Composing on Stage: Schoenberg and the Creative Process as Public Performance

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Among the thousands of items in Schoenberg's *Nachlaß* is a fragment of a parody of Hans Pfitzner's opera *Palestrina*, intended for a special "evening of merriment" to be presented by the Society for Private Musical Performances (plate 1).[1] Pfitzner's "Musical Legend in Three Acts" (premiered in Munich in 1917, with the first Viennese performance in March 1919) is based on descriptions of the Council of Trent that depicted Palestrina as the savior of polyphonic church music with his *Missa Papae Marcelli*.[2] Schoenberg's parody focuses on the scenes from the end of the first act that show Palestrina burying his head in his arms at his desk, despairing over his inability to compose after the death of his wife, and distraught by

Earlier versions of this article were read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Houston 2002, and at colloquia at University of California, Los Angeles, and Stony Brook University. I am grateful to the students and faculty at those institutions for their comments, and also to David Read, Jennifer Shaw, Ethan Haimo, Lydia Goehr, Lewis Lockwood, and Klaus Kropfinger for helpful advice along the way.

[1]An excerpt is printed in Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 153–57, which is the source of all the passages cited below. The manuscript is undated, but early sketches were made on a 1918 calendar; the first two scenes were originally indicated as taking place in 1918, written over with 1919. Consistent with Schoenberg's note on the manuscript "Geplant für einen 'Heiteren Abend' des Vereins für musikalische Privataufführungen," he jotted down ideas for several other comedy sketches, discussed below. This event may have been envisioned as comparable to one of the special public "propaganda concerts" presented during the years of the Verein (Dec. 1918–Dec. 1921).

[2]See Owen Toller, *Pfitzner's* Palestrina: *The "Musical Legend" and Its Background* ([London]: Toccata Press, 1997), p. 287. For further background, see Craig Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (2002), 1–3; and James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

 19th-Century Music, XXIX/1, pp. 64–93. ISSN: 0148-2076, electronic ISSN 1533-8606.

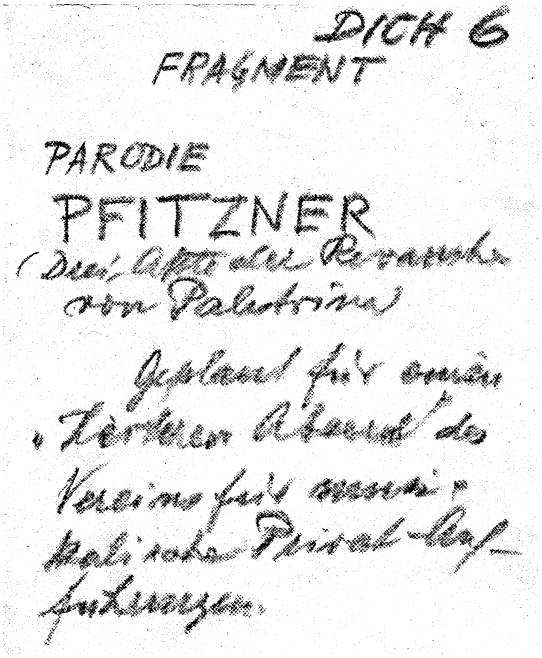

Plate 1: Front cover, *Pfitzner: Three Acts of the Revenge of Palestrina.* Arnold Schönberg Center T06.09, Dich 6.
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the dangerous new directions in music emanating from Florence:

> So I should write again—a Mass, a great work, an 'eternal,' as one says. Have I chance?——The priest has threatened to destroy my works. Whether they're consumed quickly by the flame, or slowly by time, it's all the same, all meaningless, all, all! What point is there in work or joy, in grief or life? Would I be able? No, oh no, what for, what point in anything—what for—what for?[3]

In the darkened room he is visited first by the spirits of past musical masters, including Josquin and Isaac, who encourage him to fulfill his destiny, and then by a chorus of angels who dictate his new mass to him during the night, with the last notes fading away at the dawn.

In Schoenberg's version, entitled *Pfitzner: Three Acts of the Revenge of Palestrina,* the main character, Hanserl, is seen pacing back and forth while unable to decide on an appropriate style in which to compose:

> If I write Wagnerian; it's too old,
> If I write Verdian; it's not national enough,
> Mascagni and Leoncavallo aren't a draw anymore either,
> Puccini, however, wouldn't be bad . . .
> How shall I write?

He finally gives up and throws himself down on his desk to sleep, despairing:

> It's better not to write operas at all . . .
> It's still better not to write anything at all—. . .
> but to leave the whole business—no, not that,
> not the business, but the whole work—to one's genius,
> and for that purpose, I go to bed.
> For luck only comes in sleep.

While he slumbers, he is visited by the "Modern Masters": "(the living) Strauss," Ravel, Stravinsky, Julius Bittner, Schreker, and by Pfitzner himself. They carry Hanserl to bed and then circle around him, accompanied by parodies of their music, causing him to groan in his sleep as if he were having nightmares. Meanwhile his Genius has appeared, posing petulantly at center stage as two assistants attempt to light him to the best advantage. Then, instead of angels, performers enter dressed as ravens, representing what Schoenberg calls the "Critical Poultry." The critics advise the still sleeping Hanserl how to compose: "Not too many dissonances; modern, but not ultramodern!" As the critics keep talking, three secretaries type as fast as they can, in short order producing a large stack of paper. When Hanserl awakens he is astonished to find before him the fat printed score of his new work. He exclaims: "It's really true, printed, a whole work printed in one night. This is really wonderfully convenient. I'm never going to have to write anything again!"[4]

[3]Act I, sc. 4, trans. Veronica Slater, in Hans Pfitzner, *Palestrina,* cond. Rafael Kubelik, Deutsche Grammophone 427 417-2 (1973), p. 45 (liner notes).

[4]The next two acts progressed only as far as fragmentary notes. Act II was to have reworked the corresponding act in *Palestrina,* replacing the meeting of the Cardinals in Trent with a gathering of concert agents and publishers in Leipzig. Schoenberg played up Jewish caricatures in his

The parody is no doubt in part a response to Schoenberg's feeling personally attacked by Pfitzner's reference in the opera to "the dangerous new trends," as well as by his assault on musical modernism in publications such as *Futuristengefahr* (1917), which was followed in 1920 by *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz*.[5] Yet, as is often the case, Schoenberg's jest suggests that something in Pfitzner's depiction of this scene of artistic creation struck a deep nerve.

In this article I argue that Schoenberg experienced the creative process as a public act, and that he did so to an unprecedented degree, though it has since become almost second nature. When he composed, it is as if he felt that he were on stage like the slumbering Hanserl, struggling with critics, other composers, and his genius.[6] But for Schoenberg, this struggle did not take place in sleep but in a state of utter wakefulness, and before an audience of his contemporaries, history, and, ultimately, the "supreme commander," as suggested by his final project, *The Modern Psalms,* the original title of which was "Psalms, Prayers, and Other Conversations with and about God." Through many different means and to very different ends, he tried to guarantee that the finished works, too, would retain the marks of their noisy public gestation and birth. And it is largely to this that we can attribute the vehement quality of much of Schoenberg's music, which Adorno characterized as speaking "as though it were trying to justify itself at any price before an imaginary court of justice."[7] Indeed, the works come to us carrying testimonials from their creator's prolific writings, sketches that provide evidence of their paternity and authenticity, and, scattered among the notes on the page, literal and metaphorical fingerprints showing the hand of the composer at work.

Sensitive to the charge that he was a musical constructor or mathematician, Schoenberg attempted at times to downplay the significance of how a work came into being, as in the essay "Heart and Brain in Music," where he writes that "one cannot pretend that it makes any difference whether the examples derive from a spontaneous emotion or from a cerebral effort."[8] In an often-cited letter from July 1932 to Rudolf Kolisch in response to the latter's attempt to work out the row of the Third String Quartet, Schoenberg wrote of the danger of overrating such analyses, "since after all they only lead to what I have always been dead against: seeing how it is *done;* whereas I have always helped people to see: what it *is!*"[9] But the very neces-

notes, calling the scene "Palästina" (Palestine) and showing representatives of the main publishing firms, Universal, Bote & Bock, Breitkopf & Härtel, Peters, and Schott, wearing the red robes of Cardinals, bickering and "planning swindles." (Here I correct an error in *A Schoenberg Reader,* p. 154, where "Palästina" was incorrectly given as "Palestrina.") The act was to end in a free-for-all in which the publishers attacked the character representing Emil Hertzka of Universal Edition, cutting his hair and shaving him. The third act, "in which Pfiztner does not appear," was to have focused on the character of the "Genius."

[5]While passages in the text seem particularly directed toward Schoenberg—for example, "But now a clique of amateurs in Florence have taken antique, heathen writings and worked out artificial theories, according to which music will be made"— Pfitzner's opera predated the formulation of the twelve-tone method, which only began to be known beyond Schoenberg's immediate circle in 1923 (act I, sc. 3, trans. Slater, p. 36). The actual target here was Ferruccio Busoni and his *Entwurf einer neuen Aesthetik der Tonkunst,* published first in 1907 and in a revised edition in 1916. See Marc A. Weiner, *Undertones of Insurrection: Music, Politics, and the Social Sphere in the Modern German Narrative* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), pp. 33–71. Berg's attack on Pfitzner, "Die musikalische Impotenz der 'neuen Ästhetik' Hans Pfitzners," was published in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2 (1920).

[6]That Schoenberg, even unconsciously, may have been projecting himself onto the sleeping composer might explain the otherwise puzzling inclusion of Pfitzner in the group of "Modern Masters" who appear around the sleeping Hanserl. Despite all that divided them, there were many points of contact between Schoenberg and Pfitzner in their aesthetics, politics, and manner, as has been suggested by John Williamson, *The Music of Hans Pfitzner* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); see also nn. 32 and 33 below. Pfitzner's music was performed on several occasions at the Verein: the Fünf Lieder, op. 26, on 2 February and 16 March 1919 and the Piano Quintet, op. 23, on 5 October 1919.

[7]Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music,* trans. Anne G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Blomster (New York: Seabury Press, 1980), p. 75, n. 32.

[8]Schoenberg, *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg,* ed. Leonard Stein, with trans. Leo Black (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 74. See also Joseph Auner, "'Heart and Brain in Music': The Genesis of Schoenberg's *Die glückliche Hand,*" in *Constructive Dissonance: Arnold Schoenberg and the Transformations of Twentieth-Century Culture,* ed. Christopher Hailey and Juliane Brand (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 112–30.

[9]*Arnold Schoenberg Letters,* ed. Erwin Stein, trans. Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), p. 164.

sity of making these disclaimers points to what I see as his career's primary trajectory: an ever-increasing insistence on the intimate relationship between what a work is, how it is put together, and through what process it came about.

This article explores some of the origins and implications of Schoenberg's efforts to make all of the apparatus of his musical and intellectual life—his compositional techniques, sketches, and fragments, and his creative process in general—integral aspects of his identity as a composer and of the reception of his music. One side of this story is Schoenberg's well-known concern for how posterity would view him, evident in his obsession with demonstrating his stature as a genius and defining his place in history as the first to break with tonality and as the inventor of "the method of composing with twelve tones related only to one another." He made sure that posterity would be well provided for by carefully preserving and cataloging a vast range of sketches, manuscripts, letters, writings, the extensively annotated books in his library, paintings, photographs, and all manner of personal materials that became the core of the collection of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute, founded at the University of Southern California in 1972, and its successor the Arnold Schönberg Center, which opened in Vienna in 1998. His intense self-consciousness about the act of composing as he sat alone at his desk is apparent throughout his *Nachlaß*. Very early on, even in his most personal writings, Schoenberg operated with an eye to "the future musicologists" who would one day sort through his papers, which is clear in the notes he writes explaining bits of evidence that might raise questions, as well as in his elaborate system for classifying and cataloging his manuscripts.[10] That there is little evidence of his deliberately falsifying dates, chronology, and influences, as Ives and Stravinsky are known to have done, reflects perhaps not only his intense sense of artistic morality but also his feeling that he would not get away with it, since he intended so much of his workshop to be an open book.[11]

Also significant for the present context are the ways that, beginning in the first decade of the century, Schoenberg started making his *Nachlaß* known through both the dissemination of manuscripts, sketches and fragments, and the discussion of the creative process and compositional techniques in his voluminous writings. In this he might be compared to the Austrian novelist Robert Musil, who in 1936 published a collection entitled *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author,* which he attributed to his desire to "forestall publication of my own last literary effects before the time comes when I will no longer have a say in the matter."[12] To a remarkable degree, and for both good and ill, Schoenberg wanted to have a say throughout his career in how his music should be heard, performed, and discussed.

The intensity of his desire to shape the reception of his music and the specific forms his interventions took reflect Schoenberg's own psychology and background as well as his Viennese context with all its historical and artistic baggage. But the significance of this notion of composition goes far beyond any single personality or milieu. In an extended review-

[10]The fullest presentation of his *Nachlaß* can be found in *Arnold Schönberg 1874–1951: Lebensgeschichte in Begegnungen,* ed. Nuria Nono-Schoenberg (Klagenfurt: Ritter, 1992). The Arnold Schönberg Center has undertaken a digitizing project to make many of these sources available online at www.Schoenberg.at. Examples of Schoenberg's cataloging system, which involved a numbering scheme and categories like Biography (Bio), Literary (Dich), Aphorisms (Aph), can be seen in plates 1, 2, and 6. For a discussion of his catalog, see Jean and Jesper Christensen, *From Arnold Schoenberg's Literary Legacy, a Catalog of Neglected Items* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1988), pp. 109–10.

[11]This is not to say that Schoenberg did not remain quiet about influences and events he would have preferred to remain hidden; see, for example, Mark Benson, "Schoenberg's Private Program for the String Quartet in D Minor, Op. 7," *Journal of Musicology* 11 (1993), 374–95. For one of the few places in which there is evidence of Schoenberg deliberately hiding something, see Joseph Auner, *Schoenberg's Compositional and Aesthetic Transformations, 1910–1913: The Genesis of* Die glückliche Hand (Ph.D. diss. University of Chicago, 1991), pp. 132–33.

[12]Robert Musil, *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author,* trans. Peter Wortsman (Hygiene, Co.: Eridanos Press, 1987), p. ix, which starts: "There are poetic estates that also happen to be great gifts; but as a rule, literary legacies bear a suspicious resemblance to everything-must-go store clearance sales and cheap bargains. The popularity that such work nonetheless enjoys may indeed derive from the fact that the reading public has a forgivable weakness for a poet who for the last time lays claim to their attention."

essay of Allen Shawn's *Arnold Schoenberg's Journey,* Richard Taruskin coins the phrase "the poietic fallacy" to characterize what he calls "the conviction that what matters most (or most strongly yet, that all that matters) in a work of art is the making of it, the maker's input."[13] Taruskin attributes to this "poietic fallacy" a "divergence of interests" between twentieth-century composers and listeners, a divergence that, in his words, "bedevils modern art." Throughout the essay he takes aim at the usual modernist suspects, Roger Sessions, Pierre Boulez, Elliot Carter, and Milton Babbitt, but the central culprit, of course, is Schoenberg, for "Schoenberg, and discourse about Schoenberg, has always been among the chief bulwarks of the poietic fallacy in music."[14]

Taruskin provides a useful overview of the nineteenth-century origins of the "poietic fallacy," but his account of what this legacy means for Schoenberg, his music, and ultimately for us today seems to me to be insufficient. He faults both Shawn and Schoenberg for an overemphasis on technical matters—focusing on Shawn's discussion of motivic structure in the atonal works and the uses of the row in the twelve-tone music—which, according to Taruskin, have little availability or pertinence to the listener's experience.[15] But while Taruskin's criticisms might be applicable to Shawn and some of the analytical and theoretical literature on Schoenberg's music, they misrepresent, in my view, both the nature and extent of Schoenberg's concerns with the "poietic." On the one hand, it is important to point out that Schoenberg's own analytic writings deal primarily with tonal composition; there are only a few essays that discuss details of the twelve-tone method, and still less about "atonality."[16] On the other hand, for Schoenberg, as I hope to show, questions about the making and the maker of the artwork embraced a broad range of concerns whose availability and pertinence for the listener are not easily dismissed. It was integral to Schoenberg's thought throughout his life that the listener had a central role in the musical experience. As he put it in a letter to Busoni, the work of art will only have an impact "on those who are like-minded. On those who possess a receiving organ which corresponds to our transmitting organ. As with wireless telegraphy."[17] Through his writings, open rehearsals, program notes and analyses, and many radio lectures aimed at the broadest audiences, Schoenberg endeavored to "tune" the public and himself to the same frequency in order to justify and explain his compositional development and to facilitate an understanding of his music. For Schoenberg, the "poietic" and the "esthesic" were far more interdependent than is usually acknowledged.[18]

[13]Allen Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg's Journey* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002); Richard Taruskin, "The Poietic Fallacy," *Musical Times* 145 (2004), 7–34, at 10. As components of the "poietic fallacy," Taruskin also cites "the measurement of an artist's value in terms of influence on other artists, the concomitant overrating of technical innovation, the delimitation of the purview of criticism to matters of structure and craft, and the derogation of other critical approaches as vulgarian" (pp. 11–12). The semiotic terminology is borrowed from Jean Molino; "poietic" refers to the sending of a message, "esthesic" to the receiving. For another response to Taruskin's article from the perspective of the esthesic, see Michael Graubart, "Fallacies and Confusions," *Musical Times* 145 (2004), 19–24.

[14]Taruskin, "The Poietic Fallacy," p. 12.

[15]Taruskin writes, "[Shawn] shows us instead how well composed the music is, according to a definition of good composing to which academically trained composers are indoctrinated, but which means little to listeners. . . . Clearly Schoenberg was motivated by the ideal that Shawn invokes to tout his work. But that does not make it any more pertinent or available to the listener's experience. And promoting it into the primary musical value is the ultimate poietic fallacy, the one that led modern music into the cul-de-sac where absurdly overcomposed monstrosities by Elliot Carter or Milton Babbitt have been reverently praised by critics and turned into obligatory models for emulation by teachers of composition" ("The Poietic Fallacy," pp. 16–17).

[16]See Ethan Haimo, "Atonality, Analysis, and the Intentional Fallacy," *Music Theory Spectrum* 18 (1996), 167–99.

[17]*Ferrucio Busoni: Selected Letters,* ed. and trans. Antony Beaumont (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 383.

[18]While my focus here is on the "poietic" dimension, there is a great deal more work to be done before we can draw conclusions about the impact of Schoenberg's efforts on the listener's experience, starting, of course, with the question of which listeners we are talking about. The notion of a century of rejection and scandal accompanying Schoenberg's music—propagated in part by Schoenberg himself—does not reflect the actual performance history of his music. See Joseph Auner, "Schoenberg and His Public in 1930: The Six Pieces for Male Chorus, Op. 35," in *Schoenberg and His World,* ed. Walter Frisch (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 85–125.

Taruskin aims to expose the "sources of Schoenberg's 'inner compulsion'—and of the poietic fallacy, too—" in order to allow us "to escape from them, or even accept them in full, free consciousness."[19] But when we read his verdict on Schoenberg's aesthetic ("exceedingly old-fashioned, even outmoded . . . compounded of historical determinism, organicism, occultism, solipsism . . . along with a host of hoary élitist and sexist clichés, and a megadose of the jargon of authenticity") it is fairly clear that his recommendation would be for the former path.[20] Yet while there is no doubt that a "divergence of interests" has separated audiences and composers over the last century, the notion that this is due to the poietic fallacy is questionable, if the evidence from the broader musical culture and popular culture in general is any measure. Any attempt to determine what sort of information is pertinent for listeners needs to confront the striking *convergence* of interests between artists and audiences over the past century. Rather than the obsession of a few modernist apologists, what might be called the "poietic imperative" has become the dominant way of making and receiving art. Schoenberg's realization of the interpenetration of the act of composition and public musical discourse is a vivid early manifestation of the blurring of boundaries between the work, the creative process, the artist, and the audience typical of twentieth-century art and now a fundamental feature of our cultural life.

A Feeling of Being Watched

To various degrees, of course, the ways of thinking and the practices I am discussing here have been integral to the formation of the idea of the composer throughout music history, as evidenced, to cite only one prominent example, by the care Machaut took in preserving and cataloging his works.[21] But it was in the nineteenth century, intertwined with the formation of Romantic ideas of the genius and the masterwork, with what Taruskin calls the "Hegelianisation of music history," and with the proliferation of discourse about music in newspapers and journals, that the foundation was laid for Schoenberg's sense of the public nature of the creative act.[22] These trends, as Robert Morgan has argued, were in turn interconnected with the breakdown of common-practice tonality, and thus of the accompanying conceptual framework that gave each new work a meaning and justification. In response, composers increasingly made analysis, explanation, and the revelation of precompositional systems a "necessary appendage to their music."[23] All of these factors contributed to the development with perhaps the greatest relevance for the present context, namely, the rise of sketch studies as a tool for both biography and analysis.[24]

How widespread this hyperconsciousness about the creative process became is evident in the range of responses in Schoenberg's Vienna, from Mahler's habit of dropping hints about his works in progress, to Brahms's destruction of his unfinished compositions, to the vast archive of autographs assembled by the novelist Stefan Zweig, about which he wrote, "I was conscious of having created something by my autograph collection which was, as an entity, worthier of survival than my own literary work."[25] The

[19]Taruskin, "The Poietic Fallacy," p. 17.
[20]Ibid., p. 33.
[21]See Lawrence Earp, "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), 461–503.

[22]Taruskin's account of the origins of the "poietic fallacy" focuses on Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich von den ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart,* first published in 1852, with its emphasis on the evolutionary progress and development of the musical material, and which, notably for the present context, takes Palestrina as the starting point. "The Poietic Fallacy," p. 19.
[23]Robert Morgan, "On the Analysis of Recent Music," *Critical Inquiry* 4 (1977), p. 48; rpt. in *Criticism and Analysis,* ed. Ellen Rosand (New York: Garland, 1985), pp. 171–92. Morgan's focus is on the period after World War II; he argues that the assertion of an underlying system gives a work authority "by its adherence to principles that in some way transcend its own boundaries. . . . The fact that the system may be private, perhaps even valid for only one work, does not completely undermine its capacity to authenticate" (p. 44).
[24]See Thomas Whelan, *Towards a History and Theory of Sketch Studies* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1990), which includes an overview of the debates about sketch studies around 1980.
[25]Quoted in Albi Rosenthal, "Aspects of Autograph Collecting, Past and Present," in *Obiter Scripta: Essays, Lectures, Articles, Interviews, and Reviews on Music, and*

manuscript collector Albi Rosenthal has written of the Romantic vogue for collecting sketches and autographs, significantly with collectors who were artists themselves, including Goethe and Mendelssohn leading the way. Not coincidentally, Rosenthal observes that the rise of musical antiquarians was also marked by an epidemic of thefts of manuscripts from libraries and the development of the art of forgery.[26]

The interest in autographs and in the study of handwriting as a key to character was a product of the Romantic idea of the work as, in the words of M. H. Abrams, "a projection of personal qualities" and "a transparency opening directly into the soul of the author."[27] For figures like Byron, as Charles Rosen has observed, the resulting blurring of the boundaries between the artist and the work meant that ostensibly private documents like letters and journals were always on the verge of becoming public, of becoming art: "The combination of stagecraft and intimate confession, of objective and subjective elements of tone and structure, turn these private documents into literature, the counterpart of Byron's greatest poems, *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan,* where public art assumes the character of the private document."[28] Rosen has argued that, in the case of Schumann, Berlioz, and Byron, the relationship between life and work was so skewed toward the latter that the artist attempted to make his life conform to the fictional personae in his works: "The Romantic ideal of the unity of life and work is not one which made the work subsidiary to, and dependent on, the artist's private affairs. The most interesting composers have arranged their lives and personalities in order to realize their projects and their conceptions most effectively and convincingly."[29]

But there are significant differences in both degree and kind between Schoenberg and these nineteenth-century precedents. Schoenberg was not seeking to collapse his works into autobiography when he made the creative process—and thus the creator—part of the meaning of the works. Rather, the autobiographical elements serve to situate the works as part of an ongoing and intensifying transaction between the artist and the public. In a peculiar document from 28 May 1923, in an effort both to protect his legacy and to help out those scholars who would be dealing with his manuscripts, Schoenberg recorded his signatures and handwriting using a variety of writing implements and styles (plate 2):

> Here is my signature with a ballpoint pen: Arnold Schönberg. Here is a sample of my Latin script; rather quickly written. This is written with the gold nib that I used to use now and then. But now I prefer all the others. If I have a writer's cramp and don't have any wide-tipped pen I sometimes also write thus: namely just half on the side in order to rest a little. Arnold Schönberg, Mödling 28/V. 1923. My Latin script and my Gothic script. Now I have this thin fountain pen, and this is also a little different, now suddenly I have a very fine (thin) script! My script looks still different again with this nib, which I use for very small notes.[30]

To ensure the legitimacy of this document, Schoenberg marked the page with the thumbprints of both hands—something he did on other important musical and personal docu-

Other Subjects, ed. Jacqueline Gray (Oxford: Offox Press, 2000), p. 39.

[26]Rosenthal, "Aspects of Autograph Collecting," p. 50; see also "Some Thoughts on Music Collecting," pp. 28–38.

[27]M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Norton, 1958), p. 227. Abrams points to Schiller's notion of sentimental poetry in which "the poet is constantly present in his work and solicits our attention to himself," in contrast to the impersonal and elusive poet of naive poetry (p. 238).

[28]Charles Rosen, *Romantic Poets, Critics, and Other Madmen* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 65.

[29]Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 648.

[30]Reproduced in facsimile in *Arnold Schönberg 1874–1951: Lebensgeschichte in Begegnungen,* p. 209, no. 583. Also given in Arnold Schönberg, *Stil und Gedanke: Aufsätze zur Musik*, Gesammelte Schriften 1, ed. Ivan Vojtěch (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1976), facing p. 396. Though beyond the scope of this article, Schoenberg's anxiety about and preoccupation with authorship, expressed most directly in his practice of signing and dating so many documents, are clearly relevant to the larger phenomenon of "the death of the author." See Peggy Kamuf, *Signature Pieces: On the Institution of Authorship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); and Seán Burke, *Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

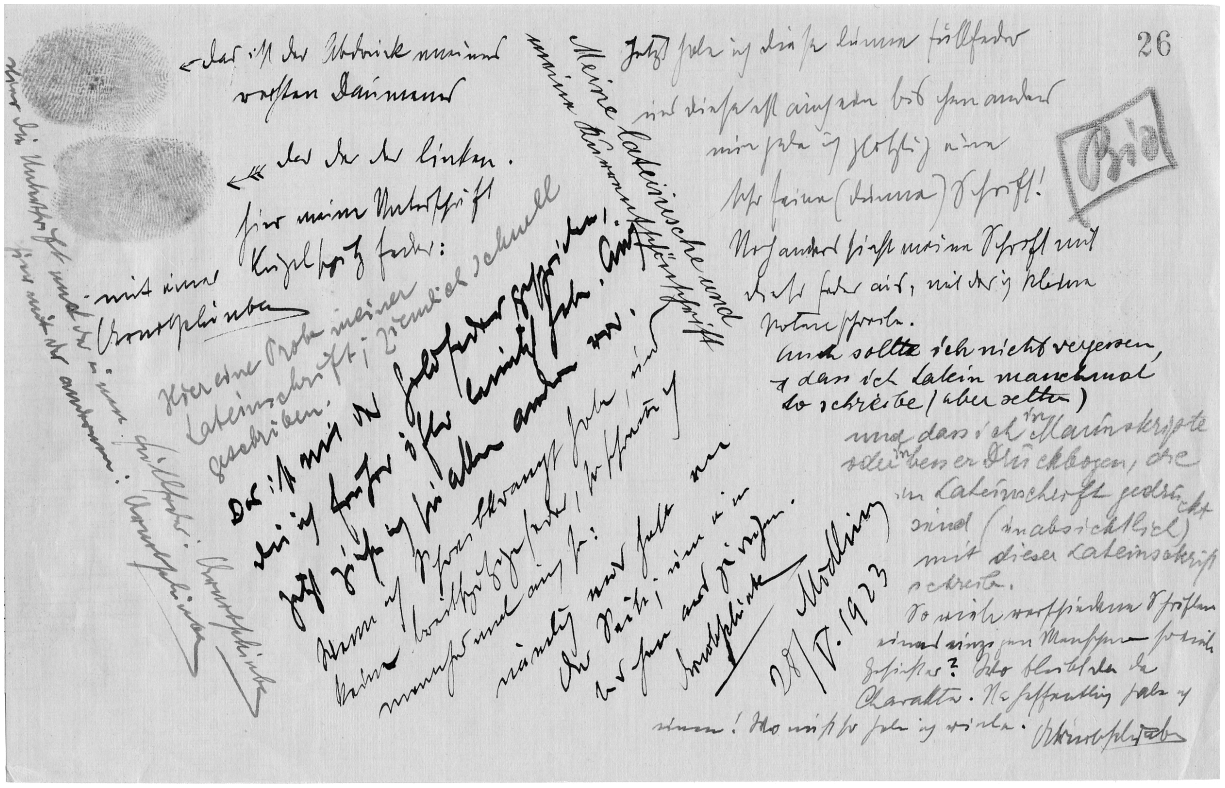

Plate 2: "Meine lateinschrift und meine Kurrentschönschrift . . ."
Bio 26. Arnold Schönberg Center.
Reproduced by permission of Lawrence Schoenberg.

ments. He writes at the end: "So many different ways of writing for one man—so many faces? Where does the character lie there? Hopefully I have one! If not, I have many."

Though treated lightheartedly here, questions of character and identity as public constructions were at the forefront of Schoenberg's thought at this time. A few weeks before, on 4 May, he had written to his old friend Kandinsky after hearing of anti-Semitic statements that had been attributed to him:

> When I walk along the street and each person looks at me to see whether I'm a Jew or a Christian, I can't very well tell each of them that I'm the one that Kandinsky and some others make an exception of, although of course that man Hitler is not of their opinion. And then even this benevolent view of me wouldn't be much use to me, even if I were, like blind beggars, to write it on a piece of cardboard and hang it round my neck for everyone to read.[31]

Returning to *Palestrina,* which Schoenberg may have satirized but whose basic issue he could not escape: that Pfitzner would write an opera about a composer and the challenges of composition is in itself indicative of how questions of the making of art had come to be inseparable from both the artwork and the artist in Schoenberg's milieu. And *Palestrina* is only one of many operas from the first part of the century in which composers staged the performance of their own identities as artists, includ-

[31] *Arnold Schoenberg, Wassily Kandinsky: Letters, Pictures and Documents,* ed. Jelena Hahl-Koch, trans. John C. Crawford (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 78.

ing Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler,* Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf,* Strauss's *Ariadne auf Naxos,* and Berg's *Lulu*.[32] This is nowhere better illustrated than with Schoenberg's opera *Die glückliche Hand,* composed to his own libretto between 1910 and 1913, which, like the other artist-operas, takes the problem of artistic creation as its central theme. In the pivotal dramatic moment of *Die glückliche Hand,* the main character outrages a group of artisans laboring in a workshop by forging a jeweled diadem with a single hammerstroke. And, of course, this representation of the creative act is not too far from Pfitzner's image of miraculous creation in *Palestrina*.[33] Many scholars have linked the plot of Romantic betrayal in *Die glückliche Hand* to the tragic affair in the summer of 1908 between Schoenberg's first wife Mathilde and the painter Richard Gerstl, who committed suicide in November of that year.[34] While the autobiographical aspects are undeniable, they are there, I would argue, primarily to situate and intertwine the artist, the artwork, and the audience in the act of creation. As Schoenberg wrote in an aphorism in 1911: "My subject is my person; whoever neglects the former insults the latter; but whoever gets close to the latter is estranged from the former."[35]

Another important distinction between the Romantic origins of these attitudes toward the creative process and their manifestations in the early twentieth century is how composers, and Schoenberg in particular, responded to the surveillance, especially the self-surveillance, that such attitudes imposed. In Pfitzner's opera, Palestrina attributes his creative inhibition not only to his personal loss and disgust for the new music of his time but also to a crippling self-awareness, in contrast to the past masters, who lived "strong lives in times that too were strong and all unconscious of what was to come." Whereas his predecessors' creativity flourished in the dark "like a seed within the womb of the earth," Palestrina speaks of a debilitating and "deathly glaring" consciousness: the "enemy to art, to fantasy," a consciousness faced with which "the strongest would lay down his arms in fear." *Die glückliche Hand* similarly, but in a much more extreme way, demonstrates how the feeling of being on stage was both productive and inhibiting. For Schoenberg, the awareness of being observed caused him to push himself forward, but also to suffer under a scrutiny that resulted in frequent periods of self-doubt and near paralysis. Indeed, the opera is a dramatic representation of an artistic crisis and the product of one: in contrast to the approximately two weeks required for the immediately preceding work, *Erwartung, Die glückliche Hand* took him four years to compose.[36]

At the beginning and end of the opera, its protagonist, the Man, lies motionless at the center of the stage, a batwinged creature gnawing on his neck. The sense of being watched is vividly thematized in these scenes by the twelve-voice chorus that peers through gaps in the curtain so that only their eyes are visible, echoing Schoenberg's many paintings and self-portraits from these years, which he called gazes. In his early drawing for the staging (plate 3), the almost palpable effect of the staring eyes

[32]See John Bokina, "The Aesthetic Politics of the German Artist-Opera: Pfitzner's *Palestrina,* Hindemith's *Mathis,* and Schoenberg's *Moses,*" in *Opera and Politics from Monteverdi to Henze* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 128–66. There are obvious nineteenth-century precedents for artist-operas, e.g., in Berlioz's *Lelio* or Wagner's *Meistersinger,* where the act of composing is similarly incorporated into the work.

[33]See Peter Horst Neumann, "Mythen der Inspiration aus den Gründerjahren der Neuen Musik: Hans Pfitzner, Arnold Schönberg und Thomas Mann," in *Neue Musik und Tradition: Festschrift Rudolf Stephan zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Josef Kuckertz, et al. (Laaber: Laaber, 1990), pp. 441–48; and Ullrich Scheideler, "Einfall—Material—Geschichte: Zur Bedeutung dieser Kategorien im Musikdenken Pfitzners und Schönbergs um 1910," in *Autorschaft als historische Konstruktion: Arnold Schönberg—Vorgänger, Zeitgenossen, Nachfolger und Interpreten,* ed. Andreas Meyer and Ullrich Scheideler (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2001), pp. 159–88.

[34]See Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908–1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 100–12. Taruskin discusses the work as an "appalling" example of misogyny, exemplifying the influence on Schoenberg of the writings of Otto Weininger. For a more nuanced reading of the work in terms of fin-de-siècle feminism and the "Frauenfrage," see Elizabeth Keathley, *Revisioning Musical Modernism: Arnold Schoenberg, Marie Pappenheim, and "Erwartung"'s New Woman* (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1999), pp. 102–18.

[35]Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader,* p. 105.

[36]Auner, "Heart and Brain in Music."

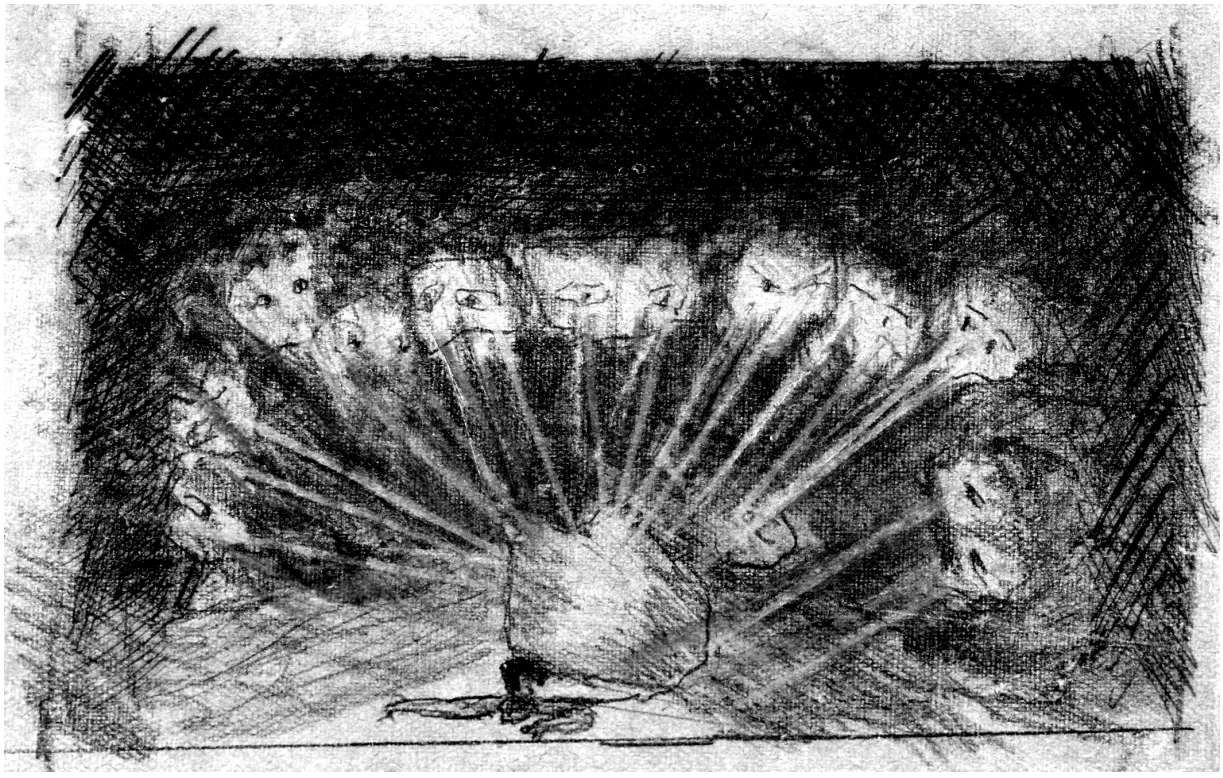

Plate 3: Sketch for the staging of *Die glückliche Hand.* Arnold Schönberg Center.
Reproduced by permission of Lawrence Schoenberg.

is clearly evident. He wrote of the feeling he was after as an attempt to capture a "chorus of stares, as one *perceives* stares, even without seeing them, as they say something to one."[37] The chorus in *Die glückliche Hand* thus functions as an imagined audience composed into the piece. In the first scene the chorus is pitying and sympathetic, consoling the artist for his plight; in the final scene it is scolding and critical. Each scene includes a transitional passage with coarse mocking laughter, as if Schoenberg had sought to compose in the work's anticipated rejection by those watching. Such laughter also occurs in *Die Jakobsleiter, Moses und Aron,* the text *Death Dance of Principles,* and even the Pfitzner parody, which replaces the gentle amusement of the past masters at Palestrina's consternation in the original—indicated by "Hm - Hm - Hm- Hm"—with the crude belly laughs of the Modern Masters: "Ha - Ha - Ha- Ha." The work's incorporation of a hostile audience is striking in that scandal and riot are now composed in, independent of the actual reception, which could well be positive, as it was at the premiere of *Die glückliche Hand* in 1924 when, according to a review in the *Musical Courier,* "thunderous applause called Schoenberg before the curtain."[38]

Perhaps the most important factor underlying Schoenberg's intense self-consciousness

[37]Schoenberg, "Breslau Lecture on *Die glückliche Hand,*" in *Arnold Schoenberg, Wassily Kandinsky,* p. 106. Esther Da Costa Meyer has discussed this drawing in the context of the iconography of the eye in twentieth-century art in "Schoenberg and the Visual Arts," New Directions in Schoenberg Scholarship, Arizona State University, March 2005.

[38]Reproduced in facsimile in *Arnold Schoenberg 1874–1951: Lebensgeschichte in Begegnungen,* p. 242, no. 721.

about the creative act, compared to the nineteenth-century origins of these attitudes, is the much higher level of scrutiny composers actually faced. Another scene from the *Pfitzner* parody points to the changing economic realities for composers, as well as the new technologies of recording and radio that were transforming the audience and expanding the speed and reach of the media. Whereas in Pfitzner's original Palestrina is visited by Cardinal Borromeo, who attempts to persuade him to compose a work fulfilling the edicts of the Council of Trent, the parody shows Hanserl visited by a representative of the music publishing firm Bo & Romeo. The publisher describes the success of one of the Modern Masters in creating publicity for his new composition through a series of press releases documenting each stage of the work's genesis:

1st Item: M[odern].M[aster]. is on the point of taking his quill in hand, from which a new musical work will flow.

2nd Item: M.M. is making his way to the Court Library to choose the name of the poet for his next item.

3rd Item: M.M. has already found the name of the poet, but this will remain a secret for the time being.

4th Item: M.M. has already tried to find out whether the name of the poet will go well with the title of his new work.

5th Item: The title of the new work has not yet been decided upon.

No doubt most damning in Schoenberg's eyes is the final item, no. 17: "—as for the rest, I insist on fulfilling the contract forced upon me without neglecting the slightest detail. MM."

But we might be surprised to see that Schoenberg, so often depicted as an isolated prophet far from musical commerce, directly experienced this kind of publicity himself. In a letter to his publisher, Emil Hertzka of Universal Edition, from 13 March 1923, Schoenberg responded angrily to a press release in a Viennese newspaper concerning a violin concerto he had started work on a year earlier:

Dear Director,
In today's *Neues Wiener Journal* is the following:
Arnold Schoenberg, the leader of the Expressionists in music, is now working on a violin concerto. It is noteworthy that Schoenberg, who has not produced anything new for years, has with this work abandoned his customary path, and wants to (! ! ! ! ! ! follow ! ! ! ! ! !) a somewhat more moderate style.

Apart from the many outrageous claims, this lying piece of tripe also includes one correct fact: that I am planning a violin concerto.

Since from my circle only Webern and Berg know of my intention, this publication can only have originated with Universal Edition. I must strongly request that you look into this matter energetically.

I have not taken care of my reputation for more than twenty years only to now allow myself to be mocked. I am not now some sort of Richard Strauss; neither according to his merits nor to his faults.[39]

It is striking that Schoenberg did not complain here about an actual invasion of his privacy by the press release, but only about the inaccurate interpretation by "this lying piece of tripe" of what the violin concerto showed about his compositional directions.[40] The letter suggests that public scrutiny of his workshop seemed normal. And while neither Berg nor Webern appears to have felt as strongly that their sketches would be open to public exposure, or that "secret programs" would not stay secret, they, too, provided considerable access to their compositional workshops through "open letters" and lectures.[41]

Even with composers who were much more private, such as Bartók, it is clear that in the act of defending their privacy they were responding to the forces urging exposure. Bartók, as László Somfai writes, was reluctant to speak or write about his music, or even to teach, for fear of interfering with his intuition or with

[39]Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader,* p. 167.

[40]As Jennifer Shaw has observed, far from being in a more traditional style, the sketches suggest that this violin concerto, not to be confused with the later Violin Concerto, op. 36, was to be a rigorously organized nondodecaphonic serial work. See Jennifer Shaw, *Schoenberg's Choral Symphony,* Die Jakobsleiter, *and Other Wartime Fragments* (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2002), pp. 425–28.

[41]See, for example, Berg's "Open letter" to Schoenberg on the Chamber Concerto of 9 February 1925 (published in *Pult und Taktstock*), in Brand, *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence,* pp. 334–37; and Anton Webern, *The Path to the New Music,* trans. Leo Black (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Presser, 1963). See also Hans Oesch, "Weberns Plan Einer Gesamtausgabe," in *Neue Musik und Tradition,* pp. 501–09.

the direct link between the music and the listener. Yet this reticence was the obverse of an intense awareness of the public discourse of music-making. As he wrote to his wife in 1926, amid doubts whether he would be "able to write anything new anymore":

> All the tangled chaos that the musical periodicals vomit thick and fast about the music of today has come to weigh heavily on me: the watchwords linear, horizontal, vertical, objective, impersonal, polyphonic, homophonic, tonal, polytonal, atonal, and the rest; even if one does not concern one's self with all of it, one still becomes quite dazed when they shout it in our ears so much.[42]

The compulsion toward disclosure is particularly clear in Bartók's conscientiousness about preserving his manuscripts, so that the source material is mostly complete for around 95 percent of his mature works.[43] Somfai writes that, after a period early in his life when he destroyed sketches to keep them from the prying eyes of posterity, Bartók "changed his mind and recognized that succeeding generations had the right to study the manuscripts and sketches of a major composer."[44]

Bartók's discretion in speaking of the genesis of his works, however, was not shared by a great many of his contemporaries, as evidenced by the success of the psychologist Julius Bahle in getting twenty-seven composers (out of thirty-two contacted) to participate in a study of the creative process in music. This involved both written responses to a series of questions about how they composed and, for eighteen of them, composing a work to a given text and recording information about the process.[45] The list of participants in this intrusive study includes Krenek, Orff, Strauss, Malipiero, and Schoenberg.[46] Though he did not compose a piece, Schoenberg's detailed responses to Bahle described every step of his creative process in composing a song, from the mystical first stage of "unnameable sense of sounding and moving space," through an intermediate stage he characterized as translating the poem into "everyday music," to the final stages of generating themes, developing them, and completing the score.[47]

Somfai relates Bartók's change of heart about destroying his manuscripts to his acquisition of facsimiles of Beethoven autographs starting in 1909.[48] Schoenberg, too, was well aware of how sketches had been used in musicological studies of Mozart, Beethoven, and others, and his library included Nottebohm's study of two Beethoven sketchbooks.[49] In a will he drafted in 1915 as he embarked on military service, he authorized his heirs to publish his sketches and fragments, writing:

> Although I myself would never have incorporated these pieces into my oeuvre, I also know too well what anyone who has eyes can also gather from the imperfect and unfinished. It is probably true that one exposes oneself to the indiscretion of the historians and other idle busybodies. In spite of this I would not, like Brahms, want to erase all traces of the right or wrong paths that lead to my works. . . . Whoever wants to know something of me should look at my works. In them stands everything.[50]

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[42]Quoted in László Somfai, *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), p. 11.
[43]Ibid., p. 25.
[44]Ibid., p. 35.
[45]Julius Bahle, *Der musikalische Schaffensprozess: Psychologie der schöpferischen Erlebnis- und Antriebsformen* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1936); see also R. Rasch, "Julius Bahle's Psychology of Musical Creation," in *Otto Selz: His Contribution to Psychology,* ed. Nico H. Frijda and Adriaan D. de Groot (The Hague: Mouton, 1982), pp. 164–91.
[46]Bahle divides both the modern composers and past masters into two types: the "work-oriented," including Bach, Beethoven, Verdi, Brahms, and Reger, figures associated with rationality, careful planning, consciousness, experimentation, and construction; and the "inspirational," including Mozart, Schubert, Wolf, Berlioz, and Tchaikovsky, associated with emotionality, changing plans, the improvisatory, unconsciousness, analogy, and reproduction. Rasch writes that Bahle categorized Krenek, Honegger, Strauss, and Stravinsky as work-directed types, while Kienzel and Pfitzner were inspirational. Interestingly, there was no classification for Schoenberg. Rasch, "Julius Bahle's Psychology of Musical Creation," p. 179.
[47]Schoenberg's complete response is published in Willi Reich, *Schoenberg: A Critical Biography,* trans. Leo Black (New York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 236–42.
[48]Somfai, *Béla Bartók,* p. 35.
[49]Gustav Nottebohm, *Zwei Skizzenbücher von Beethoven aus den Jahren 1801 bis 1803,* rev. Paul Mies (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1924).
[50]Testament, 21 November 1915. Quoted and trans. in Shaw, *Schoenberg's Choral Symphony,* p. 264. In the essay "Heart and Brain in Music," Schoenberg also com-

Schoenberg's apparent desire to document all aspects of his external and internal life might be linked to Nottebohm's disclaimer that while the Beethoven sketchbooks reveal something of the "process of origin, discovery, formation, etc.," they do not reveal anything about the spiritual dimension and the "organic." Insight into these could only be sought, Nottebohm writes,

> in Beethoven the artist himself, in the unity of his whole character and spirit, and in the harmony of his inner powers. In order to visualize the unity of realization and idea, it is necessary to consider the whole person together with his intellectual and spiritual activities. Herein one may also find the key to his technical execution. But who can really boast that he has full knowledge of, or is in possession of, such keys?[51]

Schoenberg seems to have wanted to make all these keys available to posterity, and he made this desire clear to those in his circle. Berg wrote to Schoenberg in September 1911: "There can be no question of 'throwing anything away.' How could I throw away so much as a piece of paper bearing a word of yours or a brushstroke or even just one note. Before I'd do that I'd take it home myself, for it goes without saying that I save everything of yours, be it only an envelope for printed matter or the like."[52]

Particularly striking in this regard are the extensive annotations Schoenberg made to books and journals, some of which, including his annotations to Busoni's *New Aesthetic of Music,* have since been published. Plate 4 provides a page from his heavily annotated copy of Pfitzner's *Futuristengefahr*. Through these annotations even the silent act of reading is made visible and almost audible. And Schoenberg clearly intended these annotations to be part of his literary legacy, giving some catalog numbers and carefully signing them to show their authenticity. In one of the passages shown in this plate, Schoenberg responds to Pfitzner's remark, "The prohibition against fifths has its eternal rightness, as every genuine musician feels; nevertheless, today no reasonable composer will shrink from consciously writing fifths when he wants to." Schoenberg's commentary reads in part:

> It has its eternal rightness.
> And nevertheless no reasonable musician shrinks from it
> For it has its eternal rightness, no doubt, only for the unreasonable musician.
> And so it is!
> Variations on this theme:
> You shall not steal! This commandment has its eternal rightness
> " " " rob "
> " " " commit adultery "
> And nevertheless no reasonable man shrinks from it when he wants to steal, kill, commit adultery!
> . . .
> But it is a sin to believe something that is not true. Especially when one could have known it is not true, if it's disproved.
> And it is a sin to spread untruths. And whoever spreads an eternal law, but knows or (since no reasonable composer . . .) at least suspects that it is false, that is even worse!: it is thoughtlessness.

History, Priority, and Genius

From Schoenberg's earliest years the question of what he composed was intimately bound up with how he composed, with the nature of the creative process, and ultimately with his sense of himself as an artist. Corresponding to this was the emergence of the conviction that his *Nachlaß* would play a significant role in defining his place in music history, defending the paternity of his compositional innovations, and demonstrating his stature as a genius. His comment to Hertzka about carefully controlling his reputation "for over twenty years" points to his well-known historical consciousness.[53]

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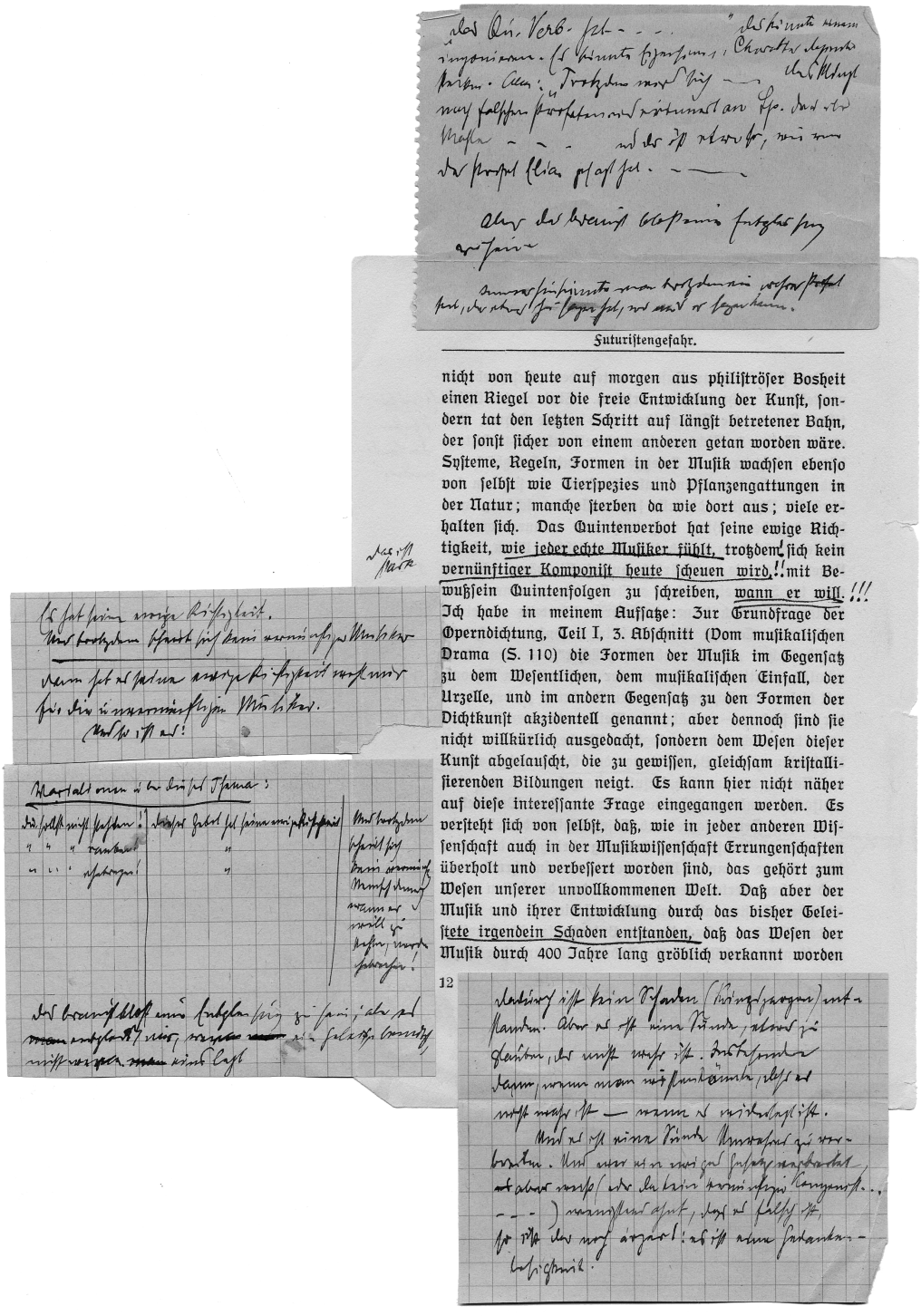
mented on Brahms's destruction of his unfinished works: "This is regrettable, for to be allowed to look into the workshop of such a conscientious man would be extremely instructive" (*Style and Idea,* p. 67).

[51]Gustav Nottebohm, *Two Beethoven Sketchbooks: A Description with Musical Extracts,* trans. Jonathan Katz (London: Victor Gollancz, 1979), p. 7.

[52]Quoted in Brand, *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence,* p. xix.

[53]See, for example, Steven Cahn, *Variations in Manifold Time: Historical Consciousness in the Music and Writings of Arnold Schoenberg* (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1996); Bryan Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?" *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 10



Futuristengefahr.

nicht von heute auf morgen aus philiströser Bosheit einen Riegel vor die freie Entwicklung der Kunst, sondern tat den letzten Schritt auf längst betretener Bahn, der sonst sicher von einem anderen getan worden wäre. Systeme, Regeln, Formen in der Musik wachsen ebenso von selbst wie Tierspezies und Pflanzengattungen in der Natur; manche sterben da wie dort aus; viele erhalten sich. Das Quintenverbot hat seine ewige Richtigkeit, wie jeder echte Musiker fühlt, trotzdem sich kein vernünftiger Komponist heute scheuen wird, mit Bewußtsein Quintenfolgen zu schreiben, wann er will. Ich habe in meinem Aufsatze: Zur Grundfrage der Operndichtung, Teil I, 3. Abschnitt (Vom musikalischen Drama (S. 110) die Formen der Musik im Gegensatz zu dem Wesentlichen, dem musikalischen Einfall, der Urzelle, und im andern Gegensatz zu den Formen der Dichtkunst akzidentell genannt; aber dennoch sind sie nicht willkürlich ausgedacht, sondern dem Wesen dieser Kunst abgelauscht, die zu gewissen, gleichsam kristallisierenden Bildungen neigt. Es kann hier nicht näher auf diese interessante Frage eingegangen werden. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß, wie in jeder anderen Wissenschaft auch in der Musikwissenschaft Errungenschaften überholt und verbessert worden sind, das gehört zum Wesen unserer unvollkommenen Welt. Daß aber der Musik und ihrer Entwicklung durch das bisher Geleistete irgendein Schaden entstanden, daß das Wesen der Musik durch 400 Jahre lang gröblich verkannt worden

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Plate 4: Schoenberg's annotations to Pfitzner, *Futuristengefahr: Bei Gelegenheit von Busonis Ästhetik*. Leipzig: Süddeutsche Monatshefte, 1917. Arnold Schönberg Center.
Reproduced by permission of Lawrence Schoenberg.

Besides what he absorbed growing up in Vienna with its historicist obsessions, in Schoenberg's library were many books on music history and studies of individual composers, especially Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, and Brahms.[54] The insistent autodidact Schoenberg may indeed be the first composer who learned his craft primarily from books. He wrote of composing string quartets at the age of eighteen, in the course of which "'Meyers Konversations Lexikon' (an encyclopedia, which we bought on installments) had reached the long-hoped-for letter 'S,' enabling me to learn under 'Sonate' how a first movement of a string quartet should be constructed."[55]

A letter from 1931 about musicality among his relatives suggests how early his understanding of how to perform the role of composer focused on the creative act.

> Neither my father nor my mother was artistically active in any way. Both had no more than an "average musicality," though they certainly enjoyed music, particularly singing, and my father was in a singing society when he was young; but in no way would I say that this surpassed what every Austrian possesses who is not actually hostile to music. I can say, however, that my musical aptitude found unusually little support in my home, although I had already started composing when I was eight. While I have no specific recollection of it, there may have been some talk around our house that I had a knack for music, for it is striking to me that I read a Mozart biography quite early on, leading me from the start to write my compositions without the aid of an instrument.[56]

The centrality to his self-image as a composer of the lifelong practice of composing away from the piano—just like Mozart—is evident in the late essay "Folkloristic Symphonies," written in 1947. He sharply criticized what he called the "cheap manner" in which composers were often photographed, "the left hand on the piano, trying to find the tones or harmonies which the pencil in the right hand preserves for eternity—I am always inclined to doubt whether one like this is a real composer, a real creator."[57]

No doubt also influenced by accounts of Mozart's creative facility, Schoenberg linked his own historical significance with his ability to compose with incredible speed and to keep large spans of music in his head. This became a particularly pressing concern in the years during and after the First World War, which saw a six-year gap between the publication of the Four Orchestral Songs, op. 22, in 1917, and the Five Piano Pieces, op. 23, in 1923. Indeed, a conciliatory postscript in the letter to Hertzka makes clear that Schoenberg was sensitive to the newspaper commentary on his planned violin concerto in part because of his long silence, which he was about to end by completing a series of works introducing serial technique and the method of composing with twelve tones:

> p.s. I must come to see you one day to discuss some things. It will please you to hear that I am already working on the Serenade: that is, the two sets of piano pieces (11 movements) are already finished. In this time when I have "not produced anything new for years," one will soon observe with astonishment how much I nevertheless have composed, once I have completed everything that has been started. Yours, Sch[58]

(1987), 108–33; Beat Föllmi, *Tradition als hermeneutische Kategorie bei Arnold Schönberg* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1996); and Joseph Auner, "The Second Viennese School as a Historical Concept," in *A Companion to the Second Viennese School,* ed. Bryan Simms (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), pp. 1–36.

[54]A complete catalogue of the library is available through the Arnold Schönberg Center, http://www.Schoenberg.at.

[55]Schoenberg, "Preface to the Four String Quartets," in *Arnold Schoenberg Self Portrait,* ed. Nuria Schoenberg Nono (Pacific Palisades: Belmont Music, 1988), p. 71.

[56]Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader,* p. 10. Schoenberg unfortunately does not specify which biography he read. His library did include Otto Jahn, *W. A. Mozart,* 4. Auflage, ed. and supp. Hermann Dieters (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905–07). Whelan discusses the important role of sketches in Jahn's biography, the first volume of which was published in 1856. Whelan, *Towards a History and Theory of Sketch Studies,* pp. 55–70. On the broader cultural implications of representations of the creative process in musical biographies of Mozart, see Karen Painter, "Mozart at Work: Biography and a Musical Aesthetic for the Emerging German Bourgeoisie," *Musical Quarterly* 86 (2002), 186–235.

[57]Schoenberg, "Folkloristic Symphonies," in *Style and Idea,* p. 166.

[58]These include the primarily nondodecaphonic but serial Five Pieces for Piano, op. 23 (1920–23) and the Serenade, op. 24 (1920–23), published by Wilhelm Hansen in Copenhagen in 1923 and 1924. The twelve-tone Suite for Piano, op. 25 (1921–23) and Wind Quintet, op. 26 (1923–24) were published by Universal Edition in 1925.

In an unpublished document of 1928, "Creative Agonies," Schoenberg addressed the question of the hiatus in his output still more directly, this time in the context of the frequent charge that twelve-tone composition was purely cerebral and mathematical (plate 5).[59] For the purpose of making things clear to "future generations"—for whom it might be valuable "to show what the author himself had to say about this, regardless of what my future importance might be"—he compiled a list of rapidly composed works, including examples from his tonal, atonal, and twelve-tone periods:

Therefore: in general I write little, but *very quickly*. Let it be established here what I have often said:

1. The monodrama *Erwartung,* including the complete indication of instrumentation, was written in eleven to twelve working days within a fourteen-day period.

2. I composed the second and fourth movements of the Second String Quartet, after having already made sketches for the beginnings, in barely three days.

3. I composed the Third String Quartet, Op. 30, in a scant five weeks within a six-week period, during which I was sick for five or six days.

4. The entire first part of *Gurrelieder* was composed in three weeks. If I am not mistaken, I needed approximately five weeks for the second and third parts.

5. In the case of *Pierrot lunaire,* I often wrote two pieces in one day. Although I had already begun to rehearse the completed movements, the composition of the entire work lasted approximately from March until the beginning of June, except for one piece, which I finished in Carlshagen in July.

The end of the document strikingly captures Schoenberg in the act of stepping into the shoes of future musicologists by looking up dates in the sketch materials for *Die Jakobsleiter* to show how quickly he had composed it:

I composed up to the ensemble "Soul, Gabriel . . . etc.," in an unbelievably short time. I believe in approximately—I can look it up! It states in the sketchbook: "started at the beginning of June, 1917," and with the last sketch, "reported for duty September 19, 1917!" Starting with June 19, 1917, that is thus three months!

The importance Schoenberg placed on demonstrating his genius and creative capacity to posterity may help clarify as well why he placed so much emphasis on defending his historical priority as the first composer to break with tonality and as the inventor of the twelve-tone method. In response to Bahle's question "What were the psychological motives or principles behind your stylistic changes?" Schoenberg responds first by insisting on substituting "development" for "changes," but then notably points the response toward the nature of the creative activity rather than features of external style: "What I know in the matter is as follows: I was driven onward by the need for *brevity, precision, definition, and clarity*. I had the sense that I was now saying it *better,* more *clearly,* more *unambiguously,* more *personally*."[60]

Accordingly, a major role for the sketches was to lay claim to every step of the process. One example that has received considerable attention in connection with the issue of who first composed atonal music is the song "Am Strande," which was only published after Schoenberg's death. The draft manuscript is dated 9 February 1909, but on the fair copy Schoenberg writes: "This song was written before the George songs. At the same time as Op. 14," thus pointing to an origin a year earlier. My interest here is not in resolving the question of the date, but in noting Schoenberg's conviction that the date would have historical significance. This point is especially evident in a note at the end of the fair copy concerning the stamp of a Berlin address where he moved in 1911: "This stamp was thus put on later!"[61] That he would (rightly) imagine scholars chart-

[59]Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader,* pp. 207–09. "Schaffensqual," categorized in his list of manuscripts as Bio 161, also illustrates how carefully Schoenberg treated such unpublished writings; in addition to the initial handwritten version, shown here, he also prepared a typed copy, stamped with the same catalog number.

[60]Reich, *Arnold Schoenberg,* p. 241.

[61]For an account of the literature on the piece, see Jennifer Shaw, "Zwei Lieder für eine Singstimme und Klavier op. 14," trans. John Phillips and Benjamin Cohrs, in *Arnold Schönberg: Interpretationen seiner Werke,* ed. Gerold Gruber (Köthen: Laaber, 2002), I, 181–95.

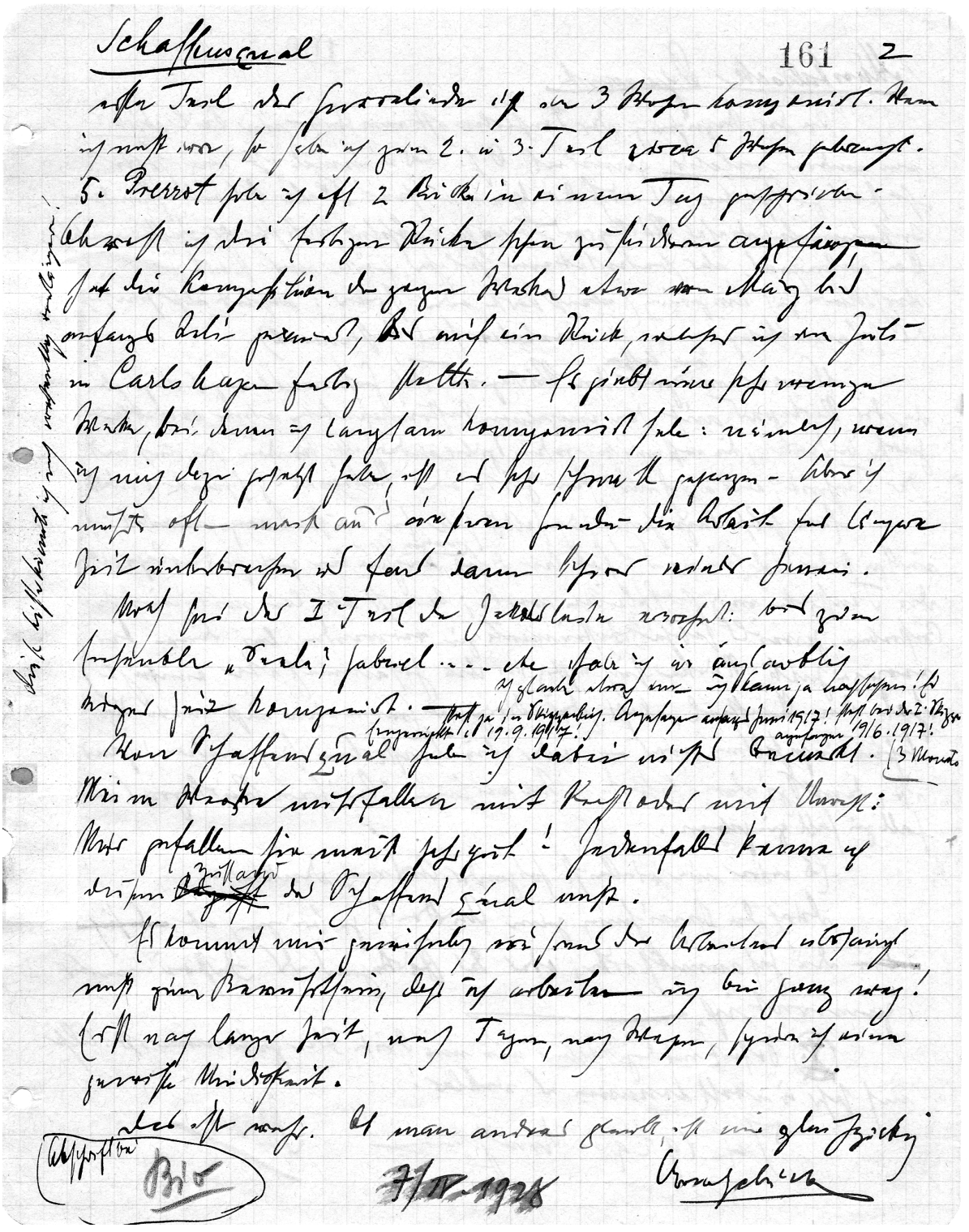

Plate 5: "Creative Agonies," 7 April 1928. Bio 161. Arnold Schönberg Center T35.18.
Reproduced by permission of Lawrence Schoenberg.

ing his various addresses and drawing conclusions about an address stamp on an unpublished score provides vivid testimony to the posthumous scrutiny he expected.

In some of his writings, Schoenberg puts himself in the place of a more or less dispassionate observer just attempting to set the record straight. For example, in one of his later essays on the origin of twelve-tone composition, he described as an important first step his "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."[62] But in many places he makes clear that a great deal more was at stake. In an unpublished document entitled "Priority" (10–11 September 1932), Schoenberg attempted to prove his independence from Josef Hauer and Webern regarding the break from tonality and the origins of twelve-tone composition (plate 6).[63] Arguing that his concern was not with "the question of priority" itself, he attributes the others' claims to that "Aryan hypocrisy, which is determined to take away, along with the priority, my status—which one does not in any way want to acknowledge to a Jew. For, as Herr Chamberlain has observed, the Jew lacks in creative ability."

Again showing his awareness of the tools of sketch studies and anticipating the actions of future historians, this document—which is itself repeatedly signed and dated—records Schoenberg checking the dates and dedications of books in his library:

> 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 18 September 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.
>
> Now I must first [the sentence is incomplete]
>
> 1. The description is not such that after it one would have to find the way to the principles of 12-tone composition.
>
> 2. In comparison, I had quite definitely already begun at least a year before to work with rows, with tones.
>
> And Webern had later brought to my attention—which I had forgotten—that in 1914 I had already written a pure 12-tone theme: in the Scherzo for that great symphony, the last movement of which was to be *Die Jakobsleiter*.
>
> 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.
>
> September 11, 1932. Arnold Schoenberg

Without relinquishing his claims to priority in the compositional techniques of the twelve-tone method, Schoenberg also frames the "outstanding originality" of his overall creative achievement in composition by pointing to his "completely independent achievements in other areas: theory, painting, poetry, politics, etc." He writes: "If I had robbed Webern or Hauer, then I would have to be a kleptomaniac, for I would not have done so out of need."

As the dispute with Webern makes clear, Schoenberg's sense of the compositional process as public performance resulted in considerable complexity and ambivalence in his relationship to his students, reflecting a conflict between the urge to disseminate his ideas and the need to defend their paternity. It is noteworthy that in the letter to Hertzka he mentions that Berg and Webern knew of his compositional activities; an overriding impulse throughout his life was his need to be surrounded by a group of disciples. Perhaps more than any other twentieth-century composer, he followed the pedagogical model of the painter's atelier, leading very early in his career to the public perception of a "Schoenberg school." In 1917 he attempted to formalize this

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[62]Schoenberg, "Composition with Twelve Tones" (2), in *Style and Idea,* p. 247.

[63]The complete document is translated in Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader,* pp. 235–40. A transcription of the original is given in Michael Beiche, *Terminologische Aspekte der "Zwölftonmusik"* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1984), pp. 159–62. "Priority" develops ideas from two essays from 1923 printed as "Hauer's Theories," in *Style and Idea,* pp. 209–13.

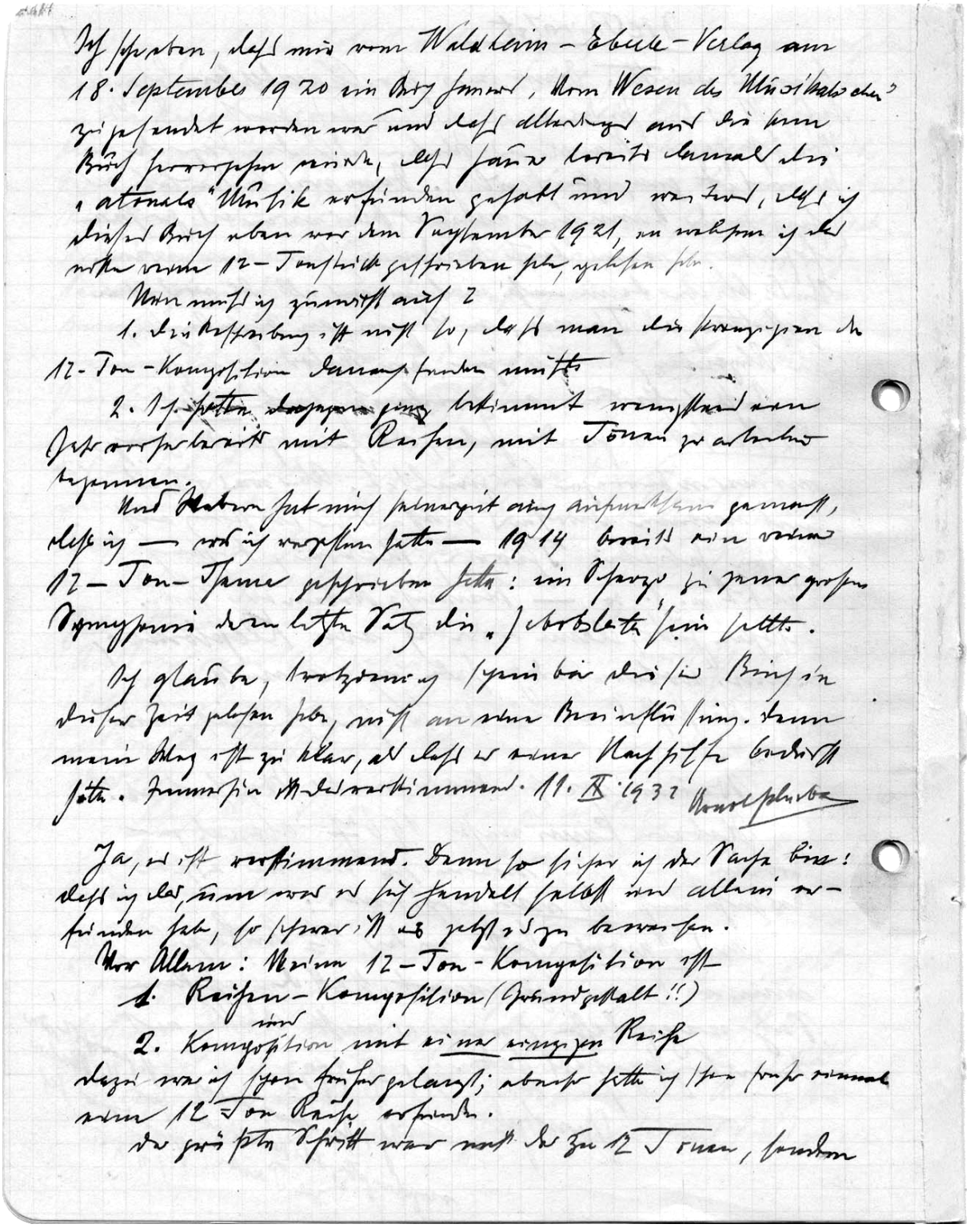

Plate 6: "Priority," 10–11 September 1932. Bio 41. Arnold Schönberg Center T04.41.
Reproduced by permission of Lawrence Schoenberg.

arrangement with a "seminar for composition," advertised to make it possible for young composers to surround him as "the painting students were once at home in the painter's studio, when through their inclination for this art and out of respect for the Master they endeavored to gain admission into his studio."[64] But the pressures of this pedagogical approach are evident in a diary entry from 12 March 1912, where he attributes his difficulty of composing to "the persistence with which my students nip at my heels, intending to surpass what I offer, [which] puts me in danger of becoming their imitator, and keeps me from calmly building on [the stage] that I have just reached. They always bring [in] everything raised to the tenth power."[65]

Andreas Meyer and Ullrich Scheideler describe the anxiety produced by Schoenberg's sense that historically significant musical developments would be measured in months or weeks—which they compare to the situation in post–World War II avant-garde circles. They cite a letter Schoenberg wrote to Hertzka on 8 November 1913 instructing him not to allow anyone to look at the autograph of the still-unpublished *Erwartung*, "not even one of my students."[66] Already in 1908, only four years after he had started teaching Berg and Webern, he raised the issue of the paternity of his ideas in a draft of a will from the time of his wife's affair with Gerstl:

> Now I suppose I must do without all that, and content myself with what is really there, with all that I have borne, whose paternity will undeniably be granted to me, and not begrudge recalling ideas, undoubtedly brought forth by my creative will, that will now be adopted by others. Unfortunately, I know only too well how disciples differ from the prophet. . . . Godparents will be promoted to fathers, and will bring up children, who should have become giants, to be well-bred men who know how to get on in life.[67]

In this document, which combines features of a last will and testament, a suicide note, an angry rant against his wife, and an essay on aesthetics, we see Schoenberg in one of his most personal and anguished moments still feeling compelled to clarify his views for posterity: "As little as these things I have to speak about seem worth the fuss that I have made over them, it nevertheless seems necessary to attend to them."

The Poietic Imperative

This evidence of Schoenberg's desire to clarify his historical role based on his genius and compositional innovations points primarily to a concern for posterity and accordingly would have had little direct bearing on how listeners during his lifetime experienced individual works. But it is clear that Schoenberg believed that knowledge of the creative process in its technical, aesthetic, and spiritual dimensions was also of considerable pertinence to the listener in coming to terms with his music. What Carl Dahlhaus characterized as Schoenberg's "real conviction that the way something is made and what it means are two sides of the same coin,"[68] might thus be understood more generally as a "poietic imperative" with profound ramifications for how during his lifetime Schoenberg made use of his sketches, autographs, and fragmentary works, for their own sake and for what they showed about his finished works.

The idea that the knowledge of the creative process could contribute to an understanding, not only of the artist, but of the artwork as well, arose early in the history of sketch studies. Rosenthal cites Zweig's comment, "I do not know enough about an artist if I have only his finished work before me, and I subscribe to Goethe's dictum that in order to understand a

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[64]Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader,* p. 140.
[65]Schoenberg, "Attempt at a Diary," trans. Anita Luginbühl, *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 9 (1986), 39. For another part of the evening with the Pfitzner parody, Schoenberg made notes for a lightly veiled parody of Webern's music in which one of his male students was to appear in woman's clothing and sing a piece consisting of five notes separated by long pauses.
[66]Meyer, *Autorschaft als historische Konstruktion,* p. 18.
[67]Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader,* pp. 53–54.
[68]Carl Dahlhaus, "Schoenberg's Poetics of Music," in *Schoenberg and the New Music,* trans. Derrick Puffett and Alfred Clayton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 75.

great creative work fully, one should also have knowledge of its genesis."[69] Thomas Whelan describes August Schmidt's 1843 essay "Ein Autograph von Beethoven" as marking "perhaps the first time that anyone had raised the study of sketches and autographs from the realm of curiosity to that of necessity." Schmidt writes:

> There is an undeniable attraction in looking into the workshops of the spirit, and gaining insight in to the manufacture of an artwork. Besides this interest . . . there is another more important reason [for studying manuscripts], which connects the work and the master; and this is [attaining] a nearer acquaintance with his *spiritual personality,* from which a correct understanding of his artistic legacy follows.[70]

Whelan points out that Otto Jahn's Mozart biography made frequent mention of fragmentary works and discussed some of the larger fragments at length.[71]

We are now accustomed to the availability of Schoenberg's sketches and fragments in the critical edition, where one can find, for example, a transcription of the violin concerto that was the subject of his exchange with Hertzka.[72] Yet, that the knowledge of this fragmentary project, for which he sketched only thirty-two measures, had already entered public discourse in 1923 points us to the fact that a considerable number of manuscripts, sketches, and fragments, along with information about Schoenberg's working methods, were broadly disseminated to his contemporaries. The fragmentary work with the highest profile during Schoenberg's life was the oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter,* due in particular to its place in the story of the origins of twelve-tone composition. Soon after a substantial part of it had been composed in 1917, the piece assumed a sort of shadow existence in Schoenberg's *œuvre* through references to it in print, a public reading of the text at the Verein, the publication of a facsimile of the draft in 1924, other references in conjunction with his fiftieth birthday, and several music examples in the late essay "My Evolution."[73] When he visited Adolf Loos's Villa Mandl in Vienna in 1918, he wrote down a passage from the "Chosen One" with the remark, "The Visitor's Book? In a house by Loos I am not a visitor but a good acquaintance. I feel free to write something that would otherwise be ununderstandable."[74] It is a measure of the complexities of Schoenberg's attitude toward the poietic that he included the first page of the score in a 1944 letter to Roger Sessions, where he writes: "And finally I want to mention what I consider of the greatest value for a possible appreciation of my music: that you say one must listen to it in the same manner as to every other kind of music, forget the theories, the twelve-tone method, the dissonances etc., and, I would add, if possible the author."[75] It is not so easy to forget an author whose manuscript you hold in your hand.

The many musical fragments and still larger number of fragmentary writings that Schoenberg left behind are often regarded as evidence of an inability to carry out projects to the end. But it might be more productive to consider how Schoenberg started to rethink the idea of the "work" so that fragments could serve just as important a function in his output, as Jennifer Shaw has argued of the many unfinished works from the World War I pe-

[69]Rosenthal, "Aspects of Autograph Collecting, Past and Present," p. 50.

[70]Whelan, *Towards a History and Theory of Sketch Studies,* pp. 51, 50; cited from Schmidt, "Ein Autograph von Beethoven," *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 3 (1843), 589–90.

[71]Whelan, *Towards a History and Theory of Sketch Studies,* p. 63.

[72]*Arnold Schönberg Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Tadeusz Okuljar, Abteilung IV: Orchesterwerke, Reihe B, Band 15: Konzerte (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne; Vienna: Universal Edition, 1988), pp. 166–71. The online availability of high-resolution scans of the *Nachlaß* through the Arnold Schönberg Center should only increase awareness of the sketches.

[73]See Shaw, "New Performance Sources and Old Modernist Productions: *Die Jakobsleiter* in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002), 434–60. References to *Die Jakobsleiter* appear in *Style and Idea,* p. 23, pp. 88–89, pp. 247–48; see also *Arnold Schönberg zum fünfzigsten Geburtstage, 13. September 1924,* special edn. of *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 6 (1924); and *Schoenberg,* ed. Merle Armitage (New York: Schirmer, 1937; rpt. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971).

[74]Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work,* trans. H. Searle (New York: Schirmer Books, 1978), p. 257.

[75]*Arnold Schoenberg Letters,* p. 223; see also Taruskin, "The Poietic Fallacy," pp. 8–9.

riod.[76] That so many of his fragmentary works and writings (and, in particular, the "Gedanke" manuscripts) have eventually been published would support the contention that it was not crucial to finish them. In the posthumously published "Glosses on the Theories of Others" (1929), Schoenberg notes that while his essay "Criteria of Musical Value" had remained in a draft, he had let so many of the ideas "percolate through in small doses" that it had already had an impact.[77] It is now customary to make little distinction in discussions of his works and writings between published and unpublished, complete and fragmentary.[78] An increasing number of his over 160 fragmentary works have since entered the repertoire, including the Three Pieces for Chamber Orchestra from 1910, and, of course, *Moses und Aron,* which has even assumed the status of his masterpiece. Indeed, Jan Maegaard has written: "There is no other great composer in whose œuvre huge unfinished works play a role as decisive as they do in the œuvre of Arnold Schoenberg."[79] Thus, rather than marking a difference in kind, the fragmentary musical pieces could be seen as part of continuum that would also include arrangements, the works without opus numbers, and works with opus numbers. This "emancipation of the fragment" could be related as well to Schoenberg's view of performance as a part of the rehearsal process rather than its goal, as demonstrated in the series of ten open rehearsals of the Chamber Symphony in 1917 and the intensive rehearsals and frequent repetitions of works in the Society for Private Musical Performances.

This permeability of the boundaries between sketch, fragment, and work is thus closely bound up with Schoenberg's interest in making an ever-greater network of information and ideas about the creative process in all of its dimensions available to the listener. It is as if he desired for each completed work to preserve for perpetuity the essence of its "status nascendi."[80] The strength of this poietic imperative is underscored by the fact that although Schoenberg's convictions about the importance of his compositional materials for understanding him and his works seems to have been constant throughout his long life, what he wanted to prove with the sketches and through reference to the creative process changed considerably, paralleling the considerable disjunctures in his compositional and aesthetic development, and applying even to his late tonal works where the need for explanation would seem less pressing.[81]

With the pre–World War I atonal works, rapid and apparently effortless composition, documented by the scarcity of sketches and relatively clean autographs, served as the ultimate validation of his ideal at the time of music as the direct, unflinching, and unexpurgated analogue of inner processes. As he wrote in his 1912 essay on Mahler, "the work of art, like every living thing, is conceived as a whole—just like a child, whose arm or leg is not conceived separately. The inspiration is not the theme, but the whole work. And it is not the one who writes a good theme who is inventive, but the one to whom a whole symphony occurs

[76]Shaw, *Schoenberg's Choral Symphony,* pp. 28–45. Schoenberg's blurring of the borders between the creative process and the work provides support for Nicholas Marston's contention in *Grove Music Online* that "the present and future challenge may be rather to define the role of sketches and sketch studies in the context of a loss of faith in the notion of the organic, 'closed' work itself." Nicholas Marston, "Sketch," *Grove Music Online,* ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com (accessed 20 July 2004).

[77]Schoenberg, "Glosses on the Theories of Others," in *Style and Idea,* p. 316.

[78]This is particularly clear in the publishing history of *Style and Idea,* where the original 1950 version, consisting of completed essays, edited and translated with the involvement of Schoenberg, was succeeded in 1975 by the familiar new edition including a wide range of additional material, much of which was never published or completed in Schoenberg's lifetime. See Thomas McGeary, "The Publishing History of *Style and Idea,*" *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 9 (1986), 181–209.

[79]See Jan Maegaard, "Schoenberg's Incomplete Works and Fragments," in Brand, *Constructive Dissonance,* p. 144.

[80]See Schoenberg, "Glosses on the Theories of Others," in *Style and Idea,* p. 314.

[81]For general overviews of Schoenberg's working methods at different stages of his life, see Haimo, "Atonality, Analysis, and the Intentional Fallacy," and Leonard Stein, "From Inception to Realization in the Sketches of Schoenberg," in *Bericht über den 1. Kongress der Internationalen Schönberg-Gesellschaft, Wien: 4 bis 9 Juni, 1974,* ed. Rudolf Stephan (Vienna: Verlag Elizabeth Lafite, 1978), pp. 213–27.

at once."[82] *Erwartung* is the most often-cited example of this; as noted in Schoenberg's "Creative Agonies" fragment, it was composed with only a handful of sketches and little evidence of substantial revision in seventeen days in the summer of 1909. Just as remarkable was Schoenberg's apparent intention from the outset to make the rapid composition of the piece part of its significance. He wrote to Busoni on the day he started: "I am head over heels in work and hope to be finished in 14 days."[83]

The notion that it was possible to capture in a sketch the moment of divine creation was the central motivation for Stefan Zweig's interest in collecting autographs:

> I searched not only for the manuscript of one of a poet's poems, but of one of his most beautiful poems, and if possible, one of those poems which from the minute that the inspiration found its first earthly realization started on its way to eternity. I wanted from the immortals—bold presumption!—in the relic of their autograph precisely that which had made them immortal for the world.[84]

In a similar spirit, the 1912 publication in the *Blue Rider Almanac* of a facsimile of the manuscript of the song *Herzgewächse,* op. 20, takes on a special significance in contrast to the printed scores of works by Webern and Berg that were also included. For this song—as for the Six Little Piano Pieces, op. 19 (1911), and the unfinished Three Pieces for Chamber Orchestra (1910)—the autograph is apparently the earliest source; besides another fair copy, there are no other sketches or drafts. The intact autograph is the material testimony of the moment of inspiration. Schoenberg's intense interest in painting precisely at this time, 1910–12, might be attributed in part to a similar impulse to make the creative act visible and even palpable. In his paintings, where his most frequent subject was his own gaze, every brushstroke is visible. The autographs for the atonal miniatures present each movement on a single page to allow it to be viewed all at once, as if to capture Joseph Berglinger's wish in Wackenroder's *Outpourings of an Art-Loving Friar,* "I would like to paint my feelings onto a panel with one single brushstroke, if only one color could express all that I feel."[85]

Schoenberg's reluctance or inability, except on very rare occasions, to analyze these pieces or to explain how they were put together is the corollary of the scarcity of evidence in the sketches of constructive devices or systematic compositional procedures. As the composer put it in a program note for the Five Pieces for Orchestra, op. 16 (1909): "All [the] technical craft is submerged, made one and indivisible with the content of the work."[86] The ultimate justification of each note of music is the claim of "inner necessity" proven by its unaltered appearance on the autograph. In the *Harmonielehre,* Schoenberg attributes every chord to "a necessity of my urge to expression," a necessity that produces an "inexorable but unconscious logic in the harmonic structure." He continues:

> And as proof of this I can cite the fact that corrections of the inspiration, the idea (*Einfall*), out of external formal considerations, to which the alert consciousness is only too often disposed, have generally spoiled the idea. This proves to me that the idea was obligatory, that it had necessity, that the harmonies present in it are components of the idea, in which one may change nothing.[87]

This "law of the Einfall"[88] is the context for his essay "The Relationship to the Text," also published in the *Blue Rider Almanac,* which describes the creative process by citing Schopen-

[82]Schoenberg, "Gustav Mahler," in *Style and Idea,* p. 458. And see Auner, "'Warum bist du so kurz?'—Schoenberg's Three Pieces for Chamber Orchestra (1910) and the Problem of Brevity," in *Festskrift Jan Maegaard,* ed. Mogens Andersen et al. (Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødring, 1996), pp. 43–63.
[83]Beaumont, *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters,* p. 399.
[84]Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1943), p. 350.
[85]Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck, *Outpourings of an Art-Loving Friar,* trans. Edward Mornin (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1975), p. 117. This topic is discussed further in Auner, "'Warum bist du so kurz?'"
[86]Cited in *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents,* ed. Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin (New York: Schirmer, 1984), p. 428.
[87]See Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony,* trans. Roy E. Carter (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p. 417.
[88]Ibid., p. 410.

hauer: "The composer reveals the inmost essence of the world and utters the most profound wisdom in a language which his reason does not understand, just as a magnetic somnambulist gives disclosures about things which she has no idea of when awake."[89] More significant here than the dubious claim of having composed songs without regard to the text is the emphasis placed on the intuitive and spontaneous creative process as part of the meaning and significance of the work. This feature appears in much of Schoenberg's early writings, including "Problems of Teaching Art" (1911), "Franz Liszt's Work and Being" (1912), the previously cited essay on Mahler, and many passages in the *Harmonielehre*.

It is significant that many of the earliest writings explore the implications of this conception of the creative process for the listener and, in particular, the music critic. In "About Music Criticism," published in *Der Merker* in 1909, Schoenberg makes clear the interdependence of the "poietic" and "esthesic":

> To convert an artistic impression into an artistic judgement, one must be practised at interpreting one's own unconscious feelings; one must know one's own leanings, and the way in which one reacts to impressions. As for dispensing artistic judgements: one must then be able to compare artistic impressions with each other; either through one's nature, which must not lack characteristic qualities, or at least through one's training (education plus development) one must find a vantage point from which it is possible to gain a closer insight into the nature of the work concerned. One must have a sense of the past and an intuition of the future. Finally, one may indeed go wrong; but then at least one must be someone![90]

In some ways, Schoenberg's compositional approach at the time of *Erwartung,* with its ideal of an unmediated transcription of the unconscious, breaks down the borders between composition and performance, as in improvisation or electronic music, where composition and realization coincide.[91] Whelan cites a passage in Jahn's Mozart biography that argues that the highest enjoyment would result from the opportunity "to view artistic creation as it actually unfolded. . . . 'The more finished a work of art is, the less we can succeed in deducing the manner and the way in which it arose'."[92] But my sense is that Schoenberg wanted to preserve the act of composition as traditionally conceived; rather than collapsing composition and improvisation, the act of setting pen to music paper becomes performative. This notion may help explain the peculiar and often discussed quotation of Schoenberg's early song "Am Wegrand," op. 6, no. 6, toward the end of *Erwartung*.[93] In the midst of his probing psychological explorations of a woman lost in a dark (inner and outer) forest, the probably chance appearance in Marie Pappenheim's text of a line from the song, "Tausend Menschen ziehn vorüber" [Thousands of people pass by], prompted Schoenberg to insert a passage of several measures from the earlier piece. The insertion is jarring in this context in its tonality and traditional thematic form. It suggests that Schoenberg felt compelled even here to put his thumbprint in the score, to summon up on stage for a moment an image of the composer sitting at his desk.[94]

If Schoenberg's pre–World War I model of composition was Mozart and the godlike spon-

[89]Schoenberg, "The Relationship to the Text," in *Style and Idea,* p. 142.
[90]Schoenberg, "About Music Criticism," in *Style and Idea,* p. 195.

[91]Rosen writes about the preference for sketches and first versions of Romantic works: "The most satisfactory editions of Romantic works are those that retain the sense of the spontaneous draft, the developing improvisation, and reject the aspect of the final, arrested statement" (Rosen, *Romantic Poets,* p. 69).
[92]Whelan, *Towards a History and Theory of Sketch Studies,* p. 124; Jahn, *W. A. Mozart,* vol. III (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1856–59), p. 431.
[93]See Herbert Buchanan, "A Key to Schoenberg's *Erwartung,*" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967), 434–49. For an alternative to the "crazy lady" interpretation of the work, see Elizabeth Keathley, "'Die Frauenfrage' in *Erwartung:* Schoenberg's Collaboration with Marie Pappenheim," in *Schoenberg and Words: The Modernist Years,* ed. Charlotte Cross and Russell Berman (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 139–78.
[94]As another kind of thumbprint, Allen Forte has argued that Schoenberg deliberately placed his "signature set" in many works (EsCHBEG—pc set 6Z44 012569). See Forte, "Schoenberg's Creative Evolution: The Path to Atonality," *Musical Quarterly* 64 (1978), 133–76. For an opposing view, see Haimo, "Atonality, Analysis, and the Intentional Fallacy."

taneous act depicted in *Die glückliche Hand,* his creative model after the war was increasingly Beethoven. In "Heart and Brain in Music," for example, he writes: "Unfortunately, there is no record that classic masters made much ado about the greater or lesser efforts needed for different tasks. Perhaps they wrote everything with the same ease, or, as one might suspect in the case of Beethoven, with the same great effort, as Beethoven's sketch books prove."[95] The compositional process now becomes associated with the idea of struggle, embodied most literally in Moses' exclamation from *Moses und Aron:* "O word, thou word, that I lack!" That this closing sentence, as famous as any line from an opera composed in the twentieth century, is from an unfinished work of which only one scene was performed in Schoenberg's lifetime, is striking testimony to the degree to which he succeeded in making his workshop public. In sharp contrast to the earlier use of his clean manuscripts and sparse sketches to demonstrate compositional immediacy, in the writings and lectures on the twelve-tone works Schoenberg pointed to extensive sketching and row charts as evidence for unity, logic, and craftsmanship, also evident in the return to traditional structural devices and forms. Significantly, in the lecture "Composition with Twelve Tones," he included examples showing the row derivation very much in the manner he used in his own manuscripts. Each note could now be justified by its origins in the row, as documented in the manuscripts, with discrepancies serving as the exceptions that prove the rule.

On many occasions, Schoenberg appealed to listeners to consider compositional processes and methods in their evaluations. The 1931 radio lecture on the Variations for Orchestra, op. 31, for example, contains a detailed discussion of the structure of the theme, an overview of the techniques of twelve-tone composition, and commentary on each of the variations, all accompanied by performances of the examples. The lecture concludes:

> A final word: I know unfortunately that I cannot expect my work to thrill you at this concert, and I must resign myself to that. But if I have succeeded in showing that I may regard my work as well organized, that I gave it much thought and worked on it with diligence; if you have been able to gather that I myself am entitled to believe in it, to believe that it is a good piece: then I have certainly achieved a great deal.[96]

This echoes an extended note to future historians on one of the sketch pages for the Variations, signed and dated 28 July 1928, that discusses his labors that led to the rediscovery of a structural device after a break in the creative process:

> I had forgotten this guide-sheet, which sketches the construction of a variation, when, after an interruption of several months, I tried to finish the variation in 1926. In vain I tried to deduce from the already-completed portion the principle according to which * etc. had been chosen. I interrupted the work, and tried again in the following years, but in vain.—This time too, when, having given up these further efforts as pointless, I decided to base the variation on a new constructive idea. When I had found one, I carried it out in the form of a sketch. Suddenly it occurred to me to compare this with the enigmatic part I had already composed: it developed that I had once more discovered the same "lost" idea—or, rather, that I had had to conceive the same logical thought afresh, after I had given up trying to retrieve it from memory.[97]

The striking appearance of many of Schoenberg's row tables and devices is also significant in this regard. As if to place composition within the realm of office work or the laboratory, he generated and represented rows with the help

[95] *Style and Idea,* p. 74. Painter discusses how the idea of the German composer came to include an opposition between Beethoven's working method and Rossini's ease and facility. Painter, "Mozart at Work," p. 204.

[96] Schoenberg-Nono, *Arnold Schoenberg Self Portrait,* p. 53. For evidence that the lecture resonated with at least one listener, see the review from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* cited in Auner, "Arnold Schoenberg Speaks: Newspaper Accounts of His Lectures and Interviews, 1927–1933," in *Schoenberg and His World,* pp. 276–78.

[97] Quoted and trans. in Martha M. Hyde, "The Format and Function of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Sketches," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 466 (trans. slightly emended).

of devices in the form of slide rules, card catalogs, and volvelles (information wheels). While there is no evidence that he made complete row tables public in his lifetime, there is little doubt that he fully expected them to be studied along with every other aspect of his *Nachlaß*. In her discussion of Webern's row tables, Kathryn Bailey comments on their untidy and confused appearance, contrary to what might be expected of the systematic and meticulous composer.[98] Schoenberg's row tables, in contrast, are often suitable for framing and could be regarded as artworks in their own right, as, for example, in the case of one of the many tables he prepared for the Suite, op. 29 (plate 7). Through the remarkable alignment of pitches on both horizontal and vertical staves, as well as the elaborate intertwining of trichordal and tetrachordal row segments, the table serves as a vivid physical representation of the foundational metaphysical notion expressed in "Composition with Twelve Tones": "THE TWO-OR-MORE-DIMENSIONAL SPACE IN WHICH MUSICAL IDEAS ARE PRESENTED IS A UNIT."[99]

There is no doubt that Schoenberg's opening his workshop to public scrutiny derives in large part from the need to create a public discourse in which his new musical languages of atonality and twelve-tone composition would be comprehensible. But the impulse cannot be limited to that. This is evident in the most extreme form through which he made sketches and the creative process public: his recompositions and arrangements of Bach, Handel, Monn, and Brahms, many dating from the 1920s and 30s.[100] It is not coincidental that his interest in such arrangements began shortly after World War I, as he took on an increasingly public role through performances, teaching, and publications. These pieces also coincided with his first serious engagement with the problem of reconciling his German and Jewish identities, as noted in connection with plate 2. Arrangement and recomposition have, of course, a long tradition and were common to composers in Schoenberg's immediate circle, including Mahler and Busoni. But in contrast to Liszt's paraphrases, for example, which Rosen describes as possessing "an unsuspected fidelity, a genuine and often successful attempt to enter into the original composer's skin,"[101] Schoenberg's recompositions uphold their difference. It is as if, instead of entering into the original composer's skin, Schoenberg makes that skin his canvas for a new work in which every brushstroke is evident. This is especially obvious with the well-known works involving Bach and Brahms. With the Concerto for String Quartet, the effect is literal; Schoenberg started composing directly on Handel's score, a process clearly audible in the finished piece.[102] But a certain "contrarian" quality also marks the work based on Georg Matthias Monn's little-known 1746 keyboard concerto, now a Cello Concerto in which the deviations from the original style are quite clear.[103] Even in the newly composed late tonal works, for example, the Suite for String Orchestra (1934) and the Variations for Wind Band, op. 43 (1942), the mere fact of tonality was highly marked, drawing special attention to the creative act and the creator.[104] In the essay "On revient toujours" (1948), Schoenberg wrote

[98]Kathryn Bailey, "Webern's Row Tables," in *Webern Studies,* ed. Kathryn Bailey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 170–228, at 174.
[99]Schoenberg, "Composition with Twelve Tones," *Style and Idea,* p. 220.
[100]See Auner, "Schoenberg's Handel Concerto and the Ruins of Tradition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996), 264–313.
[101]Rosen, *The Romantic Generation,* p. 512.
[102]See Auner, "Schoenberg's Handel Concerto and the Ruins of Tradition," pp. 274–75.
[103]The term is borrowed from Lawrence Kramer's discussion of Schoenberg's arrangement of Strauss's "Kaiserwalzer," which argues in similar terms that "Schoenberg detaches Strauss's musical sign from its effect by making every structural element of the music transparently audible; nothing blends" (Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002], p. 227).
[104]Olin Downes wrote of the forthcoming premiere of the Suite: "Only one thing more fantastical than the thought of Arnold Schönberg in Hollywood is possible, and that thing has happened. *Since arriving* there about a year ago Schönberg has composed in a melodic manner and in *recognizable* keys. That is what Hollywood has done to Schönberg. We may now *expect atonal* fugues by Shirley Temple" (cited in Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader,* p. 263). Compare Taruskin's discussion of Stravinsky's rediscovery of the leading tone and dominant function in *Mavra* to evoke "a distanced, ironized past—betokening a stance of highly self-conscious contemporaneity" ("Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology," this journal 16 [1993], 292).

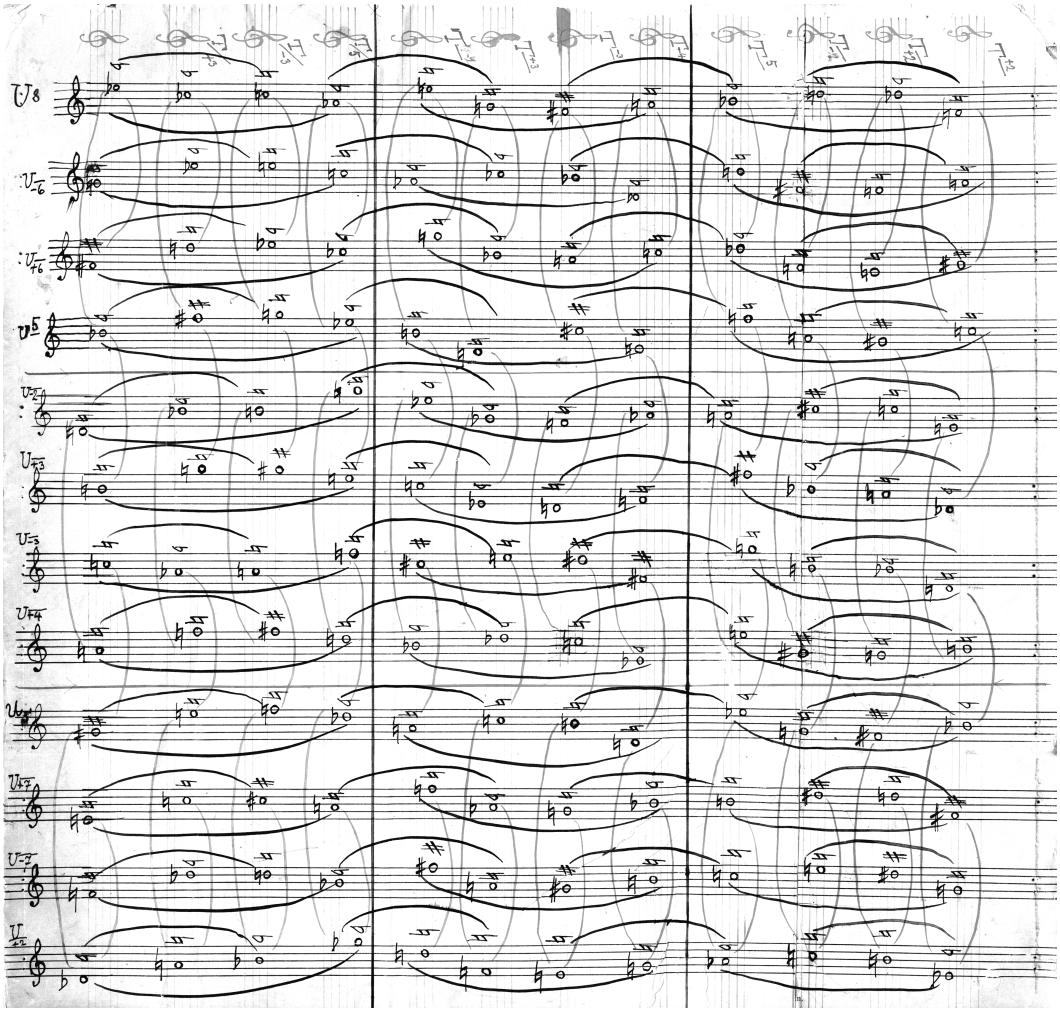

Plate 7: Row Table for the Suite, op. 29. Arnold Schönberg Center.
Reproduced by permission of Lawrence Schoenberg.

of the attractions of composing in an "older style":

> The classic masters, educated in admiration of the works of great masters of counterpoint, from Palestrina to Bach, must have been tempted to return often to the art of their predecessors, which they considered superior to their own. Such is the modesty of people who could venture to act haughtily; they appreciated achievements of others, though they themselves are not devoid of pride.[105]

[105]Schoenberg, "On revient toujours," *Style and Idea,* p. 109.

Poiesis R Us

While it may have once been correct to claim that "Schoenberg, and discourse about Schoenberg, has always been among the chief bulwarks of the poietic fallacy in music," those ramparts have long since fallen. And whether we see it as a cause for celebration or despair, the idea of the creative process as public performance defines much of our present-day cultural life. It has become almost expected for artists to let us into their workshops, both during their lifetimes and posthumously. There are sketch and source studies for composers of

every period, and composers who refer to their own sketches in presentations of their work. Also relevant in this regard are forms of music in which precompositional systems, composition, and performance are difficult to untangle, as they are, for example, in Steve Reich's "Clapping Music." With the proliferation of "meet the composer" programs, preconcert lectures, and didactic festivals, the tendency appears to be toward ever-greater availability of information about the making and the maker of the artwork. Plans are underway at several orchestras and festivals to provide audience members with handheld devices, such as the wireless "Concert Companion" (personal digital assistant), that allow access to scores, commentary, and analysis during performances.

With the explosion of documentary films, books, and records, and numerous anthologies of unreleased tracks and alternative versions, it is evident in the world of popular music that this obsession is not peculiar to concert music composers or musicologists. The avalanche of documentary materials about the Beatles is perhaps the prime example. A quick check of the wall-to-wall documentaries on the "making of . . . " on MTV and VH1 indicates that there is no shortage of fan interest. Among the many memoirs and chronicles available, we can now read the notebooks of the late Curt Cobain, lead singer of Nirvana, printed with this opening notation: "Don't read my diary when I'm gone. OK, I'm going to work now, when you wake up this morning, please read my diary. Look through my things and figure me out."[106]

It is in the world of film that the remarkable convergence of interests between artists and audience is most evident. Virtually every DVD release includes extensive "extra features," most of which are now produced simultaneously with the theatrical film. The mother of all poietic fallacies must no doubt be the extended versions of the three *Lord of the Rings* films, which feature documentaries on every aspect of the production: the adaptation of the screenplay, the elaborate special effects and camera tricks, and every detail of the scenic design, costumes, and props. Most relevant here is the opportunity the DVDs provide to replace the original soundtrack with multiple full-length commentaries by director, writers, producers, cast, and crew that explain and justify every moment as the film unfolds. It follows there is intensified interest in films about filmmaking, such as *Adaptation* (2002), which the writer Charlie Kaufmann structures about his act of writing it and which features a character called Charlie Kaufmann as the protagonist. There is a self-referential scene in another Kaufmann film, *Being John Malkovich* (1999), in which the title character, played by John Malkovich, discovers a small business that allows people to enter surreptitiously into his mind through a mysterious portal. When he enters the portal himself he finds the world completely populated by versions of himself whose only word is "Malkovich." Schoenberg wrote an uncanny anticipation of this scene in another skit planned for the "Heiteren Abend" that was to include the Pfitzner parody. In a bizarre comedic version of the very successful series of open rehearsals of the First Chamber Symphony that he had conducted in 1917, all fifteen players were to come marching out wearing Arnold Schoenberg masks. As Schoenberg conducted there was to be a disturbance in the audience, whereupon one of the spectators, also wearing a Schoenberg mask, was to turn and quiet the hecklers.[107]

Schoenberg's skit, along with the other examples cited above, may well be seen by some as evidence of the final stage of a fatal condition. But I would argue that to a significant degree the ubiquity of interest in the poietic is a manifestation of the rapid proliferation of au-

[106]Kurt Cobain, *Journals* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2002), prefatory material. It is noteworthy that Taruskin alludes to Cobain's "Smells Like Teen Spirit," though in the context of an argument for maintaining a "divergence of interests" between Schoenberg and those rock fans that Susan McClary cites as being drawn to his music: "That rebellious adolescents feel a kinship with Schoenbergian heroics, in any event, does not seem to me the most persuasive case one could be making on his behalf. That sort of appreciation testifies reliably to a shopworn romanticism" ("The Poietic Fallacy," p. 34).

[107]The sketch was also to involve a bad pun on the title of the Kammersymphonie, which was replaced with Kämmesymphonie, or "comb symphony," and was to include some of the musicians on stage having their unkempt hair combed.

thorship, the origins and implications of which Walter Benjamin already identified in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936): "Today there is hardly a gainfully employed European who could not, in principle, find an opportunity to publish somewhere or other comments on his work, grievances, documentary reports, or that sort of thing. Thus, the distinction between author and public is about to lose its basic character."[108] While Benjamin's predictions are most evident in phenomena as bloggers or "reality TV," in the realm of composition a quick look at the flood of magazines about instruments, music hardware and software, and home studios suggests that many people are drawn to the poietic because, as Benjamin put it, "at any moment the reader is ready to turn into a writer."[109] Jacques Attali similarly concludes his *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* with a chapter entitled "Composing," in which he identifies a "renaissance" based "*not [on] a new music, but [on] a new way of making music* . . . [that is] radically upsetting everything music has been up to this point." He continues: "To listen to music in the network of composition is to rewrite it. . . . The listener is the operator. Composition, then, beyond the realm of music, calls into question the distinction between worker and consumer, between doing and destroying . . . to compose is to take pleasure in the instruments, the tools of communication."[110]

One example of this new stage of "composition" would be the rise of the DJ, who—like Schoenberg with his Monn and Handel arrangements—creates new pieces from preexistent materials before our eyes. It is striking in this regard that Schoenberg's first sketch for the Pfitzner parody showed Hanserl sitting at a gramophone, with the Modern Masters playing records to demonstrate their styles.[111] The video for DJ Shadow's song "Midnight," for example, shows him digging through the bins at used record shops, displays various records used in the piece, and features close-ups of him operating his turntable and sampler.[112] Just as important, accompanying the production of this sample-based music is a rising tide of web pages through which listeners attempt to track down, identify, and discuss in detail where the samples originated and what they signify.[113] It is not uncommon for musicians to follow up the release of a CD with a companion version that provides all the basic sonic material for listeners to rework.[114] With the rapid profusion of inexpensive software that brings composition, filmmaking, graphic design, and publishing into the reach of anyone with a computer, every film, song, or image released has the potential of being answered by a wave of sampling, remixes, and parodies. Of course, this expansion or decentralization of poiesis is bringing with it a very different sense of what an author is, just as it is changing the roles of the critic or listener. Benjamin saw the new stage of art as having both destructive and cathartic aspects. And among those "outmoded concepts" that he seeks to brush aside "such as creativity and genius, eternal value and mystery" are many of the central categories of Schoenberg's thought.[115]

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[108]Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (Glasgow: Fontana Collins, 1977), p. 234.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 134, 135.

[111]This is, of course, not a coincidence but points to ways in which technologies of recording and the radio also shaped very early on how composers conceived of the compositional act. See Mark Katz, *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), though I would modify his claim that Schoenberg had little interest in recording technology (pp. 29–30).

[112]Joseph Schloss points out the close connection of "hip-hop's celebration . . . of the solitary genius"—often working alone in his home studio—to the notion of the classical composer, in *Making Beats: The Art of Sample-Based Hip-Hop* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), p. 42.

[113]See, for example, the "Pop Will Sample Itself!" http://www.them.ws/pwsi/ (accessed 1/16/05), created by Dave Read, which documents and discusses samples used by the group Pop Will Eat Itself. For an analysis of a piece by Mono that uses samples of Schoenberg, Webern, Berg, and Berio, see Sara Nicholson, "Keep Going: The Use of Classical Music Samples in Mono's 'Hello Cleveland'," *Echo: A Music-Centered Journal* 4 (2002), http://www.echo.ucla.edu.

[114]See, for example, Aesop Rock, *Bazooka Tooth* (2003) and *Build Your Own Bazooka Tooth* (2004).

[115]Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," p. 220.

Certainly I would not maintain that any of these ramifications of the creative process as public performance are due to Schoenberg's influence, or that he would have greeted any of them with favor. But I would argue that Schoenberg anticipated this state of affairs more than any of his contemporaries. In one of his final pieces, the String Trio, op. 45, composed between 20 August and 23 September 1946, the borders between the artist's life, work, and the creative process become extremely blurred. And whereas Musil's *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author* only playfully transgresses the boundaries of life and death, Schoenberg's Trio is almost literally posthumous. The piece took shape as a product of a severe illness, suffered in August 1946, and described by Schoenberg as "My Fatality": "I lost consciousness, had no heartbeat or pulse and stopped breathing. In other words I was practically dead."[116]

Schoenberg told Thomas Mann that he had secretly interwoven into the trio an account of the illness, including his hospitalization and even the injection into his heart that revived him. One peculiar feature of the piece is a large-scale recapitulation of the opening section, a violation of Schoenberg's general prohibition on repetition; as he often said to his pupils: "Once you have lived your life you need not go back and live it again."[117] Leonard Stein reports that Schoenberg justified the repetition by explaining that the first section was a representation of the actual traumatic events as they happened, while the recapitulation was meant to show him in the act of composing the piece.[118] Michael Cherlin has discussed the complex, shifting musical language of the String Trio in terms of an encounter with memory and history. His analysis shows Schoenberg alternately confronting and reworking common-practice phrase structure, tonality, and the genre of the waltz, all under the shadow of Beethoven. Cherlin's interpretation, according to which "a radically new musical discourse confronts a host of historical references," can also point us back to Schoenberg's Pfitzner parody.[119] From the perspective of all these layers of meaning and allusion, it is easy to see why Schoenberg should have felt so strongly about poor Hanserl struggling to compose on that crowded stage.

A central exhibit at both the Schoenberg Institute at USC and now at the Schönberg Center in Vienna is a replica of the composer's studio from his Brentwood home. It is presented like a stage set, with the desk and shelves arranged just as he left them, and even with the arched window looking out on a painted backdrop of his garden. For the spectators who pass by and gaze in through the glass, and for those working in the archive, there is rarely a sense of eavesdropping or prying into something that was intended to remain private. Rather, it is as if we had always been there.

[116]Cited in Walter Bailey, *Programmatic Elements in the Works of Schoenberg,* Studies in Musicology, no. 74 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1984), p. 154.
[117]Ibid., p. 156.
[118]Personal communication. Bailey cites a slightly different acount by Stein with Schoenberg describing the recapitulation as "going back and 'reliving' that portion with [the] calmness and perspective of good health" (ibid.).

[119]Michael Cherlin, "Memory and Rhetorical Trope in Schoenberg's String Trio," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (1998), 559–602, at 560.

Abstract.
Drawing on published and unpublished sources, this article traces the changing ways in which Schoenberg made his sketches, fragments, and the creative process in general integral aspects of both his identity as a composer and the reception of his music. One side of this story is Schoenberg's well-known concern for how posterity would view him, evident in his obsession with demonstrating his stature as a genius and defining his place in history as the first to break with tonality and as the inventor of "the method of composing with twelve tones related only to one another." But as significant for the present context are the ways that, beginning in the first decade of the century, he started to make his *Nachlaß* known through the dissemination of manuscripts, sketches, and fragments, and by means of discussions of the creative process and compositional techniques in his voluminous writings. Schoenberg's interjection of the act of composition into public musical discourse has clear origins in the nineteenth century, but it also has important implications for the blurring of boundaries between the work, the creative process, the artist, and the audience, a characteristic of twentieth- and twenty-first-century art and now a fundamental feature of our cultural life.