's interpretation can be taken one step further, qualifying the 1922 lecture(s) as *private* and the 1923 announcement as *public*, which may explain the numerous dating discrepancies and description inconsistencies found in the various recollections of those who were present for what they *believed* was the first time Schoenberg revealed his method of composing with twelve tones.

The Suite for Piano, Op. 25, or at least the Prelude, appears to have the honor as the work that inspired all three announcements: to Rufer, Alma Mahler, Greissle, and later Stein in summer 1921; to a private gathering of Schoenberg's inner circle in early 1922; and to a public meeting of outsiders in spring 1923.

Consideration of the early 1922 lecture date(s), however, poses several new questions about the completion date(s) of the other movements that constitute the Suite for Piano and whether or not there were additional movements written,

⁴⁹ Ibid., 20–21. Pisk quotation is found in Elliott Antokoletz, "A Survivor of the Vienna Schoenberg Circle: An Interview with Paul A. Pisk," *Tempo* 154 (September 1985): 15–21. Article is based on an interview conducted after "Memories of the Second Viennese School" (lecture, University of Texas at Austin, 5 March 1979).

but afterward lost, discarded, or not included, for the Suite for Piano. The next puzzle to solve requires the piecing together of what exactly was said in 1921, 1922, and 1923, and the clarification of who was where and when. Is it plausible that all the apparently conflicting reports are true, and that the reports just need to be carefully reconsidered? A discussion of the compositional chronology of Schoenberg's works from 1920 to 1923, along with contemporary writings by Schoenberg and his followers, will illuminate the hidden truths.

Chapter 3

Schoenberg Reveals the Secret: Defining the “New Discovery” (1921)

Exactly what did Schoenberg discover in July 1921, and exactly what did he reveal to Stein in September 1921? Was the 1921 “new discovery” the subject of the lectures that Webern refers to in his letter to Jalowetz on 7 January 1922, or did Schoenberg cover partly or completely different concepts? Were the new discovery and the concepts of the 1922 lectures, assuming they were not the same, the premise for the “famous announcement” of February, April, and/or May 1923? These three events (1921, 1922, 1923) are significant in the understanding of Schoenberg’s early twelve-tone compositional thinking and methodology, especially in reference to the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, which, as mentioned earlier, is cited as the compositional example for each of these three occasions. The existing literature lumps these three events together. Most of the dating conflicts, however, can be solved by carefully reading and parsing what has been reported. Most scholars have ignorantly or inadvertently assumed not only that Schoenberg relayed his twelve-tone compositional method to his students on just one occasion—the famous announcement—but also, and more importantly, that what he said about twelve-tone composition between summer

1921 and spring 1923 remained constant. Schoenberg's conception of twelve-tone composition rapidly evolved between 1921 and 1923, as Ethan Haimo suggests in *Schoenberg's Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of his Twelve-tone Method, 1914–1918* (1990). By understanding what Schoenberg's conception of twelve-tone composition was in 1921, 1922, and 1923, instead of trying to rationalize and force the dating conflicts to resolve inelegantly and unsatisfactorily, a more meaningful study of Schoenberg's early forays into twelve-tone composition will be possible.

As shown in the previous chapters, there is now enough convincing and corroborating evidence to conclude that Schoenberg did indeed make a new discovery on a day in late July 1921, one that he proclaimed "would assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years." Rufer's statement, as quoted in Chapter 1, has led us to believe that the new discovery was the "method of composition with twelve tones related only to one another." Rufer's sentence implies that on that day, Schoenberg discovered twelve-tone composition. But what exactly was Schoenberg's conception of twelve-tone composition in summer 1921? Recall that the date of Schoenberg's letter to Alma Mahler was 26 July 1921, and that the first draft of the Prelude from the Suite for

Piano, Op. 25, given in Figure 1.1, shows a starting date of 24 July 1921 and a completion date of 29 July 1921. Schoenberg must have been excited and confident about a compositional innovation he figured out midway through the Prelude—a new discovery so all-encompassing that it would assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years. From earlier compositions and sketches, it is certain that the new discovery was not the horizontal presentation of a twelve-tone row, nor the use of a twelve-tone aggregate field (chromatic completion), nor the use of the mirror transformations. As Bryan R. Simms, Fusako Hamao, Martha M. Hyde, Martina Sichardt, Ethan Haimo, Reinhold Brinkmann, Jan Maegaard, Josef Rufer, and many others have extensively shown in their varied studies of Schoenberg's works from the years leading up to the composition of the Suite for Piano, all of these "twelve-tone" ideas were already in play.¹ For example, a linear

¹ Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908–1923* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 179–219. Fusako Hamao, "The Origin and Development of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Method" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1988). Martha M. Hyde, "Musical Form and the Development of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Method," *Journal of Music Theory* 29 (1985): 85–139. Martina Sichardt, *Die Entstehung der Zwölftonmethode Arnold Schönbergs* (Mainz: Schott, 1990). Ethan Haimo, *Schoenberg's Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of his Twelve-tone Method, 1914–1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). *Werke für Klavier zu zwei Händen: Kritischer Bericht, Skizzen, Fragmente*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann, Arnold Schönberg Sämtliche Werke, ed. Josef Rufer, Abteilung II: Klavier- und Orgelmusik, Reihe B, Band 4 (Mainz: Schott and Vienna: Universal Edition, 1975), see commentary on Opp. 23, 24, and 25. Jan Maegaard, "A Study in the Chronology of op. 23–26 by Arnold Schoenberg," *Dansk årbog for musikforskning* 2 (1962): 93–115. Josef Rufer, *Composition with Twelve Notes Related Only to One Another*, 5th ed., trans. Humphrey Searle (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), 1–111.

presentation of a twelve-tone row can be found in the song of the Chosen One (Der Auserwählte), measures 361–63, at the center of the unfinished oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter*; the sketch of this passage is dated 2 September 1917.² A twelve-tone aggregate field (in this example, a combination of two hexachords) is found in “Seraphita,” the first of the Four Songs for Voice and Orchestra, Op. 22, measures 14–15; the first full draft of this orchestral song is dated 6 October 1913.³ The 1920 sketches for the Variations, the third movement of Schoenberg’s *Serenade*, Op. 24, show the use of mirror transformations and a tone row. Simms investigates these practices in his chapter “Composing with Tones,” as does Hamao in her dissertation chapter “The *Serenade* Op. 24 and Reordering Technique.” Simms writes:

² See Tito M. Tonietti, “Die Jakobsleiter, Twelve-Tone Music, and Schönberg’s Gods,” *Arnold Schönberg und sein Gott, Bericht zum Symposium 26.–29. Juni 2002*, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 5 (2003): 213–17. In “The Origin and Development of Schoenberg’s Twelve-Tone Method,” 38–50, Fusako Hamao offers a more thorough study of the Chosen One’s row and the compositional techniques Schoenberg used in the row. Surprisingly, Tonietti does not cite nor mention Hamao’s groundbreaking work, even stating, on p. 215, “What is somewhat surprising is that subsequently, this first row, placed at the central point of *Die Jakobsleiter*, was never to be explicitly mentioned again by the composer, or even noted by any of the large number of commentators.” Interestingly, the twelve-tone row for the Chosen One and the twelve-tone row for the *Suite for Piano*, Op. 25, are closely related. Both start with E and end on a B^b, both are constructed of Forte set class 6-2 hexachords, and both end with a Forte set class 4-1 (B–A–C–H) tetrachord.

³ Simms, 141–42. Simms also examines chromatic completion in Schoenberg’s *Symphony* fragment from 1914–1915 and in the opening of *Die Jakobsleiter*, 153–77. See also Fusako Hamao, “On the Origin of the Twelve-Tone Method: Schoenberg’s Sketches for the Unfinished *Symphony* (1914–1915),” *Current Musicology* 42 (1986): 32–45.

In his sketches beginning in 1920, he [Schoenberg] often labels the tones of a basic shape with the letter *T* for *Thema*, *U* (*Umkehrung*) for its inversion, *K* (*Krebs*) for its retrograde, or a combination of these.⁴

In her study, Hamao states:

A sudden change in Schoenberg's compositional technique occurred in the summer of 1920. For the first time in his compositions, he created the entire "Variationen" from only one row, using the two serial procedures that stemmed from the *Symphony* [fragment of 1914–1915].⁵

The sketches for the Variations, Op. 24, clearly show that Schoenberg was already utilizing all the elements of serial composition, but had not yet incorporated the use of a twelve-tone row. In "My Evolution" (1949), Schoenberg states:

When I took the next step in this transition towards composition with twelve tones, I called it 'working with tones'. This became more distinct in some of the piano pieces of Op. 23. . . . Still closer to twelve-tone composition is the variation movement [of the *Serenade*, Op. 24]. Its theme consists of 14 notes, because of the omission of one note, *B*, and the repetition of other notes. Here, for the first time, the 'consequent' [of the theme] consists of a retrograde repetition of the 'antecedent'. The following variations use inversions and retrograde inversions, diminutions and augmentations, canons of various kinds, and rhythmic shifts to different beats—in other words, all the technical tools of the

⁴ Simms, 197.

⁵ Hamao, "The Origin and Development of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Method," 172–73.

method are here, except the limitation to only twelve different tones.⁶

But was marrying a twelve-note basic shape to the technique of “working with tones” the new discovery that would assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years? Rufer’s 1959 publication of this “notorious remark,” as Taruskin calls it, will be celebrating its golden anniversary this year, but the wrong notion may be celebrated. The new discovery that Schoenberg made in summer 1921 was not simply the union of a twelve-note basic shape and the technique of working with tones. Sketches will show that Schoenberg was experimenting with much more complicated constructs, even on 26 July 1921, the day he wrote his letter to Alma Mahler, the only written record of the notorious remark. Some of these constructs were ultimately discarded and perhaps never shown to anyone, but are critical in understanding what changed in Schoenberg’s definition of twelve-tone composition and thus the twelve-tone compositions themselves in 1921, 1922, and 1923.

In “Priority” (1932) and “Composition with Twelve Tones (1)” (1941),

Schoenberg offers deeper glimpses into how he perceived twelve-tone

⁶ Arnold Schoenberg, “My Evolution” (1949), in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 89–91, quoted in Hamao, 172.

composition in the early 1920s. In “Priority,” Schoenberg states that the greatest step in his development of twelve-tone composition was not the incorporation of the twelve tones, but rather “*the invention of the countless means to create from a basic shape the themes and all remaining material*”:

Above all, my 12-tone composition is

1. Composition with rows (basic shape!! [Grundgestalt])
and
2. Composition with *one single* row:

I had already arrived at that earlier; just as I had already invented a 12-tone row earlier.

The greatest step was not to the 12 tones, but *the invention of the countless means*:

*to create from a basic shape the themes and all remaining material (quite apart from inversions and retrogrades and transpositions).
Here I am indisputably alone.⁷*

In “Composition with Twelve Tones (1),” Schoenberg reflects that at the early stages of twelve-tone composition, he was concerned with monotony and thus experimented with “complicated devices,” but that his worries were soon alleviated:

In the first works in which I employed this method, I was not yet convinced that the exclusive use of one set would not result in monotony. Would it allow the creation of a sufficient number of characteristically differentiated themes, phrases, motives, sentences, and other forms? At this time, I used complicated

⁷ Arnold Schoenberg, “Priority” (1932); translation in Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 239. See also Chapter 1, note 22.

devices to assure variety. But soon I discovered that my fear was unfounded.⁸

Schoenberg's contemporaneous thinking about unity and coherence in both the horizontal and vertical planes must also be taken into consideration, as must his belief that polyphony would pave the way. The 1921 revisions to his *Harmonielehre* (Theory of Harmony) textbook (published 1922) were completed by late June 1921 while Schoenberg was still in Mattsee, just before anti-Semitic sentiments drove his family to Traunkirchen.⁹ In the 1921 revisions, Schoenberg expands his theories on the twelve notes of the chromatic scale. In Part XIX,

⁸ Arnold Schoenberg, "Composition with Twelve Tones (1)" (1941), in *Style and Idea*, 224.

⁹ Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, trans. Roy E. Carter (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978; based on the 3rd rev. [1922] ed.). Schoenberg signs the Preface to the 3rd ed. (1922): "Mattsee bei Salzburg, 24 June 1921," see pp. 4–5 of the English translation. See also Berg's letter to Schoenberg of 28 June 1921 (Vienna): "I am so glad that you are so deeply immersed in your work, that you seem to have finished the *Harmonielehre* and that the *Jakobsleiter* is next." *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, ed. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1987), 306. Schoenberg moved from Mattsee to Traunkirchen on 14 July 1921. In a postcard from Schoenberg to Berg dated 16 July 1921 (Traunkirchen), Schoenberg writes: "Dearest friend, We've been here since the 14th. Toward the end it got very ugly in Mattsee." *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, 308. In a letter from Berg to his wife Helene on 30 June 1921, Berg quotes a passage from a column he read in the News Brief column of the *Neue Freie Presse*, headed 'Composer's Certificate of Baptism': "A significant summer experience of the well-known composer, Arnold Schoenberg, is reported by our correspondent in Graz. He had chosen Mattsee as a place to spend the summer and had recently been asked by the local town council to give documentary proof that he is not a Jew. Should he be one, he would have to leave the place at once, as by a decision of the Council, Jews are not permitted to stay there. Although Schoenberg could provide proof that he is a Protestant, he has decided to leave Mattsee. It is not at all surprising that the composer has preferred to avoid further arguments with the local authorities; but it remains highly questionable whether the laws of the country can be so casually set aside in Mattsee." Alban Berg, *Letters to His Wife*, ed., trans., and annotated by Bernard Grun (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), 291–92.

Chapter 8, "The Chromatic Scale as a Basis for Tonality," Schoenberg continues a thought from his previous 1911 edition of *Theory of Harmony* with a detailed outline of how tonality could be based on the chromatic, rather than major, scale. In 1911, Schoenberg abruptly ended this chapter with the following statement:¹⁰

A . . . more significant way, however, would be to work out an idea already mentioned in this book: to base our thought, not on the seven tones of the major scale, rather, on the twelve of the chromatic scale.

A future theory will undoubtedly follow that course; it would thereby reach the only correct solution to this otherwise difficult problem.

I will add here only one small detail. Somewhere I remarked that, in a certain sense, all chords can be vagrant. Little is left to say about that here, for in the schematic presentation we found a multitude of such possibilities, by virtue of which ordinary major, minor, and dominant seventh chords were used in progressions where we should least expect them. Even so, it should not be forgotten that these chords do after all have multiple meanings, merely because they appear in various keys. Besides, every major chord is identical with a Neapolitan sixth, every dominant seventh chord with an augmented six-five chord.¹¹

In the 1921 revisions to *Theory of Harmony*, Schoenberg adds a detailed outline of how a theory of tonality based on a chromatic scale could begin, incorporating horizontal and vertical dimensions to his paradigm, "For it is apparent, and will

¹⁰ See also Roy E. Carter, translator's preface to *Theory of Harmony*, xvii.

¹¹ Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, 387, note 1.

probably become increasingly clear, that we are turning to a new epoch of polyphonic style, and as in the earlier epochs, harmonies will be a product of the voice leading: justified solely by the melodic lines!"¹²

Figure 3.1 Arnold Schoenberg: *Theory of Harmony*
Outline for Theory of Tonality Based on the Chromatic Scale¹³

I. The raw material of all forms (*Gestalten*) produced by the connecting of tones is a series of twelve tones. (That there are twenty-one note names here, and that their presentation begins with *c*, is consistent with and derives from our imperfect notation; a more adequate notation will recognize only twelve note names and give an independent symbol for each.)

$\begin{array}{c} c \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ cb \quad c\# \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} d \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ db \quad d\# \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} e \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ eb \quad e\# \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} f \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ fb \quad f\# \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} g \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ gb \quad g\# \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} a \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ ab \quad a\# \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} b \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ bb \quad b\# \end{array}$
(cb) c c#	(db) d d#	(eb) e (e#)	(fb) f f#	(gb) g g#	(ab) a (a#)	(bb) b (b#)

II. From these twelve tones different scales may be formed ([listed here] in historical and pedagogical order):

1. twelve times seven church modes;
2. twelve major and twelve minor modes;
3. a number of exotic modes (and the like) that are not used in European art music;
4. twelve chromatic modes;
5. one chromatic mode.

III. For the sake of stylistic and formal completeness (*Geschlossenheit*) the characteristics that derive from the conditions peculiar to each scale are clearly worked out: Laws of tonality.

IV. Tonality is extended as follows:

- (a) through *imitating* and *copying from* each other the keys become more similar to one another;
- (b) similar things are considered *related* and are under certain conditions treated as identical (for example, chords over the same root).

¹² Ibid., 389.

¹³ Ibid., 387–89.

Figure 3.1, Continued

V. The reduction of the eighty-four church modes to twenty-four major and minor keys and the development of the relationship of these twenty-four keys to one another takes place as follows:

1. Horizontally.

- (a) Relationship, resting on identically and similarly constituted chords, divides the church modes into those like major and those like minor.
- (b) The mutual imitation of cadences allows the major to incorporate everything from the major-like church modes and the minor everything from the minor-like modes, and later also allows major and minor to approach one another so closely that they resemble one another from beginning to end.¹
- (c) Of the seven times eighty-four, i.e. 588, triads of the church modes, in part different, in part just differently related, a great many duplicate one another, hence are referred to a smaller number of keys, whereby seven times twelve, i.e. eighty-four, chords are left, chords referred to two types of key (major and minor); each chord, however, is found in several major and minor keys;
- (d) the chord relationship mentioned under (a) and
- (e) that through common roots bring about closer ties with the keys that lie one, three, and four steps away in the circle of fifths;
- (f) by virtue of the smaller number of boundaries and the simplified character of the keys; by virtue of the multiple meaning of chords and scale segments and the extensive implications of this ambiguity; by virtue of the diminished triads that emerged from the necessities of the scale together with the corresponding seventh chords (free imitation of the natural triad) and their imitation on other degrees – by virtue of all that the more remote keys are also made more accessible (those two, five, and six steps removed in the circle of fifths).

2. Vertically.

The vertical aspect assumes some of the burden of the horizontal by the use of four and five-part chords. A seventh chord, since it introduces four tones of the scale, contributes a third² more to the key definition than a triad, a ninth chord two thirds more.*

VI. Transition from twelve major and twelve minor keys to twelve chromatic keys.

This transition is fully accomplished in the music of Wagner, the harmonic significance of which has not yet by any means been theoretically formulated.

VII. The polytonal chromatic scale.

Up to and including point V this outline corresponds to the course of my book. For a number of reasons, stated at various places, I shall go no farther. Here I should like to add yet another reason. I believe that continued evolution of the theory of harmony is not to be expected at present. Modern music that uses chords of six or more parts seems to be at a stage corresponding to the first epoch of polyphonic music. Accordingly, one might reach conclusions concerning the constitution of chords through a procedure similar to figured bass more easily than one could clarify their function by the methods of reference to degrees. For it is apparent, and will probably become increasingly clear, that we are turning to a new epoch of polyphonic style, and as in the earlier

Figure 3.1, Continued

epochs, harmonies will be a product of the voice leading: justified solely by the melodic lines!

The literary art takes pains to express ideas clearly and comprehensively with the smallest number of words consistent with its content, selected, considered, and set down according to that content. In music, along with the content of its smallest components (tone, tone progressions, motive, *Gestalt* [pattern, figure], phrase, etc.), there is an additional means of economy available, the possibility of sounding simultaneously. Perhaps for this reason it says more to everyone than do the other arts. Anyway, the value of our present-day musical achievements is, so considered, unmistakable and independent of the taste of the times. The method can change: the goal is constant.

[¹ *bis auf Anfang und Schluss* could also be translated as ‘except at the beginning and end’.]

[² One might suppose Schoenberg meant the interval of a third, *Tert*; but the word he used in this sentence is *Drittel*, the fraction.]

* Multipartite chords and real polyphony, rightly understood, do not serve to make an otherwise uninteresting piece modern, rather, to hasten the pace of presentation.

Schoenberg reiterates this outlook on polyphony in a largely expanded footnote found in the Appendix of *Theory of Harmony*:

Hence, there all polyphony is probably at best in its early, tentative stage, comparable to the initial stage of polyphony in our music several centuries ago. In the meantime our music has rather exhaustively exploited the possible relations of seven tones, not just in one voice, but in several voices, and with the concurrent refinement of motivic logic besides. And now our music is about to attempt the same with twelve tones. . . . Nevertheless, twelve tones squared by the second dimension, polyphony, presumably yield just as many combinations as twenty-four tones that are combined monophonically, in only one dimension.¹⁴

¹⁴ Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, Appendix: 424–25. This is an “important (and long) footnote by the author” from Part IV: The Major Mode and the Diatonic Chords, 25. The twenty-four tones refer to Schoenberg’s speculations, earlier in the note, on whether or not the twelve semitones should each be divided in half.

In a postcard to Berg written on 16 July 1921 — about a week before the sketches and first draft of the Prelude, Op. 25 — Schoenberg mentions that he was in the middle of a text on coherence (*Zusammenhang*):

Now I want to continue working here [Traunkirchen]. I had already written the first 10 pages of *Zusammenhang*. I hope I can get back into it again soon.¹⁵

Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris clarify Schoenberg's statement with a footnote suggesting that the "first 10 pages of *Zusammenhang*" form part of the incomplete *Zusammenhang, Kontrapunkt, Instrumentation, und Formenlehre* (ZKIF):¹⁶

Schoenberg's work on a book dealing with the topic of coherence (*Zusammenhang*) dated back to a 1917 plan for a four-volume work on the subjects of coherence, counterpoint, instrumentation, and form (*Zusammenhang, Kontrapunkt, Instrumentation, und Formenlehre*).¹⁷

In a paper presented at the 1998 Society for Music Theory (SMT) conference, however, Fusako Hamao proposes that these "10 pages of *Zusammenhang*" are not part of ZKIF, but rather the opening to a "small book titled *Lehre vom*

¹⁵ *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, 308. See also note 9.

¹⁶ See Arnold Schoenberg, *ZKIF: Zusammenhang, Kontrapunkt, Instrumentation, Formenlehre / Coherence, Counterpoint, Instrumentation, Instruction in Form*, trans. Charlotte M. Cross and Severine Neff (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

¹⁷ *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, 308, note 2.

musikalischen Zusammenhang,” catalogued in Schoenberg’s list of “Unfinished Theoretical Works,” to which Schoenberg referred in his letters and writings between 1922 and 1924.¹⁸ Hamao writes:

In his letter to Berg dated July 16, 1921, Schoenberg stated that he had completed the first 10 pages of *Zusammenhang*. However, Schoenberg could not have been referring to the *ZKIF* manuscript since the dated pages in his index that deal with the topic of *Zusammenhang* in *ZKIF* sum to nearly 30, all of which were completed before 1921. Therefore, we can assume that Schoenberg began writing a separate manuscript on *Zusammenhang* after *ZKIF*, and that the first 10 pages of this separate manuscript were written before July 16, 1921.¹⁹

Meanwhile, in “Arnold Schoenberg’s Work on Coherence and the Development of his Twelve-Tone Method” (2003), Hamao explores the connection between Bach’s contrapuntal writing and Schoenberg’s early experiments with twelve-tone composition in the Prelude, proposing that Schoenberg contended that a return to counterpoint in the style of Bach’s fugal writing would pave the path to

¹⁸ Fusako Hamao, “From ‘*Zusammenhang*’ to ‘*musikalische Zusammenhang*’: Schoenberg’s *Gedanke* Manuscripts” (paper presented at the 1998 Society for Music Theory Conference), 1. See ASC Schönberg Archive: Text Document T37.05–08. See also Josef Rufer, *The Works of Arnold Schoenberg: A Catalogue of his Compositions, Writing and Paintings*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), 137 and Arnold Schoenberg, *The Musical Idea and the Logic, Technique, and Art of Its Presentation*, ed., trans., and with a commentary by Patricia Carpenter and Severine Neff (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 403–7.

¹⁹ Hamao, 1.

composition with twelve semitones.²⁰ Hamao demonstrates that the opening of Schoenberg's Prelude, Op. 25, imitates the opening of Bach's Fugue in C# Major, WTC II, BWV 872, a "three-voice stretto fugue":

Figure 3.2 Fusako Hamao
J. S. Bach: Fugue in C# Major, WTC II, BWV 872 (excerpt)
Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude (excerpt)²¹

Example 7: J. S. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier Book II*, Fugue No. 3 in C-sharp Major, mm. 1-2

The image displays a musical score for the first two measures of J.S. Bach's Fugue in C-sharp Major, BWV 872. The score is written for piano in treble and bass clefs. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is common time (C). The first measure (mm. 1-2) shows the 'Theme (T)' in the bass clef. The second measure shows the 'Answer (D)' in the treble clef. The third measure shows the 'Inversion of the theme (U)' in the bass clef. Brackets and labels identify these three distinct voices.

²⁰ Fusako Hamao, "Prelude of the Suite for Piano, Op. 25 and 'Bach's Family Secret of the Art of the Fugue,'" excerpt from "Arnold Schoenberg's Work on Coherence and the Development of his Twelve-Tone Method," (working paper, 2003). The present author would like to thank Dr. Hamao again for sharing her research and pending publications.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Examples 7 and 8.

Figure 3.2, Continued

Example 8: Schoenberg's Prelude from the *Suite*, Op. 25, mm. 1-5

The image shows a musical score for Schoenberg's Prelude from the Suite, Op. 25, measures 1-5. The score is in 6/8 time, marked 'Rasch' with a tempo of quarter note = 80. It features a 'Theme (T)' in the first system and an 'Answer (D)' in the second system. The 'Answer (D)' is marked as an 'Inversion of the theme'. The score includes dynamic markings such as p, pp, and ff, and articulation marks like accents and slurs. A circled '5' is present above the second system.

Later in the paper, Hamao also elucidates the similarities between the thematic material from the Prelude, Op. 25, and the thematic material from Contrapunctus I of Bach's *Art of the Fugue*, supplying additional examples of Bachian influences.²² Although a thorough discussion of Hamao's findings is beyond the

²² In Schoenberg's personal copy of J. S. Bach, *Art of the Fugue*, ed. Carl Czerny (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1840), ASC Schönberg Archive: Box B7, a lesson plan for fugal writing and analysis, along with a list of students and their assigned topics, can be found. The names of the pupils place the lesson plan between 1919 and 1921. The Bach entry in the ASC Reference List for items in Schoenberg's personal library describes the document as: "One double leaf ms. in blue ink containing an outline for lessons in writing fugues (not in Schoenberg's hand); 2 smaller sheets inserted in the double leaf written in pencil on 2 different types of graph paper by Schoenberg; one is a brief lesson outline, and the other is a list of pupils' names (Karl Rankl, Olga Novakovic, Max Deutsch, Josef Travnicek [Trauneck], Hanns Eisler and Fritz Kaltenborn) assigning to them

scope of this dissertation, they show that coherence through the merging of the twelve tones of the chromatic scale and Bachian contrapuntal techniques was foremost in Schoenberg's mind at the time of the new discovery on 26 July 1921.²³

The Prelude from Suite for Piano, Op. 25, appears to satisfy the various elements outlined in the 1921 revisions for Part XIX, Chapter 8, "The Chromatic Scale as a Basis for Tonality" in *Theory of Harmony* (see Figure 3.1 above), while simultaneously displaying many references to Bach's fugal writing, not to mention his name—the retrograde of the last four notes spell B–A–C–H. The Prelude opens with the expected horizontal statement of a twelve-tone row in the right hand, but the twelve-tone row in this movement is not treated as an integral unit when undergoing the mirror transformations of retrograde, inversion, and retrograde inversion. Instead, the twelve-tone row in the Prelude

topics from the outline; these mss. must date from the period 1919–1921." Amazingly, the order of names (first occurrence of each name) is exactly the same as in a Schoenberg time-table (undated), reproduced in H. H. Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: John Calder, 1977), 256–58.

²³ For recent scholarship discussing the relationship between Schoenberg and Bach, see articles by Áine C. Heneghan, "An Affinity with Bach: Form and Function in Schönberg's 'New Polyphony'" and Ethan Haimo, "Schönberg, Bach, and B–A–C–H," *Schachzüge Arnold Schönbergs: Dodekaphonie und Spiele-Konstruktionen, Bericht zum Symposium 3.–5. Juni 2004*, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 7 (2005): 99–123 and 85–98.

is conceived as a set of three adjoining but independent tetrachords that merge to form horizontal presentations of the twelve-tone row as well as twelve-tone aggregate fields. Schoenberg uses the four basic mirror forms in their prime form (P_0) and their transposition at the tritone (P_6) as a dominant substitute.²⁴ These traits are certainly not characteristic of Schoenberg's mature twelve-tone compositional techniques, but were they the new discovery?²⁵ The properties of the Op. 25 twelve-tone row are eloquently stated in contemporary essays written by members of Schoenberg's Viennese circle; they must have been important enough to Schoenberg that he shared its characteristics with his colleagues and students. In "New Formal Principles (1924)," Erwin Stein writes:

The Piano Suite shows very strict style—so far perhaps Schoenberg's strictest. All six movements—Prelude, Gavotte, Musette, Intermezzo, Minuet, and Gigue—are based on the same three basic shapes of four notes each, which together form a twelve-note row: E–F–G–D^b, G^b–E^b–A^b–D, and B–C–A–B^b. They are inverted (B^b–A–G–D^b, A^b–C^b–G^b–C, E^b–D–F–E) and used in both retrograde motions. (Incidentally, the retrograde form of the third basic shape yields the letters of Bach's name! [B^b–A–C–B is B–A–C–H in German]). In addition, the basic shapes and their mirror forms appear in quasi-dominant versions on the diminished fifth (the centre of the chromatic scale). There are no other transpositions; the twenty-four forms thus obtained provide the notes for all the melodic and harmonic events in the six

²⁴ Schoenberg's later twelve-works favor the transposition at the perfect fifth (P_7).

²⁵ For a discussion on Schoenberg's mature twelve-tone compositional techniques, see Haimo, *Schoenberg's Serial Odyssey*, 106–82.

movements. The single motifs may appear as vertical successions of notes, i.e. as two two-note chords or—comfortably on the piano—in the shape of three-note chords with neighbour-notes before or after; nor are they rare as four-note chords. At the outset of each piece, the three shapes are exposed in their straight forms, but in the further course of events the order of their notes is often drastically changed. The three basic shapes appear almost always as a group comprising the complete row. Their arrangement may bring about both the melodic continuation of the first motif and, vertically, the movements of parts of chords.²⁶

The 1925 English edition of Egon Wellesz's 1921 Schoenberg biography echoes

Stein's passage:

In them [the works from 1920–1924] are included new compositions to which Schönberg has given the title *das Komponieren mit den 12 Tönen*, whose principles are revealed in a series of note-circles. The *Dance Suite for Piano*, Op. 25, consists of six pieces: *Präludium*, *Gavotte*, *Musette*, *Intermezzo*, *Menuett*, and *Gigue*. They all rest on the same three ground-figures made by four notes, which taken altogether produce the twelve-tone (dodecuple) scale—E–F–G–D flat, G flat–E flat–A flat–D, and B (H in German)–C–A–B flat. From them are derived the inverted formulae B [flat]–A–G–D flat, A flat–C flat–G flat–C, E flat–D–F–E. Two *Cancrizans* are formed by taking the notes backwards. With the third ground-figure, the letters B A C H are produced. In addition, the ground-figure and its transformations appear in a quasi-dominant form on the “diminished fifth,” the centre of the dodecuple scale. All the melodic and harmonic events, which appear in these six pieces, arise out of the actual twenty-four forms already derived. The separate four-note motives appear sometimes melodically as a succession of notes, sometimes as two two-part chords, occasionally as what, on the piano, would be a comfortable

²⁶ Erwin Stein, “New Formal Principles” (1924), trans. Hans Keller, in *Orpheus in New Guises* (London: Rockliff, 1953), 74.

arpeggio stretch of three notes with an added grace-note before or after; and actual four-part chords made from them are not rare.²⁷

But does the Prelude, Op. 25, satisfy the following Schoenberg claim? “In the first works in which I employed this method, I was not yet convinced that the exclusive use of one set would not result in monotony. Would it allow the creation of a sufficient number of characteristically differentiated themes, phrases, motives, sentences, and other forms? At this time, I used complicated devices to assure variety.”²⁸

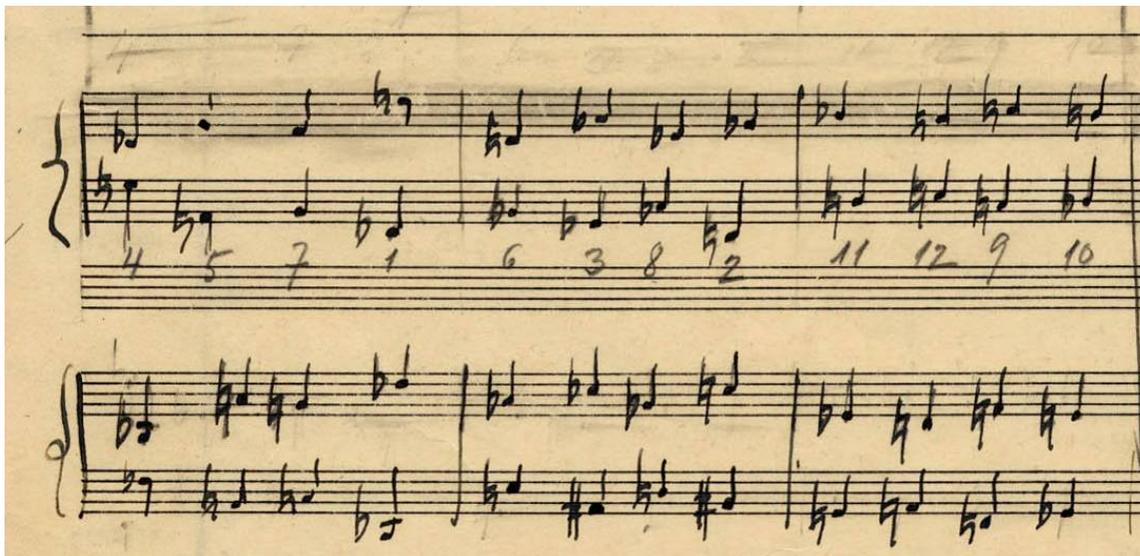
A closer examination of the Prelude, Op. 25, shows that although most of the piece can be analyzed in a straightforward manner by labeling each tetrachord, there are a few measures that seem to defy analysis, causing theorists to create complicated schematic drawings in an attempt to fit each note into a tetrachord.

²⁷ Egon Wellesz, *Arnold Schönberg*, trans. W. H. Kerridge, ed. A. Eaglefield-Hull (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons and New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925), 147–48. It is not clear whether this passage was written by Wellesz, Kerridge, or Eaglefield-Hull. In the Editor’s Preface, Eaglefield-Hull states: “Hitherto, the chief source of information regarding Arnold Schönberg has been Dr. Wellesz’s small book, first published in Vienna in 1921. At my request the author has revised this book, and in the process of revision has added so extensively to it that the present study of the composer is practically a new work. I have acted on the author’s suggestion that I should add some additional information on the compositions belonging to the 1920–24 period.” Curiously, in the 1971 reprint of the biography with a new chapter (Preface) by Egon Wellesz, this passage has been deleted. A plausible explanation is that the 1924–25 description of the Op. 25 twelve-tone row was no longer relevant in respect to the construction of twelve-tone rows in later Schoenberg compositions. Egon Wellesz, *Arnold Schoenberg: The Formative Years*, with a new chapter by the author (London: Galliard and New York: Galaxy Music, 1971).

²⁸ See the passage by Schoenberg cited in note 8.

But as twelve-tone composition inherently exhausts the twelve notes of the chromatic field before repeating a tone, it is always possible to make three groups of four notes by circling the pitches necessary. But what if there were elegant explanations to these stubborn measures, complicated devices to assure variety? In order to discuss the complicated devices, the basic components of the row used in the Prelude must first be understood. Note that, as described in Stein's "New Formal Principles" and the 1925 English-language edition of Wellesz's 1921 Schoenberg biography, Schoenberg uses a twelve-tone row, E-F-G-D^b-G^b-E^b-A^b-D-B-C-A-B^b, pitch class numbers [4,5,7,1,6,3,8,2,11,0,9,10], in the Suite for Piano, Op. 25. The twelve-tone row comprises three tetrachords (groups of four notes), and Schoenberg uses the twelve-tone row in its prime form and its mirror forms (inversion, retrograde, and retrograde inversion), as well as their transposition at the tritone. In the manuscript sources for the Suite for Piano, several sketches can be found that show Schoenberg's division of the Op. 25 twelve-tone row into three tetrachords; see Figures 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 below:

Figure 3.3 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
Twelve-Tone Rows Divided into Tetrachords²⁹



The second stave of the first system in Figure 3.3 shows the Op. 25 twelve-tone row (basic set), divided into three tetrachords at the bar lines (Schoenberg indicates the pitch-class numbers beneath the notes), while the first stave of the first system gives the retrograde of each tetrachord directly above the original tetrachords. Figure 3.3a shows the relationship of the two staves in the first system of Figure 3.3 by pitch-class numbers:

²⁹ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27j; <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27jr.jpg>.

Figure 3.3a Row at P_0 and the Retrogrades (R_0) of its TetrachordsLet $C = 0, C^\# = 1$, etc.

R_0												
	1	7	5	4	2	8	3	6	10	9	0	11
	4	5	7	1	6	3	8	2	11	0	9	10
P_0												

Figure 3.3b shows the relationship of the two staves in the second system of Figure 3.3 by pitch-class numbers. The first staff of the second system gives the inversion of the original row at I_6 (tritone), while the second staff of the second system gives the retrograde of each tetrachord directly below the I_6 tetrachords.

Figure 3.3b Row at I_6 and the Retrogrades (RI_6) of its TetrachordsLet $C = 0, C^\# = 1$, etc.

I_6												
	10	9	7	1	8	11	6	0	3	2	5	4
	1	7	9	10	0	6	11	8	4	5	2	3
RI_6												

The row complexes in Figure 3.3 clearly show that Schoenberg was not yet thinking about the twelve-tone row as a structural unit, but rather as a compilation of three tetrachords, since the retrogrades (R_0 and RI_6) are performed

at the tetrachord level, not as a literal reverse ordering of the linear presentation of the Op. 25 twelve-tone row forms (P_0 and I_6).³⁰

On the same sheet of manuscript paper, to the right of the two two-stave systems shown in Figure 3.3, Schoenberg arranges the three tetrachords of P_0 , the retrogrades of its tetrachords (R_0), the three tetrachords of I_6 , and the retrogrades of its tetrachords (RI_6) into blocks of three rows of four notes, creating four tri-tetrachordal complexes, shown in Figure 3.4 below and transcribed into pitch-class blocks in Figures 3.4a, b, c, and d. In this set of row complexes, Schoenberg uses the German abbreviations for tonic = T (Tonika or Thema), retrograde = K (Krebs), inversion = U (Umkehrung), and retrograde inversion = KU (Krebsumkehrung).³¹

³⁰ For transcriptions and thorough analyses of the sketches for the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, see Brinkmann, 64–95.

³¹ For a discussion of whether or not T = Tonika or Thema, and also whether or not D = Dominante, see Heneghan, “An Affinity with Bach,” 108, note 42; Heneghan cites Brinkmann, Hyde, and Sichardt. See also Hamao, “The Origin and Development of Schoenberg’s Twelve-Tone Method,” 244 and the passage by Simms cited in note 4.

Figure 3.4 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 P_0 = T Row and R_0 = K Row Arranged into Tetrachords
 I_6 = U Row and RI_6 = KU Row Arranged into Tetrachords³²

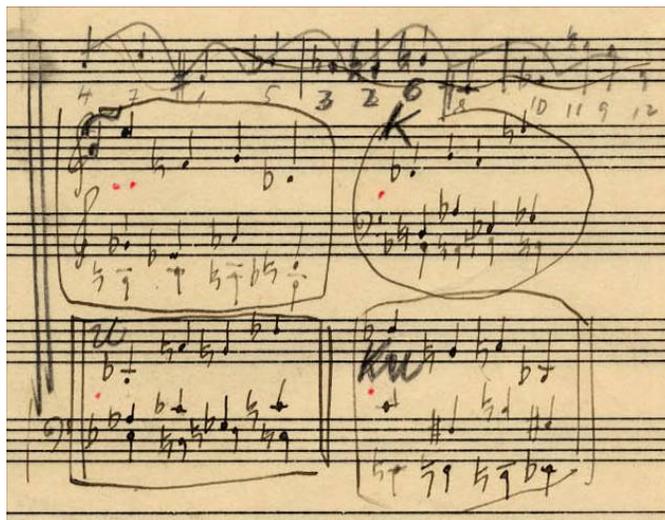


Figure 3.4a
 P_0 = T Tetrachords

T			
4	5	7	1
6	3	8	2
11	0	9	10

Figure 3.4b
 R_0 (Retrograde of P_0) = K Tetrachords

K			
1	7	5	4
2	8	3	6
10	9	0	11

Figure 3.4c
 I_6 = U Tetrachords

U			
10	9	7	1
8	11	6	0
3	2	5	4

Figure 3.4d
 RI_6 (Retrograde of I_6) = KU Tetrachords

KU			
1	7	9	10
0	6	11	8
4	5	2	3

³² ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27J^r.

Again on the same sheet of manuscript paper, directly below the four tri-tetrachordal complexes shown in Figure 3.4, Schoenberg transposes at the tritone each of these four tri-tetrachordal complexes that he has labeled T, K, U, and KU, creating four new sets of tri-tetrachordal complexes that he labels D, DK, DU, DUK, as shown in Figure 3.5 below and transcribed into pitch class blocks in Figures 3.5a, b, c, and d. Here, Schoenberg is using dominant = D (Dominante).³³

Figure 3.5 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 $P_6 = D$ Row and $R_6 = DK$ Row Arranged into Tetrachords
 $I_0 = DU$ Row and $RI_0 = DUK$ Row Arranged into Tetrachords³⁴



³³ See note 31.

³⁴ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27J^r.

Figure 3.5a

 $P_6 = D$ Tetrachords

D			
10	11	1	7
0	9	2	8
5	6	3	4

Figure 3.5b

 R_6 (Retrograde of P_6) = DK Tetrachords

DK			
7	1	11	10
8	2	9	0
4	3	6	5

Figure 3.5c

 $I_0 = DU$ Tetrachords

DU			
4	3	1	7
2	5	0	6
9	8	11	10

Figure 3.5d

 RI_0 (Retrograde of I_0) = DUK Tetrachords

DUK			
7	1	3	4
6	0	5	2
10	11	8	9

Schoenberg further refines the arrangement of his tri-tetrachordal complexes

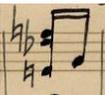
found in Figures 3.4 and 3.5 above and clarifies the relationship between the

$T = P_0$ and $U = I_6$ forms of the row and between their retrograde forms by using

the designation TU for U and TUK for KU, as shown in Figure 3.6 below:

Figure 3.6 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 “Tonic” and “Dominant” Tri-Tetrachordal Complexes³⁵

This sketch definitively demonstrates that Schoenberg paired $T = P_0$ with $TU = I_6$,

and $D = P_6$ with $DU = I_0$. (The  rhythmic figure between each tetrachord

and its retrograde will be discussed later in this chapter.) To aid the following

discussion, the rows will be laid out horizontally, paired as Schoenberg

designates, and segmented in tetrachords in Figures 3.7 and 3.8.

³⁵ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27H,
<http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27h.jpg>.

Figure 3.7 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 $P_0 = T$ and $I_6 = TU$ "Tonic" Row Pair with Retrogrades
 Segmented into Tetrachords (a), (b), (c)

$P_0(a) = T(a) \rightarrow$ $\leftarrow R_0(a) = TK(a)$ 4 5 7 1 10 9 7 1 $\leftarrow RI_6(a) = TUK(a)$ $I_6(a) = TU(a) \rightarrow$	$P_0(b) = T(b) \rightarrow$ $\leftarrow R_0(b) = TK(b)$ 6 3 8 2 8 11 6 0 $\leftarrow RI_6(b) = TUK(b)$ $I_6(b) = TU(b) \rightarrow$	$P_0(c) = T(c) \rightarrow$ $\leftarrow R_0(c) = TK(c)$ 11 0 9 10 3 2 5 4 $\leftarrow RI_6(c) = TUK(c)$ $I_6(c) = TU(c) \rightarrow$
---	---	--

Figure 3.8 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 $P_6 = D$ and $I_0 = DU$ "Dominant" Row Pair with Retrogrades
 Segmented into Tetrachords (a), (b), (c)

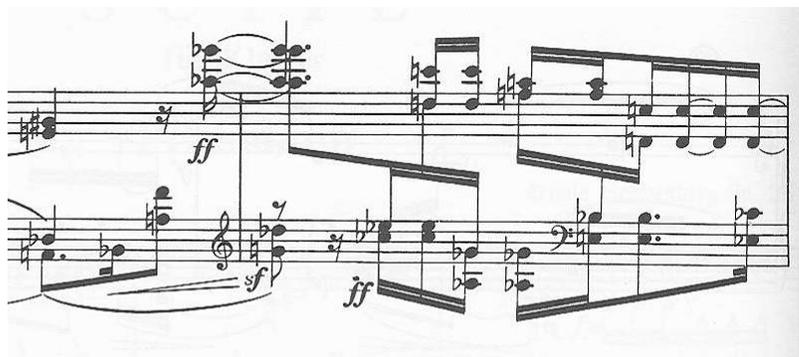
$P_6(a) = D(a) \rightarrow$ $\leftarrow R_6(a) = DK(a)$ 10 11 1 7 4 3 1 7 $\leftarrow RI_0(a) = DUK(a)$ $I_0(a) = DU(a) \rightarrow$	$P_6(b) = D(b) \rightarrow$ $\leftarrow R_6(b) = DK(b)$ 0 9 2 8 2 5 0 6 $\leftarrow RI_0(b) = DUK(b)$ $I_0(b) = DU(b) \rightarrow$	$P_6(c) = D(c) \rightarrow$ $\leftarrow R_6(c) = DK(c)$ 5 6 3 4 9 8 11 10 $\leftarrow RI_0(c) = DUK(c)$ $I_0(c) = DU(c) \rightarrow$
--	---	--

As mentioned previously, the tetrachordal organization in most of the Prelude, Op. 25, can be easily analyzed. The plan for the Prelude is rather straightforward, with each presentation of the twelve tones always completed immediately, within one to two measures, in an aggregate field of three

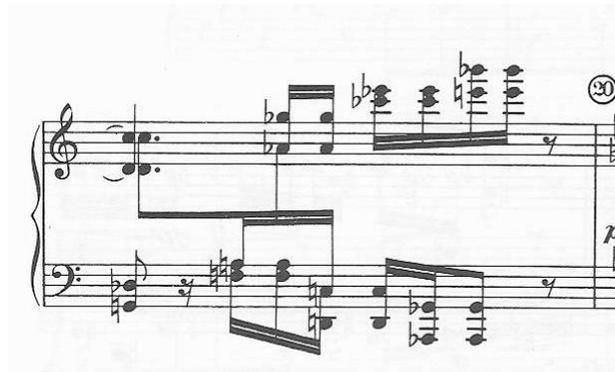
tetrachords.³⁶ The analysis becomes more complex in measures 17½–19, the climax of the movement:

Figure 3.9 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measures 17½ (4th beat in 6/8 time)–19³⁷

mm. 17–18



m. 19



³⁶ For a complete tetrachordal and twelve-tone row analysis of the Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, see the Appendix. See also, Hanns Jelinek, *Anhang zu Hanns Jelinek Anleitung zur Zwölftonkomposition: Tabellen und Kompositionsbeispiele von Schoenberg, Webern und Jelinek* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1952–1958), Beilage LIV: 1–3.

³⁷ Arnold Schoenberg, *Suite für Klavier, Op. 25* (Los Angeles: Belmont Music Publishers, 1925 and 1952), BEL-1035, Prelude: 4–6.

At this point, interpretations differ; Jan Maegaard, in his *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen Satzes bei Arnold Schönberg: Notenbeilage*, carefully delineates which tones belong to each tetrachord, unveiling the multiple layers that Schoenberg uses in these three measures. (Maegaard uses 1, 2, and 3 instead of a, b, and c to label the tetrachords within each of the eight row forms):

Figure 3.10 Jan Maegaard
Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measures 17½ (4th beat in 6/8 time)–19: Tetrachord Analysis³⁸

m. 17

Handwritten musical notation for measure 17. The notation is on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). Above the staff, two tetrachords are labeled T1 and T2. Below the staff, two tetrachords are labeled TU1 and TU2. The notes are grouped into these four tetrachords.

mm. 18–19

Handwritten musical notation for measures 18 and 19. The notation is on a grand staff. Above the staff, labels include (T1), (T2), TK3, D1, D2, and D3. Below the staff, labels include (TU1), (TU2), TUk3, DU1, DU2, and DU3. The notation shows complex rhythmic patterns and tetrachordal structures across the two measures.

As seen in Maegaard's labeling, the first part of this passage combines the $T = P_0$ with the $TU = I_6$ area, and the second part of this passage combines the $D = P_6$ and

³⁸ Jan Maegaard, *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen Satzes bei Arnold Schönberg: Notenbeilage* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1972), 83.

DU = I₀ areas, conforming to Schoenberg's pairing of T = P₀ with TU = I₆ and his pairing of D = P₆ with DU = I₀ in his sketches. Maegaard has individually plucked notes from the total field to assign them to a tetrachord, crossing and re-crossing voices, making the analysis not wholly satisfying. Measures 17½–19 of the Prelude, Op. 25, have intrigued several later theorists, producing disparate analytical solutions.³⁹ Could there be a straightforward explanation of how Schoenberg conceived measures 17½–19? If such an explanation could be found, could this be the new discovery of 26 July 1921? Are these measures an example of how Schoenberg used "complicated devices" to assure variety in his first twelve-tone works?

³⁹ See Hamao, "The Origin and Development of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Method," 247–49. Hamao demonstrates that mm. 17½–19 exploit the use of invariant properties—in particular, a symmetric arrangement of invariant dyads. Hamao augments Hyde's examination of invariant dyads in Op. 25 in Martha M. Hyde, "Musical Form and the Development of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Method," 110–39; here, Hyde also explores Schoenberg's use of the Forte set class 6-2 hexachord as a unifying harmonic field throughout Op. 25. See also Richard Kurth, "Mosaic Polyphony: Formal balance, Imbalance, and Phrase Formation in the Prelude of Schoenberg's Suite, Op. 25," *Music Theory Spectrum* 14 (1992): 188–208. Kurth extends Hamao's ideas about the use of symmetrical invariant dyads in mm. 17½–19, by examining the mosaic polyphony and symmetrical properties of this passage in terms of interval content, invariant dyads, row order placement, and rhythm. (Kurth, in note 1, refers readers to Donald Martino, "The Source Set and Its Aggregate Formations," *Journal of Music Theory* 5 (1961): 224–73 and Andrew Mead, "Some Implications of the Pitch Class/Order Number Isomorphism Inherent in the Twelve-Tone System: Part One," *Perspectives of New Music* 26 (1988): 96–163 for a working definition of *mosaic*.) Kurth reaches the same conclusion as the present author, but through a thorough theoretical analysis, as opposed to a simple visual observation.

A step toward answering these questions is taken by looking again at the P_0 - I_6 “tonic” and P_6 - I_0 “dominant” pairings, as shown above in Figures 3.7 and 3.8. In Figure 3.11, both tonic and dominant pairings are shown:

Figure 3.11 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 Row Analysis
 P_0 and I_6 “Tonic” Row Pair with Retrogrades
 P_6 and I_0 “Dominant” Row Pair with Retrogrades
 Segmented into Tetrachords (a), (b), (c)

Tonic											
$P_0(a) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow R_0(a)$	$P_0(b) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow R_0(b)$	$P_0(c) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow R_0(c)$						
$I_6(a) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow RI_6(a)$	$I_6(b) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow RI_6(b)$	$I_6(c) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow RI_6(c)$						
4	5	7	1	6	3	8	2	11	0	9	10
10	9	7	1	8	11	6	0	3	2	5	4
10	11	1	7	0	9	2	8	5	6	3	4
4	3	1	7	2	5	0	6	9	8	11	10
$P_6(a) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow R_6(a)$	$P_6(b) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow R_6(b)$	$P_6(c) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow R_6(c)$						
$I_0(a) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow RI_0(a)$	$I_0(b) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow RI_0(b)$	$I_0(c) \rightarrow$	$\leftarrow RI_0(c)$						
Dominant											

Grouping the vertical dyads found in each of the row pairs and labeling them with lower-case roman numerals, i to xii for the tonic-row-pair vertical dyads and i to xii for the dominant-row-pair vertical dyads, produces the scheme found in Figure 3.12 below.

Figure 3.12 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 Row Analysis
 P₀-I₆ "Tonic" and P₆-I₀ "Dominant" Row Pairs
 Boxed into Vertical Dyads

Let **i** (tonic) = P₀-I₆ row-pair vertical dyad 1
 Let **ii** (tonic) = P₀-I₆ row-pair vertical dyad 2, etc.
 Let **i** (dominant) = P₆-I₀ row-pair vertical dyad 1
 Let **ii** (dominant) = P₆-I₀ row-pair vertical dyad 2, etc.

Tonic											
P ₀ (a)→		←R ₀ (a)		P ₀ (b)→		←R ₀ (b)		P ₀ (c)→		←R ₀ (c)	
I ₆ (a)→		←RI ₆ (a)		I ₆ (b)→		←RI ₆ (b)		I ₆ (c)→		←RI ₆ (c)	
4	5	7	1	6	3	8	2	11	0	9	10
10	9	7	1	8	11	6	0	3	2	5	4
i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
<u>i</u>	<u>ii</u>	<u>iii</u>	<u>iv</u>	<u>v</u>	<u>vi</u>	<u>vii</u>	<u>viii</u>	<u>ix</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>xi</u>	<u>xii</u>
10	11	1	7	0	9	2	8	5	6	3	4
4	3	1	7	2	5	0	6	9	8	11	10
Dominant											
P ₆ (a)→		←R ₆ (a)		P ₆ (b)→		←R ₆ (b)		P ₆ (c)→		←R ₆ (c)	
I ₀ (a)→		←RI ₀ (a)		I ₀ (b)→		←RI ₀ (b)		I ₀ (c)→		←RI ₀ (c)	

Using these boxed vertical dyads, an analysis of measures 17 ½–19 will show that Schoenberg was thinking "two-dimensionally" (see Figure 3.13 below).

Figure 3.13 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
 Measures 17½ (4th beat in 6/8 time)–19
 Boxed into “Tonic” and “Dominant” Vertical Dyads

Let i (tonic) = P₀–I₆ row-pair vertical dyad 1
 Let ii (tonic) = P₀–I₆ row-pair vertical dyad 2, etc.
 Let i (dominant) = P₆–I₀ row-pair vertical dyad 1
 Let ii (dominant) = P₆–I₀ row-pair vertical dyad 2, etc.

mm. 17–18

v viii xi x

i ii iii, iv vi vii xii & i ix & ii

m. 19

v x xi xii

iii, iv vi ix vii viii

A quick visual scan of the boxed groups will show that Schoenberg moves in order through the vertical dyads, once from *i* through *xii* and once from *i* through *xii*, thus dispensing with the formation of the tonic and dominant aggregates in row pairs. As in the case of some of the original tri-tetrachordal complexes, the order within each two-layer tetrachord is permuted. As noted earlier, up until this point in the Prelude, Op. 25, Schoenberg completes every presentation of each form of the row within the immediate vicinity; the vertical dyadic reading of measures 17½–19 continues this technique, albeit in a different way.⁴⁰ Again on the same sheet of manuscript paper that Schoenberg used for the sketches reproduced in Figures 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 above, Schoenberg provides a row outline of the first nineteen measures of the Prelude, Op. 25 (see Figure 3.14 below), and shows that he was indeed thinking in two-row pairs and tonic and dominant regions.

⁴⁰ In addition, mm. 18 and 19 share the same rhythmic figure; see Kurth, 202–6. Kurth suggests that the mosaic rhythm can be seen as a set of palindromes. Also, a straightforward tetrachord presentation of *P*₀ is found in m. 20 and of *I*₆ in m. 21; the tetrachords are unfolded with their retrogrades as shown in Schoenberg's sketches above.

Figure 3.14 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measures 1–19: Row Outline⁴¹



By looking at the two-layer pairs, a simple yet elegant explanation is found for these otherwise difficult measures. This certainly has the makings of a “complicated device” as Schoenberg demonstrates a deeper exploration of a two-dimensional musical space by drawing material from his tonic and dominant row pairs to create a type of layered tone row.

In measures 20–21, Schoenberg returns to the straightforward presentations of tri-tetrachordal complexes, using P_0 with R_0 in measure 20 and I_6 with RI_6 in measure 21, following the model of tetrachords unfolding to their retrogrades in

⁴¹ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27J^r. Brinkmann transcribes this plan and assigns the final two circled pairs, T/U and D/DU to mm. 18–19, based on his row analysis of the Prelude, Op. 25. See Brinkmann, 80.

the sketches reproduced in Figures 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 above. Curiously, the row outline sketch (Figure 3.14) for the Prelude, Op. 25, ends in measure 19, and a separate sheet of manuscript paper (MS 25: 270) yields the sketches for measures 20–24. A study of measures 22–24 will reveal another complicated device that falls into place when one knows what to look for.

Figure 3.15 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measures 22–24⁴²

m. 22



m. 23



⁴² Arnold Schoenberg, *Suite für Klavier*, Op. 25, BEL-1035, Prelude: 4–6.

Figure 3.15, Continued

m. 24

As before, Maegaard selectively plucks out each note, crossing and re-crossing voices to complete the tetrachords; see Figure 3.16 below:

Figure 3.16 Jan Maegaard
Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measures 22–24: Tetrachord Analysis⁴³

⁴³ Maegaard, 83.

Maegaard's interpretation shows that in these last three measures of the Prelude, Schoenberg is again layering the various tetrachords, but it is not immediately obvious how the tetrachords are woven together. Hamao, in her dissertation, has found a simple solution to this puzzle. Looking at the sketches of Schoenberg's grouped tetrachords (see Figures 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 above), Hamao has discovered a reordering technique that elegantly shows Schoenberg's compositional process in this passage, another example of a complicated device.⁴⁴ Instead of looking at pitches, Hamao works with order numbers.⁴⁵ Remember that Schoenberg presents a row as a set of three tetrachords stacked on top of each other, thus producing four vertical trichords.

⁴⁴ Hamao, "The Origin and Development of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Method," 205–7.

⁴⁵ See Brian Fenelly, "Twelve-Tone Techniques," in *Dictionary of Contemporary Music*, ed. John Vinton (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), 771–80; quoted in Hamao, 208.

Figure 3.17 Fusako Hamao
 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 Order Number Scheme of Tetrachordal Complexes
 Vertical Trichord Assignments⁴⁶

Order Numbers:

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12

Trichords:

i)	ii)	iii)	iv)
----	-----	------	-----

Hamao then labels the notes of measures 22–24 with their order numbers instead of their pitch class numbers, producing the analysis below.

Figure 3.18 Fusako Hamao
 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
 Measures 22–24: Trichord Analysis⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Hamao, 205, Figure 5.3. See ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27f; transcription in Figures 3.4a–d and 3.5a–d above and in Brinkmann, 77. See also Hamao, 205, Example 5.14.

⁴⁷ Hamao, 207, Example 5.15.

To summarize, Hamao's reordering technique generates:

Trichord i)	=	Order Numbers	1-5-9
Trichord ii)	=	Order Numbers	2-6-10
Trichord iii)	=	Order Numbers	3-7-11
Trichord iv)	=	Order Numbers	4-8-12

Consider measures 23-24 of Hamao's analysis first, as they show a clear picture of her methodology; Figure 3.19 is a reinterpretation of her analysis for an easier visual scan of her reordering technique.

Figure 3.19 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measures 23-24
Boxed into Trichords

Based on Hamao's Trichord Reordering Technique

m. 23

Ro: i) Ro: ii) Ro: iii) Ro: iv)

RI6: i) RI6: ii) RI6: iii) RI6: iv)

Figure 3.19, Continued

m. 24

The image shows a musical score for measure 24 in 6/8 time. It consists of two staves. The upper staff has a treble clef and contains a melodic line with several triplets and a trill. The lower staff has a bass clef and contains a bass line. Annotations are placed above and below the staves, connected to specific notes by arrows and boxes. The annotations are: P0: i), P0: ii), P0: iii), P0: iv), R0: i), R0: ii), R0: iii), R0: iv) above the upper staff; and I6: i), I6: ii), I6: iii), I6: iv) below the lower staff. The annotations are arranged in a way that suggests a two-layer pairing of P0-I6 and R0-RI6.

Interestingly, Schoenberg prominently positions the P_0 – I_6 tonic row pairing and its retrograde pairing R_0 – RI_6 in the final two measures of the piece, further evidence that Schoenberg was thinking in two-layer pairs. As in measures 17½–19, a new type of row complex is used in measures 23–24, here achieving chromatic completion through tetra-trichords. Schoenberg is experimenting with reordered three-note verticalities while horizontally completing the tetra-trichordal aggregates in strict order: i.e., R_0 i), ii), iii), iv) and RI_6 i), ii), iii), iv) in measure 23 and P_0 i), ii), iii), iv), R_0 i), ii), iii), iv), and I_6 i), ii), iii), iv) in measure 24.

Measure 22, however, requires special attention. Hamao, as shown in Figure 3.18 above, also subjects this troublesome measure to her reordering technique, thus revealing that Schoenberg exploits the P_6 - I_0 dominant row pairing.

P_6 trichord i)	=	order numbers	1-5-9	=	pitch class numbers	[10,0,5]
P_6 trichord ii)	=	order numbers	2-6-10	=	pitch class numbers	[11,9,6]
P_6 trichord iii)	=	order numbers	3-7-11	=	pitch class numbers	[1,2,3]
P_6 trichord iv)	=	order numbers	4-8-12	=	pitch class numbers	[7,8,4]
I_0 trichord i)	=	order numbers	1-5-9	=	pitch class numbers	[4,2,9]
I_0 trichord ii)	=	order numbers	2-6-10	=	pitch class numbers	[3,5,8]
I_0 trichord iii)	=	order numbers	3-7-11	=	pitch class numbers	[1,0,11]
I_0 trichord iv)	=	order numbers	4-8-12	=	pitch class numbers	[7,6,10]

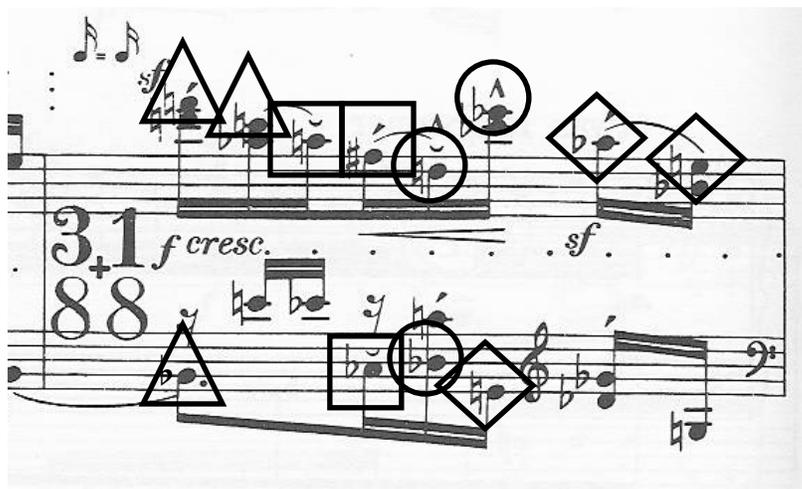
To present a clearer visual schematic, Hamao's reordering will be shown in Figure 3.20, with each trichord highlighted by a different geometric shape.

Figure 3.20 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measure 22: Graphic Trichord Analysis

P₆ Trichords

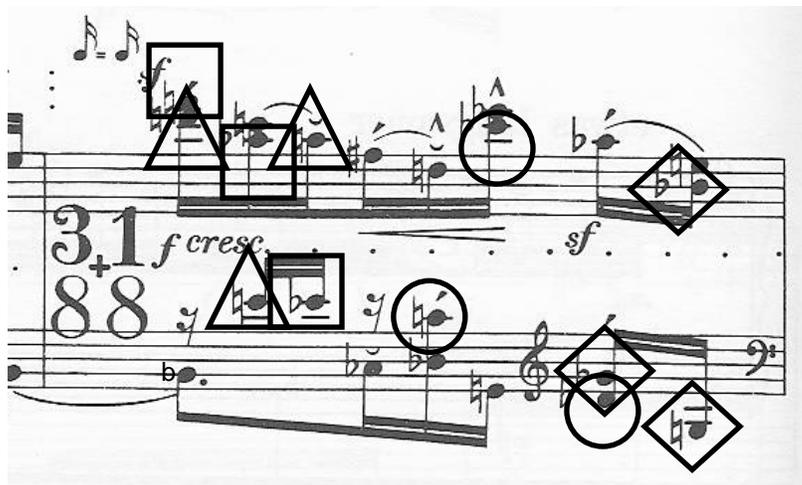
Let P₆ trichord i) =  Let P₆ trichord iii) = 
Let P₆ trichord ii) =  Let P₆ trichord iii) = 

m. 22 (top staff in treble clef, bottom staff in bass clef to start)



I₀ Trichords

Let I₀ trichord i) =  Let I₆ trichord iii) = 
Let I₀ trichord ii) =  Let I₆ trichord iii) = 



From these two schematic analyses of measure 22, it is readily discernable that both the P_6 and I_0 trichord i)s are in the same vertical region, as are both the P_6 and I_0 trichord ii)s, the P_6 and I_0 trichords iii)s, and the P_6 and I_0 trichord iv)s. Schoenberg, moreover, stacks the tetra-trichordal complexes on top of each other, layering the two dominant aggregates. But unlike measures 23–24, the trichords are interlaced, creating six-note fields that move through i), ii), iii), and iv) as a mass. However, the interlacing of the P_6 and I_0 trichords makes Hamao's reordering technique cumbersome. By going back to the two-layer pairs used to explain measures 17½–19, it is easier to see the P_6 – I_0 dominant coupling as shown in Figure 3.21 below:

Figure 3.21 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measure 22
Boxed into Vertical Dyads

(See also Figure 3.11)

Let i (dominant) = P₆-I₀ row-pair vertical dyad 1

Let ii (dominant) = P₆-I₀ row-pair vertical dyad 2, etc.

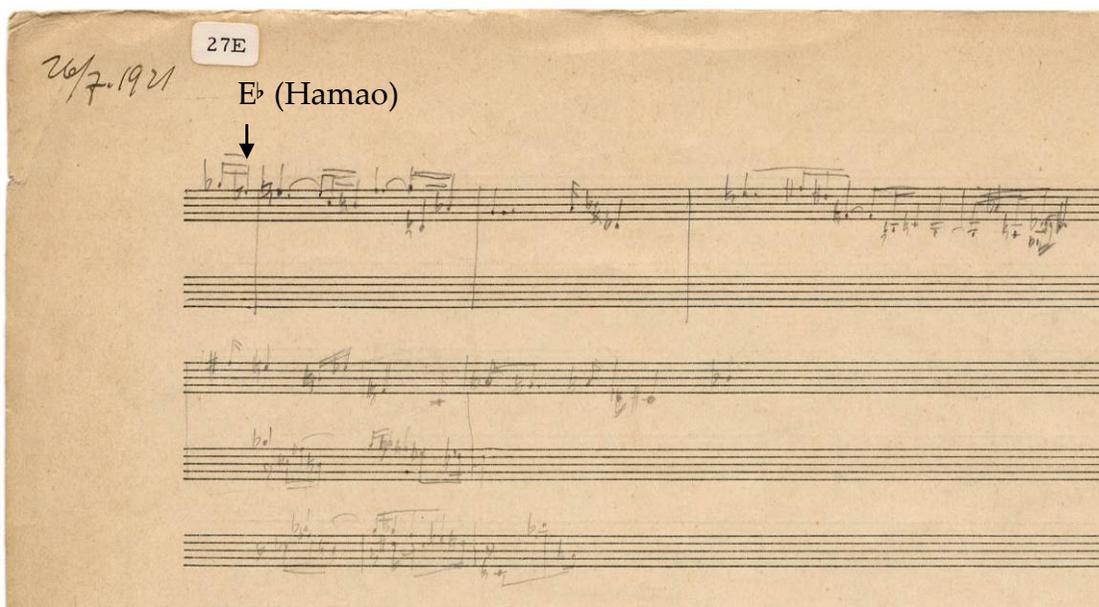
m. 22

Moreover, Schoenberg's movement from the dominant row pairs in measure 22 to the tonic row pairs in measures 23–24 resembles a V–I authentic cadence, a motion anticipated and expected at the ends of tonal works.

Further examination of Schoenberg's row sketches for Op. 25 shows that on 26 July 1921, the day he wrote to Alma Mahler proclaiming that he had found something completely new, and between the start and completion dates of the

Prelude, Op. 25, Schoenberg was taking the reordering technique to a yet more complicated level. On 26 July 1921, Schoenberg made the following sketch, which has long been mislabeled in the literature, shown in Figure 3.22.

Figure 3.22 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25 Sketches (26 July 1921)⁴⁸



Brinkmann transcribed these sketches (see Figure 3.23) in 1975, but Hamao corrects the F[♯] in the upbeat to measure 1 to an E[♭] in 1988 (see Figure 3.25).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27E, <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27e.jpg>.

⁴⁹ Hamao, 209.

Figure 3.23 Reinhold Brinkmann
Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
Sketches (26 July 1921): Transcription⁵⁰

Mit Rasuren und Überschreibungen. | T. 3* I: 1. Note zunächst mit 16tel-Fähnchen.

Brinkmann, curiously, categorizes this page of sketches (Figure 3.22, transcribed in Figure 3.23) along with another undated sketch (transcribed in Figure 3.24) with the Waltz from the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, not with the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, based on rhythmic characteristics and prevalence of the F–C perfect-fifth interval.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Brinkmann, 64–65. ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27E.

⁵¹ Brinkmann, 64.

Figure 3.24 Reinhold Brinkmann
Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
Undated Sketch: Transcription⁵²



Hamao, however, proposes that these sketches are related to Op. 25, not to the Waltz, Op. 23:

These sketches are located in two pages of loose sheets (U49 27K and 27E) which have been classified as part of the sketches for the “Walzer” of Op. 23. In fact, these sketches belong to the *Suite*, for they are derived from the same twelve-tone row as that work.⁵³

Although Hamao’s research is now twenty years old, present scholarship continues to catalogue these sketches with Op. 23, including the recent article “Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftonmethode: Daten, Dokumente, Berichte, Anekdoten” (2005) by Therese Muxeneder, archivist of the Arnold

⁵² Brinkmann, 64–65. ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27K \ddagger , <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27kr.jpg>.

⁵³ Hamao, 208. Hamao also cites Brinkmann, 64.

Schönberg Center.⁵⁴ Hamao speculates that “Reinhold Brinkmann classified them as the early sketches for the ‘Walzer’ of Op. 2[3] in *Sämliche Werke* . . . probably because these fragments do not conform to a specific place within the draft or in the final version of the Suite.”⁵⁵ She then demonstrates (see Figure 3.25) that these sketches are, in fact, derived from the same trichords i), ii), iii), and iv) found in the Prelude, Op. 25—assuming that her reading of the upbeat to the first measure in the first system of MS 25: 27E as an E^b, not an F^b, is correct (see Figure 3.22)—used to explain measures 22–24 (as shown in Figures 3.17, 3.18, 3.19, and 3.20, above).

⁵⁴ Therese Muxeneder, “Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftönmethode: Daten, Dokumente, Berichte, Anekdoten,” *Schachzüge Arnold Schönbergs: Dodekaphonie und Spiele-Konstruktionen, Bericht zum Symposium 3.–5. Juni 2004*, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 7 (2005): 301, notes 3 and 4.

⁵⁵ Hamao, 208, note 5.

Figure 3.25 Fusako Hamao
 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 Sketches (26 July 1921): Trichord Analysis⁵⁶

Arabic numerals are order numbers, not pitch class numbers.

Ex. 5.16a: Compositional sketch for the Suite (27E), transcribed by Brinkmann [Schoenberg 1975b, 64].

T: i) + ii) iii) + iv) i) + ii) iii) iv)

T: i) ii) iii) iv)

U: i) ii) iii) iv)

⁵⁶ Ibid., 209–10, Examples 5.16a, b, and c. Transcription by Brinkmann, 64–65. ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27E.

Schoenberg was evidently experimenting with the reordering technique, creating new material and new twelve-tone rows from the Op. 25 row, unequivocally a complicated device to assure variety, but these sketches were never incorporated in either Op. 23 or Op. 25, perhaps because as Schoenberg writes, “I discovered that my fear [of monotony] was unfounded.”

The first ten measures of the Intermezzo from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, were also written in 1921, concurrently with the Prelude, Op. 25. The Intermezzo was begun on 25 July 1921—the day after Schoenberg started the Prelude, but before he finished it—allowing another glimpse into Schoenberg’s experiments with twelve-tone ideas at the time of his letter to Alma Mahler on 26 July 1921.⁵⁷ Remember that the Schoenberg sketch

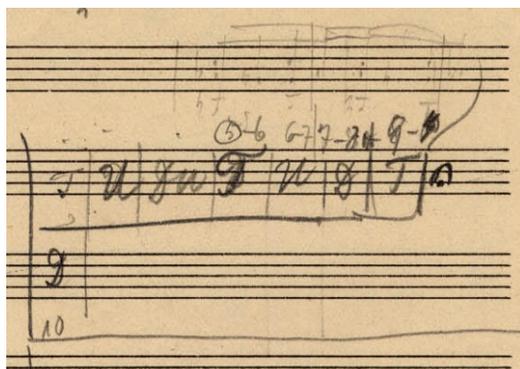


reproduced in Figure 3.6 includes a treble clef rhythmic figure between every tetrachord and its inversion, distributing each tetrachord into a three-note + one-note shape. This figure serves as the foundation for the first ten measures of the Intermezzo, although it is rhythmically

⁵⁷ The composition history of the Intermezzo, Op. 25, is complicated, but sketches show that the first ten measures were composed in 1921, the remainder in 1923. See Brinkmann, 30–39. See also Chapter 4.

altered throughout. The ten measures follow a row plan outlined by Schoenberg in his sketches for this movement as seen in Figure 3.26 and realized in Figure 3.27:

Figure 3.26 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Intermezzo
Measures 1–10: Harmonic Plan⁵⁸



⁵⁸ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27F,
<http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27f.jpg>.

Figure 3.27 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Intermezzo
Measures 1–10: Row Form and Tetrachord Analysis⁵⁹

18

Intermezzo

The score is annotated with the following elements:

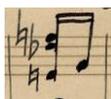
- Row Form T:** $P_0(a)$ at the beginning of the first system.
- Tetrachord I_0 :** $I_0(b)$, $I_0(c)$, $I_0(a)$, and $I_0(b)$ are marked in the first system.
- Row Form U:** $I_0(b)$ and $P_0(c)$ are marked in the second system.
- Row Form D:** $I_0(b)$, $I_0(c)$, $P_0(c)$, and $P_0(a)$ are marked in the third system.
- Row Form T:** $P_0(c)$ is marked in the fourth system.
- Row Form U:** $I_0(b)$, $I_0(a)$, $P_0(b)$, and $P_0(c)$ are marked in the fifth system.
- Row Form T:** $P_0(a)$ and $I_0(b)$ are marked in the sixth system.

Performance markings include: pp , *espress.*, *poco rit.*, *f*, *pp*, *ppp*, *a tempo*, *etwas rascher*, *etwas langsamer*, *dim.*, and accents.

BEL-1035

⁵⁹ Arnold Schoenberg, *Suite für Klavier*, Op. 25, BEL-1035, Intermezzo: 13–16.

The row form and tetrachord analysis of the first ten measures of the Intermezzo (Figure 3.27) reveal that the Arabic numbers above the T, U, DU, T, U, D, T and below the D after the fermata in the sketch of the harmonic outline of the first ten measures of the Intermezzo, Op. 25 (Figure 3.26), are in fact measure numbers.⁶⁰ The Intermezzo does not show the complicated layering or reordering technique found at the end of the Prelude, Op. 25; the arrangement of tetrachords is straightforward, as can be seen in Figure 3.27 above, but the division of the tetrachords into



figures reconfirms that Schoenberg was, in July 1921, thinking in groups of four notes rather than in a row of twelve notes. That Schoenberg had a “harmonic” plan outlining the region, e.g. T, [T]U, D, DU, for all but the last few measures of the Prelude and all ten measures of the Intermezzo composed in 1921 is significant, as is the fact that after the initial linear statement of the three tetrachords that combine to form P₀ in measures 1–3 of the Prelude, there does not exist another single horizontal presentation of a row, in either the Prelude or the first ten measures of the Intermezzo, where each of the twelve tones is heard only

⁶⁰ See also Brinkmann, 85.

one time. (In measures 7–9, a horizontal presentation of the P_0 form of the row is found in the left hand, but with immediately repeating pitch-class numbers [4] and [5] in the first tetrachord.) In terms of style, the Prelude's mostly three-voice texture is reminiscent of Op. 23, No. 1, which was written in summer 1920 and also exploits the B–A–C–H motive. Both pieces have a Baroque rhythmic quality.⁶¹ The texture and flowing quality of the middle and lower voices in the Intermezzo are also suggestive of Romantic-period writing, perhaps in homage to Brahms, a composer much admired by Schoenberg.

It must be noted that in July 1921 the idea of an integrated suite did not yet exist in Schoenberg's mind; at the time, the composer was simply writing pieces. Although the remaining movements of what would be later collected in 1923 as the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, are all Baroque dance genres—Gavotte, Musette, Minuet (Trio), and Gigue—the Prelude and Intermezzo are not. Schoenberg may have been experimenting with how a Baroque-style piece and a Romantic-style piece could be written using

⁶¹ For a fascinating study on the use of the B–A–C–H motive in Op. 23, No. 1, see Claus Ganter, *Ordnungsprinzip oder Konstruktion? Die Entwicklung der Tonsprache Arnold Schönbergs am Beispiel seiner Klavierwerke* (Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Katzschler, 1997), 85–122.

all twelve notes of the chromatic scale equally, substituting his tonic and dominant row pairs in the places he would traditionally have used tonic and dominant harmonies. It appears rather unlikely that the new discovery in summer 1921 was twelve-tone composition per se, but instead the innovative ways of using the twelve tones to generate tonic and dominant regions, thus emulating the tonic and dominant axis in tonal music without succumbing to the familiar and traditional triadic harmonies. These are replaced by “complicated devices,” such as two-layer tetrachords and reordered trichords that imitate movement to secondary harmonic areas and thus ensure variety.⁶² Schoenberg’s new discovery in all likelihood was that he could successfully compose the same kinds of forms, from traditional classical music, using all twelve tones equally; this would assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years, and it was this information that Schoenberg secretly shared with Erwin Stein in fall 1921. More importantly, it was a discovery that he later used to parody the works being produced in the “neoclassical” style.

⁶² For a study in the secondary harmonic areas of the *Suite for Piano*, Op. 25, based on pitch class sets, see Hyde, 110–39.

Chapter 4

Schoenberg Unveils “Composition with Twelve Tones”: Lecturing for Priority (1922)

At the end of July 1921, Schoenberg composed his first fully twelve-tone work, the Prelude, Op. 25, and immediately shared the fact that he had made a “new discovery,” certainly with Alma Mahler, and also apparently with Josef Rufer and Felix Greissle. There is, however, no evidence that Schoenberg actually revealed the secrets of the new discovery to any of them at that time, and, as was explained in Chapter 3, the new discovery may not have been twelve-tone composition per se, but rather the discovery that he could successfully compose music in traditional classical forms by using all twelve tones equally and systematically in the place of traditional triadic harmonies. Schoenberg mentions, in several sources, that he first revealed the secrets of his new discovery to Erwin Stein in fall 1921,¹ but from the dates found on Schoenberg’s sketches and manuscripts, it appears that he shelved these new twelve-tone ideas for over a year, until October 1922, when he briefly began work on the Sonnet from the Serenade, Op. 24, choosing instead to continue experiments with non-twelve-tone serialized variation (a means of variation by which the order of

¹ Letters in the ASC Schönberg Archive show that Stein was in Traunkirchen in summer 1921 from late August through mid-September. See Chapter 1, note 21.

intervals that underlie a basic shape is maintained in its later appearances, either directly, inverted, or arranged in retrograde), or as Schoenberg describes it, “composing (or working) with tones.”² In fact, he did not earnestly continue his experiments with twelve-tone techniques until February 1923, when the Waltz from the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, was composed, followed quickly by a flurry of twelve-tone works, including the completion of the Intermezzo and remaining four movements of Op. 25 (Gavotte, Musette, Menuett (Trio), Gigue), the Sonnet, Op. 24, and the Wind Quintet, Op. 26, Nos. 1 and 2.³ Yet we know from Webern’s letter to Jalowetz of 7 January 1922 that Schoenberg did not remain silent about his secrets for very long. Remember that Webern specifically

² The definition of “serialized variation,” a term coined by Bryan R. Simms, is found in Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908–1923* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), Glossary: 222. A definition of “composing with tones” (Komponieren mit Tönen) is also found in Simms, 221: “Schoenberg’s term for a compositional technique that preceded the twelve-tone method, by which all or most pitch structures throughout a composition are derived (by transposition, inversion, or retrograde arrangement) from an initial basic shape of fewer than twelve tones.” For Schoenberg’s use of the term “composing with tones,” see the letter from Schoenberg to Nicolas Slonimsky of 3 June 1937, in Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music since 1900*, 4th ed. (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1971), 1315–16 (ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #2892). Schoenberg uses the term “working with tones” to describe the same techniques in Arnold Schoenberg, “My Evolution” (1949), in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 89. See also the marginalia on inscription page of Schoenberg’s personal copy of Fritz Heinrich Klein’s *Die Maschine*; transcription in note 96 of this chapter.

³ See Anne C. Sheffler, “‘Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber’: The Vocal Origins of Webern’s Twelve-Tone Composition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 285; Martina Sichardt, *Die Entstehung der Zwölftonmethode Arnold Schönbergs* (Mainz: Schott, 1990), Anhang (Chronologie der Skizzen, Fragmente und vollendeten Kompositionen von 1917 bis Mai 1923): 208–12; and Jan Maegaard, “A Study in the Chronology of op. 23–26,” *Dansk årbog for musikforskning* 2 (1962): 93–115.

suggests to Jalowetz that the publication of Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* in *Melos* prompted Schoenberg to speak on his theory—using the twelve tones harmonically and melodically—so as not to be seen as a plagiarist.⁴ Significantly, the *Präludium für Celesta* was not the first of Hauer's publication to make Schoenberg uneasy. From the marginal notes in the *Handexemplar* of the first edition of Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre* (1911), it is known that Schoenberg read Hauer's first treatise mentioning a twelve-tone law, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* (1920), by 21 June 1921, one month before he composed the Prelude, Op. 25.⁵ The dated margin notes make perfectly clear that at this time, Schoenberg already adamantly believed that Hauer had stolen his ideas from the *Harmonielehre* to develop his twelve-tone law. Schoenberg, however, kept these feelings to himself until after the publication of Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* in November 1921.

⁴ See Chapter 2.

⁵ See Bryan R. Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?" *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 10 (1987): 115 and 121. Hauer's "twelve-tone law" was first unveiled in Josef Matthias Hauer, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* (Leipzig and Vienna: Waldheim-Eberle, 1920), 53: Hauer writes, ". . . ihr 'Gesetz', ihr 'Nomos' besteht darin, daß innerhalb einer gewissen Tonreihe sich kein Ton wiederholen und keener ausgelassen werden darf (Urgesetz der 'Melodie' überhaupt: damit kein Ton das physische Übergewicht [dominierende Gruntonbedeutung] bekommt, auch keine Stufenbedeutungen, Leittongeleise entstehen können und es also der Schaffende und der Hörende nur mit der rein musikalischen Sache des Intervalls in seiner 'Vergeistigung' zu tun hat)." Translation in Simms, 115.

What compositional constructs did Hauer use in the *Präludium für Celesta* to trigger Schoenberg's need to publicly claim priority? A closer look at the opening of Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* shows that he, like Schoenberg in the Prelude, Op. 25, was experimenting with completing twelve-note aggregate fields in multi-voice layers. As mentioned earlier, after the initial presentation of the twelve-tone row to open the Prelude, there is only one other horizontal presentation of the twelve-tone row in the movement, in measures 7–9 in the left hand.⁶ All other presentations of the twelve tones are in aggregate fields. In fact, for most of the Prelude, Schoenberg uses a three-voice complex, often completing twelve-note aggregate fields using four notes in each of the three voices stacked one atop another. For example, the twelve-note aggregate fields of I₆ and R₆ are formed by three layers of tetrachords in measures 3–5, as shown in Figure 4.1.

⁶ The linear row presentation in the Prelude, Op. 25, mm. 7–9 in the left hand, uses immediately repeating pitch classes to open the first tetrachord. See the Appendix.

Figure 4.1 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Measures 1–5: Twelve-Note Aggregate Fields⁷

I₆ and R₆ in Three Voices

Präludium

Rasch (♩ = 80) Arnold Schoenberg Op. 25

I₆ tetrachord b R₆ tetrachord a

I₆ tetrachord e R₆ tetrachord b

I₆ tetrachord a R₆ tetrachord c

This three-voice stacked texture is also found in the first fourteen measures of Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta*, as seen in Figure 4.2 below.⁸

⁷ Arnold Schoenberg, *Suite für Klavier*, Op. 25 (Los Angeles: Belmont Music Publishers, 1925 and 1952), BEL-1035, Prelude: 4–6.

⁸ At the time that Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* was published, Schoenberg had not yet named his piece "Prelude" (or "Präludium" as it is in the original German), so the use of the same title is coincidental. It appears that Schoenberg did not name the Prelude and Intermezzo, Op. 25, until 1923, when he composed the rest of the movements that would be collected as the Suite for Piano. Before that, Schoenberg had simply considered the Prelude and Intermezzo as Nos. 1 and 2 of the second of two new series of piano pieces—what would later be called the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, being the first new series. See also Chapter 5.

Figure 4.2 Josef Matthias Hauer: *Präludium für Celesta* (1921)
 "Building Block" (Baustein) Analysis⁹

Arabic numerals represent pitch-class numbers. C = 0

Präludium für Celeste

Die Nachzüglinge ziehen gännen Platz mir für die Noten, vor denen sie stehen.

1 *Wachung jauch' dem Melos*
 C B H A

5
 A B H C B - A -

9
 C - H A H B C C B A

14 *linear statement / 12 tones, linear statement /*
 H 5 C H B A 6 7 10 3

18 *12 tones*
 (missing 10 & 11)

⁹ Josef Matthias Hauer, *Präludium für Celesta*, Melos 3, no. 1 (November 1921):
 Notenbeilage.

Figure 4.2, Continued

Handwritten musical score for "Präludium für Celesta" by Arnold Schoenberg, measures 23-40. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a complex melodic line in the right hand and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The notation includes various accidentals, slurs, and dynamic markings. Handwritten annotations in black ink provide chord symbols (C, A, H, B, H, C, B, A) and identify missing notes with circled numbers and text like "(missing 2 & 3)", "(missing 4 & 5)", "(missing 1 & 2)", "(missing 11 & 0)", "(missing 0 & 1)", "(missing 9 & 10)", and "(missing 7 & 8)". A signature "Arnold Schoenberg 1921" is visible at the bottom right of the page.

When the *Präludium für Celesta* was composed, Hauer, a prolific theorist, based his works on what he termed "building blocks" (Bausteine), an application of his twelve-tone law. Simms writes:

The notion of the “building block” (*Baustein*) is fundamental to Hauer’s music and to his subsequent theories of musical structure. As he states in this essay [“Die Tropen,” *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 1924], a building block is a musical phrase of one or a few measures in duration, and an entire composition is an assemblage of these units. Blocks may be repeated, either intact or with simple alterations such as transposition or change of register, but they are not interrelated by development of common motives. The image of the building block is appropriate to Hauer’s aesthetic viewpoint, which valued simple and straightforward designs resulting from a craftsmanly approach to composition. The image is inappropriate to Schoenberg’s music, which emphasizes the organic development of musical ideas.¹⁰

Simms’s study of Hauer’s works from 1919 to 1922 has led him to conclude that Hauer’s “music from this period normally begins with a succession of several building blocks in each of which the twelve tones occur linearly. These works then evolve into more elaborate textures, often using smaller numbers of tones”; the *Präludium für Celesta* is a good example of Hauer’s building-block techniques.¹¹

Was Hauer’s use of a three-voice texture enough to upset Schoenberg? Schoenberg’s three-voice aggregates are unified by the various mirror transformations and transpositions of a single twelve-tone row—albeit a row that

¹⁰ Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?” 115.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 116.

is segmented into three tetrachords—whereas Hauer’s three-voice twelve-note aggregates are unrelated from building block to building block. In addition, although Hauer uses a three-voice texture to open the *Präludium für Celesta*, the notes sound singly and regularly, so the presentation of the pitches is linear, as prescribed by Hauer’s twelve-tone law; the three-voice similarity between the two pieces would appear to be at most a passing resemblance. Two or three other compositional features of the *Präludium für Celesta*, however, seem to have surface-level analogs to the Prelude, Op. 25. In measures 15–24 of the *Präludium für Celesta*, pitches being used horizontally in the right hand appear as vertical accompaniment chords in the left hand. The two-dimensionality of these ten measures perhaps also threatened Schoenberg’s priority since he was, at the time, greatly concerned with unity via motivic coherence in the horizontal and vertical dimensions.¹² In addition, two linear statements of twelve tones can be found in measures 15–20 in the right hand. Although they, like the twelve-note aggregates in the first fourteen measures, are not related to each other by mirror transformations or by transpositions, they confirm that Hauer was applying his twelve-tone law: one-voice horizontal presentations of all twelve notes of the

¹² See Arnold Schoenberg, “Composition with Twelve Tones (1)” (1941), in *Style and Idea*, 220 and *Theory of Harmony*, trans. Roy E. Carter (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978; based on the 3rd rev. [1922] ed.), 388–89. See also Figure 3.1.

chromatic scale with none repeated. Interestingly, Hauer too plays with the B–A–C–H pitch-class set [9,10,11,0] throughout: a literal B–A–C–H statement occurs in measures 7–9, while a transposed B–A–C–H statement occurs prominently in measures 38–39. Hauer, for the most part, uses pitches derived from contiguous segments of the chromatic scale in each voice to generate the material for the *Präludium für Celesta*, so occurrences of the B–A–C–H tetrachord in random order, or transposed, for that matter, may be coincidental and not at all significant. Nonetheless, the B–A–C–H statement in measures 7–9 is too obvious to overlook, and it may have been the last straw for Schoenberg.

The *Präludium für Celesta* is not, in fact, the first example of a Hauer piece comprising building blocks that Schoenberg had access to; *Nomos*, Op. 19 (1919), was performed at a Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen (Society for Private Musical Performances) concert in Vienna on 28 May 1920, most likely with Schoenberg in attendance.¹³ Why, then, did the performance of *Nomos*,

¹³ See Simms, 115–16, 118–20, and 130–31, note 9 and Walter Szmolyan, “Die Konzerte des Wiener Schönberg-Vereins,” *Music-Konzepte* 36: *Schönbergs Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen* (1984): 105. Simms corrects Szmolyan’s date of 14 May 1920 to 28 May 1920. See ASC Schönberg Archive: Text Document T85, http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/T85/T85_Buch/generalversammlung_19200528_1.jpg. Whether or not Schoenberg actually attended the concert on 28 May 1920 is not certain. Schoenberg sent a postcard to Berg dated 25 May 1920 from Noordwijk, Holland (ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #7363). It is known that Webern, who was with Schoenberg in Holland for the Mahler

Op. 19, not threaten Schoenberg? Several reasons may be proposed, the simplest being that in spring 1920, Schoenberg had not yet begun thinking about composition with twelve tones as anything beyond using the twelve notes of the chromatic scale equally and a few experiments with twelve-tone aggregate formation. In fact, many composers besides Schoenberg and Hauer were dealing with twelve-tone structures at this time—for example, Berg with the twelve-tone passacaglia theme (1919) in *Wozzeck*, and Webern, for whom a point of chromatic completion in an atonal work was often a major structural juncture.¹⁴ Another possibility is that *Nomos*, Op. 19, although based on Hauer's building-block technique, does not push the twelve-tone concept beyond what Schoenberg had already achieved in his non-serial, freely atonal pieces up to that point.

Schoenberg had previously experimented with twelve-tone aggregate field

Festival, was back in Mödling by 26 May 1920 (see letter from Webern to Jalowetz of 26 May 1920 in Anton Webern, *Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, ed. Ernst Lichtenhahn, Veröffentlichungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung, vol. 7 [Mainz: Schott, 1999], Letter 210: 452–53), and that Schoenberg was definitely in Mödling by 1 June 1920 (see ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #6816). Universal Edition sent a letter to Schoenberg's Mödling address dated 27 May 1920 (see ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #17615).

¹⁴ See, for example, Webern's *6 Bagatelles for String Quartet*, Op. 9 (1911–1913): No. 1, mm. 1–4. See also Richard Chrisman, "Anton Webern's 'Six Bagatelles for String Quartet,' Op. 9: The Unfolding of Intervallic Successions," *Journal of Music Theory* 23 (1979): 81–122. In addition, composers such as Béla Bartók were also grappling with the systematization of free atonality, searching for a theory that would provide rules and guidelines; see Béla Bartók, "The Problem of the New Music," trans. Bryan R. Simms in *Composers on Modern Musical Culture: An Anthology of Readings on Twentieth-Century Music*, comp. and ed. Bryan R. Simms (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999), 44–49.

completions and twelve-tone linear row presentations as early as 1915–1917 in

Die Jakobsleiter.¹⁵ Schoenberg reflects:

Ever since 1906–1908, when I had started writing compositions which led to the abandonment of tonality, I had been busy finding methods to replace the structural functions of harmony. Nevertheless, my first distinct step toward this goal occurred only in 1915. I had made plans for a great symphony of which *Die Jakobsleiter* should be the last movement. I had sketched many themes, among them one for a scherzo which consisted of all the twelve tones. An historian will probably some day find in the exchange of letters between Webern and me how enthusiastic we were about this.

My next step in this direction—in the meantime I had been in the Austrian army—occurred in 1917, when I started to compose *Die Jakobsleiter*. I had contrived the plan to provide for unity—which was always my main motive: to build all the main themes of the whole oratorio from a row of six tones—C-sharp, D, E, F, G, A-flat. These were probably the six notes with which the composition began, in the following order: C-sharp, D, F, E, A-flat, G.

When after my retirement from the University of California I wanted to finish *Die Jakobsleiter*, I discovered to my greatest pleasure that this beginning was a real twelve-tone composition. To an ostinato (which I changed a little) the remaining six tones entered gradually, one in every measure. When I built the main themes from these six tones I did not bind myself to the order of their first appearance. I was still at this time far away from the

¹⁵ For a complete discussion of the complicated compositional history of *Die Jakobsleiter*, see Bryan R. Simms, “On the Road from Earth to Heaven: Symphony and *Die Jakobsleiter*,” in *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908–1923* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 151–77.

methodical application of a set. Still I believe that also this idea offered the promise of unity to a certain degree. . . .¹⁶

A quick glance at *Nomos*, Op. 19, shows that in this piece, a substantial work for solo piano, Hauer's interpretation of his twelve-tone law was still quite primitive. John Covach writes:

His first pieces after discovering the twelve-tone law were not strictly twelve-tone, however. Initially, Hauer attempted to control the number of pitches that would be circulated before the same one was reused, and his *Nomos*, op. 19 (August 1919) contains sections that employ collections of 8–12 pitch classes. Exclusively twelve-tone passages occur at important structural points, and the opening bars employ five statements of a twelve-tone row in twelve monophonic phrases of five notes each. Hauer soon employed twelve-tone collections only, and his works from op. 20 forward explore a broad range of approaches to twelve-tone structure.¹⁷

Since the piece that prompted Schoenberg to publicly claim priority was the *Präludium für Celesta*, and not *Nomos*, Op. 19, it would seem that Hauer's twelve-tone law or building-block technique itself was not the trigger, but the application of that technique was. Hauer's use of a three-voice texture appears innocent, but perhaps combined with a few measures of two-dimensionality

¹⁶ Schoenberg, "Composition with Twelve Tones (2)" (c. 1948), in *Style and Idea*, 247–48.

¹⁷ John Covach, "Josef Matthias Hauer," entry in *ibiblio* online public library and digital archive, <http://www.ibiblio.org/johncovach/hauerbio.htm>. For further discussion of Hauer's twelve-tone law and subsequent theories, see Robert Michael Weiß, "Vom Komponieren zum Spielen: Josef Matthias Hauer," *Schachzüge Arnold Schönbergs: Dodekaphonie und Spiele-Konstruktionen, Bericht zum Symposium 3.–5. Juni 2004*, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 7 (2005): 243–74.

(which, by the way, can also be found in *Nomos*, Op. 19) and the B–A–C–H motive, it was enough to send Schoenberg into a state of agitation, especially since he was ready to accuse Hauer of usurping his ideas from the *Harmonielehre* of 1911.

From Webern's letter to Jalowetz, it can be safely assumed that Schoenberg received a copy of Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* prior to 7 January 1922 and that Schoenberg perceived that there were enough similarities between the *Präludium für Celesta* and his own piano pieces from summer 1921 to warrant a series of lectures proving that his ideas predated Hauer's. It seems improbable that anyone would think that Schoenberg plagiarized Hauer's twelve-tone ideas. Aside from the surface similarities described above, Hauer does not employ any of the more complex techniques found in the sketches and drafts of the Prelude and first ten measures of the Intermezzo, Op. 25, as shown in Chapter 3. There is no use of mirror transformations or tritone transpositions, no exploration of "tonic" and "dominant" polarity, no reordering of pitches, no use of multi-layer row complexes; in short, Hauer uses no "complicated devices" to produce new material in the *Präludium für Celesta*. The three-voice texture that Hauer uses in the first fourteen measures is similar to Schoenberg's stratification, but only in

that the pitches are distributed across three lines. Hauer is certainly not experimenting with systematic tri-tetrachordal or tetra-trichordal twelve-tone aggregate fields, nor with two-layer, vertical dyadic or three-layer, vertical trichord constructs. Although there are metric delineations of the twelve-tone aggregates, there are no rhythmic delineations; a note is heard on every beat from beginning to end, some held for longer durations, but with no element disrupting the quarter-note motion. Hauer's simple palette could not be more different from Schoenberg's complicated "Baroque" polyphony in the Prelude, Op. 25, or his lyrical "Romantic" gestures in the opening ten measures of the Intermezzo, Op. 25. Nonetheless, Schoenberg obviously believed that Hauer's twelve-tone techniques were too similar to his own ideas from summer 1921.

Schoenberg, significantly, did not dismiss Hauer's work and publications once the lecture series began, as can be gleaned from the fact that Schoenberg returned to the *Präludium für Celesta* six months later, in summer 1922, again with a critical eye after reading "Sphärenmusik" (June 1922), an essay published in *Melos* by Hauer updating and extending his twelve-tone law to introduce his theory of "tropes." A trope in Hauer's conception is a complementary pair of pitch hexachords, the presentation of which creates a building block and facilitates the

separation of a pitch class in one building block as far as possible from the same pitch class in the next building block.¹⁸

Figure 4.3 *Melos* 3, no. 3 (June 1922): Front Cover¹⁹



¹⁸ See Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?” 115. See also Chapter 2. Schoenberg would be for the rest of his life preoccupied with proving that he, not Hauer, was the inventor of twelve-tone composition. See, for example, Arnold Schoenberg, “Hauer’s Theories” (1923), in *Style and Idea*, 209–13; “Schoenberg’s Tone-Rows” (1936), in *Style and Idea*, 213–14; “Composition with Twelve Tones (2)” (c. 1948), in *Style and Idea*, 245–49; “Priority” (1932), in Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 235–40.

¹⁹ ASC Schönberg Archive: Box P5 and ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #7885, http://www.schoenberg.at/lettersneu/search_show_letter.php?ID Number=7885.

Figure 4.3a *Melos* 3, no. 3 (June 1922): Table of Contents²⁰

MELOS
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR MUSIK

Erscheint in Lieferungen von je drei Heften, die als Quartal gerechnet werden. Verlag: Melos-Verlag G. m. b. H., Berlin-Niederschönhausen, Lindenstr. 35b. Fernruf: Pankow 3319. — Chefredakteur: Fritz Windisch, Berlin-Niederschönhausen, Lindenstr. 35b. Fernruf: Pankow 3319. Auslandsredaktion: F. Sanders, Amsterdam, 3 Jacob Obrechtstraat. Einzelheit Mk. 20.—. Abonnement auf 3 Heft-Lieferungen Mk. 50.— exkl. Zustellung. Ausland-Bezugspreise auf Anforderung. Postscheckkonto: 102166 Berlin. Anzeigen-Aufnahme durch H. F. C. Bergmanns Verlagsgesellschaft Berlin-Weissensee und den Verlag.

Nr. 5 BERLIN, im Juni 1922 III. Jahrgang

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HAUPTTEIL

Prof. PAUL COLLAER (BRÜSSEL): Die Entwicklung der Musik in Frankreich seit dem Kriege
 Dr. CARL ROESLER: Heinz Tiessens „Naturtrilogie“
 JOSEF MATTHIAS HAUER (WIEN): Sphärenmusik
 ROBERT PRECHTL: Musik und Drama

MUSIKPHYSIOLOGIE

Dr. Jaap KOOL: Neue Instrumente (Gongspiele, Anklongs)

NOTEN- UND BÜCHERBESPRECHUNGEN

Dr. HUGO LEICHTENTRITT: Neue französische Kammermusik
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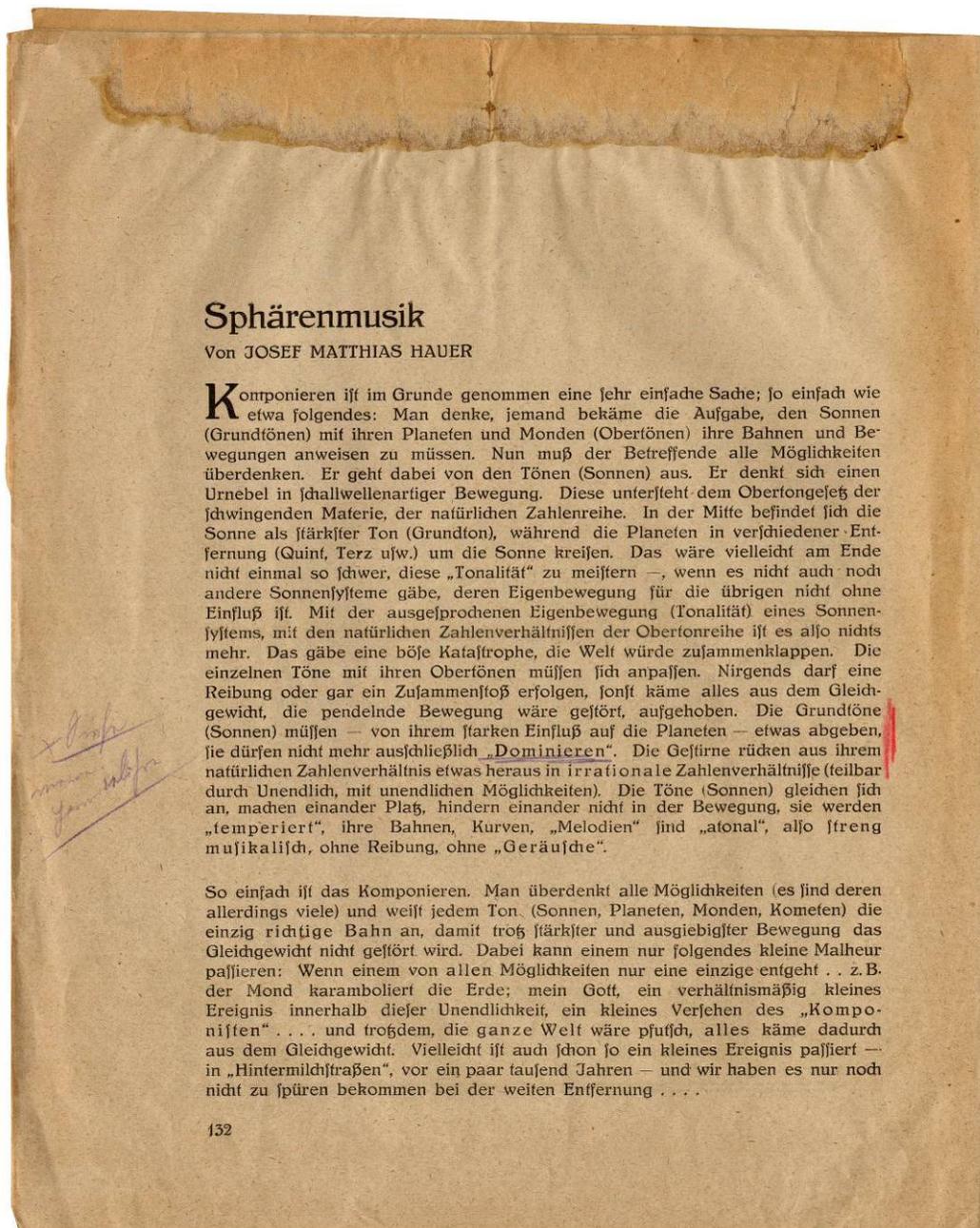
Prof. Dr. WILHELM ALTMANN: Bedeutende Neuerscheinungen und Manuskripte

NOTENBEILAGE

LUDWIG WEBER: Glosse zum II. Streichquartett für Klarinette allein

²⁰ Ibid.

Figure 4.3b *Melos 3, no. 3 (June 1922):*
 Josef Matthias Hauer: "Sphärenmusik"²¹



²¹ Ibid.

It is known that Schoenberg returned to the score of the *Präludium für Celesta* after reading “Sphärenmusik” from the annotations and note inscribed on his personal copy of the *Präludium für Celesta*.²² In “Sphärenmusik,” Hauer explains:

Within a statement of the twelve tones, no note may be repeated and none omitted. . . . Like tones must be separated from one another as far as possible: this is done by dividing them into two groups, each of six tones. There are eighty possible groups. . . . A good atonal composition is thus built upon tropes [p. 132].²³

Schoenberg took Hauer’s statement “A good atonal composition is thus built upon tropes” (Eine gute atonale Komposition ist also auf Tropen aufgebaut) literally. Schoenberg presumably went back to the *Präludium für Celesta* to see whether or not it was in fact a “good atonal composition.” Check marks (✓) can be found at the ends of measures 2, 4, 6, 9, 12, 14, 16, 20, 22, 24, 27, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, and 39 of the *Präludium für Celesta*, separating the piece into building blocks (see Figure 4.4), but at the end of the score, Schoenberg leaves a comment tinged with irony: “Diese hier ist nicht auf ‘Tropen’ aufgebaut; ist also keine gute atonale Komposition.” (This is not built from “tropes,” so it is not a good atonal

²² Ibid.

²³ Josef Mattias Hauer, “Sphärenmusik”; translation in Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?” 117.

composition.)²⁴ Because Hauer first used the term “trope” in his essay “Sphärenmusik,” the inscription could not have been made before summer 1922 since it was not published until June 1922 (see Figure 4.3). It is thus impossible for Schoenberg to have made the comment before the lectures alluded to by Webern in his letter to Jalowetz, therefore leaving evidence that he examined the *Präludium für Celesta* both before and after the lectures. It is likely, moreover, that Schoenberg did not put the check marks in the score until summer 1922—not immediately after he first saw the *Präludium für Celesta* (sometime between November 1921, when the composition appeared in *Melos*, and early January 1922, when Webern wrote to Jalowetz). Nevertheless, an examination of the check marks reveals some interesting passages. Through measure 24, the check marks follow the building-block analysis shown in Figure 4.2 above. Schoenberg’s grouping of measures 25–27 is problematic, as there is no aggregate nor linear statement of a twelve-tone row as shown in Figure 4.4 below; perhaps Schoenberg was thinking of three building blocks (one per measure) of five notes each or two overlapping ten-note building blocks. His grouping of measures 28–30, however, presents the possibility

²⁴ Simms, 120. See Figure 4.4 below.

of three different linear twelve-tone rows being heard simultaneously—

[1,2,3,0,4,5,6,9,7,10,11,8], [1,8,2,3,0,4,5,6,8,7,10,11], and

[4,0,5,6,9,7,3,1,2,10,11,8]—since each note is struck independently.

Meanwhile, measures 40–43, Schoenberg’s last grouping, show a ten-note “building block” in measures 40–41 and an aggregate field with repeated pitch classes [1,4] in measures 41–43—ignoring the left hand, pitch classes [1,4] in measure 41, however, produces a twelve-tone row. Schoenberg’s ironic quip, “this is not built from ‘tropes,’ so it is not a good atonal composition,” is perhaps unfair though, since Hauer, at the time he composed the *Präludium für Celesta*, had not yet developed his trope theories. Schoenberg’s observation that the piece is not built from tropes does, nonetheless, point to Hauer’s inconsistent application of his twelve-tone law at this early stage of his twelve-tone thinking; Hauer would not strictly apply his twelve-tone law until 1922–1923.²⁵

²⁵ See Simms, 118: “Hauer’s *Etüden für Klavier*, composed in 1922 and 1923, is his first published collection of works that strictly and continuously reveal the twelve-tone law and the application of tropes.”

Figure 4.4 Josef Matthias Hauer: *Präludium für Celesta* (1921)
Arnold Schoenberg's Check Marks (✓)²⁶

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Josef Matthias Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* (1921). The score is written in two staves (treble and bass clef) and includes measures 23, 28, 32, 36, and 40. Arnold Schoenberg's annotations are visible, including checkmarks (✓) above notes and brackets labeled "linear statement / 12 tones" with numbers 1-12. A circled handwritten note at the bottom reads: "Diese hier ist nicht auf 'Tropen' aufgebaut; ist also keine gute atonale Komposition." The score is dated "Hagen 1921".

Diese hier ist nicht auf "Tropen" aufgebaut; ist also keine gute atonale Komposition.

(This is not built from "tropes," so it is not a good atonal composition.)

²⁶ Schoenberg's personal and annotated copy of Josef Matthias Hauer, *Präludium für Celesta* from *Melos* 3, no. 1 is found in ASC Schönberg Archive: Box P5.

Presumably, Schoenberg said something in his early 1922 lecture(s) to quell the potential plagiarism accusations. Did he, then, publicly unveil the new discovery that he had previously and secretly shown Stein, or had his conception of twelve-tone composition changed between September 1921 and January 1922? Although there is no dated written material that unequivocally records the early 1922 lectures, Webern tells Jalowetz, “Too bad that you can’t hear these lectures. By the way, they are being taken down. I will get you a copy as soon as possible.” There are, however, two undated documents that are likely partial transcripts of these lectures: “Komposition mit zwölf Tönen” —or *KzT* as Arved Ashby has coined it—and a set of handwritten notes taken by Berg. *KzT* appears to be a partial transcript of an early 1922 Schoenberg lecture or lectures while Berg’s handwritten record appears to be more cursory notes from the same lecture or lectures.²⁷

²⁷ Several unique phrases are found in both *KzT* and Berg’s handwritten notes, evidence that they probably stem from the same source; for example “vis à vis du rien,” “ohne ihn auszuführen = Aphorismus,” “Passacaglia / Entwicklung der hinzutretenden Stimmen abgeleitet . . . Möglichkeit[en] . . . Zusammenklangs mit der Hauptstimme.” The *KzT* typescript is not directly related to Schoenberg’s later lecture entitled “Composition with Twelve Tones,” which was first delivered at UCLA in March 1941 or to the “12TK” Princeton lecture notes of 1934. See Claudio Spies, “Vortrag / 12 T K / Princeton,” *Perspectives of New Music* 13 (1974): 58–136. *KzT* is also not related to an enclosure “Komposition mit 12 Tönen” found in a letter dated 13 July 1926 from Berg to Schoenberg (ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #10189). Transcription in *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg-Alban Berg, Part 2: 1918–1935*, ed. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Andreas Meyer, *Briefwechsel der Wiener Schule*, ed. Thomas Ertelt, vol. 3 (Mainz: Schott, 2007), Letter 622: 267–71; translation in *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, ed.

KzT is an anonymous typescript found in the Berg collection at the Austrian National Library (ÖNB).²⁸ Most of the existing literature on *KzT* is confusing, inaccurate, and full of discrepancies because of presuppositions that the typescript is related to the famous, perhaps phantom, announcement on 17 February 1923—a date, as seen earlier, that is rife with inconsistencies. As will be shown, there is resounding evidence to suggest that *KzT* may have been typed from notes taken in 1922, a year earlier.²⁹ The “authorship” of *KzT* has been attributed to several people for a multitude of circumstantial reasons. Many of these reasons are based on Joan Allen Smith’s oral history, but she has reconstructed a scenario that wrongly assumes that Schoenberg gathered his

Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1987), 348–51.

²⁸ “Komposition mit zwölf Tönen,” undated typescript, Austrian National Library (ÖNB) Musiksammlung, ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 121. A transcription of *KzT* can be found in Rudolf Stephan, “Ein frühes Dokument zur Entstehung der Zwölftonkomposition,” in *Festschrift Arno Forchert zum 60. Geburtstag* (Kassel, Basel, London, and New York: Bärenreiter, 1986), 296–302. A complete translation and discussion can be found in both Arved Mark Ashby, “The Development of Berg’s Twelve Tone Aesthetic as Seen in the *Lyric Suite* and Its Sources” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1995), Chapter 3: 42–73 and Appendix to Chapter 3: 223–41 and Jennifer Robin Shaw, “Schoenberg’s Choral Symphony, *Die Jakobsleiter*, and Other Wartime Fragments” (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2002), Chapter 5: 299–356 and Appendix B: “Composition with Twelve Tones,” 580–611. A partial translation and discussion can be found in Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life*, 173–76 and Áine C. Heneghan “Tradition as Muse: Schoenberg’s Musical Morphology and Nascent Dodecaphony” (Ph.D. diss., Trinity College, University of Dublin, 2006), Chapter 4: 146–218.

²⁹ In his 1987 article “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?” Simms proposes that, contrary to popular belief, there was a 1922 announcement in which Schoenberg discussed twelve-tone compositional techniques; see Simms, 123. See also Fusako Hamao, “Reconstructing Schoenberg’s Early Lectures” (working paper, 2007), 4–8 and Heneghan, 155–71.

students on only one occasion to announce his twelve-tone compositional techniques, and that the gathering took place in February 1923. In a new, yet unpublished paper, "Reconstructing Schoenberg's Early Lectures on the Twelve-Tone Method" (2007), Fusako Hamao presents information that calls attention to numerous details that challenge the dates recalled by the Smith's interviewees, their memories possibly hazy after fifty years or skewed by the published materials readily available. Hamao shows, for example, through letters and other primary documents, that neither Max Deutsch nor Erwin Ratz was likely to have been in Vienna in February 1923, although both recalled that date when interviewed by Smith.³⁰ By stripping down all the assumptions, and by carefully incorporating the information that can be gathered from the written materials, sketches, and music manuscripts from this time, new light can be shed on the origins of *KzT*.

The fact that *KzT* is found in the Berg Collection at ÖNB would at first glance suggest that Berg was the author. This notion is quickly dispelled; on the last page of the typescript, Helene Berg writes, "Dieser Aufsatz scheint von Anton v. Webern zu sein." (This essay appears to be written by Anton v. Webern.)

³⁰ See Hamao, "Reconstructing Schoenberg's Early Lectures."

Helene Berg's attribution to Webern has since been discredited by Arved Ashby, due to the writing style and semantics found in *KzT*, while Rudolf Stephan finds the attribution to Webern to have little justification.³¹ Ashby, Jennifer Shaw, and Joseph Auner have tentatively attributed the typescript to Erwin Stein.³² Most recently, Áine Heneghan has suggested Fritz Mahler, a student of Berg's who helped Berg prepare the index for Schoenberg's 1922 revised edition of the *Harmonielehre*, as the author of *KzT*.³³ Unlike the others, however, Heneghan, like Hamao and Simms, proposes that *KzT* is a typescript of an earlier 1922 set of lectures, not a 1923 announcement, based on the description of twelve-tone techniques.

³¹ Ashby, 45, states: "He [the author of *KzT*] was likely not Berg himself: Reinhold Brinkmann and Claudio Spies have found the writing too primitive and awkward to be characteristic of the highly literate Berg, and indeed, Helene Berg must have had reason to attribute it to someone other than her husband. In addition to matters of writing style, one detail would also seem to eliminate Webern from candidacy: "Komposition mit zwölf Tönen refers (in lines 93–97) to a six-tone row in *Die Jakobsleiter* while Webern's later lectures published as *The Path to the New Music* incorrectly refer to a seven-note series." Stephan, 296, writes: "Helene Berg notierte auf der letzten Seite (S. 13): 'Dieser Aufsatz scheint von Anton von Webern zu sein'. Diese zuweisung hat indessen wenig für sich. Eine Begründung wird nicht gegeben."

³² Ashby, 46–47, Shaw, 582–86, and Auner, 173–74.

³³ Heneghan, 164–72.

According to *KzT*, the first twelve-tone (non-serial, freely atonal) compositions resulted in short, aphoristic experiments:³⁴

With the outset of twelve-tone composition [non-serial, free atonality] one suddenly found himself face-to-face with nothing: things past were put aside, a new form was not yet found. At first one composed according to feeling. The conscious search for the perfect form [*einer bewussten Spitze des Formgefühls*] could not be abandoned, however, but was a necessity. These first attempts resulted in something that was likewise a necessity: conciseness. If motivic repetition and motivic development fall away it becomes impossible to write long compositions. It was a matter of arranging a thought formally, of condensing it clearly. The conventional means of doing this were denied, [and] conciseness facilitated comprehensibility. These first attempts discharged the thought without having to implement it. (Aphorism) These short pieces were found to be only a provisional form.³⁵

KzT then states that it was necessary to find laws that would allow for longer forms, as Schoenberg declared in 1941, “The method of composing with twelve tones grew out of a necessity.”³⁶ During the period leading up to the codification

³⁴ At the time that *KzT* was transcribed, Schoenberg’s use of the term “twelve-tone composition” encompassed non-serial, freely atonal music—that is to say all music without a tonal center. See discussion below. Simms defines atonality as: “A phenomenon in twentieth-century music characterized by the absence of tonal, functional harmonic progressions. Atonal music is normally characterized by dissonant harmonies, which are prominent and stable units (structurally equivalent to consonant or triadic harmonies), and the twelve pitch classes appear in it equivalently and nonhierarchically.” Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg*, Glossary: 221.

³⁵ Ashby, 229–30.

³⁶ Arnold Schoenberg, “Composition with Twelve Tones (1)” (1941), in *Style and Idea*, 216.

of his serial twelve-tone techniques, Schoenberg was trying to connect the innovations made possible with the emancipation of dissonance, for example, extreme expressiveness, with the sublimity of older (and longer) forms, but since classical forms were bound to triadic harmonies—for example, sonata-allegro form and fugue—Schoenberg had to seek a new solution to balance the emotionality of free atonality with the comprehensibility of formal structure:³⁷

It was necessary to find laws that would allow for a larger form. Long works make greater demands on comprehensibility than do the short ones (“To grasp is to notice”).³⁸

KzT continues by chronologically outlining Schoenberg’s experiments with “twelve-tone” (non-serial, freely atonal) comprehensibility leading up to his discovery of serial twelve-tone techniques. The first attempts used the schemata of older forms—for example, three-part song form in the *Orchestra Pieces*, Op. 16, No. 3. The use of older forms was even clearer in the *Passacaglia, Parodie*, and *Mondfleck* of *Pierrot Lunaire*, Op. 21; for example, in the *Passacaglia*, musical thought was for the first time unified both horizontally and vertically by a three-note motive. The next step was taken in *Die Jakobsleiter*, where an attempt was made to form a large part of the main theme from six tones while the six

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 217–18.

³⁸ Ashby, 230.

remaining tones formed the complement, stimulated by a remark by Scriabin regarding his *Prometheus*.³⁹ A further attempt was taken in the *Klavierstücke* (unspecified) and in the Variations (1920) of the Serenade, Op. 24, works where an assembly of notes serve as a fundamental motive (in the Serenade, a fourteen-note row).⁴⁰ The final step, or the “fundamental solution” (prinzipielle Lösung), was reached when a work was completed that addressed the problems of uniting free atonality and form:

A piece produced to this end signifies the fundamental solution; it contains namely a schema of order for twelve tones, from which others can be developed, as an attempted formal principle for composition with twelve tones.

One creates an order of twelve tones, not by chance (Hauer) but according to the following principle: a *Grundgestalt* [basic shape] is formed, [one] such that it allows for a complementary *Gestalt* [*eine komplementäre Gestalt*]; to this *Gestalt* [shape] the rest of the twelve tones will be added, creating a three-voice passage. These *Gestalts* can be used in any direction, partly as horizontal line, partly as chords. They are the motivic basis for all development.

The twelve tones have presented themselves first as a succession, from which a three-voice passage then develops. The second voice complements the first. The third represents the rest: part

³⁹ Here, the “author” of *KzT* misattributes the remark to Scriabin rather than to Leonid Sabaneyev. See the discussion below on Scriabin, Sabaneyev, and *Prometheus*.

⁴⁰ Chronology of steps/attempts summarized from Ashby’s translation of *KzT* in Ashby, Appendix to Chapter 3. The unspecified *Klavierstücke* best matching this description are Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2. See the discussion below.

completion, part deficient [and] demanding [chromatic] completion.

From these *Grundgestalten* all conceivable forms are produced, following from inversion, retrograde, and retrograde of the inversion.

In addition to the *Grundgestalt* a *dominant-form* is developed, proceeding from the following idea. The dominant of a twelve-tone row lies in the middle, is the same as the diminished fifth.

Through these transformations eight *Grundgestalts* are obtained: eight springs [*Quellen*], as it were, from which *Gestalts* can flow. The further use of *Gestalts* can proceed more freely.⁴¹

This description of the completed work, the fundamental solution of Schoenberg's path to serial twelve-tone composition, perfectly describes the surface-level details found in the Prelude, Op. 25, as explored in Chapter 3. Had *KzT* been an essay compiled from notes taken at an announcement on 17 February 1923—the day Schoenberg finished the Waltz, Op. 23, the last of what would be published as the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23—one would expect that an analysis, or at the least a passing description or cursory mention of the Waltz to seep into the lecture since it too is a piece based on a twelve-tone row. The twelve-tone row of the Waltz, however, is not segmented into three voices, and it is never transposed at the tritone to create a dominant, so the description of the

⁴¹ Ashby, 230–31. Heneghan delves into the “[basic] shape,” “complement,” and “remainder” of the twelve-tone row from the Prelude, Op. 25, in “Tradition as Muse: Schoenberg’s Musical Morphology and Nascent Dodecaphony,” Chapter 4.

fundamental solution in *KzT* obviously does not refer to the Waltz, but rather to the Prelude, Op. 25.⁴² As *KzT* also does not specifically describe (or mention) any works after the Prelude, it is almost certain that *KzT* is a typescript of a lecture given after the composition of the Prelude in summer 1921, but before Schoenberg's next experiments with serial twelve-tone composition in early 1923, which will be examined in Chapter 5.

As mentioned above, handwritten notes by Berg, ostensibly from the same lecture as *KzT*, can be found in the Berg Collection at the ÖNB. These notes are contained in ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 107/I, as fols. 12–13. The F21 Berg 107/I folder is a compilation of notes collected by Berg or perhaps someone else—at some point after 1925—of miscellaneous jottings going back at least to summer 1920.⁴³ The first page of the notes in the folder is labeled Op. 25 by Berg, but it is plainly a later addition and is highly misleading about the compilation as a whole. The notes found on fols. 1–10 (fol. 11 appears to be missing) are not directly related to

⁴² For an analysis of the Waltz, Op. 23, see Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg*, 199–201.

⁴³ For example, the designation of Op. 25 was not made until 1923; fol. 5 of the Berg notes contains a reference to Schoenberg's Suite, Op. 29, which was not composed until 1925. Transcription of the contents of ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 107/I in Werner Grünzweig, *Ahnung und Wissen, Geist und Form: Alban Berg als Musikschriftsteller und Analytiker der Musik Arnold Schönbergs*, Alban Berg Studien, ed. Rudolf Stephan, vol. 5 (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2000), 285–92.

KzT, although there are some shared ideas.⁴⁴ The Berg notes on fols. 12–13, however, closely parallel the content of *KzT*. Fol. 12^r corresponds to pages 1–3 of *KzT*; both cover the historical development of the abandonment of tonality, including the cyclical nature of polyphony and homophony, and how polyphony had again returned, but this time with a vocabulary of the twelve notes of a chromatic scale as opposed to the seven notes of the diatonic scale. Fols. 12^v and 13^r correspond to pages 4–5 of *KzT*, which encompass the path of attempts to the fundamental solution as outlined above from *KzT*. Fol. 13^v corresponds to pages 5–6 of *KzT*, which defines the fundamental solution itself. At this point, Berg's notes end, but *KzT* continues for seven more typed pages. Although fols. 12–13 appear to be cursory notes that Berg took at the same lecture that produced the *KzT* typescript, Ashby suggests an alternate interpretation: that perhaps *KzT* is an expansion or fleshing out of Berg's notes, or that Berg's notes heavily influenced *KzT*'s author, since, among other things, annotations in Berg's handwriting can also be found on *KzT* itself.⁴⁵ The fact that Berg's notes do not

⁴⁴ See Heneghan, Chapter 4.

⁴⁵ See Ashby, 44–47. There is no conclusive evidence that the handwritten annotations are from early 1922. In fact, a few of the corrections would appear to be from March 1923 or later. For example, on p. 6 of *KzT*, Berg has written “welches?” and there is a faint “Op. 25/I” found in the top margin. (See Stephan, 298, note 6.) As Op. 25 was not designated as such until after all the movements were composed in March 1923, this annotation could not have been made in 1922. See also note 8 and note 55. The hypothesis that *KzT* could represent a fleshing out of Berg's

cover the last seven pages of *KzT* is not factored in Ashby's conclusions, although he does state that *KzT* contains ideas found in other contemporary writings by Schoenberg:

This essay contains ideas that Schoenberg phrased very similarly in other publications [although then unpublished], and at times repeats entire paragraphs verbatim from published Schoenberg texts: lines 122–136 represent the largest wholesale appropriation, repeating most of a paragraph from p. 502 of the revised 1922 edition of Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre*. *KzT* often alludes to material contained in the paragraphs that Schoenberg added to that second [*sic*] edition of the *Harmonielehre*, making it unlikely that the essay at hand was written much later than in 1922.⁴⁶

To support her 1922 dating of *KzT*, Heneghan also discusses ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 107/I.⁴⁷ Heneghan makes a solid case that fols. 12–13 likely represent information amassed from the lecture(s) Schoenberg gave in early 1922 and that the information neatly corresponds to ideas in Schoenberg's unsent letter to Hauer of July 1922, found in the margins of "Sphärenmusik."⁴⁸ Her reading,

handwritten notes would seemingly be compromised by the fact that there are no notes by Berg that correspond to the last seven pages of *KzT*. Heneghan, 162–63, also proposes that the author of *KzT* was heavily reliant on Berg's notes, although she suggests that *KzT* reveals many mistakes as the author attempted to elaborate on Berg's notes.

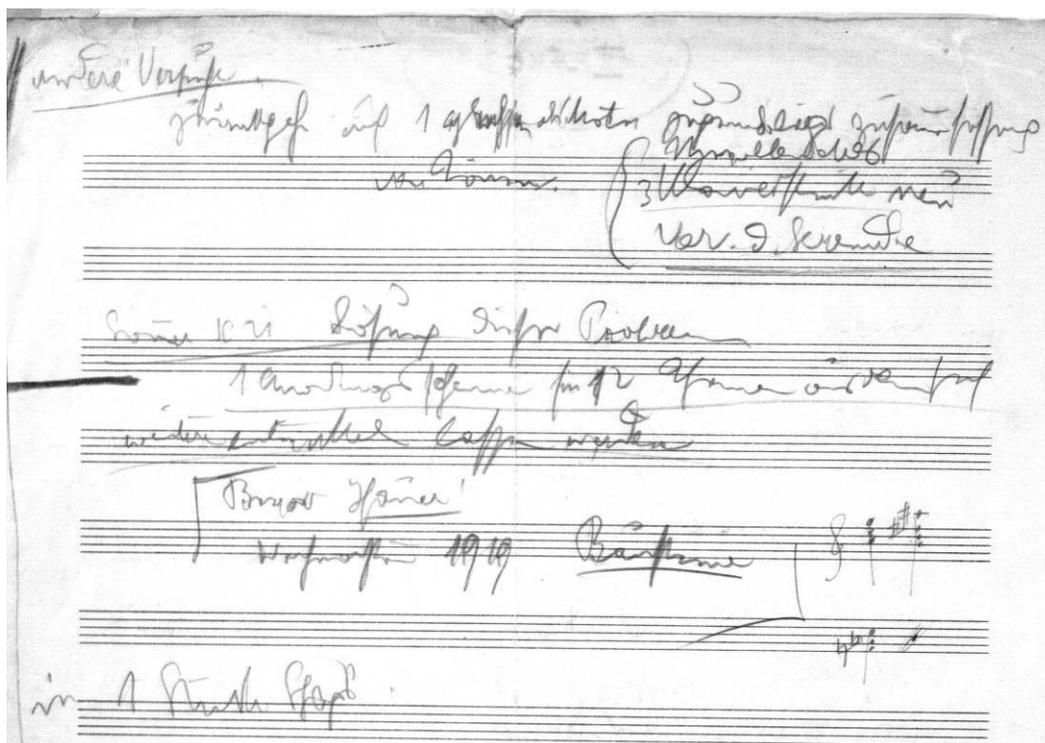
⁴⁶ Ashby, 46–47. Ashby, like Shaw after him, concludes that *KzT* most likely represents ideas expressed by Schoenberg at the time of the famous announcement on 17 February 1923.

⁴⁷ Heneghan, Chapter 4. See also Grünzweig, 285–92.

⁴⁸ See the discussion above on "Sphärenmusik."

however, of the top portion of fol. 13^v of Berg's notes differs from that of the present author.⁴⁹

Figure 4.5 Alban Berg: ÖNB F21 Berg 107/I, fol. 13^v (top)



⁴⁹ Austrian National Library (ÖNB) Musiksammlung, ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 107/I. Grünzweig also discusses the relationship between KzT and F21 Berg 107/I and comments on the uncertainty in dating and authorship of both; see Grünzweig, 187–88.

Figure 4.5a Alban Berg: ÖNB F21 Berg 107/I, fol. 13^v (top)
Deborah H. How: Transcription of Text from Figure 4.5

andere Versuche

zurückgeh[n] auf 1 gleich als Motiv zugrundeliegend[e] Zusammenfassung
von Tönen

Unvollendetes
3 Klavierstücke neu[e]
Var. d. Serenade

Sommer 1921 Lösung dieser Probleme
1 Anordnungsschema für 12 Tönen aus denen sich
weitere entwickeln lassen werden.

Bevor Hauer!
Weihnachten 1919 Bausteine

in 1 Stück Schönbergs

Figure 4.5b Alban Berg: ÖNB F21 Berg 107/I, fol. 13^v (top)
Deborah H. How: Translation of Text from Figure 4.5

other attempts

Go back to 1 underlying set of tones [that are] just like a motive

things incomplete
3 new Piano Piece[s]
Var. of the Serenade

Summer 1921 Solution to these Problems
1 ordered arrangement for 12 tones from which [others] can be further
developed

Before Hauer!
Christmas 1919 Building Blocks

Schoenberg in 1 piece

Figure 4.5c Alban Berg: ÖNB F21 Berg 107/I, fol. 13^v (top)
Arved M. Ashby: Transcription of Text from Figure 4.5⁵⁰

andere Versuche

zurückgeh[en] auf 1 gleich als Motiv
von Tönen

zugrundeliegend Zusammenfassung
unvollendetes
3 Klavierstücke neue
Var. d. Serenade

Sommer 1921 Lösung dieser Probleme

1 Anordnungsschema für 12 Themen aus denen sich
weitere entwickeln lassen werden

Bevor Hauer!
Weihnachten 1919 Bausteine



in 1. Stück Schönbergs

Figure 4.5d Alban Berg: ÖNB F21 Berg 107/I, fol. 13^v (top)
Werner Grünzweig: Transcription of Text from Figure 4.5⁵¹

13': andere Versuche / zurückgehn auf 1 [Gruppe?] als Motiv zugrundeliegend Zusammenfassung von Tönen (Unvollendetes / 3 Klavierstücke neu / Var. d. Serenade)

Sommer 1921 Lösung dieser Probleme / 1 Anordnungsschema für 12 Themen aus denen sich weitere entwickeln lassen werden.

Bevor Hauer!

Weihnachten 1919 Bausteine



in 1. Stück Schönbergs

⁵⁰ Ashby, 240.

⁵¹ Grünzweig, 291–92.

“Other attempts” (andere Versuche), the heading for this section of Berg’s notes, refers to the other attempts made by Schoenberg to ensure comprehensibility in his post-tonal music as outlined in the summary of attempts found in *KzT*.⁵²

Heneghan asserts that Berg’s reference to “3 new piano pieces” (3 Klavierstücke neu[e]), in the upper-right corner of fol. 13^v, must be what are now known as Op. 23, No. 1 (July 1920), Op. 23, No. 2 (July 1920), and Op. 25, No. 1 (Prelude, Op. 25), based on their dates of composition:

Given that Schoenberg did not work on any of his piano pieces during the period between July 1921 and February 1923, the piano pieces, to which the notes refer, can be easily identified: the only complete pieces are the first and second pieces of what later became the *Klavierstücke*, Op. 23, both written during the summer of 1920, and the piece, composed in July 1921, that was later called the ‘Präludium’ and formed the first movement of the *Suite für Klavier*, Op. 25.⁵³

Heneghan then concludes that “the reference in Berg’s notes to ‘summer 1921’ as the ‘solution to these problems’ suggests that the topic of the lecture/s was the ‘Präludium’ [Prelude, Op. 25]. Thereafter, the description in Berg’s notes and in ‘KzT’ refers not to the *Suite* in general but, specifically to the ‘Präludium’

⁵² An in-depth discussion of Schoenberg’s working definition of “twelve-tone” in 1922 and 1923 will follow later in this chapter. It must also be noted that Schoenberg did not like the term “atonal” to describe his works which used the twelve notes of the chromatic scale equally. See, for example, Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, “Author’s Footnote from Page 407”: 432; “Hauer’s Theories” (1923), in *Style and Idea*, 210–11; and “Opinion or Insight” (1926), in *Style and Idea*, 263–64.

⁵³ Heneghan, 160.

[Prelude, Op. 25].⁵⁴ Heneghan appears to have slightly misread Berg's notes. The Prelude, Op. 25, cannot be both one of the "3 new piano pieces" and the "solution to these problems" because these new pieces, along with the "things incomplete" and "Variations of the Serenade," constitute the list of other attempts that came before summer 1921 and before moving to the fundamental solution of one ordered arrangement of twelve tones.⁵⁵ If the Prelude is one of the three new piano pieces, then it cannot also be the fundamental solution, and vice versa. What, then, were the "things incomplete" and "3 new piano pieces," that with the "Variations of the Serenade," make up the list of "other attempts"?

As outlined in *KzT* and Berg's notes, Schoenberg made various attempts to explore unity and coherence in his works—considering both motivic elements and the equal use of the twelve notes of the chromatic scale—leading up to the composition of the Prelude, Op. 25. In the pieces written in 1920, such as Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2 and the Variations of the Serenade, Op. 24, Schoenberg experiments

⁵⁴ Ibid., 160–61.

⁵⁵ In the top margin of *KzT*, p. 6, a faint "Op. 25/I" can be found, along with a bolder "welches?"—both presumably in Berg's handwriting—above the sentence: "Die prinzipielle Lösung bedeutet ein zu diesem Zweck angefertigtes Stück; es enthält nämlich ein Anordnungsthema für zwölf Töne, aus dem sich andere entwickeln können, [a]ls Versuch eines Formprinzips für die Komposition mit zwölf Tönen." See also note 45.

with the serialized variations of phrases to unify the horizontal and vertical dimensions.⁵⁶ In his analysis of the Variations, Op. 24, Simms writes:

As is typical of his music composed in 1920, Schoenberg does not emphasize the formation of aggregates so much as he does the possibilities of serialized variation to unify the two-dimensional texture. Still, he continues his earlier practice of informally saturating many passages of the movement with all twelve tones, and he continues to use the process of complementation to promote that objective.⁵⁷

In the same letter to Nicolas Slonimsky cited previously, Schoenberg confirms the specific list of other attempts found in Berg's notes, surprisingly in the same order as found in the list: things incompletes, [3] new piano pieces, Variations of the Serenade:

After that [1915] I was always occupied with the aim to base the structure of my music *consciously* on a unifying idea, which produced not only all the other ideas but regulated also their accompaniment and the chords, the "harmonies." There were many attempts to achieve that. But very little of it was finished or published.

As an example of such attempts I may mention the piano pieces op. 23. Here I arrived at a technique which I called (for myself) "composing with tones," a very vague term, but it meant something to me. Namely: In contrast to the ordinary way of using a motive, I used it already almost in the manner of a "basic set of twelve tones." I built other motives and themes from it, and also

⁵⁶ See note 2. See also Simms, "Composing with Tones: Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, and Serenade, Op. 24," in *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg*, 179–219.

⁵⁷ Simms, 208.

accompaniments and other chords—but the theme did not consist of twelve tones. Another example of this kind of aim for unity is my “Serenade.” In this work you can find many examples of this kind. But the best one is the “Variationen,” the third movement. The theme consists of a succession of fourteen tones, but only eleven different ones, and these fourteen tones are permanently used in the whole movement. With lesser strictness still I use the tones of the first two measures in “Tanzszene.”⁵⁸

Schoenberg then reveals that he found the “real meaning of his aim: unity and regularity,” in 1921, although here he curiously writes “fall 1921” rather than “summer 1921”:

The fourth movement, “Sonett” [from the Serenade, Op. 24], is a real “composition with twelve tones.” The technique is here relatively primitive, because it was one of the first works written strictly in harmony with this method, though it was not the very first—there were some movements of the “Suite for Piano” which I composed in the fall of 1921. Here I became suddenly conscious of the real meaning of my aim: unity and regularity, which unconsciously had led me this way.⁵⁹

Schoenberg identifies “some movements of the ‘Suite for Piano’”—presumably the Prelude and unfinished Intermezzo, Op. 25—as being the first “composition[s] with twelve tones,” or as *KzT* and Berg note, the fundamental solution or solution to these problems. In an essay from c. 1948, also titled

⁵⁸ Slonimsky, 1315–16. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Stein was in Traunkirchen in late August through mid-September 1921. (See Chapter 1, note 21.) Perhaps Schoenberg was using “fall” informally.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

“Composition with Twelve Tones,” Schoenberg clarifies the adjective “real” by replacing it with “strict” to modify “composition with twelve tones,” and he reiterates that it took several stages (other attempts) to achieve his goal:

Before I wrote my first strict composition with twelve tones—in 1921—I had still to pass through several stages. This can be noticed in two works which I had partly written preceding the *Piano Suite*, Op. 25—partly even in 1919, the *Five Piano Pieces*, Op. 23, and the *Serenade*, Op. 24. In both these works there are parts composed in 1922 and 1923 which are strict twelve-tone compositions. But the rest represent the aforementioned stages.⁶⁰

At the time of the Prelude, Op. 25, composed in late July 1921, there were several things incomplete or, as Schoenberg wrote, “There were many attempts to achieve that [unity]. But very little of it was finished or published.”⁶¹ A quick glance at Schoenberg’s compositional chronology of works from 1917 to mid-1923, comprehensively outlined in Sichardt’s *Die Entstehung der Zwölftonmethode Arnold Schönbergs*, shows that besides the incomplete oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter*, there were numerous unfinished items, including fragments of several chamber works, piano pieces, and what would later be Nos. 2 and 5 of the Serenade,

⁶⁰ Arnold Schoenberg, “Composition with Twelve Tones (2)” (c. 1948), in *Style and Idea*, 248. Schoenberg’s reference to works partly written in 1919 is interesting and perhaps a reference to two fragments, labeled by Maegaard as Op. 23 A and B (not part of the final version of Op. 23), which were sketched no later than 1920. See Maegaard, 95–98.

⁶¹ Slonimsky, 1315.

Op. 24.⁶² Although the first and second of the “3 new piano pieces” must undoubtedly be Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, as identified by Heneghan, the third piece is plausibly what is now numbered Op. 23, No. 4. Schoenberg began work on Op. 23, No. 4 on 26 July 1920, just as he was finishing Op. 23, No. 2.⁶³ Although it appears that Schoenberg only wrote out the first fourteen measures of Op. 23, No. 4 in summer 1920, his notes on the draft show sophisticated theoretical exploration of interrelated motivic elements. Simms explains:

The draft manuscript for measures 1–14 of Piece No. 4 [Op. 23] [see Figure 4.6 below] contains provocative analytic annotations, which were entered by Schoenberg himself and are unique among his compositional manuscripts. These consist of circles placed around three groups of tones in the first two measures and labels attached to subgroups of tones within the circles. A_1 indicates the single note D^\sharp from the main theme; A_2 , the remainder of the theme ($B-B^\flat-D-E-G$). Other labels are connected to these tone groups:

$B_1 = C^\sharp-A$	$C_1 = D-B^\flat$ and $A-D^\flat$	$D_1 = A^\flat-C$ and $G^\flat-B^\flat$
$B_2 = C-A^\flat$	$C_2 = C-F$	$D_2 = A-F$
$B_3 = G-B$		

The pseudomathematical appearance of these annotations is similar to the markings that Schoenberg sometimes used in his theoretical writings to indicate small motives or motivic particles. In the manuscript of Piece No. 4 he uses the labels similarly, to designate

⁶² Sichardt, Anhang: 205–14. See also ASC Website, Musikmanuskripte, http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/music/manuscripts/manuscripts.htm and Alle Titel (440 Einträge), http://81.223.24.101:8081/schoenberg_test/allewerke.php?sortierung=titel&titel_clicked=1.

⁶³ See Sichardt, 207, and Simms, 192.

minute figures, mainly dyads whose tones are separated by a major third or its inversion. When these small tone-groups recur in the fourteen-measure fragment—usually at their original pitch or sometimes transposed—they are given the appropriate labels. Schoenberg also makes note of certain equivalences among these dyads. In the left margin under the date 26 July 1920, he writes: “ $B_1+B_2 = C_1$,” that is, the tones $C^\sharp-A$ plus $C-A^\flat$ are equivalent (by transposition and reordering) to $D-B^\flat$ and $A-D^\flat$.⁶⁴

Although incomplete, Op. 23, No. 4 fits the parameters of Schoenberg’s “other attempts.”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Simms, 194–96.

⁶⁵ For a further discussion of the motivic properties found in the remaining measures (mm. 14 to the end) of Op. 23, No. 4, composed 10–13 February 1923, see Simms, 192–96.

In terms of dating, however, the most important detail in *KzT* and Berg's notes is the mention of the "Variations of the Serenade." As with Op. 23 and Op. 25, the Serenade, Op. 24, was not complete—and the internal movements not collected as a larger work—until 1923. In order for *KzT* and Berg's notes to be connected with an early 1922 Schoenberg lecture or series of lectures, there must be evidence that Schoenberg began referring to a piece or pieces as a "Serenade" by that time. In Felix Greissle's unpublished biography of Schoenberg, he reminisces:

In the late summer of 1920, Schoenberg was working on the "Serenade." Whenever a movement was finished, he tried it out with his students. He had no guitar player. While I was attending Schoenberg's course at the Schwarzwaldschule, it came to his attention that I had a working knowledge of the guitar. . . . I think that this may have been an incentive for Schoenberg's taking me on as a private pupil. One day, shortly after my lessons had begun, Schoenberg suddenly said to me, "This coming Sunday we are going to try out a movement from my 'Serenade.' You will play the guitar."

. . . The movement started out with the guitar using the fourths of the open strings: e, a, d, g. But instead of the open fourth b–e, that follows the g-string a third higher, I had to touch c and f which created a sequence of fourths. . . . [Schoenberg] later omitted [this movement] from the "Serenade."⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Felix Greissle, "The Private History of the Composition with Twelve Tones: The Path to the New Music," TMs, ASC Schönberg Archive: Felix Greissle Satellite Collection: B1: 4, 1–4. See also B2 (German), 347–53; B10, 1–4. See also "Zwei Vorträge: I. Die Anfänge der Komposition mit zwölf Tönen" (gehalten im Schönberg-Haus zu Mödling im Juli 1979), lecture typescript, 6–9. A draft for a movement, "Sehr frei im Vortrag," that was not included in the final Serenade, Op.

More concretely, in Webern's letter to Jalowetz of 7 January 1922, Webern mentions that, "Schönberg komponiert jetzt. An der Serenade u. an Liedern." (Schoenberg is now composing [again]. The Serenade and songs.)⁶⁸

Another indicator that *KzT* is based on Schoenberg's ideas from early 1922 and not 1923 is the inclusion of Hauer's term "building blocks." *KzT* only contains references to Hauer's building blocks, not to his tropes. As stated earlier in this chapter, the term "trope" was introduced in summer 1922 with the publication of Hauer's "Sphärenmusik." This suggests that *KzT* predates Hauer's essay, since, as seen in Schoenberg's margin notes in "Sphärenmusik" and the *Präludium für Celesta*, he was focused on Hauer's

24, is found in the Op. 24 materials at the ASC Schönberg Archive. The unused movement opens with open fourths in the guitar, but ends with B–E, not C–F. See B2, 352–53 for further explanation and examples of the open fourths. For further discussion of the Serenade, Op. 24, see Schardt, 207–9 and Maegaard, 99–104.

⁶⁸ Webern, *Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, Letter 288: 499. Webern's remark about "Liedern" may refer to Schoenberg's chamber ensemble arrangements of Luigi Denza's "Funiculi, Funicula [für Stimme und kleines Ensemble]" (1921) and Johann Sioly's "Weil i a alter Drahrer bin [für Stimme und kleines Ensemble]" (1921). See ASC Website: Musikmanuskripte: Bearbeitungen, http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/music/manuscripts/manuscripts_MS69.htm.

theory of tropes and would likely have used the term at any time thereafter.⁶⁹

It has been widely suggested that *KzT* is a typed manuscript of a draft of an essay that stems from a talk by Schoenberg, whether it be the lecture(s) in 1922 or the famous announcement in 1923, and much research has been conducted to find its “author.” Berg’s notes in ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 107/I have added an extra dimension to the discussion—namely, whether these notes were taken at the same lecture(s), and whether they were used to flesh out ideas in *KzT* or were instead taken from *KzT*. Perhaps the simplest answer has been too quickly discarded and thus overlooked: *KzT* could simply be a typed transcription of a Schoenberg lecture(s) or voice recording of a Schoenberg lecture(s)—there is no “author,” just a “typist” or “transcriber.” Perhaps the typist gave the typed transcript to Berg to correct—this is supported by corrections in Berg’s handwriting on *KzT* itself—and Berg checked the typescript against his own notes taken at the same lecture(s). *KzT* ends awkwardly, in mid-thought:

⁶⁹ For example, see “Composition with Twelve Tones (2)” (c. 1948), in *Style and Idea*, 246–47.

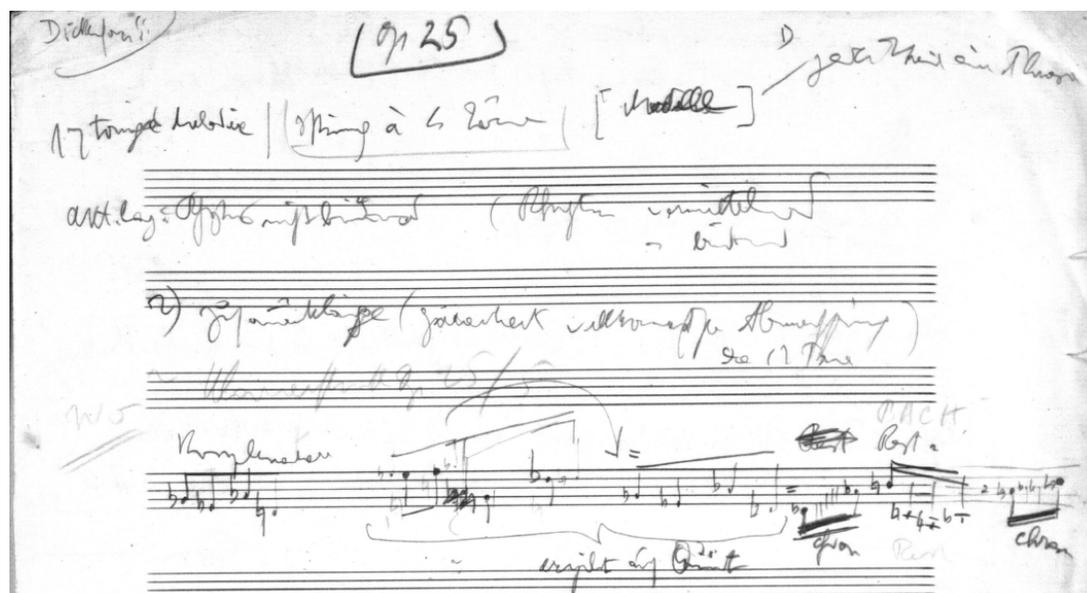
Arranging the twelve tones to produce a *Grundgestalt*.

- 1.) A motive is formed using six tones, and is placed opposite to the remaining six. (Jakobsleiter).⁷⁰

It is evident that *KzT* is a fragment. Conceivably, this stopping point in *KzT* could represent a stopping point during a Schoenberg lecture, to be continued at the next lecture in the series. In fact, recall that Berg's handwritten notes in ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 107/I, fols. 12–13 only correspond to the first six pages of *KzT*. Perhaps Berg's handwritten notes and the first six pages of *KzT* correspond to the first lecture in the series, while the last seven pages of *KzT* correspond to the second lecture in the series, with the awkward hanging thought leading to what will be the topic of the third lecture in the series. It is also possible that if the lectures were recorded, the recording device may have malfunctioned at this stopping point in the typed transcription. There is evidence that Schoenberg perhaps recorded his lectures. As indicated above, several pages of Berg's notes (fols. 1–3) on Op. 25 and related compositional ideas are found in the same folder as Berg's notes on *KzT*. In the very top left-hand corner of fol. 1^r, the word "Dicktafon[?]" is clearly seen:

⁷⁰ Ashby, 233.

Figure 4.7 Alban Berg: ÖNB F21 Berg 107/I, fol. 1^r
Notes on Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25



This may mean that Berg jotted down his notes while listening to a Dictaphone recording of a Schoenberg lecture, pausing to insert musical examples and clarifications.⁷¹ Since there are several specific musical examples found in fols. 1–3, however, it seems more likely that Berg took the notes in person, copying the musical examples off a blackboard, for example. Perhaps Berg is simply indicating that a Dictaphone recording was made of the lecture; or perhaps Berg checked, edited, and amended his notes after listening to the lecture again on

⁷¹ Although no Dictaphone or Dictaphone recording can be found in the ASC Schönberg Archive, the Dictaphone was trademarked by the Columbia Graphophone Company in 1907, so the technology would have been available.

Dictaphone. If the mark after the word “Dicktafon” is in fact a question mark, perhaps Berg was wondering if a Dictaphone recording had been made of the lecture. Although there is no proof that *KzT* is a typed transcription of a voice recording of a lecture given by Schoenberg, the unusual flow of the text, the slightly haphazard organization, as well as some possible mishearings of words, are more in line with a lecture than an attempt at a written essay, as lectures are often dynamic processes, changing and evolving as they unfold. The idea that *KzT* is a typed transcription of a lecture by Schoenberg—and not an essay authored by Erwin Stein or Fritz Mahler, as has been proposed in the current literature—is as likely a scenario as any, and certainly explains how the “author” was intimately acquainted with Schoenberg’s *Harmonielehre* and *Die Jakobsleiter*.

There are conflicting reports on whether or not Berg was present the first time Schoenberg spoke to his students about composing with twelve tones. Before Webern’s letter to Jalowetz of 7 January 1922, he had previously written to Jalowetz on Christmas 1921 and did not make a reference to twelve-tone ideas or Schoenberg’s new lecture series, suggesting that the lectures commenced between Christmas 1921 and 7 January 1922. If we are to assume that the facts in Greissle’s unpublished biography of Schoenberg are true, then Berg was present

at the first announcement in 1922. A postcard from Schoenberg and several friends in Mödling to Berg in Vienna dated 1 January 1922 (ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #6228) wishing him a Happy New Year, as well as a telegram from Schoenberg in Mödling to Berg in Vienna dated 4 January 1922 (ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #6229), confirm that Berg was in the area during this time.⁷² The telegram of 4 January 1922 reads: “mathilde und greissle grippekrank darum freitag leider unmoeglich. wie gehts dir? herzlichst schoenberg.” (Mathilde and Greissle sick with the flu, Friday unfortunately impossible. How are you? Warmly, Schoenberg.) Friday of that week was 6 January 1922, making it logistically almost impossible for the lectures to have commenced between 1 January and 6 January, assuming that Greissle’s recollection that Berg was there the first time is correct. On the other hand, perhaps Greissle misremembered, and Berg was not there the first time. The signatures on the postcard to Berg on New Year’s Day — A. Webern, Steinbauer Oth. & Thern-Steinbauer, E. Steuermann & Hilda Merinski, Mathilde Schönberg, Ruth & Josef Travniček, Minna Webern, Lisette Seybert, Feliz Greissle, G. Schönberg, Karl Rankl, Hanns Eisler, and Novakovic — closely resemble the list of people that Greissle provides as being present at the 1922 announcement:

⁷² Transcription of both postcard and telegram in *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg-Alban Berg, Part 2: 1918–1935*, Letter 526: 157–58 and Letter 527: 158.

Bei dieser denkwürdigen Versammlung waren anwesend: Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Erwin Stein, Egon Wellesz, Hanns Eisler, Karl Rankl, (Josef) Rufer, Erwin Ratz, (Eduard) Steuermann, Schönberg's Tochter Gertrud, (Otmar) Steinbauer, () Trauneck [Travniček]—das ist alles mit Sicherheit, es ist möglich, dass noch andere Leute dort waren.⁷³

Edward (Eduard) Steuermann, however, recalls that Berg was not at the first announcement, but he does not specify the date:

It was a memorable event indeed when one morning we, pupils and friends of Schoenberg, were summoned to his home in Mödling to hear an important announcement. Webern was also present, but not Berg, who could not come for some reason. The announcement was the explanation of the twelve-tone technique with regard to the analysis of the Prelude of the Piano Suite, Op. 25.⁷⁴

Steuermann's ensuing description of the Prelude, Op. 25, and his recollection of Webern's reaction to the announcement allude to the early 1922 lecture(s).

Steuermann vividly remembers Webern's response to the new twelve-tone ideas:

I don't have to add that we were sufficiently bewildered, everyone in a different way and degree. Webern, who naturally was well advanced and probably close to the "row" in practical composition,

⁷³ Felix Greissle, "Zwei Vorträge: I. Die Anfänge der Komposition mit zwölf Tönen," 15.

⁷⁴ Edward Steuermann, "The Possibilities and Impossibilities of Serial Composition: An Unscientific Inquiry" (1959), in *The Not Quite Innocent Bystander: Writings of Edward Steuermann*, ed. Clara Steuermann, David Porter, and Gunther Schuller (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 58.

said to me on our way home: “That’s it! I always had the feeling that when I introduced the twelfth tone, the piece had ended.”⁷⁵

Steuermann’s report of Webern’s reaction echoes Webern’s excitement in his letter to Jalowetz:

Schoenberg is speaking to us all in a series of lectures—at his house—on a technical corollary, or, perhaps better, on a new type of motivic work that he is now using (it’s not only that—it’s hard to formulate it briefly) and with it he unfolds the entire development of, if I may say so, our technique (harmony, etc.)—purely theoretically—this for the first time, together with his recent works. Just imagine that almost everything that has occupied me for about 10 years is being discussed. It is almost too exciting. The impetus was a composition by Hauer, published in “Melos” (a Berlin journal). In this piece—Präludium für Celesta—Schoenberg thought that he saw the beginnings of something similar to what he lately had put to use, in the piano pieces that he wrote in 1921 during the summer in Traunkirchen. This is what I mentioned above. And so as not to be seen as a plagiarist of Mr. Hauer, he is describing these things that he found long ago. The matter rests harmonically and melodically on the 12-tone scale, which Schoenberg now considers the basis of our music. Its theory is already in the new edition of the *Harmonielehre*. Too bad that you can’t hear these lectures. By the way, they are being taken down. I will get you a copy as soon as possible.⁷⁶

Is there a possible scenario in which both Greissle (who says Berg was there) and Steuermann (who says Berg was not there) can be correct? Perhaps Berg was

⁷⁵ Ibid., 59.

⁷⁶ Anton Webern, *Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, ed. Ernst Lichtenhahn, Veröffentlichungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung, vol. 7 (Mainz: Schott, 1999), Letter 228: 499. Translation by present author. Also provided in the passage cited in Chapter 2, note 37.

present when Schoenberg first told his students about the topic of the lecture series, the event that triggered Webern's letter to Jalowetz. Webern's letter implies that Schoenberg told everyone what the lectures would be about, maybe a general overview, but that the new theories would be explained in the lectures to come, thus prompting Greissle to tell Jalowetz that they would be taken down and that he would send a copy as soon as possible. If Greissle remembered Berg being present when the lecture series was first announced, and the basic principles outlined, perhaps Steuermann is remembering the first lecture itself, when Schoenberg described the techniques in greater detail. In *KzT* and Berg's handwritten notes, the Prelude, Op. 25, is not named, nor are any specific pitches or references to its row or row properties. Steuermann's account, however, provides much more detail and names the Prelude, Op. 25, as the example.

The announcement was the explanation of the twelve-tone technique with regard to the analysis of the Prelude of the Piano Suite, Op. 25. As you all probably know, the Suite already uses all four forms of the row—inversion, retrograde, retrograde inversion—but only two transpositions, starting with E and B-flat. As the motive emphasizes the diminished fifth, G–D-flat, Schoenberg jokingly suggested that the piece should be named “G–D-flat middle”—to mention the purely musico-technical aspects of his interest, apart from all expressionism.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Steuermann, 58–59.

Steuermann's account, thus, is not the same as the one found in *KzT* and Berg's handwritten notes, so it is plausible that they were not from the same lecture, but one can speculate that they were from the same series of lectures.⁷⁸ Another possibility is that Greissle simply misremembered Berg being there. Since the names on the New Year's Day postcard to Berg match so closely to the list of people Greissle says was there, New Year's Day would be the perfect time for Schoenberg to announce his new twelve-tone ideas, and, as some have recalled, the first gathering took place on a Sunday, and 1 January fell on a Sunday in 1922. This explanation also fits the timing of Webern's letter to Jalowetz. It would also give credibility to the possibility that Berg's handwritten notes were taken from a voice-recording of the lecture, and that the typist of *KzT* gave Berg a copy of the typed transcript of the lecture for reference, or to have Berg check it for errors against the original recordings, which is how *KzT* ended up in the Berg collection at ÖNB.

Whether or not either of these scenarios is true cannot be proved definitively at the present time due to lack of primary-source evidence, but both are worth considering. Nonetheless, one of the reasons that *KzT* has not been attributed

⁷⁸ See also Hamao, 27–28. Hamao also concludes, based on various parallels, that Steuermann was referring to the 1922 lecture(s), not the 1923 announcement.

directly to Schoenberg is the perceived idiosyncratic use of terms such as “twelve-tone music.” Rudolf Stephan, in the introduction to his transcription of the *KzT* typescript writes:

Perhaps the text comes from Schoenberg. This has, however, not yet been proven. There are also a few terms that make such an attribution seem problematic: the use of the words “twelve-tone music,” the skepticism about thematic work, etc. Several concepts appear here in an unusual context.⁷⁹

Several scholars have since been influenced by and have cited Stephan’s remarks in their studies of *KzT*. For example, Shaw states:

While Stephan regards both authorship and date of the typescript [*KzT*] as uncertain, he suggests that it may have been written after 1924 and before 1933 by Arnold Schoenberg. Yet Stephan considers the writer’s use of the term “Zwölftonkomposition” [*sic*] to be untypical of Schoenberg, since, in the typescript, the writer employs the term to cover contextual atonality as well as serial composition.⁸⁰

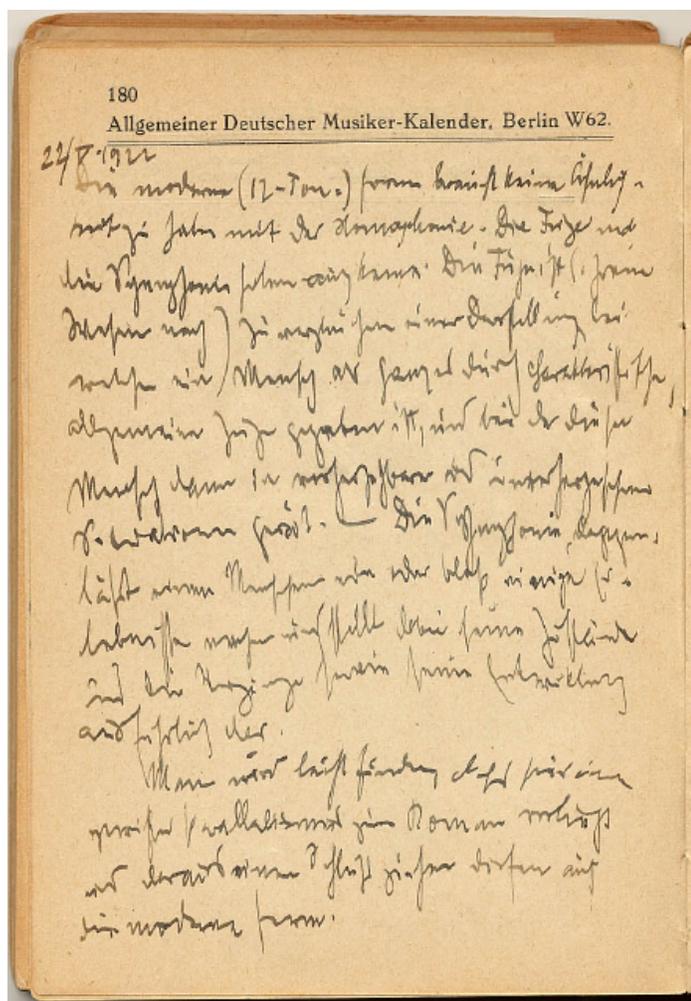
There is ample written evidence, however, that Stephan may be mistaken, that Schoenberg did in fact use the term “twelve-tone composition” in 1922–1923 to encompass both contextual atonality as well as serial composition, in addition to

⁷⁹ Rudolf Stephan, “Ein frühes Dokument zur Entstehung der Zwölftonkomposition,” 296: “Vielleicht stammt der Text von Schönberg. Erweisen läßt sich dies jedoch bisher nicht. Auch gibt es einige Aussagen, die eine solche Zuweisung sogar problematisch erscheinen lassen: die Benutzung des Wortes ‘Zwölftonmusik’, die Skepsis gegenüber der thematischen Arbeit u.a. Manche Begriffe erscheinen hier in einem ungewohnten Zusammenhang.” Translation by present author.

⁸⁰ Shaw, 580–81.

an awareness of “the ultimate necessity of the twelve tones.”⁸¹ On 22 May 1922, Schoenberg penned a theoretical aphorism in a date book where he uses “twelve-tone” to mean non-serial, freely atonal (see Figure 4.8 below):

Figure 4.8 Arnold Schoenberg: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musik-Kalender* (1921) Date Book Entry (22 May 1922)⁸²



⁸¹ See note 96.

⁸² ASC Schönberg Archive: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musik-Kalender* (1921).

Figure 4.8a Arnold Schoenberg: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musik-Kalender* (1921)
Deborah H. How: Transcription of Date Book Entry (22 May 1922)

22/V.1922

Die moderne (12-Ton=) Form braucht keine Ähnlich=keit zu haben mit der Homophonie. Die Fuge und die Symphonie haben auch keine. Die Fuge ist (ihrem Wesen nach) zu vergleichen einer Darstellung bei welcher ein Mensch als Ganzes durch charakteristische, allgemeine Züge gegeben ist, und bei der dieser Mensch dann in vorhersehbare und in unvorhergesehene Situationen gerät. —Die Symphonie dagegen, lässt einen Menschen ein oder bloß einige Er=lebnisse machen und stellt dabei seine Zustände und die Vorgänge sowie seine Entwicklung ausführlich dar.

Man wird leicht finden, dass hier eine gewisse Parallelismus zum Roman vorliegt und daraus einen Schluss ziehen dürfen auf die moderne Form.⁸³

Figure 4.8b Arnold Schoenberg: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musik-Kalender* (1921)
Deborah H. How: Translation of Date Book Entry (22 May 1922)

22 May 1922

Modern (12-tone) form need have no similarity with homophony. Fugue and symphony also have none. Fugue (by its very nature) can be compared to a literary portrayal [*Darstellung*] in which a personality is depicted as a whole through characteristic, general traits with which this

⁸³ The author would like to thank Al and Susanne Batzdorff, Rick and Ellen Batzdorf, and Bryan R. Simms for their assistance in transcribing and translating Schoenberg's 22 May 1922 datebook entry. ASC's transcription on file slightly differs in the third sentence: "Die Fuge ist (ihrem Wesen nach) zu vergleichen einer Darstellung bei welcher ein Mensch als Ganzer durch charakteristische, . . ."

Figure 4.8b, Continued

character then moves in foreseeable as well as in unforeseen situations.—The symphony on the other hand lets the character have one or just a few experiences and thus represents his conditions, actions, and development in detail.

One can easily see that there is a parallel here with the novel and from it reach a conclusion about modern form.⁸⁴

A year later, on 9 May 1923, Schoenberg typed an essay that opens, “In der Komposition mit 12 Tönen,” the same wording as the title of *KzT*, in which “composition with twelve tones” functions as the terminological umbrella for all works that use the twelve notes of the chromatic scale equally, including, but not limited to, non-serial, freely atonal pieces:

In twelve-tone composition [*In der Komposition mit 12 Tönen*] consonances (major and minor triads) and also the simpler dissonances (diminished triads and seventh chords)—in fact almost everything that used to make up the ebb and flow of harmony—are, as far as possible, avoided. . . .

. . . The weightiest assumption behind twelve-tone composition [*Komposition mit 12 Tönen*] is this thesis: Whatever sounds together (harmonies, chords, the result of part-writing) plays its part in expression and in presentation of the musical idea in just the same way as does all that sounds successively (motive, shape, phrase, sentence, melody, etc.), and it is equally subject to the law of comprehensibility. . . .

⁸⁴ See previous note.

[I]n twelve-tone composition [*in der Komposition mit 12 Tönen*] one need not ask after the more or less dissonant character of a sound-combination, since the combination as such (ignoring whether its effect creates a mood or not) is entirely outside the discussion as an element in the process of composition. This combination will not develop, or, better, it is not *it* that develops, but the relationship of the twelve tones to each other develops, on the basis of a particular prescribed order (motive), determined by the inspiration (the idea!). . . .

In twelve-tone composition [*K.m.12T.*] the matter under discussion is in fact the succession of tones mentioned, whose comprehensibility as a musical idea is independent of whether its components are made audible one after the other or more or less simultaneously. . . .⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Arnold Schoenberg, "Twelve Tone Composition" (1923), in *Style and Idea*, 207–8. Original typed essay can be found in Figure 4.9 below.

Figure 4.9 Arnold Schoenberg, "Komposition mit 12 Tönen" (1923)⁸⁶

20
7.5.1923

In der Komposition mit 12 Tönen werden konsonante Klänge (Dur-, Moll-
akkorde) und auch einfachere Dissonanzen (verminderte 3-kl. und 7-akkorde,
und überhaupt fast alles was das Um und auf der früheren Harmonie bil-
det) nach Möglichkeit vermieden. Dem liegt jedoch kein Naturgesetz der
neuen Kunst zugrunde. Sondern es ist vermutlich bloss eine Reaktions-
erscheinung, eine die keine eigenen Ursachen hat, sondern sich herleitet
von einer anderen Erscheinung zu der sie im Widerspruch zu stehen bestre-
ben. Dem Gesetz im Grunde also auch die ihren sind.
Ist, dem liegt das unbewusste Bestreben zugrunde, die neuen Mittel selb-
ständig auszuprobieren, ihnen Formbestimmungsmöglichkeiten abzugewinnen,
mit ihnen allein alle Wirkungen eines klaren Stils, einer gedungenen und
übersichtlichen und umfassenden Darstellung des musikalischen Gedankens
zu erzielen. Wer sich der alten Mittel im alten Sinn hier bedient, spart
die Mühe, die neu zu kultivieren, begiebt sich jedoch auch der Möglich-
keiten, davon zu geniessen, was nur durch die neuen Mittel erreichbar ist,
wenn die alten ausgeschlossen sind!

Eine spätere Zeit wird vielleicht (!) beide Arten von Mitteln in derselben
Weise nebeneinander verwenden dürfen, wie vor kurzem ein gemischter, teils
homophoner, teils polyphoner Stil eine Verbindung dieser beiden (allerdings
viel verschiedeneren) Kompositionsmethoden prinzipien zulies, obwohl diese
Verbindung nur scher glücklich zu nennen ist.

Der Komposition mit 12 Tönen liegt als ~~Wichtigste Voraussetzung~~ die These zu-
grunde:
Das Zusammenklingende (Harmonien, Akkorde, Stimmführerresultate) ist ~~eben~~
eben ein solcher Teil des Ausdrucks und der Darstellung des musikalischen
Gedankens ~~wie das Nacheinanderklingende~~ (Motiv, Gestalt, Phrase,
Satz, Melodie etc) und unterliegt eben wieder den Gesetzen der Fasslich-
keit.

Dieses Gesetz, das von mir zum ersten mal ausgesprochen wurde und in seiner
Bedeutung erkannt, bewirkt in den
a) homophonen Formen: dass zu gunsten der Entwicklung der Hauptstimme eine
gewisse Oekonomie in der Harmonie waltet, vermöge welcher sie einen ~~entscheidenden~~
entscheidenden Einfluss auf die Entwicklung des Gebildes zu nehmen in der
der Lage ist (Gegensätze, Höhepunkte, Wendungen, Steigerungen, Variationen)
b) in der polyphonen Musik: Motive, Gestalten, Themen, Phrasen und dgl ge-
langen nie dazu, sich über eine gewisse Grösse hinaus auszudehnen (derart
waltet hier die ähnliche Oekonomie), und werden nie mehr entwickelt, spalten
niemals neue Gestalten ab und werden selten variiert; Denn: alle (fast
alle) Entwicklung geschieht durch Veränderung des gegenseitigen Ver-
hältnisses der einzelnen Teile des Gedankens zu einander. Diese sind nicht
nicht bloss in einer Stimme vorhanden, sondern der Gedanke besteht von
vornherein

vhs

⁸⁶ ASC Schönberg Archive: Text Document T34.10^r & v.

Figure 4.9, Continued

aus mehreren Stimmen, der jede einen ganz bestimmten Teil desselben enthält. Und bei der Aenderung des gegenseitigen Zusammenklängeverhältnisses können die Teile nicht nur unverändert bleiben, sondern sie müssen es vielleicht sogar, weil sonst die Entstehung eines durchaus neuen Verhältnisses (der neuen Ableitung aus dem behandelten Gedanken) nicht gesichert scheint.

c) in der Komposition mit 12 Tönen bewirkt diese Gesetz, dass nach dem mehr oder weniger dissonanten Charakter eines Zusammenklanges nicht gefragt werden muss, weil der Zusammenklang als solcher (abgesehen davon, ob seine Wirkung stimmunggebend ist oder nicht) als kompositionelles Element gar nicht zur Diskussion gestellt ist. Dieser Zusammenklang wird sich nicht entwickeln, besser: nicht er entwickelt sich, sondern es entwickelt sich, allerdings auf Grund einer bestimmten durch den Einfall (den Gedanken!) vorgeschriebenen Reihenfolge (Motiv) das Verhältnis der 12 Töne zueinander. Weder würde somit hier ein konsonanter Anfangsakkord eine Andeutung eines tonalen Bezirkes sein können, noch ein dissonanter eine Auflösung nach sich ziehen. (Was aber hat die Verwendung solcher Akkorde für Sinn, wenn die formalen Konsequenzen, zu welchen sie führen, nicht befolgt, weil nicht gefühlt werden?)

Zur Diskussion gestellt ist in der K.m. 12T. eben die erwähnte Tonreihe, deren Fasslichkeit als musikalischer Gedanke davon unabhängig wird, ob ihre Teile nacheinander oder mehr oder weniger gleichzeitig zu Gehör gebracht werden. Aber es hängt vielleicht (gewiss sogar) die weitere Entwicklung und das Tempo der Darstellung davon ab, ob er schon in der ersten Form genügend fasslich war oder vielleicht im Geheile zu fasslich (Gesetze der populären Ausdrucksweise!).

9. Mai 1923

In fact, there exist two more essays written in 1923 in which Schoenberg uses “Komposition mit 12 Tönen” in the same broad manner. In his essay “New Music” (29 September 1923), Schoenberg suggests:

The first thing to be done in music—purely technically, for the spiritual is incalculable—seems to me the following:

1. To put an end, practically and theoretically, to the apparent (surely only apparent?) extremeness and lack of restraint present in twelve-tone composition [*Komposition mit 12 Tönen*], and to look for its laws. Or better, to find the form in which the laws of earlier art can be applied to the new. Five tones have been drawn into composition in a way not called upon before—*that is all*, and it does not call for any new laws.⁸⁷

In his essay “Krenek’s *Sprung über den Schatten*” (21 December 1923) Schoenberg muses:

Musically, too, I have similar reservations about this work [*Krenek’s Sprung über den Schatten*]. Here, too, I find a lack of real faith in what is uncertain, untested, problematic, dangerous: the essence of composition with twelve tones [*Komposition mit 12 Tönen*]. It is accepted merely as a matter of taste, a fashionable commodity; and, on the other hand, superstitious belief in the need for tonality, in the eternal laws of art, handed down but quite unfelt. Nobody can doubt that I have a good ear for tonality. I have proved as much. But that means I also have it for twelve-tone composition [*Komposition mit 12 Tönen*] and that is why in my *Harmonielehre* of 1910/1911 I was already able to state the basic principle governing repetition of notes in the vertical.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Arnold Schoenberg, “New Music” (1923), in *Style and Idea*, 137.

⁸⁸ Arnold Schoenberg, “Krenek’s *Sprung über den Schatten*” (1923), in *Style and Idea*, 479.

That Schoenberg was using the phrase “Komposition mit 12 Tönen” in 1922–1923 as an umbrella term which included free atonality, as well as non-serial and serial organization of the twelve tones, is important and marks a transitional period in his twelve-tone thinking. From this point forward, Schoenberg seems to assess all such earlier stages in post-tonal music—free atonality and serialized variation (“composing with tones”)—as precursors or intimations of the ultimate necessity of the twelve tones, now about to find their full realization in his twelve-tone “method”:

After many unsuccessful attempts during a period of approximately twelve years, I laid the foundations for a new procedure in musical construction which seemed fitted to replace those structural differentiations provided formerly by tonal harmonies.

I called this procedure *Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One Another*.

This method consists primarily of the constant and exclusive use of a set of twelve different tones. This means, of course, that no tone is repeated within the series and that it uses all twelve tones of the chromatic scale, though in a different order. It is in no way identical with the chromatic scale.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Arnold Schoenberg, “Composition with Twelve Tones (1)” (1941), in *Style and Idea*, 218. See also Chapter 5.

Another phrase in *KzT* has also raised many eyebrows, leading many to conclude that Schoenberg (or Berg or Webern) could not have been the source for *KzT*: “A further step in this development was made in *Die Jakobsleiter*; here the attempt was to create a large part of the main themes from six notes (inspired by Scriabin’s remark regarding his *Prometheus*).”⁹⁰ Most scholars note that it was not Aleksander Scriabin himself who actually made the remark, but rather Leonid Sabaneyev in his article “Prometheus von Skrjabin,” published in German translation in Wassily Kandinsky’s *Der blaue Reiter* (1912). Curiously, only Ashby mentions that in the *KzT* typescript itself, “Scrjabins” was inserted by hand, after “Strawinskys” had been crossed out. So in fact, the typist for *KzT* had first misattributed the article to Stravinsky before it was incorrectly corrected to Scriabin. Nevertheless, the discussion of the misattribution of the article to Scriabin, rather than correctly to Sabaneyev, has crept pervasively into the *KzT* literature.⁹¹ A closer look at the parallel passage in Berg’s handwritten notes gives a slightly different, but important reading of the parenthetical phrase in

⁹⁰ *KzT*, 5, lines 26–27: “Einen weiteren Schritt in der Entwicklung bedeutet die *Jakobsleiter*: hier wird der Versuch gemacht, einen grossen Teil her Hauptthemen aus sechs Tönen zu bilden. (Angeregt durch eine Bemerkung Scrjabins zu seinem ‘Prometheus’.)”

⁹¹ See Stephan, 298, note 5; Shaw, 595, note 36; Heneghan, 162–63 and 162, note 69. See also Leonid Sabaneyev, “*Prometheus von Skrjabin*,” *Der Blaue Reiter*, ed. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc (Munich: R. Piper, 1912), 55–67.

question. Berg jots down: “inspired by Scriabin[’s] 6-tone row (Prometheus).”⁹² Since the name of the article is “*Prometheus* von Skrjabin,” and Schoenberg does not mention the author, Leonid Sabaneyev, by name, it seems as though the misattribution may really be a mishearing and nothing more than that. In fact, another look at the marginal notes and unsent letter of July 1922 found in Schoenberg’s copy of Hauer’s essay “Sphärenmusik” probably offers the correct interpretation of what Schoenberg either said or meant to say in the lecture from which *KzT* and Berg’s handwritten notes derive: “. . . I was inspired by Scriabin’s procedure as described in *Der blaue Reiter*.”⁹³ It is perhaps not coincidental that Sabaneyev’s article “*Prometheus* von Skrjabin” had recently been reprinted on 16 December 1920 in *Melos*.⁹⁴

Although neither *KzT* nor Berg’s handwritten notes are dated, there is one document that appears to validate that the Schoenberg lecture(s) took place in early 1922, a missing piece of evidence that has previously been overlooked in

⁹² “. . . angeregt durch Skrjabin 6Tonreihe (Prometheus). . . .” See Grünzweig, 291. See also discussion of these parallel passages on Scriabin and *Prometheus* in Shaw, 594–95 and Heneghan, 162–63.

⁹³ Translation by Simms in “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?” 124. Transcription in Simms, 132: “. . . angeregt durch Skriabins Verfahren das im ‘*Blauen Reiter*’ geschildert war.”

⁹⁴ Leonid Sabaneyev, “*Prometheus* von Skrjabin,” *Melos* 1, no. 21 (December 1920): 479–83.

the literature on *KzT*. In a letter dated March 1922 from Fritz Heinrich Klein to Berg, found in ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 935/I, Klein, with sympathy to Hauer's predicament as being the center of Schoenberg's ire, proclaims that he was actually the inventor of twelve-tone composition, having used the mirror transformations, retrogrades, and transpositions in his piece *Die Maschine* in spring 1921:

Now to the question of the priority of the twelve-tone idea. Poor Hauer! How he is being pestered. That sort of thing cannot happen to me. I will not fight, dispute, and haggle; no polemics or critical attacks are to be feared from my side. . . Here are the plain facts:

In the summer of 1918 I explained to my friend of the time (Maestro Schwerz) in Perchtoldsdorf, Villa Anna that I was no longer going to Schoenberg's composition course, for there one learned only the dull old classical way of constructing periods. Today, there is only one [option]: to compose freely with twelve tones!

The first work in which a twelve-tone basic idea occurs, with retrograde and inversion, mirror forms, transposition, etc., etc., is *Die Maschine* (spring 1921) . . .

I do not at all claim to have been the first twelve-tone thinker; to me it is not a question of priority, I want only justice. I would like that it not be kept quiet or concealed that my *Maschine*—let us speak modestly—was one of the first works in music literature to be constructed with the full consciousness of the twelve-tone transformations. Certainly no one had yet attempted composing with twelve intervals [Mutterakkord] (which is simultaneously

applied in *Die Maschine*), and so no one claims priority in that regard.⁹⁵

The fact that Klein is publically sympathizing with Hauer's plight and that he is specifically commenting on his own use of retrograde, inversion, mirror transformations, and transformations in spring 1921 within a twelve-tone composition before Schoenberg did, is telling.⁹⁶ This means that by March 1922,

⁹⁵ Fritz Heinrich Klein, letter to Alban Berg of March 1922, found in ÖNB Folder F21 Berg 935/I. Translation and transcription in Dave Headlam, "Fritz Heinrich Klein's 'Die Grenze der Halbtonwelt' and *Die Maschine*," *Theoria* 6 (1992): 74–75 and 75. note 13. Transcription also in *Alban Berg, 1885–1935: Ausstellung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Prunksaal 23. Mai bis 20. Oktober 1985*, comp. Rosemary Hilmar, ed. Günter Brosche (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1985), Item 394: 165.

⁹⁶ Klein studied composition with Schoenberg from 1917 to 1918 at the Schwarzwald School and with Berg from 1918 to 1924; he prepared the piano-vocal score of Berg's opera *Wozzeck* and the piano score of the *Chamber Concerto*; see Headlam, 57. In the summer of 1921, Klein's *Die Maschine*, a work originally for chamber orchestra, and later rescored in 1923 by the composer for piano, four hands, was the winning entry in a composition competition sponsored by the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen. When the piano, four-hands version was published in 1923, Klein, whose antipathy toward Schoenberg had grown since his letter to Berg of March 1922, sent a copy to Schoenberg with a trite personal inscription: "This is the same machine which was in your dear hands (as a score for chamber orchestra) in the summer of 1921 (on the occasion of the competition of the Society f. P. M. P);" translation in Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg*, 217. As in the case of Hauer's "Sphärenmusik" and *Präludium für Celesta*, Schoenberg wrote his response in the margins. Under the inscription from Klein, Schoenberg wrote: "Not correct. In Webern's [*recte* Berg's] hands, who told me about it but was not able to interest me in it. I doubt if I had this in my hands, even more that I looked at it, and least of all that I knew what it contained. In any case, he has fundamentally nothing in common with 12-tone composition: a compositional means that had its distinct precursor in 'working with tones,' which I used for 2 or 3 years (before discovering the ultimate necessity of the twelve);" translation and transcription in Simms, 217 and 245, note 60. For further discussion on the antipathy between Schoenberg and Klein, and their respective claims of priority over the "invention" of twelve-tone composition, see Headlam, 74–78; H. H. Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: John Calder, 1977), 443; Slonimsky, 1439; and Simms, "The Society for Private Musical Performances: Resources and Documents in Schoenberg's Legacy," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 3 (1979): 133–35. See Chapter 5.

Schoenberg had gone public with the basic twelve-tone principles he used in the Prelude, Op. 25, and had accused Hauer of trying to steal them. The date and content of this letter confirm that the early 1922 Schoenberg lecture(s) actually occurred.

In addition to *KzT* and Berg's handwritten notes, there is another document that should be, but never has been, discussed in connection with Schoenberg's early twelve-tone compositional history. On 27 November 1921 in Prague, Jalowetz gave a lecture to introduce that evening's concert program at the Produktenbörse, which included new piano works by Schoenberg.⁹⁷ The typescript of the lecture is found in the ASC Schönberg Archive: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen Collection.⁹⁸ Although the date of Jalowetz's lecture falls directly in between the publication of Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* in early November 1921 and Webern's letter to Jalowetz of early January 1922, its contents suggest that Schoenberg had not yet felt the need to publicly claim

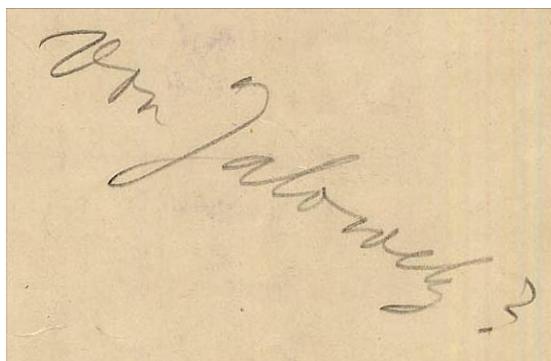
⁹⁷ The same lecture and concert were given on 26 November 1921 in Ústí nad Labem.

⁹⁸ ASC Website: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen: Korrespondenz, Berichte: Vortrag am 26. November 1921 in Aussig / am 27. November 1921 in Prag, http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/verein/verein_korrespondenz.htm. Transcription in Ivan Vojtěch, "Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen in Prag: Versuch einer Dokumentation," *Miscellanea musicologica* 36 (Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 1999): Anhang (Heinrich Jalowetz, Ansprache, gehalten am 26. November 1921 in Aussig und am 27. November 1921 in Prag): 107–12.

priority of inventing “twelve-tone composition” at the end of November 1921.

The lecture typescript includes handwritten remarks, in red pencil, in Schoenberg’s hand, along with corrections and added comments, both in regular pencil, presumably in Jalowetz’s hand. There is a tentative attribution to Jalowetz on the back cover of the lecture typescript, possibly by Schoenberg (see Figure 4.10 below).

Figure 4.10 Heinrich Jalowetz: Lecture Typescript
(26–27 November 1921)
Tentative Attribution to Heinrich Jalowetz⁹⁹

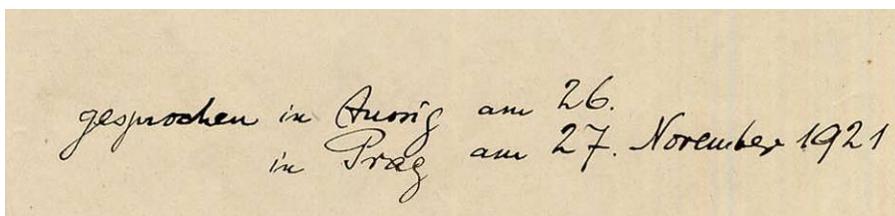


Several contemporaneous documents support the attribution of the lecture’s typescript to Jalowetz. The first piece of corroborating evidence is found in handwriting samples in the letters from Jalowetz to Schoenberg from around the

⁹⁹ ASC Website: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, Vortrag am 26. November 1921 in Aussig / am 27. November 1921 in Prag.

same time. The front cover of the lecture's typescript has the dates of the lecture inscribed by hand:

Figure 4.11 Heinrich Jalowetz: Lecture Typscript
(26–27 November 1921)
Front Cover¹⁰⁰

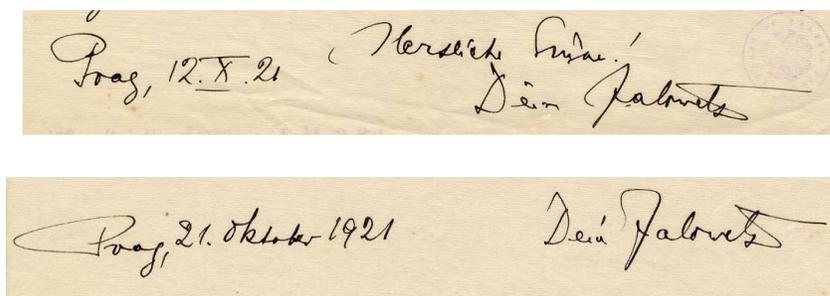


The handwriting in Figure 4.11 is consistent with Jalowetz's handwriting found on letters to Schoenberg dated 12 October 1921 and 21 October 1921—notice especially the word, "Prag"—shown in Figure 4.12:¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #11469, http://www.schoenberg.at/lettersneu/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=11469 and ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #11470, http://www.schoenberg.at/lettersneu/search_show_letter.php?ID_Number=11470.

Figure 4.12 Heinrich Jalowetz: Signatures



The second piece of corroborating evidence is found in the *Prager Tagblatt*:

Figure 4.13 *Prager Tagblatt*: Schoenberg Concert Announcement (Thursday, 24 November 1921)¹⁰²

Konzerte.

ADJ. Arnold Schönberg: „Pierrot lunaire.“
 28. November, Produktenbörse.
 Einzige Aufführung durch den Wiener
 Schönbergverein.
 Karten bei Wegler, Trunklax und M. Urbanek.

*

ADJ. Achtez vollständiges Sonntagskonzert.
 27. November, Produktenbörse.
 Gastspiel des Wiener Schönberg-
 Vereins. Zur Ausführung gelangen neue Klavier-
 stücke von Schönberg (aus dem Manuskript),
 4 Stücke für Klavier und Violine von Weber, so-
 wie Werke von Reger und Debussy. — Im
 Sinne der Vereinsstatuten wird das Publikum er-
 sucht, von Aeußerungen des Beifalls oder Miß-
 fallens abzusehen. Kapellmeister Dr. Jalowetz
 spricht einleitende Worte. Karten von K 5—12 und
 Steuer bei Wegler.

¹⁰² ÖNB/ANNO (AustriaN Newspaper Online): *Prager Tagblatt* (24 November 1921), <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?apm=0&aid=ptb&datum=19211124&seite=7&zoom=2>.

For several days leading up to 27 November 1921, announcements can be found not only of the concert repertoire, but also of the fact that Jalowetz was going to give a lecture before the concert (see Figure 4.13 above). The third piece of corroborating evidence is found in the program from the concert on 27 November 1921, which clearly shows that Jalowetz gave some introductory words before the concert:

Figure 4.14 Produktenbörse: Concert Program (Prague)
 Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen
 (Sunday, 27 November 1921)¹⁰³

Konzertdirektion Dr. W. Zemánek.

PRODUKTENBORSE.

SONNTAG, DEN 27. NOVEMBER 1921 UM 1/4 UHR NACHM.

VIII. volkstümliches Sonntagskonzert.

**Verein für musikalische
 Privataufführungen** in Wien.
 Präsident: ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG.

*

VORTRAGSFOLGE:

Einleitende Worte, gesprochen von Kapellmeister
Dr. HEINRICH JALOWETZ.

1. **Claude Debussy:** Sonate für Violine und Klavier.
 Allegro vivo. — Intermède (Fantasque et léger). Finale (Très animé).
 Rudolf Kolisch u. Eduard Steuermann.
2. **Anton Webern:** 4 Stücke für Geige und Klavier, op. 7.
 Rudolf Kolisch u. Eduard Steuermann.
3. **Arnold Schönberg:** Klavierstücke, 3. Serie. (Aus dem Manuskript.)
 Eduard Steuermann.

P A U S E.

4. **Max Reger:** Sonate für Violine, Solo op. 91, a-moll.
 Grave. — Vivace. — Andante sostenuto. — Allegro energico.
 Rudolf Kolisch.
5. **Claude Debussy:** 6 Etudes.
 Eduard Steuermann.

Es wird gebeten, Beifall oder Missfallen nicht vor Schluss des Konzertes
 zu äussern.

Konzertflügel August Förster, Georgswalde,
 beigestellt von S. Kohn, Prag.

28. November. Produktenbörse. Arnold Schönberg: <i>Pierrot lunaire</i> .	4. Dezember 1/24 nadim. Produktenbörse. IX. volkstümliches Sonntagskonzert.
3. Dezember. Mozarteum. Triovereinigung Pozniak-Deman-Bechert.	Emmy Heim-Alexander Zemlinsky. Lieder von Mahler und Debussy.

Preis K 1.—.

Abb. 29: Programm zum ersten Gastkonzert des »Vereins für musikalische Privataufführungen« am 27. November 1921 in Prag (Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Sammlung Heinrich Jalowetz).

¹⁰³ Anton Webern, *Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, 487.

In the lecture, Jalowetz speaks about Schoenberg's atonal style in his later works as being one of the greatest revolutions in all of music, but says that no system for atonal harmony had yet been developed:

Since probably not a note of Schoenberg has been played here, I would like to say a few words on this composer. Schoenberg's style, especially in his later works, constitutes one of the greatest revolutions in all of music. . . . A few, perhaps none, have departed so radically from their predecessors as has Schoenberg. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner, Mahler, Strauss: each of these names is connected with a demolition of older conventions, a blazing of new paths. But none have entirely given up the basics, those of tonality. . . . Since Wagner the foundations of these tonal structures have gradually eroded, although even Strauss, in whom for stretches the sense of a definite key is missing, the main sections are still marked off by sharply drawn, definite tonal cadences. Schoenberg has taken the final step: there is no longer a key, no longer a fundamental tone. . . . This atonal harmony also has its own natural logic, although we still lack a system for it, which always lags behind such [new] phenomena. But fortunately natural and artistic phenomena can be understood without theories.¹⁰⁴

It is clear from Jalowetz's lecture, that at the end of November 1921, Schoenberg had not thought it necessary to reveal the "system of atonal harmony" or "secrets" he discovered while working on the Prelude, Op. 25, a few months earlier. While Jalowetz was explaining Schoenberg's second period of composition, non-serial, free atonality, Schoenberg was entering his third period, the "Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with

¹⁰⁴ Translation by present author; see note 98.

One Another.”¹⁰⁵ Apparently, at the time of Jalowetz’s lecture in late November 1921, Schoenberg did not yet think of his “new discovery” from summer 1921 as a theory of organizing atonal music, but when he saw Hauer’s *Präludium für Celesta* shortly thereafter, he was compelled to reveal the new compositional techniques used in the Prelude, Op. 25, so as not to appear as a plagiarist. It is thus possible that Schoenberg did not even conceive of the techniques used in the Prelude, Op. 25, as a system of organizing atonal music until he decided to claim priority for “inventing” twelve-tone composition at the early 1922 lecture(s).

A review in the *Prager Tagblatt* of the concert at which Jalowetz spoke appeared on 30 November 1921, and besides confirming that Jalowetz gave the lecture (see end of paragraph five), it also comments on Schoenberg’s recent compositional style. The reviewer, initials E. R., admits that Schoenberg’s new piano pieces are a complete mystery, comparing them to the Seven Seals of the Book of Revelation (5:1) and suggesting that only close followers of Schoenberg can appreciate their sound (see end of paragraph two):

But, without wanting to belittle or speak an untruth, it can definitely be said that music like the most recent piano pieces of Schoenberg is for most of us a book with seven seals, about which scarcely anyone knows what to make, except for those having close

¹⁰⁵ See the passage by Schoenberg cited in note 89.

contact with the master, those initiated into his innermost desires and intentions. But then opinions are colored by extramusical factors and judgments come from feelings of affection.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Translation by present author; see Figure 4.15a, end of paragraph 2.

Figure 4.15a *Prager Tagblatt*: Schoenberg Concert Review
(Wednesday, 30 November 1921)
Deborah H. How: Transcription of Select Paragraphs

Prager Tagblatt: 30 November 1921

Bühne und Kunst

Schönberg

Zwei Konzerte des Wiener Schönberg-Vereins
Tschechische Philharmonie

[PARAGRAPH 1]

Es wird nur wenige Städte geben, die, ohne gerade eigene "Wochen" zu veranstalten, einem einzelnen modernen Komponisten einen breiten Raum in unmittelbar auseinander folgenden Konzerten einräumen. Und gar einem Komponisten wie Schönberg, der nur von wenigen Getreuen verehrt, heiss geliebt, vergöttert, von der grossen Masse aber nicht verstanden und befehdet wird. Prag ist eine solche Ausnahmestadt und man könnte fast Totalpatriot werden, wenn man daran denkt, wie begeistert anno 19 "Pelleas und Melisande" ausgenommen wurde, anno 20 der Wiener Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen mit seinen drei Konzertabenden und einen wie durchschlagenden Erfolg derselbe Verein jetzt in seinen zwei Konzerten davongetragen hat. Diese Tatsache bleibt zurecht bestehen, auch wenn man annimmt, daß die Musik, die wir Sonntag Nachmittag und Montag abends hörten nicht jedermanns Sache ist und sein kann, daß also der ausgesprochene, nicht zu verkleinernde äußere Erfolg mehr der virtuosen Durchführung des borstigen Programms zuzuschreiben ist als der Ueberzeugungskraft der Werke selbst.

[PARAGRAPH 2]

Vielleicht hat die aufwachsende Musikergeneration heute schon das feinere Organ für die hingetupften Stimmungen, die zerflattern, kaum daß sie angedeutet sind, für die Auseinanderfolge von Tonverbindungen, deren organische Zusammenhänge dicht verschleiert sind, für die Dispartheit instrumentaler Klänge, die willkürlich gesetzt erscheinen. Man braucht die Aufrichtigkeit und Ehrlichkeit der Begeisterung nicht einen Augenblick anzuzweifeln, denn das innere Ohr der jüngsten Gegenwart hat sicherlich eine ähnliche Wandlung durchgemacht wie das Ohr der älteren Generation und der Generation vor ihr, als der Streit um Richard Wagner am heftigsten tobte, denn heute gilt die Musik Richard Wagners in harmonischer und rhythmischer Beziehung vielen trotz "Tristan" als vieux jeu. Aber man kann, ohne herabsetzen oder ein Unrecht begehen zu wollen, doch bestimmt sagen, daß Musik wie die

Figure 4.15a, Continued

letzten Klavierstücke Schönbergs für die meisten von uns ein mit sieben Siegeln verschlossenes Buch waren, mit denen kaum jemand was Rechtes anzufangen wußte, ausser jemand, der durch vertrauten Umgang mit dem Meister auf das innigste eingeweiht war in seine Absichten, seine Wünsche und Ziele. Dann sprechen aber außermusikalische Momente mit und Affektionswerte bestimmen das Urteil.

[PARAGRAPH 3]

Die Konsequenzen, die Schönberg in jedem jüngern Werke immer unerbittlicher aus seinen Theorien zieht, — Auflösung der Tonalität, der Harmonie, des Rhythmus, der Thematik, der Wiederholung, kurz, Verzicht auf alles Material der Komponierweise von gestern und Supposition durch den Klang als Phänomen an sich — diese Konsequenzen müssen jedem die höchste Bewunderung abnötigen, auch wenn er dem Komponisten auf seinen neuen Wegen nicht mehr zu folgen imstande ist, denn sie sind ein Beweis unerschütterlicher künstlerischer Ueberzeugung und keine Annehmlichkeit. Selten nur darf der Komponist erwarten, daß die Menge ihm ein "Hossianah" zurufen wird, viel häufiger wird ihm das "Steinigt ihn!" im Ohre gellen.

[PARAGRAPH 5]

Steuermann und Kolisch bestritten auch das Programm des Sonntag-Nachmittag Konzertes, wo neben Schönberg Anton v. Webern mit seinen vier Stücken für Violine und Klavier die größte Aufmerksamkeit erregte. Voriges Jahr hat man seine aphoristischen Orchesterstücke kennen gelernt, seine Violinsachen sind in demselben Stil, Kompositionen in Visitenkartenformat oder, wenn man will, im Telegrammstil, kaum begonnen, schon vorbei. Umso schwieriger für das unvorbereitete Publikum, sie rasch aufzufassen und zu verarbeiten. Bewähren mag sich das Mittel, sie sofort wiederholen zu lassen, aber auch dieses Mittel ist heute noch nicht stark genug, um hier zu verfangen. Neben Schönberg und Webern hörte sich die Violinsonate Regers opus 91 a moll, die bis auf eine äußerliche Viersätzigkeit mit der alten Sonate so gut wie nichts mehr gemeinsam hat, hörten sich die Violinsonate Debussys und Debussys sechs Etuden für Klavier wie klassische Musik an. Vor Beginn der Musikaufführungen versuchte Kapellmeister Dr. Jalowetz, der dem Schönbergkreise sehr nahe steht, das Wesen dieser Musik durch einen kurzen Vortrag zu charakterisieren. Dr. Jalowetz, dem für diese Pionierarbeit aufrichtiger Dank gebührt, wird aber noch viele derartige Vorträge halten müssen, ehe das gesprochene Wort den Boden für ein wirkliches Verstehen vorbereitet haben wird.

More importantly, the typescript of the lecture, newspaper announcements, concert program, and concert review all reveal that at the concert on 27 November 1921, Steuermann played new piano pieces by Arnold Schoenberg, from manuscript. A handwritten text addition to the typescript of Jalowetz's lecture is more specific:

Figure 4.16 Heinrich Jalowetz: Lecture Typescript
(26–27 November 1921)
Excerpt with Handwritten Text Addition¹⁰⁸

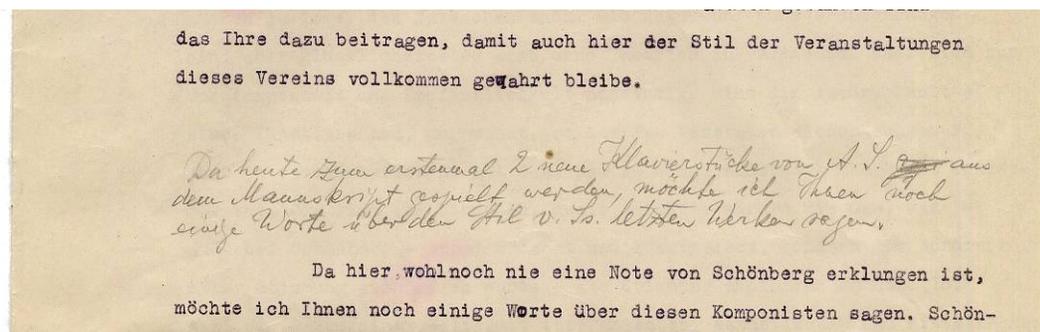


Figure 4.16a Heinrich Jalowetz: Lecture Typescript
(26–27 November 1921)
Deborah H. How: Translation of Handwritten Text Addition

Since today for the first time 2 new piano pieces by AS will be played from the manuscript, I would like to say a few words about the style of Schoenberg's most recent works.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ See note 98.

¹⁰⁹ German transcription in Vojtch, 107–12.

The 27 November 1921 concert program (Figure 4.14) refers to these pieces as a “third series” of piano pieces (Klavierstücke, 3. Serie). This designation is highly confusing because it is widely known in the literature that in early 1923 Schoenberg was working on two new series of piano pieces that would soon be published as the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23 (Series No. 1), and the Suite for Piano, Op. 25 (Series No. 2). In Schoenberg’s letter to Alexander Zemlinsky of 12 February 1923, he confesses:

Now, Hertzka [Universal Edition] has waived his rights in this case solely on condition that I deliver him 2 works, which are, however, still further from completion. So I have to compose 4 works: 2 series of piano pieces, of which not much more than half is finished. . . .”¹¹⁰

The designation of the new piano pieces performed on the 27 November 1921 concert as the third series of piano pieces is thus perplexing, but can perhaps be explained by examining the dates more carefully. There is no evidence that Schoenberg considered the works that would later constitute Op. 23 and Op. 25 as two separate series of piano pieces until his letter to Zemlinsky of February 1923, so this later information should not enter into consideration when trying to make sense of Schoenberg’s earlier 1921 designation of a third series of piano

¹¹⁰ Arnold Schoenberg, *Letters*, ed. Erwin Stein, trans. Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1965), Letter 58: 83. See also letter from Schoenberg to Emil Hertzka of 13 March 1923; translation in Auner, 166–67.

pieces.¹¹¹ Since Schoenberg considered some set of new piano pieces in November 1921 to constitute a third series, an explanation must be possible. It seems rather unlikely, though, that the two new pieces referred to in Jalowetz's pre-concert lecture would constitute a series, so perhaps the third series was a collection of the two new piano pieces plus some other previously composed, but yet unpublished, piano piece(s). In this light, the previously published and performed Three Piano Pieces, Op. 11, could constitute the first series and the Six Little Piano Pieces, Op. 19, could constitute the second series. It is then conceivable that a collection of piano pieces composed after Op. 19 (1911) would constitute the third series.

Although Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2 would seem to be the best candidates for the two new pieces mentioned in Jalowetz's lecture, they had already been performed over a year prior, and Jalowetz writes, "Since today for the first time 2 new piano pieces by AS will be played from the manuscript, I would like to say a few words about the style of Schoenberg's most recent works." Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2 were premiered at a Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen concert on 9 October 1920 by Steuermann at the Kleinen Musikvereinssaal in Vienna (see Figure 4.17),

¹¹¹ See Chapter 5.

and they were played again on 23 October 1920, twice on 22 November 1920, and again on 21 March 1921; it seems doubtful that they could be the new piano pieces referred to by Jalowetz in his lecture.¹¹² Berg heard the two new piano pieces by Schoenberg at the 23 October 1920 Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen concert honoring Maurice Ravel. Berg wrote to Schoenberg a few days later, commenting that he did not yet have an opinion on the new pieces, but that, as with Op. 11, it might take a while before he became familiar with them:

Of course after one hearing I don't have an opinion yet on your new piano pieces, just an unspeakable warm, intimate impression. I even seem to have understood the 2nd one a little. But how long until I am truly familiar with this music. I noticed that during the 5th Verein evening [on 13 October 1920], when Steuermann played your Op. 11. But then, the way he played it. It has never been played like that before, which is why it has never made such an overwhelming impression as this time.¹¹³

On the other hand, Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2 were definitively referred to as the "Two New Piano Pieces" (Zwei neue Klavierstücke) by the time Berg heard them on

¹¹² Walter Szmolyan, "Die Konzerte des Wiener Schönberg-Vereins," 106–8 and 113.

¹¹³ Letter from Berg to Schoenberg of 28 October 1921 in *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, 291.

23 October 1920 (see Figure 4.18).¹¹⁴ Could Jalowetz simply have meant, in his lecture, that it would be the first time the two new piano pieces were played in Prague, as the previous five performances were all in Vienna?¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ See ASC Website: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen: 1920: Mitteilungen, Konzertprogramme, Berichte über Generalversammlungen: Konzertprogramm zu Ehren Maurice Ravels am 23.10.1920, and 1920: Mitteilungen, Konzertprogramme, Berichte über Generalversammlungen: Mitteilungen Nr. 21: November 1920 (Prospekt, Auszug aus den Statuten), http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/verein/verein_mitteilungen.htm.

¹¹⁵ Szmolyan, 106–8.

Figure 4.17 Kleinen Musikvereinssaal: Concert Program (Vienna)
 Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen
 (Saturday, 9 October 1920)¹¹⁶

[54]

**Das II. Propagandakonzert wird vom 20. auf den 31. Oktober verschoben.
 Gelöste Karten behalten ihre Gültigkeit.**

VEREIN FÜR MUSIKALISCHE PRIVATAUFFÜHRUNGEN IN WIEN
 Leitung: Arnold Schönberg

I. Propagandakonzert
 Samstag, den 9. Oktober 1920, abends 7 Uhr
 im Kleinen Musikvereinssaal.

PROGRAMM:

MAX REGER: Eine romantische Suite Op. 125.
 (I. Notturmo — II. Scherzo — III. Finale) Für Kammerorchester
 bearbeitet von Rudolf Kolisch.
 1. Violine: Rudolf Kolisch, 2. Violine: Othmar Steinbauer,
 Viola: Dr. Siegfried Kolieb, Cello: Josef Hasa,
 Kontrabaß: Alois Podobsky, Klavier: Selma Stampfer,
 Dr. Paul Pisk, Harmonium: Ida Hartungen, Flöte:
 Wilhelm Sonnenberg, Klarinette: Hans Löw.
 Dirigent: Erwin Stein.

ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG: Neue Klavierstücke (Uraufführung). Eduard Steuermann.

CLAUDE DEBUSSY: Sonate für Flöte, Bratsche und Harfe.
 Wilhelm Sonnenberg, Ernst Morawetz, Steffi Goldner.

BÉLA BARTOK: Rhapsodie pour le piano et l'orchestre.
 Bearbeitung für zwei Klaviere vom Komponisten. 1. Klavier:
 Eduard Steuermann, 2. Klavier: Dr. Ernst Bachrich.

Der Partitur der romantischen Suite sind folgende drei Gedichte vorangestellt:

I.	II.
Hörst du nicht die Quellen gehen Zwischen Stein und Blumen weit. Nach den stillen Waldeseen, Wo die Marmorbilder stehen In der schönen Einsamkeit? Von den Bergen sacht hernieder, Weckend die uralten Lieder, Steigt die wunderbare Nacht, Und die Gründe glänzen wieder, Wie du's oft im Traum gedacht . . .	Bleib bei uns! wir haben den Tanzplan im Tal Bedeckt mit Mondesglanze, Johanneswürmchen erleuchten den Saal, Die Heimchen spielen zum Tanze. Die Freude, das schöne leichtgläubige Kind, Es wiegt sich in Abendwinden: Wo Silber auf Zweigen und Büschen rinnt, Da wirst du die Schönsten finden.
III. Steig nur, Sonne, Auf die Höh'n! Schauer wehn, Und die Erde bebt vor Wonne. Kühn nach oben Greift aus Nacht Waldespracht, Noch von Träumen kühl durchwoben . . . <div style="text-align: right; font-size: small;">J. v. Eichendorff.</div>	

Den p. t. Gästen wird zur Kenntnis gebracht, daß es im Verein Sitte ist, sich
 aller Beifalls-, Mißfalls- und Dankesbezeichnungen zu enthalten, und daß es den Mit-
 gliedern zur Pflicht gemacht ist, jede öffentliche Berichterstattung über die Auf-
 führungen und Tätigkeit des Vereines zu unterlassen.
 Die Vereinsleitung bittet, diese unsere Hausgesetze, für die Zeit, wo Sie unsere
 Gäste sind, zu akzeptieren.

Preis 2 Kronen.

¹¹⁶ ASC Website: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen,
http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/T85/T85_Buch/programm_19201009.jpg

Figure 4.18 Kleinen Konzerthausaal: Concert Program (Vienna)
 Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen
 (Saturday, 23 October 1920, page 1 of 2)¹¹⁷

[56]

VEREIN FÜR MUSIKALISCHE PRIVATAUFFÜHRUNGEN IN WIEN
 Leitung: Arnold Schönberg

KONZERT
 zu Ehren Maurice Ravel's
Samstag, den 23. Oktober 1920, nachm. 3 Uhr
 im Kleinen Konzerthausaal.

PROGRAMM:

MAURICE RAVEL: Gaspard de la nuit. Trois Poèmes pour Piano. (1. Ondine, 2. Le gibet, 3. Scarbo.) Herr Eduard Steuermann.
ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG: Fünf Lieder aus Op. 15. Herr Helge Lindberg, Herr Eduard Steuermann.

ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG: Zwei neue Klavierstücke. Herr Eduard Steuermann.
ANTON WEBERN: Vier Stücke für Geige und Klavier, Op. 7, Nr. 1. Herr Rudolf Kolisch, Herr Eduard Steuermann.
ALBAN BERG: Vier Stücke für Klarinette und Klavier, Op. 5. Herr Karl Gaudriot (Staatsoper), Herr Eduard Steuermann.
MAURICE RAVEL: Valses nobles et sentimentales pour deux pianos à quatre mains. Der Komponist und Herr Alfredo Casella.

ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG: Jane Grey, eine Ballade aus Op. 12. Frau Olga Bauer-Pilecka (Staatsoper), Dr. Ernst Bachrich.
MAURICE RAVEL: Streichquartett in F-dur. Das Feist-Quartett.

Den p. t. Gästen wird zur Kenntnis gebracht, daß es im Verein Sitte ist, sich aller Beifalls-, Mißfalls- und Dankesbezeugungen zu enthalten, und daß es den Mitgliedern zur Pflicht gemacht ist, jede öffentliche Berichterstattung über die Aufführungen und Tätigkeit des Vereines zu unterlassen.
 Die Vereinsleitung bittet, diese unsere Hausgesetze, für die Zeit, wo Sie unsere Gäste sind, zu akzeptieren.

LIEDERTEXTE:
ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG
 15 Gedichte aus
„Das Buch der hängenden Gärten“
 von Stefan George, Op. 15
 (hieraus fünf Lieder).

<p>1. Saget mir auf welchem pfade Heute sie vorüberschreite — Daß ich aus der reichsten lade Zarte seidenweben hole, Rose pflücke und viole, Daß ich meine wange breite, Schemel unter ihrer sohle.</p>	<p>2. Das schöne beet betracht ich mir im harren, Es ist umzäumt mit purpurn-schwarzem dorne Drin ragen kelche mit geflecktem sporne Und sammtgefederte geneigte farren Und flockenbüschel wassergrün und rund Und in der mitte glocken weiß und mild — Von einem odem ist ihr feuchter mund Wie süße frucht vom himmlischen gefild.</p>
--	--

¹¹⁷ ASC Website: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen,
http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/T84/T84_01/programm_19201023_1.jpg

Or could the two new piano pieces have been the Prelude, Op. 25, and another, either lost or discarded, piece from summer 1921?

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, the only complete draft of a piano piece found in the ASC Schönberg Archive that dates from summer 1921 is the Prelude, Op. 25. Yet sources exist suggesting that more than one piano piece was composed in summer 1921, including Webern's letter to Jalowetz of 7 January 1922.

Remember that Webern exclaims:

Just imagine that almost everything that has occupied me for about 10 years is being discussed. It is almost too exciting. The impetus was a composition by Hauer, published in "Melos" (Berlin journal). In this piece—Präludium für Celesta—Schoenberg thought that he saw the beginnings of something similar to what he lately had put to use, in the piano pieces that he wrote in 1921 during the summer in Traunkirchen.¹¹⁸

Schoenberg also refers to piano pieces, plural, in his letter to Slonimsky cited earlier in this chapter, although, as noted earlier, he dates them fall 1921:

The technique here is relatively primitive, because it was one of the first works written strictly in harmony with this method, though it was not the very first—there were some movements of the "Suite for Piano" which I composed in the fall of 1921.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ *Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, Letter 228: 499. Translation in the passage cited in Chapter 2, note 37.

¹¹⁹ Slonimsky, 1316.

Since Webern's letter to Jalowetz was written within six months of the purported new piano pieces, plural, from summer 1921, the information contained within it cannot be dismissed without proper cause. If there was at least one other new piano piece composed alongside the Prelude, then the reference to "two new piano pieces" in Jalowetz's lecture in Prague at the end of November 1921 makes sense. Because Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2 had already been heard five times in public on four different occasions, the "two new pieces for the first time played today from the manuscript" could more plausibly refer to the Prelude, Op. 25, and another unknown piece, now lost, from summer 1921. Perhaps there was a finished draft of measures 11 to the end of the Intermezzo, Op. 25, that was performed but that Schoenberg later discarded and recomposed in February 1923, appending a different ending to the first ten measures. In the ASC Schönberg Archive: Sketchbook V, a first draft of the Intermezzo, Op. 25, dated 19–23 February 1923 is found (MS 79: Sk470, Sk471), but missing measures 1–10.¹²⁰ The complete first draft is found on a separate double-leaf sheet (MS 25: 27B, 27C, 27D, 27E), where measures 11 to the end have been grafted onto the

¹²⁰ ASC Website: V. Skizzenbuch,
http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/music/manuscripts/sketchbook_5.htm.

first ten measures originally composed in July 1921.¹²¹ As measure 10 ends with a fermata, it is not inconceivable that the *Intermezzo*, Op. 25, once had a different ending. Although there is no evidence that this is the case, speculatively speaking, it is just as likely as any other scenario to explain Webern's and Schoenberg's reference to piano pieces, plural, composed in 1921. Although it has been conjectured, by Maegaard, for example, that the first ten measures underneath the four crossed-out measures on MS 25: 27B were physically pinned onto the manuscript paper in 1921, and the rest of the piece in 1923, there may be an alternate interpretation.¹²² It is possible that the first four measures, which have been crossed out, are the only measures that were actually written down or sketched in 1921, and that the entire draft of the *Intermezzo*, Op. 25, which follows, including measures 1–10, was copied down in 1923—Schoenberg signs the end of the draft, “Abgeschrieben 26/II. 1923 Arnold Schönberg” (see Figure 4.19).¹²³ Because the first ten measures on the manuscript paper end near the beginning of a staff line, it seems unlikely that there exists yet another separate

¹²¹ ASC Website: Suite für Klavier op. 25 (1921–23), http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/music/works/op/compositions_op25_sources.htm.

¹²² Maegaard, 104–5.

¹²³ The first draft of mm. 11 to the end of the *Intermezzo*, Op. 25, is found in ASC Schönberg Archive: Sketchbook V: Sk470 and Sk471 and is dated 19–23 February 1923.

sheet with an earlier version of measures 11 to the end. It is thus more likely that if an earlier version once existed, it existed as a complete piece. Schoenberg could have just used a previously and scarcely written-on sketch sheet to copy the entire *Intermezzo*, Op. 25, after its completion in 1923. In fact, the first ten measures of the *Intermezzo*, Op. 25, as outlined in the harmonic plan, can actually be found by assembling the four measures crossed out at the top of MS 25: 27B with the sketches for measures 5–10 found on MS 25: 27F, so there is no definitive proof that the first ten measures of the *Intermezzo*, Op. 25, found on MS 25: 27B, were actually written down on this specific sheet of manuscript paper in 1921. Maegaard notes that the handwriting of the first ten measures is slightly different from that of the remaining measures and that there are more erasures. While this is true, it can be also be a sign that Schoenberg slightly reworked the original ten measures. Perhaps Schoenberg did write down the first ten measures in 1922 but edited them, superimposing the changes in 1923 when he copied the rest of the piece. A comparison of the four crossed-out measures to measures 1–4 of the *Intermezzo* directly below it on MS 25: 27B shows not harmony or note changes, but rather stemming and notational changes.

Figure 4.19 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Intermezzo
Complete Draft (25 July 1921 and 26 February 1923)¹²⁴

27B

Tram...
op 25
Werner
25. 7. 21
1923

etwas rader... poco... a tempo

poco rit... etwas langsam...

Tanto L. fz

poco rit... Tempo

Arnold Schoenberg
Mödingstr. 11
Bernhardg. 6 - Tel. 118

B. & H. Sr. 11. C.
S. 14.

¹²⁴ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27B,
<http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27b.jpg>.

Figure 4.19, Continued¹²⁵

Handwritten musical score for piano, page 27C. The score is written on aged paper and consists of six systems of staves. The first system shows a treble and bass clef with complex rhythmic patterns and dynamics. The second system is marked *pp dolce* and includes a circled measure number 20. The third system is marked *poco rit.* and *a tempo*. The fourth system is marked *et mes sa scher* and *Ferme*, with a circled measure number 25. The fifth system is marked *rit.* and includes a circled measure number 30. The sixth system continues the complex rhythmic patterns. The score is annotated with various performance instructions and measure numbers.

¹²⁵ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27C,
<http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27c.jpg>

Figure 4.19, Continued¹²⁶

Handwritten musical manuscript page 27D, showing piano and violin parts. The page is numbered 27D in the top left corner. The music is written on ten staves, with the first two staves for piano and the remaining eight for violin. The piano part features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings such as *dim.* and *dim.*. The violin part includes various rhythmic figures and dynamic markings. The manuscript is written in ink on aged paper.

¹²⁶ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 25: 27D,
<http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/Ms25/Ms25/27d.jpg>

If an earlier version of the Intermezzo, Op. 25, existed, perhaps it was discarded. From Greissle's accounts, it is known that Schoenberg later discarded a movement of Op. 24 written in 1920. Could the same fate have befallen a movement of Op. 25 written in 1921?¹²⁷

From an examination of *KzT* and Berg's handwritten notes, it appears that by January 1922 Schoenberg had abandoned some of his technical findings from summer 1921. Schoenberg described only the basic surface principles of twelve-tone construction in the Prelude, Op. 25, in his early 1922 lecture(s); for example, there are no specific references to, nor detailed discussion or musical examples of, any of the many complicated devices from July 1921 (as examined in Chapter 3) in *KzT* or Berg's handwritten notes. With respect to "the new discovery that would assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years," Schoenberg may never have revealed its original depth to anyone besides Erwin Stein. It is also clear that in early 1922, and through 1923, Schoenberg's definition of "composition with twelve tones" was broadly encompassing, that when he meant a serial twelve-tone composition, complete with mirror transformations, retrogrades, and transpositions, he would include an adjective such as "strict" to

¹²⁷ See note 67 and Chapter 5, note 10.

modify the term “composition with twelve tones.” Schoenberg’s writings from 1921 to 1923 seem to suggest that at no time did he use the term “composition with twelve tones” (Komposition mit 12 Tönen) to exclusively mean “Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One Another.” This detail has been long overlooked and has caused some theoretical and historical inconsistencies and discrepancies in the literature, causing many to jump to conclusions regarding Schoenberg’s twelve-tone secrets.

In early 1922, as seen in *KzT* and Berg’s notes, the basic principles of the Prelude and the incomplete Intermezzo, Op. 25, function as “the solution to these problems.” As will be shown in Chapter 5, Schoenberg’s fundamental solution changes again by spring 1923, evolving from “composition with twelve tones” to the “Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One Another.” The material Schoenberg shared with his students in early 1922 represents a summary version of his new discovery, with no mention of the complicated devices or secrets that he shared with Stein in fall 1921. Although he presented this summary as the fundamental solution to systematically organize free atonality with or without serialized variation, it was not the final

solution to these problems, only a temporary or heuristic proposal. In November 1923, Schoenberg reflected:

That is the problem as it stands, something I have seen long and clearly. And when in the summer of 1921 I believed I had found a form that fulfils all my requirements of a form, I nearly fell into an error similar to Hauer's: I too believed at first that I had 'found the only possible way'. Things went better for me than for Hauer; he had found one possibility, but I had found the key to many possibilities, as I very soon realized!¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Schoenberg, "Hauer's Theories" (1923), in *Style and Idea*, 212.

Chapter 5

Schoenberg Reaches the Twelve-Tone Method: Composing for Posterity (1923)

In early 1922, at his house in Mödling, Schoenberg gave one or more lectures on the basic principles of the new twelve-tone compositional techniques he first used in the Prelude, Op. 25, in summer 1921. *KzT* and the handwritten notes by Berg that parallel the contents of the first six pages of *KzT*, as examined in Chapter 4, are almost certainly written records of the lecture(s). Both sources, however, give only a surface-level description of the new twelve-tone compositional techniques found in the Prelude; neither, for example, includes discussion of the “new discovery” or “complicated devices” from summer 1921, as examined in Chapter 3. Both written records, without specifically naming the Prelude, describe its main characteristics as the “fundamental solution” to the organization of freely atonal music.¹

The general description of dividing a twelve-tone row into a three-voice complex, and the concept that a transposition of this basic complex at the tritone represents the “dominant” form of the twelve-tone row is, as mentioned earlier,

¹ See Arved Mark Ashby, “The Development of Berg’s Twelve Tone Aesthetic as Seen in the *Lyric Suite* and Its Sources” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1995), 231; see also Chapter 4.

unique to Op. 25 in Schoenberg's oeuvre. Curiously, however, there are no musical examples in either *KzT* or Berg's handwritten notes to illustrate these principles, although the hanging mid-thought at the end of *KzT* may represent the start of a list of techniques to obtain a basic shape (*Grundgestalt*) through the ordering of the twelve notes.² It is possible, however, that in early 1922, Schoenberg purposely skimmed the surface of the inner workings (his "complicated devices") found in the Prelude, Op. 25, focusing instead on the philosophical and historical aspects leading up to his fundamental solution, so as to give enough of a description to claim priority and appease the masses, but without revealing his latest secrets—just as he did when he told Alma Mahler, Rufer, and Greissle in late July 1921 that he had made a new discovery, but without telling them what it was that he discovered. It can be assumed, though, that Schoenberg showed the actual music manuscript of the Prelude to at least Webern by July 1922, since Webern attempted to compose "Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber" in late July 1922 according to the basic principles of the Prelude's twelve-tone row, although he quickly abandoned the project. His sketches for "Mein Weg" show that he had an intimate knowledge of the twelve-tone row of the Prelude, since he chose a row for "Mein Weg" with similar intervallic

² See the passage cited in Chapter 4, note 70.

relationships and also explored the idea of composing with motives. Anne C.

Shreffler writes:

That Webern could even attempt relatively sophisticated row techniques in the summer of 1922 is explicable only through contact with Schoenberg. . . . In particular, the sketch for “Mein Weg” resembles—in its row structure, choice of transposition, and harmonic disposition—Schoenberg’s sketches for the Präludium (later op. 25, no. 1), which he had completed the previous summer.

Schoenberg, like Webern, does not present a “row” as an abstract entity here, but instead forms his material from the process of composing with motives. In one sketch page, Schoenberg lined up the three tetrachords on top of one another, exactly as Webern did on the first sketch page for “Mein Weg.” Webern’s row is also very similar to Schoenberg’s. First, the last tetrachord of both consists of a chromatic group. In addition, the pitch pairs E–F and (more significantly) G–C# appear in both rows. Both composers chose a single transpositional level: at the tritone.³

Shreffler has carefully determined that the twelve-tone sketches for “Mein Weg”

date from about 22–26 July 1922.⁴ Webern was in Traunkirchen at this time,⁵ and

³ Anne C. Shreffler, “‘Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber’: The Vocal Origins of Webern’s Twelve-Tone Composition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 294. See also Lauriejean Reinhardt, “Anton Webern’s ‘Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber,’ Op. 15, No. 4,” *Moldenhauer Archives at the Library of Congress* [article online], <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/collections/moldenhauer/2428157.pdf>

⁴ Shreffler, 288–89 and 289, note 32.

⁵ See *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg-Alban Berg, Part 2: 1918–1935*, ed. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Andreas Meyer, *Briefwechsel der Wiener Schule*, ed. Thomas Ertelt, vol. 3 (Mainz: Schott, 2007), Letter 541: 175–76 and 176, note 340. See also Anton Webern, *Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, ed. Ernst Lichtenhahn, *Veröffentlichungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung*, vol. 7 (Mainz: Schott, 1999), Letter 232: 509–11 and Letter 233: 511–13.

the dates of Webern's sketches coincide with the unsent letter to Hauer of 25 July 1922 that Schoenberg drafted in the margins of his personal copy of Hauer's essay "Sphärenmusik," laying claim, as was shown in Chapter 4, to being the first person to compose systematically with twelve tones. In the last year of his life, Schoenberg wrote a short essay on Webern, "Anton Webern: *Klangfarbenmelodie*" (1951), in which he bitterly reveals that Webern immediately incorporated everything that Schoenberg showed him in his own works:

I . . . immediately and exhaustively explained to him [Webern] each of my new ideas (with the exception of the method of composition with twelve tones—that I long kept secret, because, as I said to Erwin Stein, Webern immediately uses everything I do, plan or say, so that—I remember my words—'By now I haven't the slightest idea who I am.').⁶

Almost twenty years previously, Schoenberg had expressed the same frustrations in his "Priority" essays (1932):

I have long since established that Webern must have simply backdated these compositions. At that time [from the year 1907], every person in our circle knew this series of events: how Webern was breathing down my neck, and scarcely after I had written a piece he wrote a similar one; how he carried out ideas, plans, and intentions that I had expressed in order to get ahead of me!⁷

⁶ Arnold Schoenberg, "Anton Webern: *Klangfarbenmelodie*" (1951), in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 484.

⁷ Arnold Schoenberg, "Priority" (1932); translation in Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 236.

Given that Webern arrived in Traunkirchen on 17 July 1922 and had sketched a piece using the same twelve-tone properties found in the Prelude, Op. 25, within a week of arriving there, perhaps Webern had not been shown, until this time, the nuts and bolts of the Prelude. If Webern indeed always pounced on Schoenberg's ideas, the fact that he did not experiment with the specific twelve-tone row properties found in the Prelude until July 1922 is revealing. Had Schoenberg gone into any level of detail in his 1922 lecture(s)—which most likely began in early January—Webern would probably have tried them out much earlier than late July.⁸ If Felix Greissle's recollections about the first announcement in early 1922 are assumed to be accurate, Schoenberg may have described the basic techniques of the Prelude without divulging any of its specific secrets, including perhaps the actual pitches of its twelve-tone row. Greissle remembers that Schoenberg put an example on the board illustrating a tritone transposition of a twelve-tone row, not using the row from Op. 25, which starts on the note E, but rather a row beginning on the note C:

He proceeded to tell us that what he had to disclose was already mentioned in the "Harmonielehre."⁹ We were all startled, it came

⁸ For further discussion of Schoenberg's relationship with Webern in regards to twelve-tone composition priority, see Shreffler, 286–88.

⁹ Here, Felix Greissle cites the following passage from Schoenberg's *Theory of Harmony*: ". . . Our music has rather exhaustively exploited the possible relations of seven tones, not just in

as a surprise to us. . . . Then Schoenberg discussed the row and the derivatives of the row. In this moment, he turned to the blackboard and wrote a row starting from c, and then a transposition of the row, a diminished fifth higher.¹⁰

The only person to give a specific description of the Prelude, Op. 25, in connection to a Schoenberg announcement is Edward Steuermann,

Schoenberg's pianist and member of his inner circle:

The announcement was the explanation of the twelve-tone technique with regard to the analysis of the Prelude of the Piano Suite, Op. 25. As you all probably know, the Suite already uses all four forms of the row—inversion, retrograde, retrograde inversion—but only two transpositions, starting with E and B-flat. As the motive emphasized the diminished fifth, G–D-flat, Schoenberg joking suggested that the piece should be named “G–D-flat middle” —to mention the purely musico-technical aspects of his interest, apart from all expressionism. He emphasized, however, that the theme was “Einfall” [a sudden idea], initially in a little different shape (the last tones). He changed them because “he liked it better the other way.” I mention this to testify that the

one voice, but in several voices. . . . And now our music is about to attempt the same with twelve tones.” Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, trans. Roy E. Carter (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978; based on the 3rd rev. [1922] ed.), Appendix: 424.

¹⁰ Felix Greissle, “The Private History of Composition with Twelve Tones: The Path to the New Music,” TMs, ASC Schoenberg Archive: Felix Greissle Satellite Collection, B10, 10. Greissle's recollections are sometimes problematic. In the ASC Felix Greissle Satellite Collection, several editions and revisions of the same remembrances exist in both English and German, in note, draft, manuscript, lecture, and typed transcription (from lectures and interviews) form. In Felix Greissle on Schoenberg, interview by George Perle, November 1970, transcript, ASC Schönberg Archive: Felix Greissle Satellite Collection, B6, 44–45, Greissle, in reference to the passage quoted in this citation, says, “It may have been the Suite [for Piano, Op. 25], because there the row is [presented] at two transpositions a tritone apart and the Suite was the first twelve tone piece all the way through, it also may have been a piece that Schoenberg discarded—he discarded many pieces.” This comment does not appear in any of the subsequent text manuscripts.

origin of such a row was the same creative or inspired function as in any other Schoenberg composition. He justified the use of inversions, retrograde, etc., by saying that the object doesn't change if we put it upside down, at a certain angle, and so on.¹¹

Although Steuermann's description is a little more detailed than *KzT* or Berg's handwritten notes, it still does not mention any of the complicated devices found in the Prelude, Op. 25.

In a note about Webern, dated 29 May 1923, Schoenberg rants about needing to guard the secrets of his works against Webern:

[I will not allow Webern] to gain access to and study my future works. I will show him nothing more and leave nothing lying around unguarded. I was not careful enough, I talked too much, even though I told myself over and over to keep quiet. Still, this time I got a bit ahead, and . . . see what happened!"¹²

¹¹ Edward Steuermann, "The Possibilities and Impossibilities of Serial Composition: An Unscientific Inquiry" (1959), in *The Not Quite Innocent Bystander: Writings of Edward Steuermann*, ed. Clara Steuermann, David Porter, and Gunther Schuller (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): 58–59. Steuermann does not provide a date for the announcement, but states: "It was a memorable event indeed when one morning we, pupils and friends of Schoenberg, were summoned to his home in Mödling to hear an important announcement. Webern was also present, but not Berg, who could not come for some reason," Steuermann, 58. See also Chapter 4 and Fusako Hamao, "Reconstructing Schoenberg's Early Lectures," (working paper, 2007), 27–28.

¹² Nuria Nono-Schoenberg, *Arnold Schönberg 1874–1951: Lebensgeschichte in Begegnungen* (Klagenfurt: Ritter, 1998), Item 599: 203: "[. . .] in mein zukünftiges Schaffen, Einblick zu gewinnen: ich zeige nichts mehr und lasse nichts mehr unversperrt liegen. Ich war ja unvorsichtig und habe viel geplaudert, obwohl ich mir tausendmale vorgenommen habe, zu schweigen. Aber immerhin habe ich dismal einen gewissen Vorsprung [. . .] und: Zeugen!" Translation by Bryan R. Simms. See also note 54.

This note gives us a deeper glimpse into Schoenberg's paranoia, and it allows further speculation that Schoenberg only revealed surface-level details in his lecture(s) and announcement(s) concerning his twelve-tone ideas. Although the note does not specify which piece or pieces Webern studied, Schoenberg, by late May 1923, had completed the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, the Serenade, Op. 24, and the Suite for Piano, Op. 25. The existence of the note therefore suggests that if there was a spring 1923 public announcement, Schoenberg did not offer sophisticated analyses of these latest works. If these works had been presented to his students, Schoenberg would not have stated, "I will show him nothing more and leave nothing lying around unguarded. I was not careful enough, I talked too much, even though I told myself over and over to keep quiet." In any case, given that Schoenberg was totally embroiled with Hauer's "Sphärenmusik" and the theory of tropes the same week Webern started experimenting with the basic principles found in Schoenberg's Prelude, Op. 25, it is plausible that Schoenberg may have shown Webern more of the Prelude's secrets at this time, just to prove the point that the Prelude was far superior in conception and construction to Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta*. This perhaps inspired Webern to try out some of the specific ideas in "Mein Weg." If Schoenberg did guard the intricate mechanics of the Prelude, it would explain why neither *KzT* nor Berg's

handwritten notes refer to any of the complicated devices—the “new discovery” —from summer 1921.

Oddly, neither Schoenberg nor Webern continued experimenting with the various twelve-tone compositional techniques found in the Prelude, Op. 25, that summer (1922). Webern, in fact, was compositionally silent for the next year, and it was not until fall 1924 that he tried his hand at twelve-tone composition for the second time, although by then, the working definition of twelve-tone composition had changed again.¹³ Schoenberg, too, shelved twelve-tone ideas for several months—perhaps as a reaction against Webern’s experiments in “Mein Weg” —until October 1922, when he returned to the Serenade, Op. 24, sketching out the vocal line and preliminary accompaniment for its Sonnet.

The Sonnet, Op. 24, is a “strict” serial twelve-tone work, second chronologically only to the Prelude and Intermezzo, Op. 25. Since it is the first serial twelve-tone piece to be started by Schoenberg after the early 1922 lecture(s) claiming priority of twelve-tone composition, one would expect to see the basic principles of the fundamental solution, as used in the Prelude, Op. 25, described in *KzT* and

¹³ See Shreffler, 285.

Berg's handwritten notes, and seen in Webern's sketches for "Mein Weg," to be showcased and featured, if not expanded. Surprisingly, the twelve-tone compositional techniques found in the October 1922 sketches for the Sonnet are primitive and bear very little resemblance to even the surface-level details found in the Prelude, not to mention the complicated devices. In fact, the main technique that Schoenberg used in the Sonnet, superimposing a reiterated twelve-tone row over an eleven-note ostinato, is found in Klein's *Die Maschine*.

Bryan R. Simms comments:

The use of the twelve-tone row in the Sonnet is strict although "primitive," Schoenberg's own characterization of it. The basic row of pitch classes is repeated over and over in the voice, and the instruments also repeatedly distribute notes from the same row into a two-dimensional space, just as Schoenberg would do later in the Waltz from Op. 23. It has often been noted that the composer achieves intervallic variety in the voice line by superimposing the recurrent tone row over poetic-musical lines that consistently have eleven notes, thus mechanically rotating the row in the music of each successive line. This way of using a twelve-tone row may have arisen in discussions between Schoenberg and Berg during the previous year, stimulated by the music and theories of Fritz Heinrich Klein, one of Berg's students. . . . One of Klein's ideas in the piece [*Die Maschine*] (seen at measures 4–16 and 45–62) was to superimpose the reiterated twelve-tone theme over an eleven-note ostinato, which produced, as in Schoenberg's Sonnet, a succession of rotations of the underlying row.¹⁴

¹⁴ Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908–1923* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 216–17. See also ASC Schönberg Archive: Klein Skizzenbuch IV. For further examination of the Sonnet from the Serenade, Op. 24, see, for example, Simms, "Composing with Tones: Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, and Serenade, Op. 24," in

That Schoenberg did not compose according to the basic principles of the fundamental solution after the early 1922 lecture(s) is perplexing. Actually, with the exception of giving those early 1922 lecture(s), Schoenberg completely dropped his summer 1921 discovery—the complicated twelve-tone devices of the Prelude—until he resumed work on Op. 25 in February–March 1923. In fact, immediately after revealing his secrets to Stein in fall 1921, Schoenberg surprisingly produced a non-twelve-tone, retrospective piece, the March, Op. 24, that Simms describes as “the first of Schoenberg’s many compositions written under the bittersweet influence of the Neoclassical style.”¹⁵ This paradox is one of the most fascinating aspects of Schoenberg’s compositional history. Why would Schoenberg abandon his new twelve-tone theories in his works, while adamantly writing and profusely lecturing about them to claim priority of them? All becomes clear though, when Schoenberg’s seemingly shifting compositional methodology is examined in the context of the musical spirit of the times.

The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 179–219; Ethan Haimo, “The Formation of the Twelve-tone Idea, 1920–1923,” in *Schoenberg’s Serial Odyssey: The Evolution of his Twelve-tone Method, 1914–1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 60–105; Fusako Hamao, “The Serenade Op. 24 and Reordering Technique,” in “The Origin and Development of Schoenberg’s Twelve-Tone Method” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1988), 170–232.

¹⁵ Simms, 209.

Although Schoenberg's experiments with systematizing free atonality through serial techniques combined with chromatic completion conjure images of solitary laboratory work, he was keenly aware of current trends in contemporary music, having established the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen (Society for Private Musical Performances) in Vienna after World War I.¹⁶ The "purpose and goal" of the Verein was to provide the Austrian public with a deeper knowledge of modern music by presenting it objectively and regularly:

Society for Private Musical Performances

Statutes. . . .

2. Purpose and Goal

The purpose of this non-profit Society is to give Arnold Schoenberg the possibility of realizing his intention: to provide artists and art patrons the opportunity to personally gain a real and exact knowledge of modern music. The Society will strive to reach this goal by regularly presenting modern music at Society evenings.

¹⁶ The Verein presented the latest 20th-century compositions and soon became the model for several other organizations devoted to modern music. See articles by Regina Busch, Thomas Schäfer, Reinhard Kapp, Antony Beaumont, Ivan Vojtěch, and Roland Schlögl in *Arnold Schönbergs Wiener Kreis, Bericht zum Symposium 12.–15. September 1999*, published as *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 2 (2000). See also Elliot Antokoletz, "A Survivor of the Vienna Schoenberg Circle: An Interview with Paul A. Pisk," *Tempo* 154 (1985): 15–21; Judith Karen Meibach, "Schoenberg's 'Society for Musical Private Performances,' Vienna 1918–1922 / A Documentary Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1984); Bryan R. Simms, "The Society for Private Music Performances: Resources and Documents," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 3 (1979): 126–49 (in note 2 on p. 128, Simms provides a list of general history sources on the Verein); Hans Moldenhauer and Rosaleen Moldenhauer, *Anton von Webern: A Chronicle of His Life and Work* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 238. See also ASC Website: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/verein/verein_quellen.htm—complete Verein text documents available as online scans.

Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen

Statuten. . . .

2. Zweck und Ziel.

Der nicht auf Gewinn berechnete Verein hat den Zweck, Arnold Schönberg die Möglichkeit zu geben, daß er seine Absicht: Künstlern und Kunstfreunden eine wirkliche und genaue Kenntnis moderner Musik zu verschaffen, persönlich durchführe. Der Verein wird dieses Ziel zu erreichen trachten durch regelmäßige, womöglich stattfindende Vereinsabende, an denen Werke der modernen Musik dargebracht werden sollen.¹⁷

The Verein's final prospectus (yearly statement), dated November 1921, contains a list of 246 contemporary works (as of 31 October 1921) that had been performed in Verein concerts since its founding in 1918.¹⁸ Since the Verein ceased normal activity on 5 December 1921, this list is a fairly definitive catalogue of the diverse works Schoenberg programmed as director the Society. Composers included Béla Bartók, Ferruccio Busoni, Claude Debussy, Josef Matthias Hauer, Gustav Mahler, Maurice Ravel, Max Reger, Erik Satie, Alexander Scriabin, Richard Strauss, Igor Stravinsky, and Alexander Zemlinsky, in addition to Schoenberg (after the first year) and his students Alban Berg and Anton Webern. The eclectic

¹⁷ ASC Website: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, Statuten des Vereins für musikalische Privataufführung, gedruckt, http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/verein/verein_statuten.htm.

¹⁸ ASC Website: Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, Mitteilung Nr. 28, November 1921: Programmnummern 1–246, http://www.schoenberg.at/6_archiv/verein/verein_mitteilungen.htm.

mix of compositional styles selected by Schoenberg for the Verein reflects not only the spirit of the times, but his postwar aesthetics. Simms writes:

The Society for Private Musical Performances was not simply a prototype for the concert organization devoted to all modern music. In the works which Schoenberg chose to perform he showed his understanding of the evolution of the classical tradition in music into the twentieth century—an evolution not constrained by national or parochial preferences, but solely guided by a vision of the stylistic and technical exigencies of the modern era.¹⁹

Schoenberg's understanding and interpretation of "evolution" in music history would soon be revealed as the foundation for his twelve-tone method of composition. As the leader of the Second Viennese School, Schoenberg deeply felt the impact of the new forces in music after World War I and sensed their threat to his own achievements: expressivity, atonality, total chromaticism, and free dissonance. As a devout follower of Wagner, Brahms, and Mahler, Schoenberg felt that the "emancipation of dissonance" was a necessary next step for German music at the turn of the century. However, musical culture—and society in general—in Europe after World War I no longer tolerated heightened emotions and extreme experimentation. From his work at the Verein, Schoenberg was familiar with the works and styles of various composers. Whether or not he would admit it, the birth of his twelve-tone method in 1921–

¹⁹ Simms, "The Society for Private Musical Performances," 149.

1923 was greatly influenced by the spirit of the times, the music and writings of his peers, and the ever-present rebellion against the Romantic ethos of the immediate past.

As was shown in Chapter 4, Schoenberg was exposed to the twelve-tone experiments of Josef Matthias Hauer, who, like Schoenberg, claimed to be the inventor of twelve-tone composition. Hauer was seeking order in his own compositions, having been spurned by his colleagues who championed older forms and methods:

In August 1919 I had the idea of studying my much maligned compositions to see if I could not find in them an outwardly perceptible “practical” law. Until then I had worked largely from instinct, without the slightest external point of reference; I had followed only my own inspiration, without cognizance, and therefore the presentation and shaping of my ideas proceeded with painful slowness and much hesitation. . . . Even earlier it had occurred to me that I dealt extensively with very short phrases (self-contained “cadences”) and linked them together, thus building up forms by simple repetition, abbreviation, and extension. It remained for me only to study closely these formal elements, these single “building blocks.”

. . . After long indecision, I finally came upon the simplest thing: I counted the different tones of single building blocks, and I discovered that there were always more than the seven notes of major or minor keys, usually nine, ten, eleven, or all twelve notes of the closed [i.e., tempered] circle of fifths and fourths, but among which there was no question of modulation. I did the same to music by Schoenberg and Webern and found my discovery

confirmed there too. All that was then needed was the fortitude to make the most rigorous deduction from these data. . . .

I very quickly grasped that building blocks of all twelve notes of the circle are the real structural elements, the ones that are musically the most fertile.²⁰

Although Hauer's theory is also based on the concept that all twelve notes in the chromatic scale are equally important, his application of twelve-tone building blocks, as seen in the analysis of his *Präludium für Celesta* in Chapter 4, differed greatly from Schoenberg's serial approach.

In January 1921, the Verein announced a competition for the best original composition for chamber orchestra with an entry deadline of 1 June 1921; seven manuscripts were submitted under pseudonyms. Although the participation level was disappointing, a winner was selected—Fritz Heinrich Klein, a student of Alban Berg—but it is unlikely that Schoenberg judged the competition submissions since he was away from Vienna that summer. Klein's composition, written under the pen name "Heautontimorumenus," was entitled *Die Maschine*, a satirical commentary on the postwar fascination with anything machine-like. Mechanistic music of the 1920s rejected the sweeping unending melodies of late

²⁰ Josef Matthias Hauer, "Die Tropen," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 6 (1924): 18–20. Translation in Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?" *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 10 (1987): 114–15.

Romanticism, preferring instead calculated, cool and objective, mathematical constructs. The title page of the 1923 published version for piano four hands lists eight features included in *The Machine*:

The Machine: an Extonal Self-Satire

This work contains:

- 1) A twelve-beat "rhythmic theme";
- 2) a twelve-different-note "pattern theme";
- 3) a twelve-different-interval "interval theme";
- 4) a "neutral scale" constructed from alternating minor and major seconds;
- 5) a "combination theme" constructed from nos. 2, 3, and 4 [above];
- 6) the largest chord in music: the "mother chord" consisting of twelve different pitches and also twelve different intervals, derived from the "pyramid chord" (twelve intervals arranged according to size);
- 7) the "mirror construction" and the "clef register" of a theme, as well as its "systematic symmetry," and
- 8) the mathematical-contrapuntal development of ideas 1 to 7.²¹

Even if Schoenberg did not judge Klein's entry, a letter from Berg to Schoenberg dated 8 June 1921, which included a report on the recent activities in the Verein, shows that Schoenberg was made aware of Klein's witty composition.²²

²¹ Fritz Heinrich Klein (Heautontimorumenus), *Die Maschine: Eine extonale Selbstsatire für Klavier zu vier Händen*, Op. 21 (1921) (Vienna: Carl Haslinger Qdm Tobias, 1923): title page. Translation in Simms, "Society for Private Performances," 134.

²² *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg-Alban Berg, Part 2: 1918–1935*, Letter 504: 126–32. For more on the relationship between Klein, Schoenberg, and Berg, see Simms, "Society for Private Performances," 133–35; Arved Ashby, "Schoenberg, Boulez, and Twelve-Tone Composition as 'Ideal Type,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 (2001): 585–625; Ashby, "Of Modell-Typen and Reihenformen: Berg, Schoenberg, F. H. Klein, and the Concept of Row Derivation,"

Interestingly, an analysis of *Die Maschine* shows that Klein's twelve-note "pattern theme" is first stated in a horizontally linear twelve-tone presentation (D^b, G^b, A^b, B^b, E, E^b, C, G, A, B, F, D) and is transformed by simple transpositions, inversions, and (partial) retrogrades throughout the work.²³ Klein's composition was completed in spring 1921, several months before Schoenberg's first cognizant methodical attempts at twelve-tone composition. Christian Baier suggests:

Without knowing that Josef Matthias Hauer wrote "Nomos," Op. 19, in 1919, using a compositional method using twelve tones; and independent of Schoenberg, who first used a method of composing with twelve tones from September 1921 to April 1923 with his Suite for Piano, Op. 25; Klein created the first twelve-tone composition and should be regarded as a joint founder of one of this epoch's most revolutionary innovations in music. Chronologically, Klein's "The Machine" appears to be first twelve-tone work in music literature.²⁴

Journal of the American Musicological Society 48 (1995): 67–105; Dave Headlam, "Fritz Heinrich Klein's 'Die Grenze der Halbtonwelt' and *Die Maschine*," *Theoria* 6 (1992): 55–96; Christian Baier, "Fritz Heinrich Klein: Der 'Mutterakkord' im Werk Alban Bergs," *Österreichische Musik Zeitschrift* 44 (1989): 585–600; Hans Oesch, "Pioniere der Zwölftontechnik," in *Basler Studien zur Musikgeschichte*, Forum Musicologica, Bd. 1 (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1975), 290–304.

²³ Headlam, 62.

²⁴ Christian Baier, 588: "Ohne zu wissen, daß Josef Matthias Hauer 1919 mit "Nomos" op. 19 erstmals die Kompositionsmethode mit zwölf aufeinander bezogenen Tönen musikalisch angewendet hatte, und unabhängig von Schönberg, der zwischen September 1921 und April 1923 mit seiner Suite für Klavier op. 25 seine erste dodekaphonische Komposition schuf, kann Klein als ein wesentlicher "Mitbegründer" einer der epochalsten und revolutionärsten Neuerungen der Musik angesehen werden. Chronologisch gesehen ist Kleins "Maschine" das erste in Druck erschienene Zwölftonwerk der Musikkultur." Translation by Bryan R. Simms.

Figure 5.1 Fritz Heinrich Klein (Heautontimorumenus)
Die Maschine, Op. 1 (1921): Title Page²⁵

Diesen Grenzstein – meiner Zeit

DIE MASCHINE

Eine extonale Selbstsatire
für Klavier zu vier Händen

von

HEAUTONTIMORUMENUS

Op. 1
(1921)

DIESES WERK ENTHÄLT:

1. ein zwölfschlägiges „Rhythmusthema“.
2. ein zwölfverschiedentöniges „Modellthema“.
3. ein zwölfverschiedenintervalliges „Intervallthema“.
4. eine abwechselnd aus kleiner und großer Sekunde gebaute „Neutralskala“.
5. ein aus 2, 3 und 4 gebildetes „Kombinationsthema“.
6. den größten Akkord der Musik: den vom „Pyramidenakkord“ (= zwölf nach der Größe geordnete Intervalle) abgeleiteten „Mutterakkord“, bestehend aus zwölf verschiedenen Tönen und zugleich aus zwölf verschiedenen Intervallen.
7. das „Spiegelbild“ und die „Schlüssellage“ eines Themas, sowie dessen „Systemsymmetrie“ und
8. die ma-thematisch-kontrapunktische Durchführung der Einfälle 1 bis 7

*

CARL HASLINGER Q^{DM} TOBIAS / WIEN
SCHLESINGER'SCHE MUSIKHANDLUNG (ROB. LIENAU) / BERLIN

²⁵ See note 21.

Klein's systematic application of mathematically derived themes and chords in *Die Maschine* foreshadowed important musical and rhythmic trends that would soon follow.

Schoenberg, whether or not he knew of and was influenced by the compositions and writings of Hauer and Klein, wrote many letters and essays, as was shown in Chapter 4, protecting his claim to the invention of the twelve-tone compositional method. H. H. Stuckenschmidt quotes a passage from a paper given by Schoenberg, printed in the 1939 *MTNA Proceedings*:

About 1919 or 1920 Berg brought me a composition by Klein. I think it was called "Musical Machine" and dealt with twelve tones. I did not pay much attention to it. It did not impress me as music and probably I was still unconscious of where to my own attempts might lead me. So forgot entirely having seen something in twelve tones.²⁶

In "Priority" (1932), Schoenberg feigns complete innocence:

²⁶ H. H. Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: John Calder, 1977), 443. Schoenberg has obviously misremembered the date of composition for *Die Maschine*, a mental failing that often recurs in his writings when recollecting past events—discrepancies easily seen by checking the dates on correspondence, writings, and manuscripts. The dating inaccuracies of Schoenberg's recollections make it difficult to draw unequivocal conclusions. In addition, Schoenberg's defensive tone from the very inception of his twelve-tone compositional method and copious marginal notes debunking the writings and compositions of his contemporaries raises many questions concerning whether or not Schoenberg immediately began to revise, favorably to himself, what he perceived would later be important to music history.

I just saw something I did not know or had forgotten, namely that Hauer dedicated his *Vom Melos zur Pauke* to me—1925!

I just saw that Hauer's book *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* was sent to me by Waldheim-Eberle Press on September 18, 1920, and that it would certainly follow from this book that Hauer had already then invented "atonal" music, and further that I had read this book just before September 1921 when I wrote the first pure 12-tone piece. . . .

I do not believe, although I apparently read this book at that time, that there is an influence. For my path is too clear that I would have required coaching. In any case it is annoying.²⁷

Schoenberg, Hauer, and Klein simultaneously yet independently experimented with the idea of composing with twelve equally important tones, each trying to find order in their works. Nonetheless, their approaches differed vastly.

Schoenberg insists:

Now there is one important difference between me, Klein and Hauer. I came to my method for compositional and structural reasons. I was not looking out for a new mannerism, but for a better structural foundation, replacing the structural effect of harmony.²⁸

Schoenberg's understanding that he was replacing the structural effect of tonal harmony is important, because this is exactly how his new discovery in summer 1921 can be interpreted. In Chapter 3, it was concluded that it was likely that the new discovery was not twelve-tone composition per se, but rather the innovative

²⁷ Schoenberg, "Priority" (1932); translation in Auner, 239.

²⁸ Stuckenschmidt, 443.

ways of using the twelve tones to generate tonic and dominant regions, thus emulating the tonic and dominant axis in tonal music without succumbing to the familiar and traditional triadic harmonies. Nevertheless, although Schoenberg was theorizing about twelve-tone composition, he could not escape the spirit of his time—a return to traditions and laws—a spirit that also led to the prevalence and popularity of Stravinsky’s “neoclassicism.”

After World War I, Stravinsky believed that not only were order and discipline necessary in music, but also that they were not possible in the late-Romantic

Wagnerian model:

Wagner’s work corresponds to a tendency that is not, properly speaking, a disorder, but one which tries to compensate for a lack of order. The principle of the endless melody perfectly illustrates this tendency. It is the perpetual becoming of a music that never had any reason for starting, any more than it has any reason for ending. Endless melody thus appears as an insult to the dignity and to the very function of melody which, as we have said, is the musical intonation of a cadenced phrase. Under the influence of Wagner the laws that secure the life of a song found themselves violated, and music lost its melodic smile. Perhaps his method of doing things answered a need; but this need was not compatible with the possibilities of musical art, for musical art is limited in its expression in a measure corresponding exactly to the limitations of the organ that perceives it. A mode of composition that does not assign itself limits becomes pure fantasy. The effects it produces may accidentally amuse, but are not capable of being repeated. I

cannot conceive of a fantasy that is repeated, for it can be repeated only to its detriment.²⁹

Stravinsky provided objectivity and clarity in his postwar compositions by looking back to eighteenth-century structural forms and musical gestures, in a style often called neoclassicism. Although a clear definition of the term is elusive, the one given by Ferruccio Busoni in his 1920 open letter on “young classicism” to Paul Bekker, music critic of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, is usable:³⁰

- 1) The idea that music is music, in and for itself and nothing else, and that it is not split up in to different classes; apart from cases where words, title, situations and meanings which are brought in entirely from outside, obviously put it into different categories.
- 2) The definite departure from what is thematic and the return to melody again—not in the sense of a pleasing motive in a pleasing instrumentation—but melody as the ruler of all voices and all emotions, as the bearer . . . of the idea and the begetter of harmony, in short the most highly developed (not the most complicated) polyphony.

²⁹ Igor Stravinsky, “The Composition of Music,” in *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*, trans. Arthur Knodel and Ingolf Dahl (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 65–66. For a discussion on Alexis Roland-Manuel, the ghostwriter for *Poetics of Music*, see Robert Craft, “Roland Manuel and ‘The Poetics of Music,’” *Perspectives of New Music* 21 (1982–1983): 487–505 and “Igor Stravinsky and Roland-Manuel, ‘The Composition of Music’ from *Poetics of Music*,” in *Composers on Modern Musical Culture: An Anthology of Readings on Twentieth-Century Music*, comp. and ed. Bryan R. Simms (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999), 117–27.

³⁰ For the purposes of this dissertation, Busoni’s concept of “young classicism” will be used to define “neoclassicism” as it reflects the music aesthetics in the years immediately following World War I in Europe. The meaning and implications of the term “neoclassicism” have been hotly debated over the past 25 years. See Introduction, note 7.

- 3) A third—no less important—idea is the casting off of what is “sensuous” and the renunciation of subjectivity and the reconquest of serenity. . . . Not profundity, and personal feeling and metaphysics, but Music which is absolute, distilled and never under a mask of figures and ideas which are borrowed from other sources.³¹

Importantly, in this letter and later essays, Busoni used and preferred the term “young classicism” (*junge Klassizität*) rather than “new classicism/neoclassicism” (*neue Klassizität*)—as proposed by Thomas Mann in his essays of 1911³²—when describing this new style of music, a style that Busoni himself employed in his few postwar works such as the *Toccatà: Preludio, Fantasia, Ciaccona* (1921) for solo piano.

In his study *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (1988), Scott Messing writes:

Busoni felt that *neue Klassizität* implied a mere imitation of the past. He employed the term *junge Klassizität* because it suggested that

³¹ Ferruccio Busoni, “Young Classicism” (1920), in *The Essence of Music: And Other Papers*, trans. Rosamond Ley (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957), 19–22. Letter dated 20 January 1920 and published on 7 February 1920 in the early morning edition of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

³² Thomas Mann, “Auseinandersetzung mit Richard Wagner,” *Der Merker* 2 (1911): 21–23 and *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (3 August 1911): 476–77. See Scott Messing, “Neoclassicism in Germany: 1919–1925,” in *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic*, *Studies in Musicology*, No. 101, ed. George J. Buelow (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 61–74 and notes for Chapter 2: 166–72.

musical evolution embodied an ongoing, rejuvenative process, which he likened to organic growth in nature.³³

By an accident of journalism, Busoni soon became associated with the term neoclassicism, although he ardently tried to clarify his position and the misinterpretation of it during the remaining few years of his life.³⁴ By the time Busoni died in 1924, the term neoclassicism was used internationally by critics to describe the current music of Stravinsky.³⁵

On 8 June 1921, Edward Steuermann performed Stravinsky's *Piano Rag Music* (1919) at the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, to rave reviews. In a letter dated 9 June 1921, Berg wrote the following to his wife Helene:

In the evening the Society's last meeting. As Gaudriot did not turn up, the Clarinet Pieces were dropped. Programme: Stravinsky, *Ragtime* (Steuermann), something really very fine! Satie, all new pieces (Steuermann); Webern, *Violin Pieces* (Kolisch and Steuermann); Busoni, *Toccata* (Merinsky).³⁶

³³ Messing, 67.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 70–74.

³⁵ Busoni's distinction between "junge Klassizität" (evolutionary, organic rejuvenation) and "neue Klassizität" (simple, past imitation) is crucial in the discussion of postwar music aesthetics; this distinction will be preserved in the meaning of neoclassicism in this dissertation. See Messing, 87–88.

³⁶ Alban Berg, *Letters to His Wife*, ed., trans., and annotated by Bernard Grun (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), 275.

The impact of the success of neoclassical works such as Stravinsky's *Piano Rag Music*, combined with the publication of Hauer's twelve-tone ideas—and perhaps to a much lesser extent, Klein's mechanistic satire on the number twelve—appear to have inspired Schoenberg to compose again. Simms writes:

The work [Stravinsky's *Piano Rag Music*] made a strong impression on the audience through a style that foretold the new taste of the 1920s. It was unpretentious music, intended to be heard with the eyes wide open. It stirred together the seemingly incongruous—high art and *Kleinkunst*, consonance and dissonance, tonality and atonality, regular rhythm and irregular meter. It was witty, cool, with none of the wrenching angst that was well known to audiences of the Society [Verein]. For Schoenberg such music amounted to an aesthetic misdirection, although one that could not be ignored. His public response to the new style soon became hostile, but he immediately began to make concessions to the idiom in his own works.³⁷

Against the backdrop of Stravinsky's neoclassicism and Hauer and Klein's twelve-tone experiments, it is no wonder that Schoenberg's compositional ideology swayed back and forth between writing neoclassical pieces and pushing the complexity of twelve-tone manipulations between 1921 and 1923.

Between late July 1921, when Schoenberg composed the Prelude, Op. 25, and late February 1923, when he returned to its complicated devices, basic principles, and fundamental solution to write the remaining movements of Op. 25, Schoenberg

³⁷ Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg*, 188.

completed and sketched several pieces representing the gamut of current trends in music. He composed Op. 23, No. 3 and finished Op. 23, No. 4 using serialized variation techniques within free atonality. He composed the March from the Serenade, Op. 24, and sketched the Menuet, Op. 24, referring in them to the emerging neoclassical style. He started the Sonnet, Op. 24, and composed the Waltz, Op. 23, using strict but primitive twelve-tone techniques similar to those found in Klein's *Die Maschine*. Like the twelve-tone row of the Sonnet, Op. 24, the twelve-tone row of the Waltz, Op. 23, is used almost exclusively in its prime form, P₀. Simms writes:

The entire contrapuntal and harmonic content of Piece No. 5 [Waltz, Op. 23] is derived from a single twelve-tone row that is constantly recirculated with only a few deviations or liberties. . . . Schoenberg further minimalizes the pitch resources at his disposal by using solely this one row form throughout the entire piece, except for a brief appearance of R₀ in measures 104–10.³⁸

This is not to suggest, however, that the Sonnet, Op. 24, and the Waltz, Op. 23, were not innovative in their construction. The main technique that Schoenberg used in the Sonnet, Op. 24, superimposing a recurring twelve-tone row over an eleven-note ostinato, is not unique; Klein had already done that in *Die Maschine*. The superimposing of the recurrent twelve-tone row over lines of poetry (a Petrarch sonnet) that consistently have eleven syllables, thus mechanically

³⁸ Ibid., 200.

rotating the twelve-tone row by one order number in each successive line is perhaps Schoenberg's way of responding to Klein's work.³⁹ Meanwhile, although Schoenberg's presentation of the twelve-tone row in the *Waltz*, Op. 23, appears to be rather simple, his treatment of the twelve-tone row shows a change in his concept of basic shape, which would soon influence his definition of twelve-tone composition. Simms suggests:

[The] limitation [of using solely one row form throughout the entire piece] posed a challenging and complex problem. How could the composer create a diversified work, filled with development, newness, and contrast, while confining himself to the recirculation of a single tone row?

The answers that he found were highly influential upon the later development of the twelve-tone method. To begin with, he freed the notes of the row almost entirely from the registers that they occupied in the initial statement of the shape. Even in *Piece No. 3* [Op. 23, No. 3], the contour of the basic shape tended to be retained within a serialized variant, but in the *Waltz* he treats the tones of the basic shape as pitch classes that can be repositioned in any register. For this reason, the expression "basic shape" — a term that suggests a fixed contour — becomes a misnomer, and Schoenberg was later inclined to replace it with basic set or basic row to designate the prototypical structure of a twelve-tone composition.⁴⁰

In addition to the movements of Op. 23 and Op. 24 that Schoenberg composed between late July 1921 and late February 1923, he also worked on several

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 216–17.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 200.

arrangements and orchestrations. In late 1921, Schoenberg arranged two songs for chamber ensemble, one by Viennese folksong composer Johann Sioly, the other, “Funiculi-Funicula,” by Italian opera and song composer Luigi Denza.⁴¹ In addition, for Christmas 1921, Schoenberg arranged two familiar Christmas hymns for chamber (instrumental) ensemble. Leonard Stein, editor of the published score, states:

In this ‘domestic’ Christmas piece, probably written for a family occasion in 1921, Schoenberg demonstrates his great contrapuntal skill in devising a Chorale-Prelude (such as he urged his students to practice) on two familiar Christmas hymns.⁴²

In April–June 1922, soon after the early 1922 lecture(s) claiming priority of twelve-tone composition, Schoenberg orchestrated two Bach chorale preludes, “Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele” (Deck thyself, O Soul, with Gladness) and “Komm, Gott, Schöpfer, heiliger Geist” (Come, God, Creator, Holy Ghost), both of which were first performed in Carnegie Hall in early December 1922, conducted by Josef Stransky.⁴³ In mid-December 1922, Schoenberg completed an

⁴¹ See Chapter 4.

⁴² Arnold Schoenberg, *Weihnachtsmusik (Christmas Music) for Chamber Ensemble* (Los Angeles: Belmont Music Publishers, 1974), BEL-1020.

⁴³ See Josef Rufer, *The Works of Arnold Schoenberg: A Catalogue of his Compositions, Writings, and Paintings*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber & Faber, 1962), 93–94 and ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #711 and #17271.

arrangement of his “Lied der Waldtaube” (Song of the Wood-Dove) from *Gurrelieder* (1911) for voice and chamber orchestra, which was “prepared in connection with the performance of the Chamber Symphony in Copenhagen, on which occasion, besides the 2nd Quartet, the Song of the Wood-Dove is to be sung by Frau Marya Freund from Paris.”⁴⁴

From his many arrangements and orchestrations and his work on Op. 23 and Op. 24, it is clear that Schoenberg was not single-mindedly focused on twelve-tone ideas at this time. All evidence points to the fact that although Schoenberg wanted to claim priority for twelve-tone composition, it was either not important enough for him to use these ideas in any subsequent works, or he was not at all interested in developing the twelve-tone ideas first formulated in the Prelude, Op. 25, until late February 1923, since not one of the ten or so pieces he worked on between the Prelude and the remaining movements of Op. 25 uses any of the complicated devices or basic principles of the fundamental solution associated with the Prelude.

⁴⁴ Rufer, 78–79.

When Schoenberg finally did return to the twelve-tone techniques found in the Prelude, Op. 25, he made a concession to the prevailing musical taste. While the Prelude, in 1921, was an untitled piano piece (Klavierstück), the remaining movements, composed in February–March 1923, are all inspired by dance-suite forms. The suite, by this time, had gained popularity, as seen in the works of Reger, Berg (*Wozzeck*), Hindemith, Krenek, Stravinsky, Debussy, Ravel, and Poulenc. Ravel's *Le Tombeau de Couperin* (1914–1917): Prélude, Fugue, Forlane, Rigaudon, Menuet, and Toccata, and Egon Kornauth's *Kleine Suite für Klavier*, Op. 29 (1923): Präludium, Intermezzo, (untitled), Ländler, Notturmo, Walzer, and Finale, are just two examples of neoclassical suites written for solo piano at this time. Hindemith's *Suite 1922*, Op. 26: March, Shimmy, Nachtstück, Boston, and Ragtime, took the suite idea to a new level, substituting jazz forms in place of the more traditional dance genres.

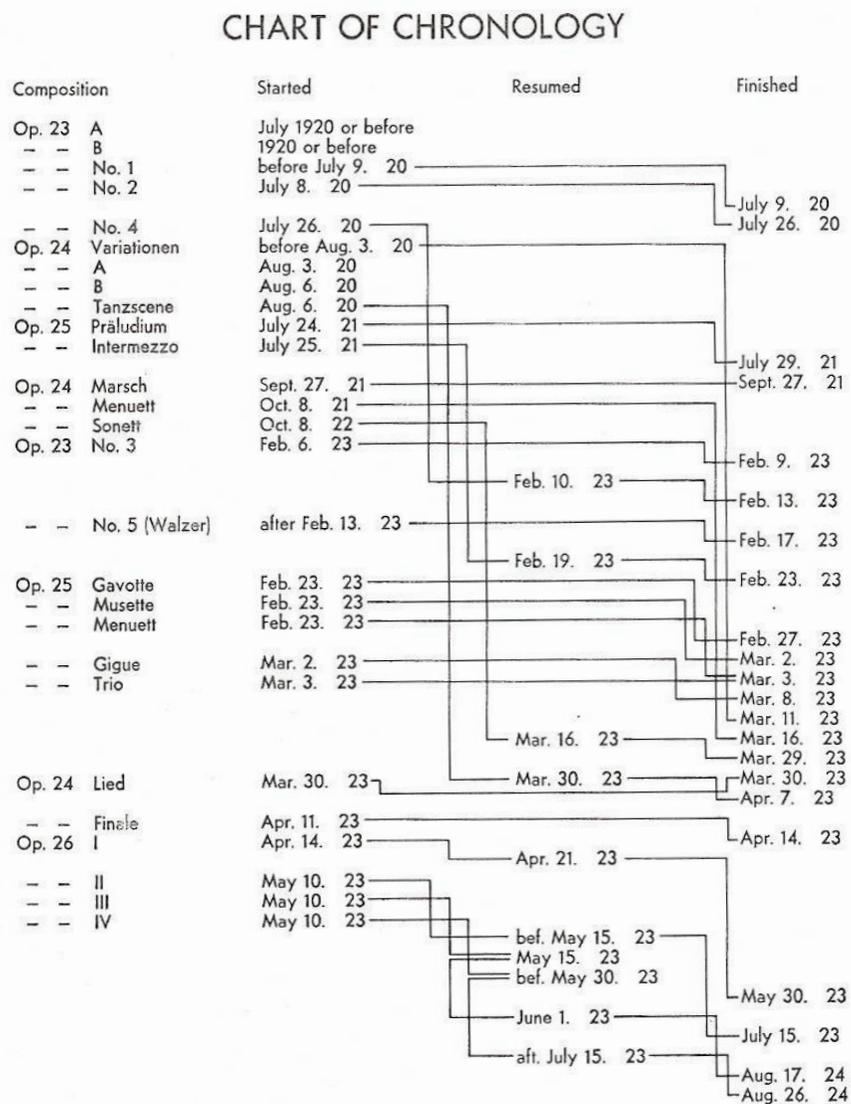
As is known from from Schoenberg's letter to Zemlinsky of 12 February 1923, Schoenberg was in a rush to finish two series of piano pieces for his publisher.⁴⁵ Amazingly, he completed both series of piano pieces, Opp. 23 and 25, within three weeks of writing this letter. Here, the chronology is significant. As

⁴⁵ See the passage cited in Chapter 4, note 110.

Maegaard shows in his article "A Study in the Chronology of op. 23–26 by Arnold Schoenberg" (1962), the *Waltz*, Op. 23, a "primitive" twelve-tone work, was composed before Schoenberg returned to the ideas in the *Prelude*, Op. 25, to write the remaining five movements of what would become the *Suite for Piano*. The compositional chronology can be seen in Maegaard's chart below (see Figure 5.2). Schoenberg returned to twelve-tone ideas in the *Waltz*, Op. 23, only after completing Op. 23, Nos. 3 and 4, works that further explore the concepts of serialized variation. Schoenberg finally went back to the July 1921 piece which would soon be called the *Prelude*, Op. 25. In Schoenberg's hurry to produce works for his publishers, he may have reconsidered the compositional possibilities he first discovered in the *Prelude* over a year and a half earlier.

Figure 5.2 Jan Maegaard
Arnold Schoenberg: Opp. 23–26
Chart of Chronology⁴⁶

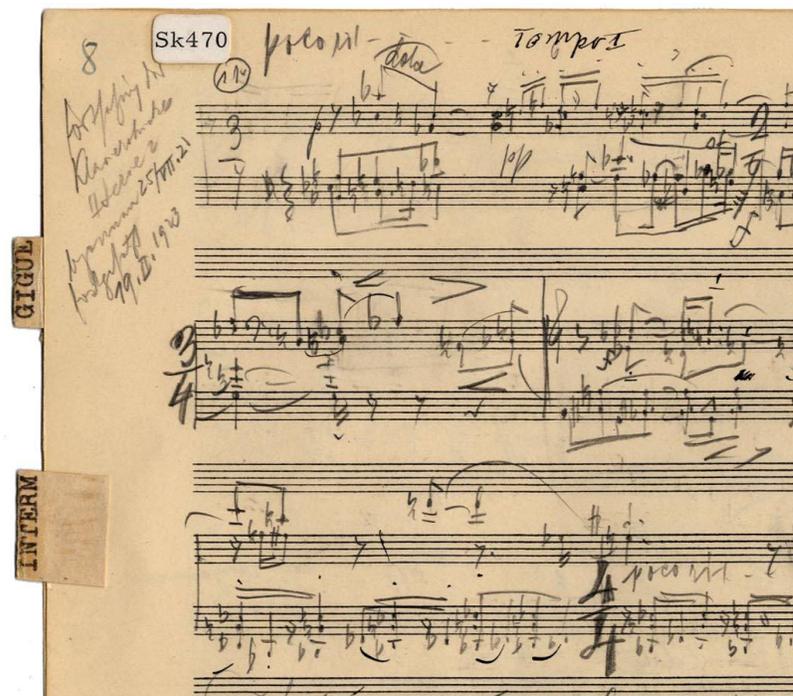
108



⁴⁶ Jan Maegaard, "A Study in the Chronology of op. 23–26," *Dansk årbog for musikforskning* 2 (1962): 108.

The first movement of Op. 25 to be completed in 1923 was the Intermezzo, which Schoenberg resumed on 19 February and finished on 23 February 1923. The 1923 measures of the Intermezzo follow the same style as the first ten measures that had been drafted in July 1921 (see Chapter 3). On this day, Schoenberg still conceived of this second series of piano pieces as just that, a series. This can be deduced by Schoenberg's comment in the upper left margin of the first draft of measures 11 to the end of the Intermezzo, found in Schoenberg's Sketchbook V:

Figure 5.3 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Intermezzo Sketchbook V: Marginalia (19–23 February 1923)⁴⁷



⁴⁷ ASC Schönberg Archive: Music Manuscript MS 79 (Sketchbook V): Sk470, <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/MS79/MS79/Sk470.jpg>.

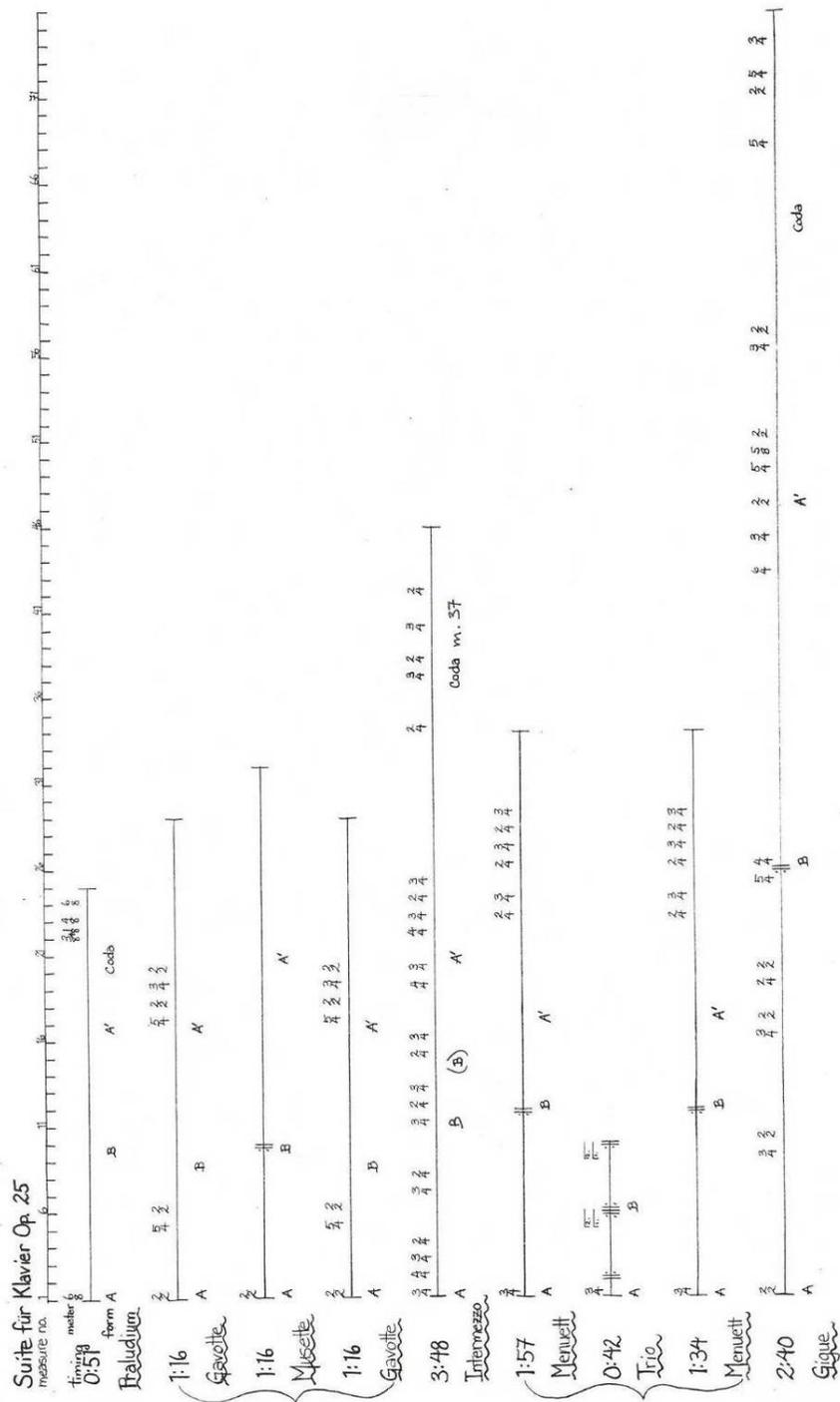
The marginalia reads, "Fortsetzung des Klavierstückes II Serie 2, begonnen 25/VII 21, fortgesetzt 19.II.1923, beendet 23./II" (continuation of the Piano Piece, No. 2 of Series No. 2, begun on 25 July 1921, continued 19 February 1923, and finished 23 February [1923]). This demonstrates that up until this time, the Prelude and Intermezzo, Op. 25, were simply two generic piano pieces, untitled, and not connected to a Suite of pieces in the neoclassical sense. On the same day that he finished the Intermezzo, however, Schoenberg began composing the next three movements of the Suite for Piano: the Gavotte, Musette, and Minuet. The Trio and Gigue followed a week later; the entire Suite for Piano, Op. 25, was completed within a month.

The 1923 movements of Op. 25 were conceived as Baroque dance-suite forms, while the 1921 movements, the Prelude and Intermezzo (measures 1–10), were composed as unnamed piano pieces. It is as if Schoenberg were suddenly inspired by the idea of writing a piano suite later in the day on 23 February 1923, immediately after finishing the Intermezzo, since up until then he was calling the Intermezzo "Series 2, No. 2." Because the Prelude and Intermezzo (measures 1–10) explore the tonic-dominant polarity, as shown in Chapter 2, perhaps Schoenberg decided to exploit this harmonic framework further, to show that he

had figured out a way to command the twelve tones to structurally fulfill the tonic-dominant requirements of Baroque dance-suite forms. Schoenberg was faithful in preserving the binary, rounded binary, and ternary forms expected (see Figure 5.4 below).

In his pairing of twelve-tone principles to Baroque dance-suite forms, Schoenberg combined the two opposing and adversarial compositional ideologies then current, serial atonality and neoclassicism, and created a work that broke the barriers of both, perhaps proving to everyone that he was indeed the master who would assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years. Schoenberg, moreover, was not only bowing to the prevalent spirit of the times when he decided to use a neoclassical model for the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, he was being ironic by showing how he could successfully look back to Baroque and Classical ideals while still advancing music history forward in its evolutionary path: a parody of a parody. His later *Three Satires*, Op. 28 (1925), would show Schoenberg at his wittiest: a parody of a parody of a parody.

Figure 5.4 Deborah H. How
 Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25
 Form Analysis of Movements



The tonic-dominant polarity at the tritone transposition found in the twelve-tone row complexes of Op. 25 would not surface again in Schoenberg's compositional output. As he had abandoned the new discovery, complicated devices, and basic principles of the fundamental solution found in the Prelude, Op. 25, in both 1921 and 1922, he would quickly drop them again. Just one month later, around mid-April 1923, Schoenberg's twelve-tone ideas changed again, this time permanently, as he began working on the Woodwind Quintet, Op. 26, the first piece that would use what is generally understood as Schoenberg's mature twelve-tone method.

It is known that Schoenberg's twelve-tone ideas changed again in spring 1923 from two essays written by Erwin Stein, "Neue Formprinzipien" (New Formal Principles, 1924) and "Einige Bemerkungen zu Schönbergs Zwölftonreihen" (Some Observations on Schoenberg's Twelve-Note Rows, 1926). "New Formal Principles" has long been regarded as a text compiled by Stein from notes he took at the famous Schoenberg announcement of 17 February 1923, a date now known to be highly suspect, and impossible for Stein since he was in Darmstadt

at the time, recovering from a knee injury.⁴⁸ Moreover, it has been suggested, by Arved Ashby, Jennifer R. Shaw, and the Moldenhauers, for instance, that *KzT* and “New Formal Principles” stem from the same February 1923 meeting where Schoenberg first announced his twelve-tone techniques. Shaw writes:

Schoenberg’s comments at the February meeting were recorded by Erwin Stein and perhaps by others present.⁴⁹ At a later stage Stein used his notes from Schoenberg’s 1923 lecture as the basis for his essay “Neue Formprinzipien,” which was published in the commemorative issue (for Schoenberg’s 50th birthday) of *Musikblätter des Anbruch* (1924). Strong similarities between certain passages in the “Komposition mit zwölf Tönen” [*KzT*] lecture text and Stein’s published descriptions of Schoenberg’s compositions in his 1924 essay suggest that Stein was most likely the primary amanuensis of the “Komposition mit zwölf Tönen” typescript.⁵⁰

Besides the fact that Stein’s knee injury made it impossible for him to be in Mödling in February 1923, and that Stein himself, in a letter to Rufer, says he was

⁴⁸ See ASC Schönberg Archive: Letter ID #17068 (misdated 5 January 1922, instead of 5 January 1923), #17073 (2 February 1923), #17074 (25 February 1923), and #21668 (12 March 1923). In Letter ID #21668, Stein writes, “Nächste Woche will ich nach Wien kommen.” (Next week, I will come to Vienna.)

⁴⁹ In the paragraph immediately preceding this quotation, Shaw gives the specific date of 17 February 1923. Shaw has apparently been led astray by Joan Allen Smith and a footnote in *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, 330, note 3. As mentioned previously, there are errors in this footnote that have since been corrected, revised, and deleted in the parallel entry found in the new German edition of the Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence, *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg-Alban Berg, Part 2: 1918–1935*, ed. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Andreas Meyer, *Briefwechsel der Wiener Schule*, ed. Thomas Ertelt, vol. 3, (Mainz: Schott, 2007), Letter 575: 206–8; note 395.

⁵⁰ Jennifer Robin Shaw, “Schoenberg’s Choral Symphony, *Die Jakobsleiter*, and Other Wartime Fragments” (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2002), 582–83.

not there the first time Schoenberg explained his method to his students in 1923 (see Chapter 2), dated sketches, drafts, and manuscripts for the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, clearly show that all the movements, with the exception of the Prelude and the first ten measures of the Intermezzo, were composed after 17 February 1923. In “New Formal Principles,” Stein mentions the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, which was completed on 8 March 1923, as a whole, referring to each of the six movements: Prelude, Gavotte, Musette, Intermezzo, Minuet [Trio], and Gigue; he also touches on all seven movements of the Serenade, Op. 24, completed on 14 April 1923, making it again impossible for “New Formal Principles” to have derived solely from an event in February 1923.⁵¹ Also, as mentioned in Chapter 1, there are dating issues connected with a footnote found in “New Formal Principles”:

It was apropos of this piece [the third of the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23], shortly after its composition, that Schoenberg first told the present writer about the new formal principles.⁵²

The assumption that there was only one Schoenberg announcement, and more significantly, only one Schoenberg concept to announce (the “Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One Another” —

⁵¹ See Maegaard, 104.

⁵² Erwin Stein, “New Formal Principles” (1924), trans. Hans Keller, in *Orpheus in New Guises* (London: Rockliff, 1953), 68.

i.e., strict serial twelve-tone composition) has led to a complete misinterpretation of this footnote. Many have tried to reconcile the fact that Schoenberg himself claims that he first told Stein his secrets in fall 1921 with the fact that Stein says that Schoenberg first told him about the new formal principles soon after the composition of the third of the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, which was completed on 9 February 1923.⁵³ Because it has long been assumed that the fall 1921 secrets comprised the same compositional techniques as the new formal principles from Stein's essay—not to mention the fundamental solution of *KzT* and Berg's handwritten notes—several wildly differing explanations have been offered. Thomas Brezinka, for example, suggests that this dating conundrum can be explained if Stein, on purpose and out of the deepest loyalty to Schoenberg, falsely states in the footnote found in "New Formal Principles" that he was first introduced to the new method only after the composition of Op. 23, No. 3, in order to keep secret the techniques revealed earlier to him by Schoenberg.⁵⁴

⁵³ See Maegaard, 98.

⁵⁴ See Thomas Brezinka, *Erwin Stein: Ein Musiker in Wien und London* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 193: "Stein hielt sein Versprechen und gab vor, erst beim Klavierstück op. 23 Nr. 3, komponiert im Februar 1923, in die neue Technik eingeweiht worden zu sein: ein weiteres Beispiel seiner tiefgreifenden Loyalität. Denn er hätte ebensogut prahlen vor Rufer, Berg, Webern und allen anderen." Brezinka sets up this paragraph by demonstrating that Schoenberg tried to keep his new compositions a secret from Webern, and that Stein loyally kept his secret. For example, on p. 191, he provides the quotation found in a Schoenberg note written on 29 May 1923 about Webern, cited in note 12 above.

Heneghan, on the other hand, after citing Hans Oesch's and Jan Maegaard's interpretations, suggests that the "third piece" refers not to Op. 23, No. 3, but to the Prelude, Op. 25, since it was the third piece, after Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, written at that time:

Scholars have proposed various explanations for this incongruity: Hans Oesch takes Stein's statement *a priori* and proposes that Op. 23, No. 3 may have been begun during the autumn of 1921, whereas Jan Maegaard, though conceding that the piece may have been conceived in 1921, opines that it is more likely that the piece was begun in 1923, as suggested by the date on the manuscript, and that Schoenberg revised his explanation to Stein about the new formal principles on the basis of this piece. There is an alternative explanation, however. By the summer of 1921, Schoenberg had completed three piano pieces: Op. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, both composed during the summer of 1920, and the 'Präludium' [Prelude, Op. 25], written in July 1921. Though these pieces eventually became part of two different series, . . . Berg's notes from this period . . . do not distinguish between series and refer simply to three piano pieces. Seen in this context, the 'Präludium' was the third piano piece that Schoenberg had completed. I would suggest, then, that Stein's footnote . . . was misplaced, added, possibly after the essay was written, at the point where the words 'third piece' [*dritte Stück*] occur in the text. This is corroborated by the fact that the formal principles to which Stein refers in the essay are particularly apposite for the 'Präludium'.⁵⁵

As was explained in Chapter 4, the present author disagrees with Heneghan's suggestion that Berg's reference to three piano pieces includes the Prelude, Op. 25, since it cannot be both an example of a piece (attempt) leading up to the

⁵⁵ Áine C. Heneghan, "Tradition as Muse: Schoenberg's Musical Morphology and Nascent Dodecaphony" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity College, University of Dublin, 2006), 154-55.

fundamental solution and the fundamental solution itself. In addition, as will be shown below, Stein's new formal principles are not at all the same as the basic principles described as the fundamental solution found in *KzT* and Berg's handwritten notes.

Meanwhile, Fusako Hamao offers the same explanation as Heneghan, but provides a citation to a contemporaneous written source:

According to our study, however, Stein was not in Vienna "shortly after the composition" of the third piece of Op. 23 in February 1923. If Stein remembered correctly the piece he saw at . . . Traunkirchen before the master disclosed the secret, and it was Op. 23, No. 3, then, Maegaard's second possibility must be right. Yet, this is another possibility: Stein might have misattributed the piece, as each piece of Op. 23 and 25 had been simply called "piano piece [Klavierstück]" until the middle of 1923. For example, when Steuermann performed two piano pieces—later called Op. 23 No. 1 and 2—in October 1920, they were titled "Two New Piano Pieces [Zwei neue Klavierstücke]" in the program. When Berg made a biographical list for his project of writing [a] book on Schoenberg in the early 1920's, he noted the piece composed in the summer of 1921 in Traunkirchen, "Third Piano Piece [III. Klavierstück]" and then wrote, "Serenade continued." Since Berg indicated only this piece as Schoenberg's composition in that summer before the Serenade, he must have meant the Prelude of Op. 25 by the "Third Piano Piece." This name is probably due to the fact that it was the first completed piano piece after the "Two New Piano Pieces." Therefore, when Stein later heard from Berg or other Schoenberg's students that the third piano piece [= Prelude] was composed in the summer of 1921, he may have misunderstood that it referred to Op. 23 No. 3. In fact, Stein indicated Op. 23 No. 3 as "Third Piano Piece [3. Klavierstück]" without opus number in the summary of his

article. In any case, Stein's note is not sufficient enough to confirm that Schoenberg disclosed his secret to Stein for the first time in February 1923.⁵⁶

Although Brezinka, Heneghan, and Hamao have offered interesting explanations for the dating discrepancy suggested by Stein's footnote in "New Formal Principles," Oesch did so to accommodate the fall 1921 date, when Schoenberg says that he revealed his secrets to Stein. If the footnote really does refer to the Prelude, Op. 25, instead of Op. 23, No. 3, as suggested by Heneghan and Hamao, then the footnote becomes entirely inconsistent with the contents of the essay itself, since the musical examples Stein provides in "New Formal Principles" are for the most part drawn from pieces that were composed in February–March 1923, more than a year and a half after the composition of the Prelude, Op. 25. Since it is impossible for the new formal principles, as they refer to the motivic manipulations of the basic shapes found in Opp. 23, 24, and 25, to have its roots in the fall 1921 secret or "complicated devices," there is no reason for Stein's footnote to refer to a piece written by fall 1921. Maegaard's hypothesis that

⁵⁶ Fusako Hamao, "Reconstructing Schoenberg's Early Lectures," (working paper, 2007), 40–41 and 52, notes 106–12. It is important not to confuse Berg's reference to "III. Klavierstück" here with the "3 Klavierstücke neu[e]" and "3. Serie Klavierstücke" examined in Chapter 4, although his entry "III. Klavierstück" being the only piece composed in summer 1921 besides continuation on the Serenade, Op. 24, poses yet another set of questions. See also Werner Grünzweig, *Ahnung und Wissen, Geist und Form: Alban Berg als Musikschriftsteller und Analytiker der Musik Arnold Schönbergs*, Alban Berg Studien, ed. Rudolf Stephan, vol. 5 (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2000), 211.

Op. 23, No. 3 was in fact composed in February 1923, as Schoenberg has dated it, and that Stein's essay is a compilation of observations about Schoenberg's music between 1921 and 1923—some based on Schoenberg's lectures and statements, some made from Stein's own analyses—is probably closest to the truth. Even though Maegaard came to the correct conclusion, he did not reach it by considering that the secrets of 1921 were not analogous to the new formal principles of 1923:

Either the piece was begun in 1923 and Schoenberg then gave Stein a fresh report on its new formal principles, or the piece was already conceived of in 1921 and already far enough along so that he could then explain its new method to his student. The first possibility is by far the more likely; still, the second cannot be entirely ruled out.⁵⁷

Had it been clear in the current musicological literature that Schoenberg revealed different secrets, aspects, and techniques of composing with twelve tones in 1921, 1922, and 1923, the footnote in "New Formal Principles" would have remained merely a footnote. Both Schoenberg's statement that he first told Stein about his secrets in fall 1921 and Stein's footnote that Schoenberg first showed him the new

⁵⁷ Stein, 68. See also the passage cited in Chapter 1, note 28.

formal principles shortly after the composition of Op. 23, No. 3 can be true; and thus, there is no conundrum.⁵⁸

The accuracy of Stein's footnote, Stein's whereabouts in spring 1923, Stein's admission that he was not at the 1923 meeting when Schoenberg first spoke to his students about twelve-tone composition, and Schoenberg's note about needing to guard his works from Webern all strongly suggest that Stein's essay was not a product of lecture notes from a public announcement, but rather from a personal, perhaps private, conversation with Schoenberg to which Stein added his own insights. In fact, the footnote itself states that it was apropos of this piece, shortly after its composition, that Schoenberg first told "the present writer" (i.e., Stein) about the new formal principles—not "his students" or "us." If "New Formal Principles" is in fact based on a private conversation that Schoenberg had with Stein, what did Schoenberg say in the public

⁵⁸ Moreover, as the original essay was published in a special 50th-birthday tribute to Schoenberg on 13 September 1924 (see Shaw's statement, quoted above), it seems highly unlikely that Stein would have attributed the footnote to the wrong piece since it was so soon after the completion of both Op. 23 and Op. 25. In addition, in 1953 Stein himself compiled the set of essays, including "New Formal Principles," for *Orpheus in New Guises*. If an error had been made in the placement of the footnote in the original German edition, one would think that Stein would have corrected it in the English version.

announcement to his students (as opposed to his inner circle) in spring 1923?⁵⁹

This question cannot be answered unless and until a primary document is discovered that either describes or mentions the specific pieces or techniques discussed at the spring 1923 announcement, since it has been shown that the recollections of both Schoenberg and the various attendees in both 1922 and 1923 are inconsistent.

Surprisingly, the focus of “New Formal Principles” is not on the fundamental solution as stated in *KzT* and Berg’s written notes, and not on the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, in which Schoenberg merged twelve-tone techniques with the neoclassical spirit of the times to create his first large-scale work to be unified by a twelve-tone row. Instead, the new formal principles represent the motivic processes, which Schoenberg—possibly at a later date—began to call

⁵⁹ As was established in Chapter 2, the early 1922 lecture or lectures were probably for a select or *private* group of Schoenberg’s inner circle of students and friends, while the spring 1923 gathering was more of a *public* announcement. Two letters from Berg exist that may also show that Schoenberg did not specifically cover the inner workings of his recent compositions at a public 1923 announcement. In a letter dated 1 April 1923 to his wife Helene, Berg writes, “Schoenberg was very nice and once more very friendly to me. But alas at the expense of other friends who (according to him) whenever he talked about his achievements in musical theory would always say: ‘Yes, I’ve done that too.’ [Webern] As he doesn’t expect this sort of thing from me, he wants to show me all his secrets in his new works. . . . The rest of the afternoon he showed me new composition.” *Alban Berg: Letters to His Wife*, 310. In a letter dated 2 September 1923 to Schoenberg, Berg writes, “Yes—your work. If I knew more about it! Everything you have discovered in the area of 12-tone music and now apply so sovereignly occupies my imagination constantly. I can’t wait for the appearance of your first composition in this style!” *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, 330.

“composition with tones,” connected to Schoenberg’s concept of basic shape (Grundgestalt), of which, at the time of the essay, twelve-tone composition was a subset. Importantly, and often overlooked, Stein’s essay at no point actually describes Schoenberg’s “Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One Another” — strict serial twelve-tone composition — but rather, developments leading up to it. In Stein’s 1953 note prefacing the English translation of “New Formal Principles,” he explains:

[1953]: The present essay [originally written in 1924] does not describe Schoenberg’s composition with twelve notes, but the stage immediately before it had finally crystallized. The description will show, it is hoped, that the method grew gradually and inevitably from Schoenberg’s earlier compositions, as a practical, if personal, means of expressing his musical thoughts. Some observations apply only to the works mentioned in the essay, not to the later and still stricter method based on rows consisting of all twelve notes. In particular the often used expression ‘melodic motif’ rightly suggests a clear-cut shape which is exposed, and from which the subsequent music is derived. In the later, definite method everything, including any motif’s first exposition, is derived from a basic set of twelve notes which, however, is not a melodic motif, but the raw material of as many motifs as the composer needs. The expression ‘basic shape’, on the other hand, is applicable to either the twelve-note row or any melodic motif.⁶⁰

At the end of the essay, Stein outlines the new formal principles, as he understood them in 1924, in reference to Schoenberg’s latest works, the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, the Serenade, Op. 24, and the Suite for Piano, Op. 25:

⁶⁰ Stein, 59.

We cannot foresee which of the different types of basic shapes will prove most fruitful for the future, and what others may yet have to be found. Nevertheless, our observations may yield some conclusion about the aspects under which new formal types could be envisaged. Let us then recapitulate.

The basic shapes can be developed in a strict or a freer style. In strict style, all notes occur as constituent parts of the basic shapes; if certain notes are 'unmotivic', they may come to assume as it were motivic significance (e.g. the notes B and A in the variation movement of the *Serenade*). The greater part of the *Serenade* is in a 'free style' which not only works with the derivative forms of the basic motifs, but also admits of freer variations and freer part-writing. The strict movements disclose the following possibilities:

1. The piece roots in one or more basic shapes.
2. The basic shape contains all twelve notes precisely, or fewer, or more.
3. The basic shape always stays on the same notes (Waltz, Variations, Sonnet) or is also used in transpositions
 - (a) to a certain pitch (Suite),
 - (b) to any pitch (Third Piano Piece).⁶¹

. . . The number of basic shapes and their notes, then, is formally the strongest determining factor for any single piece. It may indeed quite easily be that the conception of new formal types will proceed on the basis of the 'Number of Basic Shapes and their Notes'. And our future 'Keys and Major-Minor Modes' may have their roots here too. . . .

⁶¹ This is the part of Stein's article summary that Hamao refers to in the passage cited in note 56 above. However, Stein's reference to the basic shape used in transpositions to any pitch definitely describes Op. 23, No. 3 and not the Prelude, Op. 25; Stein clearly indicates in the line directly above that the reference to the basic shape used in transpositions to a certain [fixed] pitch is found in the Suite [for Piano, Op. 25]. Earlier in the article, Stein lists the pieces that will be discussed in the essay: "the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23, the *Serenade* for Seven Instruments, Op. 24, and the Piano Suite, Op. 25," so his reference to "Suite" must be to Op. 25; Stein, 66.

The new formal principles are strict laws. Yet they allow countless combinations which grant the fullest scope to the composer's imagination. The limitations aim at homogenous artistic ends by formal means. For form has two functions; expression and impression. Musical thought can only be represented, expressed as form, but likewise it can only be perceived, 'make an impression', as form. All form, to be sure, is compulsion, and yet there is no freedom without form.⁶²

"New Formal Principles" is thus not an essay about Schoenberg's twelve-tone method as it is generally understood, but about the last step toward it, just as the fundamental solution referred to in *KzT* does not describe Schoenberg's final solution: the "Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One Another." Those secrets would not be divulged until Stein's 1926 essay.

In a footnote on the first page of his 1953 English translation of "Some Observations on Schoenberg's Twelve-Note Rows," Stein writes:

[1953]: The present article is concerned with Schoenberg's definite method, in contrast to the preceding "New Formal Principles" which, written two years earlier, describes a preliminary stage. Thus the second article complements the first by showing Schoenberg's last step to the composition with twelve notes (or tones).⁶³

⁶² Stein, 75–77.

⁶³ Erwin Stein, "Some Observations on Schoenberg's Twelve-Note Rows," trans. Hans Keller, in *Orpheus in New Guises*, 78.

The article, not nearly as famous as “New Formal Principles,” defines for the first time Schoenberg’s twelve-tone compositional *method*:

The principles of the “method of composing with twelve tones” may be summarized as follows:

A certain succession or series of all the notes of the chromatic scale provides the basic material for a piece. The rhythm of this note-row is free, as is the choice of octave for each particular note (so that, for instance, two notes of the row may now form a major third, now a minor sixth or again a major tenth): nothing but the order of the notes is binding. In addition to this ‘basic set’, three mirror forms make their regular appearance, i.e., its inversion, its retrograde version and the latter’s inversion. The four forms thus obtained can, moreover, be transposed to any pitch. What is most essential is that these rows appear not only horizontally (melodically), but also vertically (whether contrapuntally or chordally).⁶⁴

Ironically, there is no evidence that Schoenberg gathered his students to make an announcement explaining his final definition of the “Method of Composing with Twelve Tones,” a methodology that he would not abandon in the years to come.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 78–79.

Conclusion

In the preface to his book *Schoenberg's Error* (1991), William Thomson writes:

Toward the end of 1924 one of the world's great music publishers, Universal of Vienna, released Arnold Schoenberg's *Suite für Klavier* Op. 25. By usual standards this was not an auspicious event, even in the sedate circles of classical music publishing. In fact, few persons in addition to Schoenberg himself—some close friends from his circle of present and past students like Erwin Stein and Alban Berg—were even aware that this collection of short piano pieces had been committed to print, much less that it could, in time, come to signify something far greater than just the music it contained.

. . . . Even today, most serious music lovers do not find Schoenberg's suite of little pieces especially delightful. In fact, the composition's principal claim to fame was not its substance but Schoenberg's use of his "method of composing with twelve notes" as a controlling agent throughout all six movements. He had composed music earlier that made use of the same method, but not to the degree incorporated in the *Suite*. This latest piece signaled an epochal point in the composer's creative life, one of those deliberate turns in a personal road that ultimately changes the direction of many others as well. From that time in 1924 to now, professionals and non-professionals alike have argued the musical validity, the artistic propriety, the historical justification of Schoenberg's contribution to how we think about music. Ironically, like the *Suite*, Schoenberg himself seems destined to endure mainly as a mythic symbol of musical revolution. Posterity seems intent upon neglecting both.

Many scholars, like Thomson, have painted a picture in which Schoenberg

deliberately set out to establish a place in musicological history, both for himself

and for twelve-tone composition. The cornerstone of this depiction lies in the ironclad certainty symbolized neatly by Rufer's notorious remark, conveying a Schoenberg proceeding with methodical awareness.

As is often the case, however, the truth is more subtle and far richer. If it is true that Schoenberg said from the very beginning that he had discovered something that would “assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years,” it nevertheless does not follow that this discovery was twelve-tone composition as we understand it today. Schoenberg appears to have been cognizant of this himself, especially as other composers offered their own efforts in composing with twelve tones, and he took extensive measures, centered on the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, to encourage everyone to see twelve-tone composition as having been conceived first by him, fully formed. These measures were successful for fifty years, practically casting in stone an axiom that has led many scholars to perceive chronological contradictions in the development of the Suite for Piano and of twelve-tone composition.

In reality, Schoenberg twice abandoned his experiments in composition with twelve tones after making public announcements claiming priority to their

invention, not composing a single work in this new style from late July 1921 to mid-February 1923, when it was clear that both neoclassicism and twelve-tone composition were firmly ensconced in the musical landscape. Only then did Schoenberg think to merge the two current trends to launch his forays, perhaps a parody of a parody, into what we now appreciate as his mature twelve-tone method, showing his colleagues and critics that it was possible to be present by looking forward and glancing backward at the same time. By admitting the possibility of a gradual evolution of twelve-tone techniques, it is possible at once to resolve those dating conundrums and to appreciate the compositional models brought to bear in the Suite for Piano.

In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in Schoenberg's early twelve-tone techniques, examining the outside influences of coherence, religion, philosophy, Bachian counterpoint, and even Loosian architecture. Although it may be fashionable to propose grandiose external factors, a simpler explanation may be that Schoenberg was merely trying to conform to the spirit of the times, but on his own terms, while satisfying his inherent desire for credit. Far from being an impenetrable monolith of unitary musical technique, we see written in the Suite for Piano, Op. 25, the thoughts and processes of a musical mind,

lingering on the edge of discovery, simultaneously seeking and conscious of his position for posterity.

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Appendix

Arnold Schoenberg: Suite for Piano, Op. 25: Prelude
Tetrachord Analysis

P_0 and I_6 "Tonic" Rows

Segmented into Tetrachords (a), (b), (c)

$P_0(a) \rightarrow$	$P_0(b) \rightarrow$	$P_0(c) \rightarrow$
$\leftarrow R_0(a)$	$\leftarrow R_0(b)$	$\leftarrow R_0(c)$
4 5 7 1	6 3	11 0
10 9 7 1	8 11	3 2
$\leftarrow RI_6(a)$	$\leftarrow RI_6(b)$	$\leftarrow RI_6(c)$
$I_6(a) \rightarrow$	$I_6(b) \rightarrow$	$I_6(c) \rightarrow$

P_6 and I_0 "Dominant" Rows

Segmented into Tetrachords (a), (b), (c)

$P_6(a) \rightarrow$	$P_6(b) \rightarrow$	$P_6(c) \rightarrow$
$\leftarrow R_6(a)$	$\leftarrow R_6(b)$	$\leftarrow R_6(c)$
10 11 1 7	0 9	5 6
4 3 1 7	2 5	9 8
$\leftarrow RI_0(a)$	$\leftarrow RI_0(b)$	$\leftarrow RI_0(c)$
$I_0(a) \rightarrow$	$I_0(b) \rightarrow$	$I_0(c) \rightarrow$

4

S U I T E

für Klavier

Präludium

Rasch (♩ = 80) P₀(a) P₀(b) P₀(c) Arnold Schoenberg Op. 25

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system is marked 'Rasch (♩ = 80)' and includes dynamic markings *p*, *mf*, and *fp*. The second system features a circled '5' and dynamic markings *f*, *fp*, and *f*. The third system includes dynamic markings *f*, *fp*, and *f*. The fourth system is marked 'etwas ruhiger dolce' and includes dynamic markings *f*, *p*, and *mp*. Annotations include P₀(a), P₀(b), P₀(c), P₆(a), P₆(b), P₆(c), I₆(a), I₆(b), I₆(c), R₆(a), R₆(b), R₆(c), R₀(a), R₀(b), R₀(c), RI₀(a), RI₀(b), RI₀(c), P₆(a), P₆(b), P₆(c), I₀(a), I₀(b), and I₀(c). Arrows indicate the scope of these annotations across the musical phrases.

5

The musical score is divided into four systems, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system starts at measure 10 and includes labels $RI_6(a)$, $R_0(a)$, $R_0(c)$, $P_0(b)$, $RI_6(b)$, $I_0(b)$, $R_0(b)$, $I_0(c)$, $I_0(a)$, $P_0(a)$, $RI_6(c)$, p , sf , f , $dim.$, and *poco rit.*. The second system includes *accel.*, $I_6(a)$, $I_0(c)$, $RI_0(b)$, $I_6(b)$, $I_0(b)$, $RI_0(a)$, $I_0(a)$, $I_6(c)$, $P_0(c)$, *crase.*, f , ff , and $RI_0(c)$. The third system includes *etwas langsamer*, $P_6(c)$, *rit.*, and $P_6(b)$. The fourth system starts at measure 15 and includes $P_0(c)/R_0(c)$, $P_6(a)$, *tempo*, $I_6(a)$, $I_6(b)$, $I_6(c)$ HCAB (transposed), $P_0(a)$, $P_0(b)$, and $P_0(c)/R_0(c)$ BACH. The page number 5 is in the top right corner, and the code BEL-1035 is at the bottom center.

BEL-1035

6

See Figure 3.13

The musical score consists of four systems of piano music. The first system (measures 6-12) features a treble and bass clef with a key signature of two flats. It includes dynamic markings of *ff* and *ff*. Annotations include P_0 (a), P_0 (b), P_0 (c), P_6 (b), and P_6 (c). A bracket labeled "See Figure 3.13" spans measures 7-12. The second system (measures 13-20) includes dynamic markings of *pp* and *ff*. Annotations include P_0 (a), P_0 (b), P_0 (c), R_0 (a), R_0 (b), and R_0 (c). A bracket labeled "See Figure 3.13" spans measures 13-16. The third system (measures 21-28) includes dynamic markings of *f* and *f*. Annotations include I_6 (a), I_6 (b), I_6 (c), RI_6 (a), RI_6 (b), and RI_6 (c). A bracket labeled "See Figures 3.20 and 3.21" spans measures 21-28. The fourth system (measures 29-36) includes dynamic markings of *ff* and *ff*. It features a tempo change to "poco pesante" and a time signature change from 4/8 to 6/8. A bracket labeled "See Figure 3.19" spans measures 29-36. The page number "6" is in the top left. The page number "295" is in the top right. The page number "BEL-1035" is at the bottom center.

See Figure 3.13

See Figure 3.13

See Figures 3.20 and 3.21

See Figure 3.19

BEL-1035