

# REDATING SCHOENBERG'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE TWELVE-TONE METHOD: A STUDY OF RECOLLECTIONS\*

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In commenting on a 1936 article by Richard Hill, Arnold Schoenberg recalled how he announced his new compositional method, based on twelve tones, to his students:

At the very beginning, when I used for the first time rows of twelve tones in the fall of 1921, I foresaw the confusion which would arise in case I were to make publicly known this method. Consequently I was silent for nearly two years. And when I gathered about twenty of my pupils together to explain to them the new method in 1923, I did it because I was afraid to be taken as an imitator of Hauer, who, at this time, published his *Vom Melos zur Pauke*.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the above statement, Schoenberg's reminiscence of the meeting appears three times in his writings between 1940 and 1950.<sup>2</sup> Together, these recollections convey the following outline of events that led to the announcement: Schoenberg composed his first twelve-tone piece in 1921, during his summer sojourn in Traunkirchen. He explained the method to Erwin Stein as "a witness," and asked him to keep it secret as long as necessary to protect the idea. Sometime after Schoenberg returned home to Mödling, however, he found that Josef Matthias Hauer had employed a similar compositional method. To demonstrate that he had not been influenced by Hauer, Schoenberg gathered his students and friends at his house, and unveiled the secret.

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<sup>1</sup> Arnold Schoenberg, "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows" (1936), in *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 213. The Hill article is Richard S. Hill, "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows and the Tonal System of the Future," *Musical Quarterly* 22/1 (1936): 14–37.

Figure 1 provides a comparison of Schoenberg's recollections (quoted and cited in full in Appendix I). Each statement is identified by the year in which it was made, and hereafter these dates will be used in citations (e.g., Schoenberg (1936)). The composer consistently remembers that he developed the new method in 1921, and that he told Stein about the finding (although Schoenberg (1936) omits reference to Stein's involvement, as indicated in the second column of the table).<sup>3</sup> His statements are compatible in these respects, and yet his description of the *date* of the announcement meeting (as it will henceforth be called) varies from recollection to recollection, as indicated in the third column.

The announcement meeting was also mentioned by Schoenberg's students Josef Polnauer, Max Deutsch, Felix Greissle, Rudolf Kolisch, Erwin Ratz, Josef Rufer, and Edward Steuermann.<sup>4</sup> Their memories about the date vary as well. Statements that indicate the year was 1923 are listed in Figure 2a; those that cite a different year, or do not indicate a date at all, are listed in Figure 2b. Most of these recollections were delivered orally, as shown in the fifth column of each table: two items are cited in Walter Szmolyan's "Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik" ("The Birthplace of the Twelve-Tone Technique"), which includes the speeches of Schoenberg's students; and five items are from Joan Allen Smith's *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait*, which is an oral history of Schoenberg's life, based on her interviews of his students and contemporaries.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I for the full quotations and citations.

<sup>3</sup> The involvement of Stein is also discussed in Schoenberg, "Priority" (10–11 September 1932), trans. in Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), 237.

<sup>4</sup> In this essay, reference to "Schoenberg's students" includes also former students who were involved in the Schoenberg circle, such as Anton Webern and Alban Berg.

<sup>5</sup> Walter Szmolyan, "Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 26/3 (1971): 113–26; and Joan Allen Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1986).

FIGURE 1. Schoenberg's recollections of the announcement meeting

Statement year	Time of his "finding" the new method	Time of the meeting	His motivation	Who was at the meeting	Other comments
1936	Fall 1921	1923	"I was afraid to be taken as an imitator of Hauer, who, at this time, published his <i>Vom Melos zur Pauke</i> ."	"About twenty of my pupils."	"I was silent for nearly two years."
1940	1921; told Erwin Stein	1924	"I had become aware that Hauer had also written twelve-tone music."	"All my students and friends."	"Curiously when I had shown the four basic forms, Webern confessed that he had written also something in 12 tones...."
1950a	1921; showed Erwin Stein	Sometime after Schoenberg showed Stein the new method	"Hauer tried similar procedures, and if I were to escape the danger of being his imitator, I had to unveil my secret."	"Friends and pupils"; Hauer.	
1950b	Fall 1921; called Erwin Stein to come to Traunkirchen	A few years after the First World War	"I heard rumors about Hauer's <i>Tropenlehre</i> , which would have made me appear as a plagiarist of Hauer."	"My friends and acquaintances."	

Nearly half of the recollections cited in Figures 1 and 2 indicate 1923 as the year of the announcement, but the rest do not affirm this dating. A question thus arises: is the variance in dating due to inaccurate memories or some other kind of confusion? Uncertainties or misunderstandings certainly might have occurred, as Schoenberg's statements were written between 1936 and 1950, long after the events occurred, and his students' remembrances were recorded even later. And the fact that most of the latter were delivered orally also complicates matters; as Smith points out, "oral history is better at setting a scene than at providing technical detail."<sup>6</sup> Dates may be the first details to be questioned in terms of their reliability.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, x.

**FIGURE 2A.** Schoenberg's students' recollections of the meeting, with the year indicated as 1923

<b>Student</b>	<b>Date claimed</b>	<b>Where</b>	<b>Who was there</b>	<b>Source</b> ( <i>see Works Cited for full description</i> )
Josef Polnauer 1959	"A February morning in 1923."	Schoenberg's house in Mödling	"Some friends and pupils."	Speech delivered on 6 December 1959. In Szmolyan (1971): 117.
Max Deutsch 1970	Spring 1923	Mödling	"Erwin Stein recorded everything [hat alles protokolliert]."	French television program filmed in October 1970. In Szmolyan (1971): 118.
Josef Rufer 1971	Spring 1923	Mödling	"All students who were present in Vienna at that time." Stein "took the minutes [Protokoll]" and wrote "Neue Formprinzipien" based on his notes.	Rufer, "Begriff und Funktion" (1971): 282.
Max Deutsch 1973	"In 1923, when he [Schoenberg] came back from Amsterdam."	Schoenberg's house in Mödling		Interview by Joan Allen Smith on 21 November 1973. In Smith, <i>Schoenberg and His Circle [SHC]</i> (1986), 202.
Erwin Ratz 1973	1923; after Schoenberg had written the Piano Suite		"His group of students"; "people who had a private interest"; "later circle of students, to some extent the older ones" (e.g., Berg, Webern, Polnauer).	Interview by Smith on 8 November 1973. In Smith, <i>SHC</i> (1986), 204 and 208.

Despite these problems, 1923 has been generally accepted as the year of the announcement, based on the number of recollections that support it. However, the contestability of this dating has received greater emphasis in recent studies, due to the publication of newly uncovered source documents related to the announcement. In this essay, I will take this new information into consideration and reexamine the recollections of Schoenberg and his students. In doing so, I aim to clarify the chronology of the events that occurred during this crucial period of Schoenberg's musical development, and gain a better understanding of when his announcement actually took place.

**FIGURE 2B.** Schoenberg's students' recollections of the meeting, without a 1923 indication

<b>Student</b>	<b>Date claimed</b>	<b>Where</b>	<b>Who was there</b>	<b>Source</b> ( <i>see Works Cited for full description</i> )
Eduard Steuermann 1959	"One morning."	Schoenberg's house in Mödling	"Pupils and friends of Schoenberg"; "Webern was present, but not Berg"; "Webern ... said to me on our way home: That's it! I always had the feeling ...."	"The Possibilities and Impossibilities," originally written for a lecture, on 3 September 1959. In Steuermann (1989), 58–59.
Felix Greissle 1965	"About 1925."		"All of his students and friends"; Berg, Webern, Wellesz, Steuermann, Stein, "and many others"; "[Webern] was the one who resisted most."	Interview by Hans Keller, BBC, on 4 November 1965. Partial transcription appears in Smith, <i>SHC</i> (1986), 198.
Rudolf Kolisch 1973		Mödling	"He called us all together"; "only the small circle of his"; Hauer was not there.	Interview by Smith on 4 June and 15 December 1973. In Smith, <i>SHC</i> (1986), 204–206.
Felix Greissle 1973	After Schoenberg "came across an article of Hauer."		"[People] close to Schoenberg like Wellesz ... [and] Adler"; Hauer "was not on that day there, but a little later, he invited Hauer on one Sunday"; "Webern had a hard time ...."	Interview by Smith on 21 November 1973. In Smith, <i>SHC</i> (1986), 202–203 and 206–208.
Felix Greissle 1979	"I believe it was earlier [than 1923]"; "in 1922, soon after we came back to Mödling."		"Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Erwin Stein, Egon Wellesz, Hanns Eisler, Karl Rankl, (Josef) Rufer, Erwin Ratz, (Eduard) Steuermann, Schoenberg's daughter Gertrud, (Ot[h]mar) Steinbauer, () Trauneck ... it is possible that there were still other people."	In Muxeneder, "Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftonmethode" (2005): 307.

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF SCHOENBERG'S ANNOUNCEMENT AND  
PRESENT STRATEGIES FOR INVESTIGATION

Among the recollections of Schoenberg's students, that of Josef Polnauer, delivered in a speech on 6 December 1959, is especially well known—probably because it was one of the earliest recollections, and also because it indicated the date specifically, as February 1923:

When Arnold Schönberg gathered together some friends and pupils in his house in Mödling on a February morning in 1923, to talk about the basic ideas of his method and to demonstrate them with some examples from his latest compositions, a new chapter in the history of music began.<sup>7</sup>

In a 1979 text on Webern, Hans and Rosaleen Moldenhauer note that the announcement meeting took place one morning in February 1923, and that this event “coincided, quite by chance, with the Vienna performance of [Webern’s] *Passacaglia*,” 17 February 1923.<sup>8</sup> Probably due to this description, the editors of *The Berg–Schoenberg Correspondence*, published in 1987, identify the date of the meeting as 17 February 1923. In a footnote attached to Alban Berg’s letter of 2 September 1923, they write:

Schoenberg officially introduced close friends and students to his concept of twelve-tone composition on 17 February of that year [1923], at which time Erwin Stein took notes that he later published in the article “Neue Formprinzipien.”<sup>9</sup>

As a result, “February 1923” or “17 February 1923” became widely accepted as the date of the meeting in Schoenberg literature.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Szmolyan, “Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik,” 117. Quoted from the English trans. on the website of the Arnold Schönberg Center (hereafter ASC): [http://www.schoenberg.at/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=380&Itemid=184&lang=en](http://www.schoenberg.at/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=380&Itemid=184&lang=en) (see under the year 1923).

<sup>8</sup> Hans Moldenhauer and Rosaleen Moldenhauer, *Anton von Webern: A Chronicle of His Life and Work* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 252; see also 663, n. 16.

<sup>9</sup> *The Berg–Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters*, ed. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 330, n. 3. In the new German edition of the Berg–Schoenberg correspondence, the date has been changed to February 1923; see *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg–Alban Berg, Teilband II: 1918–1935*, ed. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Andreas Meyer (Mainz: Schott, 2007), 208, n. 395.

<sup>10</sup> For examples of references to a “February 1923” meeting, see the following: Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 197; Ena Steiner, “Schoenberg on Holiday: His Six Summers on Lake Traun,” *Musical Quarterly* 72/1 (1986), 49; Bryan R. Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?,” *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 10/2 (1987), 123; Martina Sichardt, *Die Entstehung der Zwölftonmethode Arnold Schönbergs* (Mainz: Schott, 1990), 7; Anne C. Shreffler, “‘Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber’: The Vocal Origins of Webern’s Twelve-Tone Composition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47/2 (1994), 286; Lauriejean Reinhardt, “Anton Webern’s ‘Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber,’ Op. 15, No. 4,” in *The Rosaleen Moldenhauer Memorial: Music History from Primary Sources: A Guide to the Moldenhauer Archives*, ed. Jon Newsom and Alfred Mann (Washington: Library of Congress, 2000), 458; Alexander L. Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg: Das Leben im Werk* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002), 37; Allen Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg’s Journey* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux,

However, Thomas Brezinka challenges this dating in his 2005 study of Erwin Stein. He points out that Stein had stayed in Darmstadt between December 1922 and late March 1923 due to a knee injury—despite the fact that Deutsch (1970) recalled the presence of Stein at the meeting, as the one who “recorded everything.”<sup>11</sup> As shown in the fourth column of Figure 2a, Rufer (1971) notes that Stein wrote his “Neue Formprinzipien” based on the minutes he took.<sup>12</sup> Because Stein could not have attended the meeting if it had taken place in February 1923, and because he had returned to Mödling for the first time on 30 April 1923, Brezinka suggests that the meeting must have occurred in May 1923, before Schoenberg left for his summer residence in Traunkirchen on 1 June 1923.<sup>13</sup>

The unreliability of Polnauer's dating is further addressed by Áine C. Heneghan, who argues that “the date of 17 February 1923, or indeed the date of February 1923, has little or no foundation (since it is informed only by Polnauer's recollection in 1959).”<sup>14</sup> Whereas Brezinka assumes Stein's presence at the 1923 meeting, Heneghan presumes his *absence*, offering a letter from Stein to Rufer as new evidence.<sup>15</sup> In this letter of 14 August 1957, Stein states that he must have been in Darmstadt when Schoenberg first explained the new method to his students.

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2002), 197; and *Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg–Alban Berg, Teilband II: 1918–1935*, 208, n. 395. For references to a “17 February 1923” meeting, see Arved Mark Ashby, “Schoenberg, Boulez, and Twelve-Tone Composition as ‘Ideal Type,’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54/3 (2001), 593; Jennifer Shaw, “New Performance Sources and Old Modernist Productions: *Die Jakobsleiter* in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” *Journal of Musicology* 19/3 (2002), 450, n. 58; and Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader*, 173.

<sup>11</sup> “Erwin Stein hat alles protokolliert” (Thomas Brezinka, *Erwin Stein: Ein Musiker in Wien und London* [Vienna: Böhlau, 2005], 191).

<sup>12</sup> Erwin Stein, “Neue Formprinzipien,” in *Arnold Schönberg zum fünfzigsten Geburtstage, 13. September 1924, Sonderheft der Musikblätter des Anbruch* 6 (1924): 286–303; reprinted in *Von neuer Musik: Beiträge zur Erkenntnis der neuzeitlichen Tonkunst*, ed. Heinrich Grues, Engel Kruttge, and Else Thalheimer (Cologne at the Rhine: F. J. Marcand, 1925): 59–77; trans. Hans Keller as “New Formal Principles,” in Stein, *Orpheus in New Guises* (London: Rockliff, 1953): 57–77.

<sup>13</sup> Brezinka, *Erwin Stein*, 191.

<sup>14</sup> Áine C. Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse: Schoenberg's Musical Morphology and Nascent Dodecaphony” (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Dublin, Trinity College, 2006), 149. I would like to thank Dr. Heneghan for sending me a copy of her dissertation.

<sup>15</sup> Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse,” 150–151.

Because he was absent from the meeting, and because his “Neue Formprinzipien” covers Schoenberg’s Opp. 23, 24, and 25 (which had still been in progress in February 1923 and was completed in April), Heneghan suggests that the meeting “took place during the spring of 1923, most likely in April when Schoenberg had composed Opp. 23, 24, and 25 but before Stein had returned to Vienna.”<sup>16</sup> With regard to Rufer’s recollection of Stein as present and taking notes, Heneghan speculates that Rufer possibly “had confused this formal announcement with an earlier series of lectures, to which only a small number of students/close friends were privy and at which Stein may have taken notes since he was based at that time in Vienna.”<sup>17</sup>

The existence of a pre-1923 lecture series had already been noted by Bryan R. Simms in his 1987 article, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music, Schoenberg or Hauer?” In it, Simms introduced Schoenberg’s draft of a letter to Josef Matthias Hauer, dated 25 July 1922.<sup>18</sup> The letter was never sent to Hauer, but instead was inserted into Schoenberg’s copy of Hauer’s article “Sphärenmusik,” which appeared in the Berlin journal *Melos* in June 1922. In this draft, Schoenberg explains to Hauer that he had already disclosed his new compositional method to his students in a few lectures given several months before July 1922, although he admits that “I am not so far advanced that I can make the fruits of my inquiries public.”<sup>19</sup> Simms notes that previously it has “been thought that Schoenberg met with students for this purpose only in February 1923.”<sup>20</sup> He then wonders, “[w]ho were the students who received the preview,” and speculates that “Webern was almost certainly among them.”

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<sup>16</sup> Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse,” 151–152. Brezinka’s information, about Stein’s return to Vienna in late March (see *Erwin Stein*, 88 and n. 319), was apparently not available to Heneghan at the time of her writing.

<sup>17</sup> Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse,” 152.

<sup>18</sup> Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music,” 122.

<sup>19</sup> Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music,” 122.

<sup>20</sup> Simms, “Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music,” 123.



Indeed, Webern's presence on this occasion is confirmed by his letter to Heinrich Jalowetz, dated 7 January 1922, which became available in 1999 with the publication of *Anton Webern: Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*.<sup>21</sup> In this letter, Webern reports to Jalowetz—a former student of Schoenberg and a good friend of Webern—about a series of lectures delivered by Schoenberg on his new compositional method:

Schoenberg is speaking to us all in a series of lectures—at his house—on a technical corollary, or, perhaps better, on a new type of motivic work that he is now using (it's not only that—it's hard to formulate it briefly) and with it he unfolds the entire development of, if I may say so, our technique (harmony, etc.)—purely theoretically—this for the first time, together with his recent works. Just imagine that almost everything that has occupied me for about ten years is being discussed. It is almost too exciting. The impetus was a composition by Hauer, published in “Melos” (a Berlin journal). In this piece—*Präludium für Celesta*—Schoenberg thought that he saw the beginnings of something similar to what he lately had put to use, in the piano pieces that he wrote in 1921 during the summer in Traunkirchen. This is what I mentioned above. And so as not to be seen as a plagiarist of Mr. Hauer, he is describing these things that he found long ago. The matter rests harmonically and melodically on the twelve-tone scale, which Schoenberg now considers the basis of our music. Its theory is already in the new edition of the *Harmonielehre*. Too bad that you can't hear these lectures. By the way, they are being taken down. I will get you a copy as soon as possible.<sup>22</sup>

According to Webern, Schoenberg gathered all of his students at his house, after he saw Josef Matthias Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta*, which was published in *Melos* 3/1, dated 1 November 1921. Therefore, the lecture series must have started sometime after that publication date, but before Webern wrote the above letter of 7 January 1922. Because this was a *series* of lectures, it is conceivable that it continued until the early months of 1922. This period fits well with Schoenberg's description of the lectures in his draft letter to Hauer: “a few” lectures were

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<sup>21</sup> *Anton Webern: Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, Publications of the Paul Sacher Foundation, vol. 7, ed. Ernst Lichtenhahn (Mainz: Schott, 1999), 497–501. The underlining is Webern's own.

<sup>22</sup> *Anton Webern: Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, 499; trans. in Deborah H. How, “Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude from the Suite for Piano, Op. 25: From Composition with Twelve Tones to the Twelve-Tone Method” (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Southern California, 2009), 54. I would like to thank Dr. How for sending me a copy of her dissertation.

delivered several months before July 1922. Consequently, Webern and Schoenberg must have been referring to the same lecture series in their letters.

Webern also notes that the lecture series was “being taken [i.e., written] down.” Regarding a transcript, Simms suggests that an anonymous and undated typescript titled “Komposition mit zwölf Tönen” (“Composition with Twelve Tones,” hereafter *KzT*) “almost certainly consists of notes made from a lecture given by Schoenberg in 1922 or 1923 concerning twelve-tone composition in its early stage of development.”<sup>23</sup> *KzT* is an unfinished typescript, housed in the Alban Berg Nachlaß at the Austrian National Library.<sup>24</sup> Arved Ashby points out a link between it and Schoenberg’s announcement, and reveals the existence of four pages of detailed notes in Berg’s hand that relate closely to the content of the typescript.<sup>25</sup> Whereas Ashby speculates that *KzT* is a transcript of the 17 February 1923 meeting,<sup>26</sup> Heneghan proposes that the typescript “may represent the ‘transcript’ [Abschrift] to which Webern referred in his letter to Jalowetz,” primarily because *KzT* deals with compositional techniques that are characteristic of Schoenberg’s early twelve-tone music, and it discusses the Prelude of Op. 25 as his most recent piece.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Brian R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908–1923* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 9. In the endnotes associated with this sentence, Simms writes: “Schoenberg spoke to his students about twelve-tone composition on several occasions in the early 1920s. Josef Polnauer recalled one such discussion held in February 1923, and in a draft of a letter to Hauer dated 25 July 1922 Schoenberg mentioned ‘a few lectures given to my students several months ago’ concerning the method” (224, n. 11). See also Simms, “Schoenberg: The Analyst and the Analyzed,” in *The Arnold Schoenberg Companion*, ed. Walter B. Bailey (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 242–243, and 249, n. 40.

<sup>24</sup> Rudolf Stephan, “Ein frühes Dokument zur Entstehung der Zwölftonkomposition,” in *Festschrift Arno Forchert zum 60. Geburtstag am 29. Dezember 1985*, ed. Gerhard Allroggen and Detlef Altenburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986), 296–302.

<sup>25</sup> Arved Mark Ashby, “The Development of Berg’s Twelve-Tone Aesthetic as Seen in the Lyric Suite and Its Sources” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1995), 45.

<sup>26</sup> Jennifer Shaw and Josef Auner also regard *KzT* as a transcript of the 17 February 1923 meeting. See Shaw, “Schoenberg’s Choral Symphony, *Die Jakobsleiter*, and Other Wartime Fragments” (Ph.D. dissertation, State Univ. of New York at Stony Brook, 2002), 583–584; and Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader*, 173–174.

<sup>27</sup> Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse,” 157, 159–161.

Adopting Heneghan's proposal, in this essay I assume that *KzT* is a transcript of the early lecture series.<sup>28</sup> I will refer to this event as the "lecture series" to differentiate it from the "announcement meeting" that has been presumed to have taken place between February and May of 1923 (i.e., in the spring, by Deutsch and Rufer; in February, by Polnauer; in April, by Heneghan; and in May, by Brezinka). Although the 1923 meeting might also have featured a lecture format, I will maintain the term "meeting" as it has been customarily identified in this way.

Although the above studies agree on 1923 as the year of the meeting, a recollection by Felix Greissle, which appears in a 2005 article by Therese Muxeneder, raises the possibility that Schoenberg's announcement occurred *before* that year.<sup>29</sup> According to Deborah H. How, who has studied documents in the Felix Greissle Collection of the Arnold Schönberg Center, this recollection comes from a lecture Greissle delivered in July 1979.<sup>30</sup> She translates:

Now I come to a point, which is still very unclear, in as much as Schoenberg later summoned all his pupils together and reported how twelve-tone composition was made and explained—that is the main point, and it has been fixed for the year 1923; I believe it was earlier. The misunderstanding comes from the fact that there were several such meetings. I believe the first was in 1922, soon after we came back to Mödling.

I only want to speak about the first of these pupil meetings and how it was a big surprise for all of us, including myself. I noted who was present, and it is an incomplete list. He had invited more people than ever before. At this memorable meeting were present: Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Erwin Stein, Egon Wellesz, Hanns Eisler, Karl Rankl, (Josef) Rufer, Erwin Ratz, (Eduard) Steuermann, Schoenberg's daughter Gertrud, (Ot[h]mar) Steinbauer, ( ) Traunec— that is all I remember definitely, but it is possible that there were still other people there.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> How also suggests that "*KzT* appears to be a partial transcript of an early 1922 Schoenberg lecture or lectures," as the typescript is a fragment. See How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 149, 173–174.

<sup>29</sup> Therese Muxeneder, "Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftonmethode: Daten Dokumente, Berichte, Anekdoten," in *Schachzüge: Arnold Schönbergs Dodekaphonie und Spiele-Konstruktionen, Bericht zum Symposium 3.–5. Juni 2004*, ed. Christian Meyer, *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 7 (2005), 306–307.

<sup>30</sup> How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 61. I would like to thank Dr. How for showing me a copy of Felix Greissle's manuscripts, discussed in her dissertation.

<sup>31</sup> Felix Greissle, "Zwei Vorträge: I. Die Anfänge der Komposition mit zwölf Tönen," typescript of lectures at the Schönberg-Haus in Mödling, July 1979, in the ASC's Felix Greissle Satellite Collection (G8); trans. in How,

Note that Greissle believes that “the misunderstanding comes from the fact that there were several such meetings,” and that the first one was held in 1922, soon after Schoenberg returned to Mödling. Regarding the date of the meeting, in a 1965 interview with Hans Keller, Greissle had already stated that “[a]bout 1925, [Schoenberg] all of a sudden called all of his students and friends together, you see, and we had a meeting at which there were present Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Egon Wellesz, Steuermann, Erwin Stein, and many others.”<sup>32</sup> However, when Clara Steuermann—wife of Eduard Steuermann—asked Greissle about the date in October 1975, he changed the year, as shown in letters recently uncovered by How.<sup>33</sup> In Clara’s letter to Greissle, she explained that she had raised the question because “1923 is the year of the piano pieces and the Serenade, but I seem to remember Edward saying that the official statement was earlier.”<sup>34</sup> In reply, Greissle answered that the announcement took place in “February (or March) 1922.”<sup>35</sup> This is consistent with Greissle (1979), which states that the first announcement meeting occurred *earlier* than 1923.<sup>36</sup>

Greissle (1979) also recalls the presence of Stein at the first meeting—“despite Stein’s statement to Rufer to the contrary,” as How points out.<sup>37</sup> How speculates that “[t]he only possible solution to this conundrum is that there was more than one announcement,” and further states that

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“Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 61–62. The original German text appears in Muxeneder, “Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftonmethode,” 306–307.

<sup>32</sup> Smith’s transcription of the interview (*Schoenberg and His Circle*, 198) starts in the middle of the sentence (“he all of a sudden . . .”), leaving out the opening words, “About 1925.”

<sup>33</sup> How found these letters in the ASC’s Felix Greissle Satellite Collection (G8); see How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 58–61.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from Clara Steuermann to Felix Greissle, dated 14 October 1975; original in the ASC’s Felix Greissle Satellite Collection (G8); quoted from How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 59.

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Felix Greissle to Clara Steuermann, dated 20 October 1975; original in the ASC’s Felix Greissle Satellite Collection (G8); quoted from How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 60.

<sup>36</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 61. How suggests that “perhaps Clara Steuermann’s letter inspired Greissle to delve into his past and assemble a timeline of events surrounding the announcement.”

<sup>37</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 52.

“[e]nough evidence exists to establish that there was . . . one in 1922 and one or two in 1923; although the exact dates have yet to be pinpointed.”<sup>38</sup> After a detailed study of various source documents and compositions, How proposes that Schoenberg revealed his secret to Stein in the fall of 1921,<sup>39</sup> announced a summary version of his new discovery to his students in early 1922,<sup>40</sup> and explained about the twelve-tone method in a public announcement in 1923.<sup>41</sup> Here, she interprets the lecture series described in Webern’s letter to Jalowetz as Schoenberg’s first announcement in early 1922, primarily based on Greissle’s revised dating,<sup>42</sup> and suggests that *KzT* is a partial transcript of this occasion.<sup>43</sup>

Although recent studies assert that there was at least one gathering before 1923, in the form of a private lecture series or an announcement, it is still not known which occasion(s) Schoenberg and his students were describing in their recollections. Did Schoenberg (1936) depict the meeting of 1923, as he claimed? How about the recollections of his students, as per Figure 2a? What if some of these, believed to be describing the 1923 meeting, were referring instead to the earlier gathering? Moreover, previous discussions about the unreliability of Polnauer’s dating were based on Stein’s absence from Vienna in early 1923. If the announcement meeting occurred before 1923 (as Greissle believed), Polnauer’s dating must be reconsidered.

In the following sections of this essay, I will investigate each recollection to see if there is evidence of confusion that might have caused an incorrect dating of the announcement meeting.

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<sup>38</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 53, 63–64.

<sup>39</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 123–124.

<sup>40</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 222.

<sup>41</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 270, n. 59.

<sup>42</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 53, 61–64.

<sup>43</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 149.

My strategies for the investigation are as follows. First, I will compare each recollection with Webern's description of the early lecture series, to discover if there are similarities between them. If so, it would suggest that the recollection also illustrates a scene from the early lecture series. Second, I will search for clues in the recollections (such as names of people or works) that can help identify the date. For example, if someone remembers the name of a book associated with the meeting, the event must have taken place after its publication (unless, of course, the association is incorrect). Third, I will assemble background (biographical) information about the person who made the recollection. As we will see, some students who identified 1923 as the date of the announcement could not, in fact, have attended the meeting if it took place at that time. These three strategies will be combined to answer the following questions: (1) Is Greissle's revised dating reliable? (2) Did Schoenberg and his students recall the early lecture series as a private gathering before a formal announcement, or as the formal announcement itself? (3) If Polnauer's dating is unreliable, regardless of Stein's absence, what was the source of his February 1923 dating? And above all, (4) when did Schoenberg disclose his new method to his students for the first time?

“NOT TO BE SEEN AS A PLAGIARIST OF HAUER”

In order to investigate the reminiscences made by Schoenberg and his students, the first step is to compare them to Webern's description of the early lecture series, cited in the previous section. A brief comparison shows that the outline of Schoenberg's recollections is strikingly similar to Webern's. According to Webern, Schoenberg wrote piano pieces employing his new compositional technique in the summer of 1921, in Traunkirchen. After returning to Mödling, Schoenberg realized that Hauer had also used a similar technique in his *Präludium für Celesta*, published in the November 1921 issue of *Melos*. To avoid being seen as a plagiarist of Hauer,

Schoenberg gathered all of his students at his house, and explained about the new technique in a series of lectures.

Schoenberg's anxiety over being seen as "a plagiarist (or imitator) of Hauer" is consistently expressed in his recollections of why he decided to disclose the new method, as shown in the fourth column of Figure 1. However, Schoenberg's memory varies with regard to which facet of Hauer's accomplishment he had become aware of: his writing, theory, music, or compositional procedures. Thus, it will help to surmise *which* of Hauer's works Schoenberg was indicating in a given recollection, and *when* Schoenberg became aware of that work.

The most specific reference is to one of Hauer's *writings*. Schoenberg (1936) recalled that "I was afraid to be taken as an imitator of Hauer, who, at this time, published his *Vom Melos zur Pauke*." According to Leonard Stein, Schoenberg must have been mistaken in his reference: he "most likely means *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*, which was published in 1923, rather than *Vom Melos zur Pauke*, which appeared in 1925—and was dedicated to Schoenberg."<sup>44</sup> Actually, *Vom Wesen* was originally published in 1920.<sup>45</sup> Schoenberg read it with great interest in the summer of 1921, when he was about to complete the revision of his *Harmonielehre*, as shown in the annotated copy of Hauer's treatise found in Schoenberg's library.<sup>46</sup> A new version of *Vom Wesen* was published in 1923, but there are no major changes from the original version.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps the most noticeable change is not in content but rather in the subtitle added to the 1923 version: *Ein Lehrbuch der atonalen Musik (A Textbook of Atonal Music)*.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Schoenberg, *Style and Idea*, 523, n. 1 (under the heading "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows").

<sup>45</sup> Josef Matthias Hauer, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* (Leipzig and Vienna: Waldheim-Eberle, 1920).

<sup>46</sup> Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?," 121. See also Schoenberg, "Priority," 239.

<sup>47</sup> Josef Matthias Hauer, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen: Ein Lehrbuch der Atonalen Musik* (Berlin-Lichterfeld: Schlesinger, 1923).

<sup>48</sup> John Covach discusses a version of *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* with a different subtitle—*Ein Lehrbuch der Zwölf-tone-musik (A Textbook of Twelve-Tone Music)*, which was issued by the same publisher (Berlin-Lichterfeld:

Like *Vom Wesen*, Hauer's *Deutung des Melos*, published in 1923, has also been suggested as a candidate for the work that motivated Schoenberg's 1923 meeting.<sup>49</sup> Yet, this is not a totally new writing either, because several chapters of the book had already appeared as journal articles between 1920 and 1922.<sup>50</sup> Although Hauer's article "Musikalisches Denken" ("Musical Thought") was published in March 1923, it deals with issues that had already been discussed in *Vom Wesen*.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, it is difficult to identify a work by Hauer that was published in the spring of 1923 and would qualify as a motivation for Schoenberg's announcement meeting.

In a different recollection, Schoenberg (1950b) refers to Hauer's *theory* (rather than to a specific writing *per se*): sometime after he returned from Traunkirchen, "I heard rumors about Josef Hauer's *Tropenlehre* [trope theory], which would have made me appear as a plagiarist of Hauer." In *Vom Wesen*, Hauer employed the term *Baustein* to indicate a building block, a unit of a composition.<sup>52</sup> A *Baustein*, which consists of twelve different tones, is divided into two groups of six tones each, called *Tropen* (tropes). In a 1924 article, Hauer explains that he had discovered forty-four kinds of tropes by Christmas 1921.<sup>53</sup> Although Hauer first made published reference to

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Schlesinger)—in his Ph.D. dissertation, "The Music and Theories of Josef Matthias Hauer" (Univ. of Michigan, 1990), 25. Although I haven't had the opportunity to examine this version, the excerpts cited in Covach's study, and the book's page count and number of illustrations as described in the Library of Congress catalog, suggest that this version is the same as *Ein Lehrbuch der atonalen Musik*, except for the subtitle. According to advertisements appearing in *Melos* 4/1 (Aug. 1924) and 4/12 (Sept. 1925), the 1923 version was first published with the subtitle *Ein Lehrbuch der atonalen Musik*, and this subtitle was maintained until at least September 1925. It is likely that the publisher replaced only the title page, to reflect the new subtitle, sometime after 1925.

<sup>49</sup> Josef Matthias Hauer, *Deutung des Melos* (Leipzig, Vienna, and Zürich: E. P. Tal & Co. Verlag, 1923); see Shreffler, "'Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber,'" 284–286, n. 20.

<sup>50</sup> These articles are: "Musikalische Bildung," *Melos* 1/20 (1920): 458–459; "Deutung des Melos," *Melos* 2/4 (1921): 72–73; "Melodie oder Geräusch?" *Melos* 2/5–6 (1921): 94–97; "Zwei Kapitel zur Lehre von der Musik," *Der Merker* 13/1–2 (1922): 12–18; and "Instinkt und Deutung," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 4/15–16 (1922): 229–231.

<sup>51</sup> Josef Matthias Hauer, "Musikalisches Denken," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 5/3 (1923): 79–80. For example, he discusses melodic possibilities of twelve tones.

<sup>52</sup> Josef Matthias Hauer, *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen* (Leipzig and Vienna: Waldheim-Eberle, 1920), 54 and 56.

<sup>53</sup> Josef Matthias Hauer, "Die Tropen," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 6/1 (1924), 20.



the term “trope” in his essay “Sphärenmusik,” in June 1922, his use of the term had already been reported by Martha Marton in an article appearing in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* three months earlier:

Hauer operates with the twelve tones of our tone system, which involve 500 million possibilities of combination. These possibilities are divided into groups (“tropes,” as Hauer calls them) by numbers, which are found from cosmic relations. These tropes always contain twelve fundamental tones and melody [*Melodik*] like rhythm [*Rhythmik*] results from the latent forces of interval. “Not only the essence of the tone color, but also that of the rhythm lies in the interval.” (Hauer: *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*.)<sup>54</sup>

This commentary implies that, by March 1922, Hauer’s theory of tropes was no longer simply a rumor.

It is not known whether Schoenberg was aware of the term “trope” in early 1922, because *KzT* (a transcript of the early lecture series) does not include his reference to Hauer’s “tropes,” although it employs “Baustein.”<sup>55</sup> However, the absence of the term “trope” in *KzT* does not necessary mean that Schoenberg had not yet heard rumors about the theory at that time. He might have avoided employing the term simply because he did not have enough knowledge about the theory. On the other hand, the trope theory must have been beyond a rumor for Schoenberg by 1923, because he had already read Hauer’s essay “Sphärenmusik” in July 1922, which included “trope.”

Hauer’s *music* might also have motivated Schoenberg’s meeting. In Schoenberg (1940), he notes that “I had become aware that Hauer had also written twelve-tone music.” Although he

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<sup>54</sup> Martha Marton, “Joseph Hauer,” *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 4/5–6 (1922): 84. Hereafter, all translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. “Hauer operiert mit den zwölf Tönen unseres Tonsystems, welche 500 Millionen Möglichkeiten der Kombination bedeuten. Diese Möglichkeiten werden durch Zahlen, die aus kosmischen Zusammenhängen gefunden sind, in Gruppen (“Tropen,” wie sie Hauer nennt) geteilt. Diese Tropen enthalten immer die zwölf Grundtöne und Melodik wie Rhythmik ergeben sich aus den latenten Kräften des Intervalls. ‘Im Intervall liegt nicht nur der Kern der Klangfarbe, sondern auch der des Rhythmus.’ (Hauer: *Vom Wesen des Musikalischen*.)”

<sup>55</sup> For Schoenberg’s reference to “Baustein” in the typescript, see Stephan, “Ein frühes Dokument zur Entstehung der Zwölftonkomposition,” 302.

did not specify a piece, Hauer's *Präludium für Celesta* (dated September 1921) is a good candidate because Schoenberg left his analytical marks and notes on his copy of the music. He tried to divide the composition into building blocks, and at the end of score he wrote: "this is not built from 'tropes,' so it is not a good atonal composition."<sup>56</sup> This comment must have been inspired by the last phrase of Hauer's "Sphärenmusik," in which he asserted that "[a] good atonal composition is . . . built upon tropes." Thus, it is very likely that Schoenberg studied the *Präludium für Celesta* after reading Hauer's article in the summer of 1922.<sup>57</sup> However, this was not the first time that he saw the score. As Webern observed, Schoenberg looked at the *Präludium* between 1 November 1921 and 7 January 1922, and then disclosed his secret in a series of lectures. If Schoenberg (1940) was referring to the *Präludium* when he cited Hauer's "twelve-tone music," the situation described here is very similar to the one described by Webern.

Lastly, and most generally, Schoenberg might have felt anxiety over Hauer's *compositional procedures*. According to Schoenberg (1950a), he found out that "Hauer had tried similar procedures." By this, Schoenberg might have meant the procedures employed in the *Präludium für Celesta*, as this was the first piece of Hauer's that Schoenberg saw after the summer of 1921. Perhaps he found in the music some compositional traits that he thought were similar to his own. At the same time, it should be noted that the *Präludium* is *not* built from tropes, as Schoenberg indicated in his score annotation. Instead, Hauer employs ten-note (i.e., ten pitch-class) building blocks as well as twelve-note ones in this piece; and, according to John Covach, the use of building blocks of various sizes was also characteristic of his earlier *Nomos*, Op. 19 (dated August 1919).<sup>58</sup> *Nomos* had been performed in May 1920, in a concert organized by the Verein

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<sup>56</sup> Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?," 120.

<sup>57</sup> Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?," 120.

<sup>58</sup> Covach, "The Music and Theories of Josef Matthias Hauer," 152, n. 23. Covach finds the dating of the

für musikalische Privataufführungen (Society for Private Musical Performances), at which Schoenberg was probably present.<sup>59</sup>

If, then, the compositional procedures of the *Präludium* were not really new, what aspect of the piece motivated Schoenberg to reveal his secret in the early lecture series?<sup>60</sup> Perhaps, when Schoenberg heard *Nomos* in 1920, he had not wholly recognized Hauer as his strong rival, due to lack of sufficient knowledge about his theory. Schoenberg's attitude must have changed significantly after reading Hauer's *Vom Wesen* in the summer of 1921, as may be seen from a note he added to a passage in his copy of Hauer's treatise: "[this is] already stated in my *Harmonielehre* of 1911."<sup>61</sup> This annotation indicates that Schoenberg became annoyed by Hauer's work because of its closeness to his own theory. (From the viewpoint of Schoenberg, Hauer must have been a plagiarist of *him*, not the other way around.) After reading Hauer's writing and hearing rumors about his new idea, Schoenberg's anxiety seems to have increased. When he saw the *Präludium für Celesta*, he was conscious enough to find in its compositional procedures something similar to his own. As Webern wrote to Jalowetz: "In this piece—*Präludium für Celesta*—Schoenberg thought that he saw the beginnings of something similar to what he lately had put to use, in the piano pieces that he wrote in 1921 during the summer in Traunkirchen." Schoenberg probably felt that his originality was jeopardized, not only because he found similar procedures in Hauer's

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*Präludium für Celesta* (September 1921) problematic because the *Nomos* was composed two years earlier. With regard to Hauer's inconsistent use of building blocks, How points out that "Hauer, at the time he composed the *Präludium für Celesta*, had not yet developed his trope theories" ("Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 147).

<sup>59</sup> Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?" 118–120.

<sup>60</sup> Regarding this problem, How discusses Hauer's use of a three-voice texture in the opening of the *Präludium für Celesta*, and suggests that "Hauer's twelve-tone law or building-block technique itself was not the trigger, but the application of that technique was." See How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude from the Suite for Piano," 128–138.

<sup>61</sup> *Vom Wesen* is the earliest work among the collection of Hauer's books in Schoenberg's library. See Kathryn P. Glennan, Jerry L. McBride, and R. Wayne Shoaf, *Arnold Schoenberg Institute Archives: Preliminary Catalog* (Los Angeles: Arnold Schoenberg Institute, 1986), vol. 2, 91. This suggests that Schoenberg read Hauer's writing for the first time in the summer of 1921. Regarding the annotation, see Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?," 121.

music, but also because he had already learned from the *Vom Wesen* that Hauer's justification for the procedures was similar.

Accordingly, Schoenberg's announcement seems to have been motivated not by a single composition or article, but by various factors combined: reading Hauer's writings, hearing rumors about his theory, seeing his music, and studying his procedures. This is probably why his memory about the motivation for the meeting varies in its details. These factors—the lack of an obvious candidate for Hauer's writing in 1923, Webern's indication of the *Präludium für Celesta*, and the existence of the report on Hauer's trope theory in early 1922—suggest that Schoenberg's anxiety over being viewed as a plagiarist is more likely to have been associated with the early lecture series, rather than the 1923 meeting.

#### WEBERN'S REACTION TO SCHOENBERG'S NEW METHOD

In his various recollections, Schoenberg named only three people: Erwin Stein, Josef Matthias Hauer, and Anton Webern. After writing his first twelve-tone music in the summer of 1921, Schoenberg told his secret to Stein; then, after realizing that Hauer was attempting something similar, Schoenberg disclosed the secret to his students, among whom was Webern. Schoenberg (1940) describes Webern's reaction to the announcement as follows: "Curiously when I had shown the four basic forms, Webern confessed that he had written also something in twelve tones (probably suggested by the Scherzo of my symphony of 1915), and he said: 'I never knew what to do after the twelve tones' meaning that the three inversions now could follow and the transpositions."

Greissle (1965) also describes Webern's reaction at the meeting, but his recollection is slightly different from Schoenberg's:

[T]here was one person who resisted—who resisted more by being silent and not saying anything, and that was Anton Webern. He was the one who resisted most. At one point, when Schoenberg said, “There I used the row transposition and transposed it into the tritone,” so Webern said, “Why?” Schoenberg looked at him and said, “I don’t know,” and then Webern burst out, “Ah, ah!” because Webern was waiting for some intuitive sign in the whole matter and this was it, you see.<sup>62</sup>

Eight years later, Greissle (1973) again described the scenario: “We were in part puzzled and part surprised. . . . And there were degrees of acceptance, and there was one who couldn’t accept it so easily. Guess who? . . . Webern had a hard time—terribly hard time.”<sup>63</sup> Both Greissle and Schoenberg remembered that Webern was silent until Schoenberg introduced the concept of row transformation, and after hearing the explanation, Webern made a comment about the unexpected solution to the problem. Because both recollections illustrate Webern’s response in compatible ways, it is likely that they are portraying the same event.

Steuermann (1959) also describes Webern’s reaction: he “said to me on our way home: ‘That’s it! I always had the feeling that when I introduced the twelfth tone, the piece had ended.’”<sup>64</sup> This comment not only suggests the same point as “I never knew what to do after the twelve tones,” remembered by Schoenberg (1940), but also depicts the thrill Webern expressed in his letter to Jalowetz: “almost everything that has occupied me for about ten years is being discussed. It is almost too exciting.” Webern must have been concerned about the use of twelve tones for a long time, and was enthralled to hear Schoenberg’s solution.

To summarize, Greissle (1965 and 1973), Steuermann (1959), and Schoenberg (1940) all illustrate Webern’s reaction after hearing Schoenberg’s explanation of his new method for the

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<sup>62</sup> Interview by Hans Keller (BBC, 4 November 1965), in Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 198.

<sup>63</sup> Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 206–207.

<sup>64</sup> Edward Steuermann, “The Possibilities and Impossibilities of Serial Composition: An Unscientific Inquiry,” in *The Not Quite Innocent Bystander: Writings of Edward Steuermann*, ed. Clara Steuermann, David Porter, and Gunther Schuller (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1989), 59.

first time. This suggests the possibility that they may have been describing the same scene. And because Webern's excitement was expressed in his letter to Jalowetz, the scene must have occurred on the first day of the early lectures series.

Here, it should be noted that Steuermann's recollection also includes a detailed analysis of Schoenberg's Prelude, which does not appear in *KzT*, nor on the four pages of handwritten notes by Berg.<sup>65</sup> The inclusion of the analysis may imply that Steuermann was illustrating a later meeting, at which Schoenberg addressed the piece in detail. However, the inclusion does not necessarily mean that Steuermann was absent from the first day of the early lecture series; he could have attended later meetings in addition to that of the first day, and his memory of the events might have been confused.

#### WHERE WERE SCHOENBERG'S STUDENTS BETWEEN 1921 AND 1923?

The preceding investigation suggests that some recollections may include descriptions of the first day of the early lecture series, even if different dates were identified. Our next step is to search for the *whereabouts* of Schoenberg's students—those listed in Figures 2a and 2b—between 1921 and 1923. This is necessary because, if a student was absent from the Vienna area during a certain period of time, he could not have attended meetings during that time in Mödling, a southern suburb of Vienna. Accordingly, we can determine more specifically to which event reference was being made.

1. *Max Deutch*. When Schoenberg stayed in Zandvoort, Holland, to teach analysis courses and concertize in Amsterdam between October 1920 and March 1921, Deutsch was one

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<sup>65</sup> This problem is also discussed in How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 180–181.

of the assistants who accompanied him.<sup>66</sup> After returning to Vienna, Deutsch began to look for a position.<sup>67</sup> By the end of 1922, he moved to Berlin to become a conductor of the Blüthner orchestra.<sup>68</sup> There, he met Georg Wilhelm Pabst, who was about to establish his career as a director of German cinema.<sup>69</sup> One day Pabst asked Deutsch to compose music for his upcoming film, *Der Schatz* (*The Treasure*). According to Deutsch's recollection, Pabst said to him:

“Come every day at 6:30 in the morning at Tempelhof, where the studios are. You will have a piano there: during the filming of the scenes, you will improvise music.” Which I did.

Every day, someone came to look for me. Sometimes, it was a carriage drawn by two horses, sometimes by four horses, another time it could be a real car. This lasted like two months. During the two months, I improvised music which later became a symphony.<sup>70</sup>

The premiere of *Der Schatz* took place in Dresden, on 26 February 1923, at which Deutsch conducted the music.<sup>71</sup> After the completion of this music, he worked for Max Reinhardt, director of a theater in Berlin.<sup>72</sup> It was also during 1923 that Deutsch composed the opera *Schach*

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<sup>66</sup> Paul Op de Coul and Rutger Schoute, “Schoenberg in the Netherlands,” *Journal of Arnold Schoenberg Institute*, 6/2 (1982), 169.

<sup>67</sup> Webern wrote to Jalowetz, on 22 June 1921, that Deutsch was interested in the position of second Kapellmeister in Aussig. See *Anton Webern: Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, 484.

<sup>68</sup> Alain Jomy and Dominique Rabourdin, “Entretien avec Max Deutsch,” *Cinéma* 290 (1983), 26. Although Deutsch did not specify the year, he must have moved to Berlin by the end of 1922 because he stated in the same interview that he worked for about two months for the music of *Der Schatz*. As this film premiered on 26 February 1923, he must have met Pabst before January 1923.

<sup>69</sup> Jomy and Rabourdin, “Entretien avec Max Deutsch,” 26.

<sup>70</sup> “‘Tu viens tous les jours à six heures et demie du matin à Tempelhof, où sont les studios et tu auras un piano: pendant le tournage des scènes, tu vas improviser une musique.’ Ce que je fis. / Tous les jours, on venait me chercher. Parfois, c’était un carrosse tiré par deux chevaux, parfois par quatre chevaux, une autre fois ça pouvait être une vraie automobile. Ça a duré comme ça deux mois. Pendant ces deux mois, j’ai improvisé une musique qui, plus tard, est devenue une symphonie” (Jomy and Rabourdin, “Entretien avec Max Deutsch,” 26–27).

<sup>71</sup> The date of the premiere is found in the program notes on *Der Schatz*, presented at the Thirty-Fourth Karlovy Vary International Film Festival (2–11 July 1999), <http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=309&feature>. For a discussion of the film and the music, see Volker Scherliess, “*Der Schatz*: Film von Georg Wilhelm Pabst, Musik von Max Deutsch (1923),” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 145/11 (1984): 8–13. This premiere is also discussed in Muxeneder, “Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftonmethode,” 310, n. 48.

<sup>72</sup> Jomy and Rabourdin, “Entretien avec Max Deutsch,” 27.

(*Chess*), Op. 1, and premiered it in Berlin and Vienna.<sup>73</sup> He moved to Switzerland in 1924, and then settled in Paris, where he founded the theater *Der Jüdische Spiegel* (*The Jewish Mirror*) in 1925.<sup>74</sup>

In addition to his activities as conductor and film composer, Deutsch founded the Gesellschaft für moderne Musikaufführungen (Society for Modern Music Performances) in Berlin. One of its concerts took place on 14 April 1923, and composer Alexander Zemlinsky (who happened to be in Berlin at the time) attended the event.<sup>75</sup> As Deutsch lived in Berlin in 1923, he must have misremembered the year when, fifty years later, he said to Smith: “So, . . . in 1923, when [Schoenberg] came back from Amsterdam, he called us for [an] appointment for a meeting in Mödling.”<sup>76</sup> Schoenberg came back from Amsterdam at the end of March 1921, and the meeting must have occurred after this time but before Deutsch’s departure for Berlin in 1922.

2. *Josef Rufer*. Rufer became Schoenberg’s private student in February 1919 and studied music theory under his guidance until 1922.<sup>77</sup> It is well known that Schoenberg told Rufer, “[t]oday I have discovered something which will assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years.” This was at the end of July 1921, during a walk in Traunkirchen, around the

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<sup>73</sup> Jomy and Rabourdin, “Entretien avec Max Deutsch,” 28. Although I was unable to identify the performance dates of his opera, it is not likely that Deutsch attended the announcement meeting in 1923 when he came back to Vienna, as there is no evidence that Deutsch communicated with Schoenberg in 1923.

<sup>74</sup> Scherliess, “*Der Schatz*,” 9–10.

<sup>75</sup> Zemlinsky wrote a postcard to Schoenberg, stating that it was a fine concert, featuring works by Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Reger. The postcard, stamped 15 April 1923, includes the greetings from Maria and Josef Rufer. It is at the Library of Congress (hereafter LC), with a copy also at the ASC, Letter ID 18760; scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD119/18760-1.jpg>. See a transcription in *Zemlinskys Briefwechsel mit Schönberg, Webern, Berg und Schreker*, ed. Horst Weber, Briefwechsel der Wiener Schule, vol. 1 (Mainz: Schott, 1995), 248.

<sup>76</sup> Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 202. In Deutsch (1970), he identified the time of the meeting as “spring 1923.”

<sup>77</sup> Peter Gradenwitz, *Arnold Schönberg und seine Meisterschüler: Berlin 1925–1933* (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1998), 40. Also see Weber, *Zemlinskys Briefwechsel*, 377.



time that Schoenberg composed the Prelude of his Piano Suite, using his new method.<sup>78</sup> Regarding Rufer's activity after 1922, he describes it as follows, on a page from a photo album titled "Dem Lehrer Arnold Schönberg," dedicated to the master on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday: "1923–24 I directed a cycle of ten concerts of new music in Hamburg, following the model of the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen in Vienna."<sup>79</sup> This cycle started in the fall of 1923. Where, then, was Rufer in the *spring* of 1923?

His letter to Schoenberg, dated 11 April 1923, shows that he was in Berlin at that time, to work for the Gesellschaft für moderne Musikaufführungen with Max Deutsch and Othmar Steinbauer.<sup>80</sup> In the letter, Rufer called the Society for Modern Musical Performances "the Berlin Verein," and explained that "during my absence from Vienna, there were—so far only—two

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<sup>78</sup> Josef Rufer, *The Works of Arnold Schoenberg: A Catalogue of his Compositions, Writings, and Paintings*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), 45. The remark is expressed slightly differently in Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (New York: Schirmer Books, 1977), 277. Schoenberg's grandson, E. Randol Schoenberg, has raised a question about the accuracy of Rufer's recollection in "The Most Famous Thing He Never Said," *JMI [Jewish Music Institute] International Centre for Suppressed Music Newsletter* 4 (Nov. 2002), <[http://www.jmi.org.uk/suppressedmusic/newsletter/ifsm\\_news4.html#7](http://www.jmi.org.uk/suppressedmusic/newsletter/ifsm_news4.html#7)>. He points out that Rufer's remark might suggest that "Schoenberg was a fanatical German nationalist," whereas such an implication "is exactly the opposite of what [he] expressed" in a letter to Alma Mahler of 26 July 1921—one that includes "a statement quite similar to the one Rufer later recalled." In this letter, Schoenberg expressed his excitement after discovering "something completely new," remarking that "[t]he German Aryans who persecuted me in Mattsee will have this new thing (especially this one) to thank for the fact that even they will still be respected abroad for 100 years, because they belong to the very state that has just secured for itself hegemony in the field of music!" Schoenberg arrived at Mattsee, a lakeside summer resort near Salzburg, at the beginning of June 1921. Although the vacation went well for the first few weeks, soon anti-Semitic demonstrations broke out in the town, and all Jews were asked to leave immediately. With the help of Rufer, Schoenberg found a house in Traunkirchen, and moved there on 14 July. (See Schoenberg's postcard to Berg on 16 July 1921, in *The Berg–Schoenberg Correspondence*, 308.) Less than two weeks after his departure from Mattsee, Schoenberg wrote the above letter to Alma Mahler, commenting on his recent finding, with an irony that Rufer's recollection fails to convey. At the same time, this letter confirms that his memory on the dating (i.e., the end of July 1921) is correct. For further discussion on Rufer's remark, see How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude from the Suite for Piano," 15–34.

<sup>79</sup> "1923–24 leitete ich einen Zyklus von 10 Konzerten neuer Musik in Hamburg nach dem Vorbild des 'Vereins f[ür] musik[alische] Privataufführungen' in Wien." A reproduction of Rufer's leaf, as well as the transcription of his description in the photo album, appears in *Arnold Schönberg 1874–1951: Lebensgeschichte in Begegnungen*, ed. Nuria Nono-Schoenberg (Klagenfurt: Ritter, 1992), 232. Regarding this album, see Jerry McBride, "Dem Lehrer Arnold Schönberg," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 8/1 (1984): 31–38.

<sup>80</sup> See Rufer's letter to Schoenberg on 11 April 1923, sent from Berlin, in LC (ASC ID 21549, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD091/21549-1.jpg>).

concerts, of which the first one was supposed to have been very good and the second one bad. In April, there will be only two concerts again: on 14 and 27, and a concert every week in May.”<sup>81</sup>

In a letter dated 26 April 1923, Rufer explains to Schoenberg that he had not been treated well in the Berlin Verein: “I have been treated here in an unbelievable way: since December, I was urged to stay here and work for the Verein; I finally decided to do so, subject to your approval which I had, and also [because of] your sympathy for the Verein.”<sup>82</sup> Rufer had worked for the Berlin Verein since December 1922, which is consistent with the information provided in the previous letter; he must have prepared for the concert series in Berlin for several months, and the first two concerts took place before 11 April 1923. Steinbauer writes to Schoenberg from Berlin on 14 May 1923 that “Rufer has turned down the offer of the board to serve as ‘Vortragsmeister’ [‘performance director’] in the society.”<sup>83</sup> As Steinbauer came back to Vienna later in that month, and Deutsch had moved to Switzerland by 1924, the Berlin Verein must have ceased sometime after May 1923.

Rufer’s presence in Berlin is also confirmed by postcards to Schoenberg from Zemlinsky, on 15 April and 6 June 1923, both of which include Rufer’s signature and his greeting to Schoenberg.<sup>84</sup> Rufer returned to Vienna in the summer of 1923; in early August, he went to Salzburg to attend the music festival.<sup>85</sup> Rufer was in Hamburg by late August, and stayed there

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<sup>81</sup> “[W]ährend meiner Abwesenheit in Wien waren 2—bisher die einziger—Konzerte[,] das erste soll sehr gut das zweite schlecht gewesen sein. In April sind wieder nur 2: am 14. und 27., in Mai schon jede Woche eines.”

<sup>82</sup> Rufer’s letter to Schoenberg, dated 26 April 1923, in LC (ASC ID 21554, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD091/21554-1.jpg>). “Man hat mich hier in einer unglaublicher Weise behandelt: seit Dezember gedrängt hier zu bleiben und im Verein mitzuarbeiten entschloss ich mich endlich dazu, vorbehaltlich Ihrer Zustimmung—die holte ich mir und auch Ihr Wohlwollen für den Verein dazu.”

<sup>83</sup> Steinbauer’s letter to Schoenberg, dated 14 May 1923, in LC (ASC ID 21802, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD102/21802.jpg>). “Rufer hat das Angebot des Vorstandes, sich in der Gesellschaft als Vortragsmeister zu betätigen abgelehnt.”

<sup>84</sup> See Weber, *Zemlinskys Briefwechsel*, 248 and 249.

<sup>85</sup> Rufer’s letters to Schoenberg of 21 June and 27 July 1923, in LC, were sent from Vienna (ASC ID 21557 and 21558, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD091/21557.jpg> and <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/>

until early 1924 to organize the concert series in that city, with Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, Rufer could not have attended Schoenberg's announcement meeting if it had taken place in 1923; he was in Berlin in the spring and in Hamburg in the fall. During his short stay in Vienna in the summer, Schoenberg was in Traunkirchen.

3. *Erwin Ratz*. It is known that Ratz went to Weimar in 1921, to become a private secretary to Walter Gropius, the director of the Bauhaus, and that he came back to Vienna in the summer of 1922.<sup>87</sup> A recent study also suggests his presence in Weimar in 1923.<sup>88</sup> To find out further details, we need to consult primary sources. Schoenberg's forty-seventh birthday celebration took place in Traunkirchen on 13 September 1921, and Ratz was among those who were present.<sup>89</sup> On the same day, the engagement of Felix Greissle to Schoenberg's daughter Gertrud (Trudi) was announced; they married on 10 November 1921 in Mödling.<sup>90</sup> Ratz was among the guests invited to the wedding,<sup>91</sup> and also among the students who signed a greeting card to Alma Mahler at Schoenberg's house on New Year's Day 1922.<sup>92</sup> It is not known if Ratz left for

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DVD091/21558.jpg). According to Berg's letter to his wife of 3 August 1923, Rufer attended the Salzburg music festival, at which Berg's String Quartet, Op. 3, was performed (Alban Berg, *Letters to His Wife*, ed. and trans. Bernard Grun [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971], 326–327, letter no. 337).

<sup>86</sup> Rufer's letter to Schoenberg, dated 9 September 1923, in LC (ASC ID 21552, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD091/21552-1.jpg>).

<sup>87</sup> Karl Heinz Füssl, "Prof. Erwin Ratz zum 60. Geburtstag," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 14/1 (1959), 19; and Rudolf Stephan, "Erwin Ratz," *Die Musikforschung* 27/2 (1974), 151.

<sup>88</sup> Johannes Kretz, *Erwin Ratz: Leben und Wirken*, Studien zur Wiener Schule, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 38, n. 18.

<sup>89</sup> Students' and friends' letter to Schoenberg, dated 13 September 1921, in LC (ASC ID 23508, scans available at [http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD\\_B/32\\_08\\_u\\_03a.jpg](http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD_B/32_08_u_03a.jpg) and [http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD\\_B/32\\_08\\_u\\_03b.jpg](http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD_B/32_08_u_03b.jpg)).

<sup>90</sup> Wedding invitation from Schoenberg and Greissle families to Emil Hertzka, in Wiener Stadtbibliothek (ASC, ID 7060).

<sup>91</sup> List of guests at the wedding in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (ASC, ID 6334). I thank Christoph Edtmayr at the ASC for transcribing this letter. As other guests were chosen from among those who lived in Vienna or nearby—except for Zemlinsky and Jalowetz, who were in Prague—it is inconceivable that Ratz was in Weimar before the wedding and went back to Vienna just to attend the ceremony.

<sup>92</sup> Schoenberg's letter to Alma Mahler, with the signatures of his family and students, in the Alma Mahler-Werfel Collection at the University of Pennsylvania (ASC, ID 6778).

Weimar after January, but he must have been in Vienna in late April because Schoenberg sent a letter to Universal Edition in Vienna, on 29 April 1922, asking “[w]ould you please hand over these notes to Ratz?”<sup>93</sup> Then, on 4 July 1922, Ratz wrote from Weimar to Berg, asking him to go to Alma Mahler and request her to recommend somebody from the Schoenberg circle to work at the Bauhaus.<sup>94</sup> In the summer, he returned to Vienna to work for the Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (International Society for Contemporary Music). Ratz also made a vocal score of Schoenberg’s *Erwartung*, Op. 17, and sent it to Traunkirchen from Vienna on 14 August 1922.<sup>95</sup>

Ratz left for Weimar again in the fall of 1922, and sent a postcard to Schoenberg after hearing *Pierrot Lunaire* on 27 October 1922, at the Bauhaus.<sup>96</sup> Two month later, Ratz sent a Christmas greeting to Schoenberg from Weimar, noting that “I was hoping to go back to Vienna for Christmas, but unfortunately, it is impossible.”<sup>97</sup> In April 1923, Stefan Wolpe dedicated his Three Piano Pieces, Op. 5b, to Ratz. Wolpe frequently visited the Bauhaus as early as the fall of 1920, and during the next few years “sat in on lectures, participated in studio activities in the preliminary course, and attended exhibitions.”<sup>98</sup> Wolpe wrote the piano pieces in April 1923 in Weimar, and dedicated the work to Ratz “aus Anlass frohen Beisammens” (“on the occasion of

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<sup>93</sup> Letter to Universal Edition, in Wiener Stadtbibliothek (ASC, ID 7070). “Bitte Herrn Ratz gefälligst diese Noten auszufolgen.”

<sup>94</sup> Matthias Henke, “Erwin Ratz, der Lehrer,” in *Arnold Schönbergs Wiener Kreis: Bericht zum Symposium 12.–15. September 1999*, ed. Christian Meyer, *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 2 (2000), 155, n. 30.

<sup>95</sup> Ratz’s letter to Schoenberg, dated 14 August 1922, in LC (ASC ID 15280, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD090/15280-1.jpg>).

<sup>96</sup> Ratz’s postcard to Schoenberg from Weimar, in LC (ASC ID 15277, scans available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD090/15277-1.jpg> and <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD090/15277-2.jpg>). Although the postcard is undated and it has been tentatively classified as among Schoenberg’s correspondence of 1918, it must have been written immediately after the concert in Weimar on 27 October 1922, in which *Pierrot Lunaire* was performed. This is because it includes signatures of the following people: Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, Karin Dayas, Willy Noack, Hermann Busch, Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, Karl Nierendorf, and Ernst Thalmann. The first four people were the concert’s performers, and Klee taught at the Bauhaus in Weimar, where Kandinsky joined the faculty in 1922.

<sup>97</sup> “Ich hoffte zu Weihnachten nach Wien zukommen, es ist leider unmöglich.” Ratz’s letter to Schoenberg, dated 22 December 1922, in LC (ASC ID 15281, scans available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD090/15281-1.jpg> and <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD090/15281-2.jpg>).

<sup>98</sup> Austin E. Clarkson, “Stefan Wolpe in Conversation with Eric Salzman,” *Musical Quarterly* 83/3 (1999), 379.

our joyous get-together”).<sup>99</sup> This dedication implies Ratz's presence in Weimar that month, as they must have been “together” when Wolpe wrote the pieces.<sup>100</sup> On 5 June 1923, Ratz attended a concert in Berlin with Dolly Schlichter, who also came from Weimar and had participated in Schoenberg's composition seminar (1918–19) at the Schwarzwald School.<sup>101</sup> In July, Stuckenschmidt came to Weimar to prepare the music for the Bauhaus Exhibition to be held in the summer of 1923, and he met Wolpe through Ratz at that time.<sup>102</sup>

Although there is no direct evidence indicating Ratz's whereabouts between Christmas 1922 and April 1923, circumstantial evidence suggests that he stayed in Weimar to assist Bauhaus director Gropius during that time, which was most eventful for him. In December 1922, the preparation for the Bauhaus Exhibition began.<sup>103</sup> It was the first comprehensive public event of the school and, according to Oskar Schlemmer (who taught there), it “will decide the fate of the Bauhaus.”<sup>104</sup> Inside the institution, Johannes Itten finally left the school on Easter 1923 after a long-lasting conflict with Gropius, and László Moholy-Nagy came to fill his position. On 12 February 1923, Schlemmer reported to his friend Otto Meyer that “[t]he Bauhaus with all its ‘affairs’ is a complicated and distressing thing,” and “[a]ll these goings-on and battles have made me more anxious than ever to return to my own work; many things have built up and are begging

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<sup>99</sup> At the end of the manuscript of No. 1, Wolpe wrote “22. IV. 1923”; on No. 2, “13. IV. 1923”; and on No. 3, “Weimar / 15. IV. 1923.” See Stefan Wolpe, *Klaviermusik 1920–1929*, ed. Thomas Phelps (New York and Hamburg: Peer Music 1997), 58–60.

<sup>100</sup> Ratz had hidden the manuscript in the stovepipe of his father's bakery in Vienna during the Nazi years (Wolpe, *Klaviermusik 1920–1929*, 58).

<sup>101</sup> *The Berg–Schoenberg Correspondence*, 325, n. 3. This concert—featuring Schoenberg's Chamber Symphony, Op. 9, Webern's *Passacaglia*, Op. 1, and Berg's *Orchestral Pieces*, Op. 6—was organized as a part of “Austrian Music Week.”

<sup>102</sup> Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Musik am Bauhaus[: Vortrag, gehalten im Bauhaus-Archiv in Berlin am 11. Mai 1976]*, ed. Hans M. Wingler (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1978–79), 5.

<sup>103</sup> *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer*, ed. Tut Schlemmer, trans. Krishna Winston (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1972), 136.

<sup>104</sup> *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer*, 136.

to be expressed.”<sup>105</sup> Under such stressful circumstances, Gropius must have needed Ratz’s assistance with his administrative work more than ever.

Ratz told Smith that the announcement meeting took place in 1923, which he described as follows: “I was there when [Schoenberg] gave his first lecture on twelve-tone music. He called his group of students together and said he would like to talk about these new principles” (Ratz 1973).<sup>106</sup> Because Ratz was in Vienna between the fall of 1921 and early 1922, and must have stayed in Weimar between the fall of 1922 and the summer of 1923, it is unlikely that the meeting occurred between the fall of 1922 and the summer of 1923.

4. *Others.* The rest of the students—Polnauer, Greissle, Kolisch, and Steuermann—lived in Vienna between 1921 and 1923. Rudolf Kolisch and Edward Steuermann were prominent concert artists: Kolisch as violinist and Steuermann as pianist. They were in Prague when Schoenberg wrote to Baron Hermann Roner, on 16 February 1923:

When your letter arrived, I was in Copenhagen, where I conducted a concert (Chamber Symphony etc.). Since then, I glanced at Kolisch only once and didn’t have your letter at hand at that time. To not postpone the answer to your question any longer, I will send him the question by mail and ask him to answer immediately. I am sorry, but it just occurred to me that Kolisch travels to Prague these days (Verein concert).<sup>107</sup>

Paul von Klenau had invited Schoenberg to conduct the Chamber Symphony, Op. 9, in Copenhagen on 30 January 1923. The preceding letter indicates that Schoenberg “glanced at Kolisch

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<sup>105</sup> *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer*, 136–137.

<sup>106</sup> Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 208.

<sup>107</sup> “[A]ls Ihr Brief ankam, befand ich mich in Kopenhagen, wo ich ein Konzert (Kammersymphonie etc.) dirigierte. Seither habe ich Kolisch nur einmal flüchtig gesehen und hatte [d]amals Ihren Brief nicht zur Hand. Um nun die Beantwortung Ihrer Frage nicht noch länger hinauszuschieben, sende ich ihm die Frage per Post und ersuche ihn Ihnen umgehend zu antworten. Leider fällt mir aber eben ein, dass Kolisch dieser Tage nach Prag reist (Vereinskonzert).” Schoenberg’s letter to Baron Hermann Roner, dated 16 February 1923, in LC (ASC ID 827, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD023/827.jpg>); trans. by the present author.

only once” after the composer came back from Copenhagen, in early February.<sup>108</sup> By 16 February, Kolisch had already left for Prague to prepare for the coming concerts organized by the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen in Prague, which were scheduled for 20–21 February. As Steuermann took part in the same concerts, it is likely that he left for Prague about the same time as Kolisch. Their absence from Vienna excludes the possibility that they could have attended a 17 February 1923 meeting in Mödling (if such a meeting was held).

#### STEIN AND HIS “NEUE FORMPRINZIPIEN”

There is yet another student who identified 1923 as the year of the announcement meeting: Erwin Stein. In a letter to Rufer of 14 August 1957, Stein affirms that he was absent from the meeting, but speculates that it took place in the *fall* of 1923. He asks Rufer:

Were you there when Schoenberg explained for the first time the method to his students? I must have been in Darmstadt at that time, but Webern, Berg, Polnauer and others were there, but Polnauer cannot remember the time. I conclude for various reasons that it was in the autumn of 1923 when Schoenberg returned from Traunkirchen. [. . .] Do you remember the lecture in Mödling? I would be very grateful for a reply. Rankl was also there, but he always gives false dates.<sup>109</sup>

Although Rufer’s reply to this letter has not been found, Heneghan argues that Rufer “evidently took issue with Stein’s rationale since Stein wrote in the next letter that ‘Schoenberg *was* in Traunkirchen in 1923, before [his wife] Mathilde’s death.’”<sup>110</sup> She continues that “Stein was correct that Schoenberg was in Traunkirchen until mid-September of 1923 but it is inconceivable that Schoenberg was concerned with announcing his method on his return to Vienna as Mathilde was taken to hospital on 20 September and died just a few weeks later on 18 October 1923.”

<sup>108</sup> As Schoenberg resumed his composition on 6 February, he must have returned by early February.

<sup>109</sup> Trans. in Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse,” 150–151. According to Heneghan, this letter is catalogued at N. Mus. Nachl. 58. 333, in the Rufer Collection of the Music Department of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Consequently, Heneghan suggests that “the Stein–Rufers correspondence confirms that there was a formal announcement in 1923,” and that the meeting “took place during the spring of 1923, most likely in April when Schoenberg had completed Opp. 23, 24, and 25 but before Stein had returned to Vienna.”

However, Rufers could not have attended the meeting if it had taken place in April 1923, as he was away from Vienna at that time (as shown in the previous section). Taking his absence into consideration, let us reinterpret the Stein–Rufers correspondence. In his letter, Stein’s questions to Rufers were (1) “[w]ere you there when Schoenberg explained for the first time the method to his students?” and (2) “do you remember the [date of the] lecture in Mödling?” After Rufers sent his answers to Stein (which are unknown to us), Stein wrote to Rufers in a second letter, stating that “Schoenberg *was* in Traunkirchen in the summer of 1923.” Rufers’s answer to Stein’s first question must have been “yes,” not only because he remembered the meeting, but also because of his closeness to Schoenberg, described in the episode from 1921 in which Schoenberg told him about discovering the new method. This episode indicates that Schoenberg trusted Rufers enough to unveil the secret even *before* the early lectures were begun, and thus there was no reason for Rufers not to have been invited to the early lectures, as long as he was in Vienna. An interpretation of his answer to Stein’s second question is problematic because of Rufers’s absence from Vienna in the fall of 1923. Rufers seems to have forgotten this absence when he received the letter from Stein, as Rufers did not deny Stein’s conclusion about the date of the meeting. Otherwise, Rufers would have written “the meeting did not take place in the fall of 1923, as I was in Hamburg.”

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<sup>110</sup> This and subsequent quotations in this paragraph are from Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse,” 151–152.



What, then, was Rufer's answer to Stein's second question? If Rufer had agreed that the meeting had taken place in 1923, after Schoenberg came back from Traunkirchen, it wouldn't have been necessary for Stein to assure Rufer that Schoenberg was there in the summer of 1923. In his reply to Stein, therefore, Rufer must have asked Stein if Schoenberg went to Traunkirchen in 1923 because Rufer was not sure about the year, but remembered that the meeting took place after Schoenberg came back. However, Stein's remark in the second letter (that Schoenberg was in Traunkirchen in the summer of 1923) does not necessarily indicate that the announcement meeting took place in 1923. Instead, the description "after Schoenberg came back from Traunkirchen" is significant, as he had also stayed in Traunkirchen during the summers of 1921 and 1922. As it was not possible for Rufer to attend the event if it had taken place in the fall of 1923, what Rufer really must have meant was that the meeting occurred after the summer of either 1921 or 1922.

This correspondence also provides another important clue concerning the date of Schoenberg's announcement: Stein must have been in Darmstadt when the first meeting took place. He conducted Schoenberg's *Pierrot Luniare* in Vienna, on 30 October 1922,<sup>111</sup> but accidentally fell and injured his knee in the next month.<sup>112</sup> Sometime after the accident, Stein left for Darmstadt; he sent a postcard to Schoenberg from there on 31 December 1922, reporting that his knee problem had recently worsened.<sup>113</sup> After about four months of sojourn in Darmstadt, Stein returned to Mödling for the first time on 30 April 1923.<sup>114</sup> Heneghan assumes that Stein was absent

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<sup>111</sup> This concert is discussed in Bryan R. Simms, "The Society for Private Musical Performances: Resources and Documents in Schoenberg's Legacy," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 3/2 (1979), 142.

<sup>112</sup> Brezinka, *Erwin Stein*, 86–87.

<sup>113</sup> Stein's postcard to Schoenberg, dated 31 December 1922, in LC (ASC ID 16975, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD101/16795-1.jpg>).

<sup>114</sup> Henegahn, "Tradition as Muse," 150.

from the 1923 meeting because of his stay in Darmstadt in the spring of 1923, but this was not the only occasion during which he was in Darmstadt. Stein conducted *Pierrot Lunaire* on 5 December 1921, in the Verein concert in Vienna, and then sent a letter to Schoenberg from Darmstadt on 10 January 1922.<sup>115</sup> At the end of the letter, Stein writes, “When is Steuermann’s concert? Of course, I will be definitely there.”<sup>116</sup> As Steuermann’s concerts took place on 3 and 8 February 1922, it is very likely that Stein had returned to Vienna by early February.<sup>117</sup> His presence in February is proved by the following event: Schoenberg’s *Pierrot Lunaire* was performed in two versions and languages (German and French) on 18 February 1922, at the house of Alma Mahler. Stein conducted the German version with Erika Wagner, while Darius Milhaud conducted the French version with Marya Freund.<sup>118</sup> After the concert, Stein stayed in Vienna until early June of the year; he sent letters from there to Georg Alter (who was in Prague) between 20 February and 3 June 1922.<sup>119</sup> In sum, Stein was in Darmstadt sometime after 5 December 1921, and came back to Vienna by early February 1922.

However, why did Deutsch (1970) recall Stein’s presence in the meeting, despite Stein’s own claim that he was absent? Rufer (1971) also supports Deutsch’s remembrance of Stein by

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<sup>115</sup> Stein’s letter to Schoenberg, dated 10 January 1922, in LC (ASC ID 17067, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD101/17067.jpg>). See also Muxeneder, “Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftonmethode,” 307; in n. 26, she points out that Stein was in Darmstadt at the beginning of 1922.

<sup>116</sup> “Wann ist das Steuermann-Konzert? Dabei will ich natürlich unbedingt sein.”

<sup>117</sup> *Neue Freie Presse*, 29 January 1922, 20. This newspaper displays an advertisement of Steuermann’s upcoming concerts on 3 February 1922, with Stefan Auber (cello), and on 8 February 1922, with Mary Dickenson-Auner (violin). Scan available at <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=nfp&datum=19220129&seite=20&zoom=33>.

<sup>118</sup> Marie-Claire Mussat, “La réception de Schönberg en France avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale,” *Revue de Musicologie* 87/1 (2001), 157–158. Although Brezinka indicates that the private performance at Alma Mahler’s house took place on February 1921 (*Erwin Stein*, 90, n. 328), this dating is not correct, as Schoenberg stayed in Zandvoort, Holland, from October 1920 through March 1921 (see Op de Coul and Schoute, “Schoenberg in the Netherlands,” 141). Mussat’s dating, “18 February 1922,” is consistent with the fact that Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, and Marya Freund gave a concert of French music in Vienna on 7 February 1922, whose advertisement appeared in *Neue Freie Presse*, 29 January 1922, 20.

<sup>119</sup> Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse,” 152, n. 39. Stein also wrote to Alter on 24 March and 6 April 1922.

stating that he recorded the meeting's minutes and wrote "Neue Formprinzipien" based on the notes. Stein's article was written for *Von Neuer Musik*, in which it was published in 1925; and before that, in fall 1924, a pre-print of the article appeared on the occasion of Schoenberg's fiftieth birthday.<sup>120</sup> In "Neue Formprinzipien," he referred to Schoenberg's description of the finale of the Serenade, Op. 24, explaining that the composer made the comment at a rehearsal of the work.<sup>121</sup> The Serenade was premiered privately in Vienna at the house of Dr. Norbert Schwarzmann, on 2 May 1924, and it was followed by the public premiere in the Donaueschinger Music Festival on 20 July 1924.<sup>122</sup> Although it is not known which rehearsal Stein attended, it is certain that Schoenberg explained the musical structure of the Serenade to Stein when they met at the rehearsal, and this became a basis for Stein's discussion of the piece in his article.

Stein's reference to the rehearsal suggests that "Neue Formprinzipien" was *not* based on Schoenberg's single meeting or lecture, but on several occasions, including private conversations.<sup>123</sup> If "Neue Formprinzipien" was based on several meetings or lectures, Stein was not necessarily present for all of them; he could have missed some. Yet people remembered him as the author of the article, and assumed his presence despite a few absences. Deutsch and Rufer must have seen Stein, who was taking notes, on at least one of these occasions.

The preceding discussion may be summarized as follows: (1) The announcement meeting took place shortly after Schoenberg came back from Traunkirchen; (2) Stein must have been in

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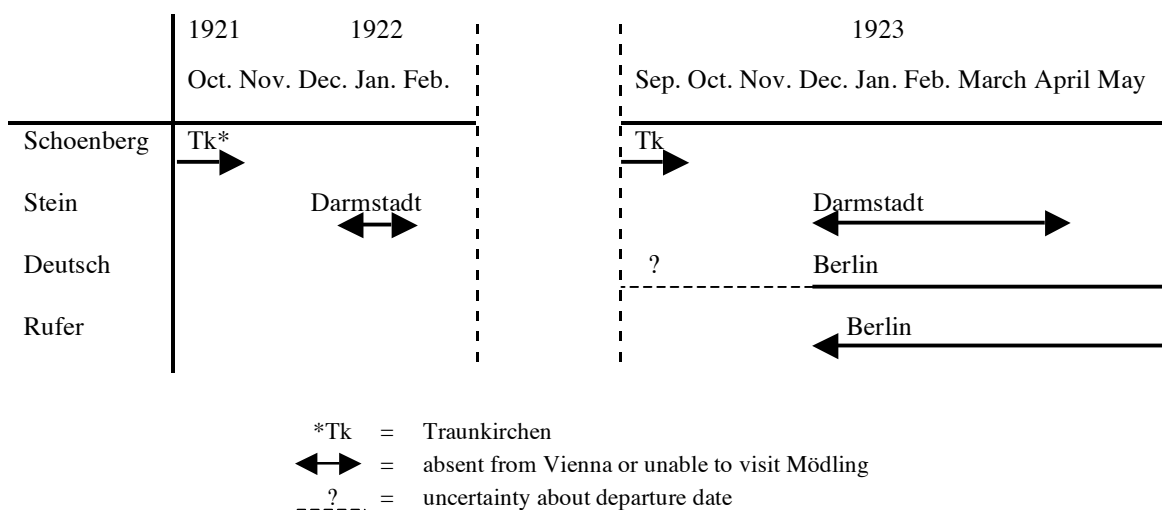
<sup>120</sup> Stein, "Neue Formprinzipien."

<sup>121</sup> Stein, "Neue Formprinzipien" (1924), 300; and "New Formal Principles," 73.

<sup>122</sup> Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work*, 294.

<sup>123</sup> How also points out that "Stein's essay was not a product of lecture notes from a public announcement, but rather from a personal, perhaps private, conversation with Schoenberg to which Stein added his own insights" ("Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 269).

**FIGURE 3.** Locations of Stein, Deutsch, and Rufer after summers of 1921 and 1922



Darmstadt at the time of the first meeting; and (3) Deutsch and Rufer probably recognized Stein’s presence at some of the meetings that followed. Figure 3 indicates where these people were after the summers of 1921 and 1922. If the first meeting had occurred while Stein was in Darmstadt, after 5 December 1921 but before mid February, it was “soon after Schoenberg came back from Traunkirchen,” and it is likely that Deutsch and Rufer saw Stein in the following meetings or lectures. On the other hand, if the meeting had occurred in the spring of 1923, it was several months after Schoenberg came back from Traunkirchen, and as Deutsch and Rufer were in Berlin, they wouldn’t have seen Stein at the following lectures. The three conditions listed at the outset of this paragraph are more applicable to the situation after the summer of 1921. If Schoenberg’s announcement occurred while Stein was in Darmstadt, sometime between December 1921 and February 1922, then this time frame overlaps with the period during which the early lecture series was about to begin.

## THE EARLY LECTURE SERIES AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT MEETING

Webern wrote to Jalowetz that “Schoenberg is speaking *to us all* in a series of lectures” at his house in Mödling (*italics mine*). In that case, who was most likely in the audience on the first day of this lecture series? Those students of Schoenberg who gathered on special occasions during this period might be regarded as good candidates. For example, those who were invited to the Mödling wedding of Greissle and Schoenberg’s daughter, Gertrude, on 10 November 1921, qualify because their status as guests indicates their closeness to Schoenberg and his family. In Figure 4a, names of the people invited to the wedding are marked “I” (for invited) in the column headed “10/11/21 guest list.”<sup>124</sup> Also, on New Year’s Day 1922, students and friends gathered at Schoenberg’s house and signed two greeting cards, one for Alma Mahler and the other for Berg.<sup>125</sup> They are marked “P” (for present) in the column on the left side of the table, headed “1/1/22 cards.” As one of the cards was sent to Berg, he is marked “A” (for absent). In total, twenty students are listed in Figure 4a.

Schoenberg (1940) describes the attendants of the meeting as “all my students and friends,” and Rufer (1971) describes them as “all students who were present in Vienna at that time [alle damals in Wien anwesenden Schüler].” These descriptions are accordant with Webern’s expression, “us all.” Moreover, the preceding number, twenty, corresponds to Schoenberg’s (1936) reference to “about twenty of my pupils.” From the prior discussion arises the following hypothesis. What if the early lecture series was not a private preview, but its first day was the announcement meeting that Schoenberg and his students talked about? If that is the case,

<sup>124</sup> See n. 91 for the source. Some names are unidentifiable. Hermann Frischauf was the husband of Marie Pappenheim, who wrote the text for Schoenberg’s monodrama, *Erwartung*, Op. 17. Names of Schoenberg’s relatives, and his students’ wives, are omitted here.

<sup>125</sup> Signatures of the people who were not Schoenberg’s students, such as their wives, are omitted from the list. Erwin Ratz signed the postcard to Alma Mahler only.

FIGURE 4.

(a) Who was invited to the first day of the lecture series?			(b) Who attended the announcement meeting?									
Names appear in...	Source documents		Names of attendants mentioned by									
	10/11/21 guest list	1/1/22 Cards	Polnauer	Deutsch	Rufer	Ratz	Steuermann	Greissle [1965]	Greissle [1973]	Greissle [1979]	Kolisch	Stein
Josef Polnauer	I		P			P						P
Max Deutsch**	I†			P								
Josef Rufer**	I				P					P		
Erwin Ratz*	I	P				P				P		
Edward Steuermann	I	P					P	P		P		
Felix Greissle	I	P						P	P	P		
Rudolf Kolisch	I											P
Erwin Stein*	I			P	P			P	P	P		A
Anton Webern	I	P				P	P	P	P	P		P
Alban Berg	I	A				P	A	P		P		P
Othmar Steinbauer*	I	P								P		
Josef Trauneck**	I	P								P		
Fritz Kaltenborn**	I											
Walter Seligmann**	I											
Karl Rankl	I	P								P		P
Olga Novakovic	I	P										
Lysette Seybert	I	P										
Ernst Bachrich	I											
Hilda Merinski	I	P										
Hans Eisler		P								P		
<b>Friends</b>												
Heinrich Jalowetz	I											
Alexander Zemlinsky	I											
Hermann Frischauf	I											
Oskar Adler										P		
Egon Wellesz								P	P	P		

“I” = invited. “P” = present. “A” = absent.

\* Indicates students who were absent from Vienna in Spring 1923.

\*\* Indicates students who did not reside in Vienna throughout 1923 in general.

† Although only the first name “Max” appears in the list, I assume that it refers to Deutsch because there is no evidence of another student or friend of Schoenberg named “Max” in the early 1920s.

the students appearing in Figures 2a and 2b are very likely to have been included in the list, and they may have been remembered by other students as well.

In Figure 4b, names appearing in the students' recollections (from the fourth columns of Figures 2a and 2b), and in Stein's letter to Rufer, are marked "P" or "A." For example, Deutsch named Stein in his recollection, so Stein's name is marked "P" in Deutsch's column—in addition to Deutsch's name itself. Because Greissle (1973) also recalled the presence of Oskar Adler and Egon Wellesz, their names are added to the bottom of the tables under the heading of Schoenberg's friends. In this table, fourteen students are marked "P" at least once, and all of them are included among the twenty students listed in Figure 4a. As discussed earlier, Schoenberg, Greissle, and Steuermann all had similar recollections of Webern's reaction. Greissle indicated the presence of Rufer, Ratz, and Steuermann among the students listed in Figures 2a and 2b. Although he did not name Deutsch, Polnauer, and Kolisch, Polanuer's presence at the meeting was indicated by Ratz and Stein. Deutsch could not have attended the meeting if it took place in 1923. Kolisch recalls that "[a]ll of us were of course very excited about [the new method]. None of us had any idea what it really was" at the meeting.<sup>126</sup> This situation is very similar to the one described by Webern, since he expressed in his letter to Jalowetz how excited he was when he heard about the new method. Perhaps Schoenberg's new method was not a confidential matter within his circle after the lectures; otherwise, Webern might have asked Jalowetz not to tell anyone about it. Webern even mentioned sending the transcript to Jalowetz. Under such circumstances, it is inconceivable that Kolisch did not hear about the new method until 1923, as he belonged to Schoenberg's inner circle. As a result, all the students listed in Figures 2a and 2b

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<sup>126</sup> Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 205.

must have been present on the first day of the early lectures, which was the earliest occasion to hear Schoenberg's explanation of the new method.

Greissle (1979) named twelve people, including Wellesz and Schoenberg's daughter Gertrud. Among the remaining ten people, Ratz and Stein did not reside in Vienna in 1923 for at least part of the year. Are there other students like them, in addition to those discussed so far? In this table, the names of the students who were away from Vienna in spring 1923 are marked by an asterisk (\*) and their rows are lightly shaded. Othmar Steinbauer was a violinist and a member of the Wiener Streichquartett, founded by Kolisch in the fall of 1921; he had left the quartet by 8 September 1922.<sup>127</sup> He moved to Berlin to become theater musician in fall 1922, and worked for the Gesellschaft für moderne Musikaufführungen in Berlin with Deutsch and Rufer in early 1923.<sup>128</sup> Eventually, Steinbauer came back to Vienna in May 1923.<sup>129</sup> Taken together, all the students in this category—Stein, Ratz, and Steinbauer—were absent from Vienna or Mödling at least between January and April of 1923.

Similarly, the names of students who did not reside in Vienna *throughout* 1923 in general—such as Deutsch and Rufer—are marked by two asterisks (\*\*) and their rows are darkly shaded. Josef Trauneck (Trávníček) studied with Schoenberg until March 1922, then became Kapellmeister in Prague, where he stayed until 1925.<sup>130</sup> In November 1922, Schoenberg wrote a letter to Georg Alter, president of the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen in Prague,

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<sup>127</sup> Claudia Maurer Zenck, "Was sonst kann ein Mensch denn machen, als Quartett zu spielen? Rudolf Kolisch und seine Quartette: Versuch einer Chronik der Jahre 1921–1944," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 53 (1998), 9–10. When the quartet rehearsed for the new season, on 8 September 1922, Steinbauer was not a member anymore.

<sup>128</sup> According to Steinbauer's letter to Schoenberg, dated 20 September 1922, Steinbauer had been engaged as a violinist in Berlin, at the "Theater in der Königgrätzer Straße," three weeks ago (in LC [ASC ID 16852, scan available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD104/16852-1.jpg>]). Steinbauer's absence from Vienna in early 1923 is also indicated in Muxeneder, "Arnold Schönbergs Verkündung der Zwölftonmethode," 307, n. 26.

<sup>129</sup> In his letter to Schoenberg, dated 14 May 1923, in LC (ASC, ID 21802), Steinbauer wrote he would be back in Vienna "by this weekend [*schon Ende dieser Woche*]." For this letter, see n. 83.

<sup>130</sup> *Zemlinskys Briefwechsel*, 383.



asking his help for Trauneck, who was “struggling desperately to survive on the meagre income of a minor Prague theatre coach.”<sup>131</sup> Within a few days, Alter found an additional position for Trauneck as conductor of a local men’s glee club.

Both Fritz Kaltenborn and Walter Herbert Seligmann were Schoenberg’s private students between 1919 and 1922. Kaltenborn must have returned to Switzerland by June 1922, as his letters to Schoenberg between June 1922 and December 1923 are all addressed from Zouz, Switzerland.<sup>132</sup> Seligmann sent a letter to Schoenberg in May 1922 from Frankfurt am Main, and this indicates that he had returned to Germany by that time.<sup>133</sup> Seligmann then moved to the Saxon city of Meißen in September 1922, to become Kapellmeister.<sup>134</sup> He sent a letter to Schoenberg in December 1922 from there, and a telegram in September 1923 from Frankfurt am Main.<sup>135</sup>

Altogether, five students would have been unable to attend the meeting if it had taken place either in the spring or fall of 1923, and eight students—which is more than one third of those listed in Figure 4a—could not have attended the meeting if it had taken place between

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<sup>131</sup> Alexander L. Ringer, *Arnold Schoenberg: The Composer as Jew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 167. This letter, dated 12 November 1922, is in the Jewish National Library in Israel.

<sup>132</sup> Kaltenborn’s letters to Schoenberg between 1922 and 1923 are dated 25 June 1922, 17 November 1922, 26 February 1923, and 6 December 1923; in LC (ASC ID 11548, 11549, 21221 and 11550, respectively). All are addressed from Haus Ulrich, Zouz, Oberengadin, Switzerland. For example, see the scan at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD072/11550.jpg>.

<sup>133</sup> Seligmann’s letter to Schoenberg, dated 16 May 1922, in LC (ASC ID 13350).

<sup>134</sup> Seligmann’s letter to Schoenberg, dated 21 June 1922, in LC (ASC ID 16698, scans available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD095/16698-1.jpg> and <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD095/16698-2.jpg>). Although Seligmann signed his name as “Walter Seligman” with a single “n” (see the second page of this letter), Schoenberg spelled his last name “Seligmann” (see his handwritten teaching schedule around 1919, reproduced in Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work*, 256). In this essay, I adopt Schoenberg’s spelling because it is the form typically found in the literature on Schoenberg (e.g., see Schoenberg, *Style and Idea*, 528, n. 1, for “Transposition,” where the editor spelled his name “Walter Seligmann”).

<sup>135</sup> Seligmann’s letter to Schoenberg, dated 16 December 1922, and telegram dated 13 September 1923, in LC (ASC ID 16700 and 21559, respectively; scans available at <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD095/16700-1.jpg> and <http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD095/21559.jpg>).

January and April 1923. Among the ten students named by Greissle (1979), three are marked with one asterisk, and two by two asterisks. Their absence from Vienna supports Greissle's belief that the announcement occurred *earlier* than 1923.<sup>136</sup>

#### THE EARLY LECTURE SERIES RECONSIDERED

Schoenberg's early lecture series has been regarded as a private preview, probably because Polnauer's dating had already become entrenched by the time Simms's 1987 article introduced the letter Schoenberg had drafted to Hauer, in which he wrote that "unfortunately, I am not so far advanced that I can make the fruits of my inquiries in public."<sup>137</sup> If the official announcement had taken place earlier than July 1922, why would Schoenberg have made such a contradictory statement to Hauer? Here, reinterpretation of Schoenberg's statement is necessary. The original German text of the entire paragraph of this statement, along with the next sentence, reads as follows:

[1] Wie Sie sich denken können, habe auch ich in diesen 12 Jahren nicht geschlafen, sondern war bemüht, diese Ideen weiter zu entwickeln. [2] Leider bin ich nicht soweit, dass ich meine Ergebnisse bereits veröffentlichen könnte; es wird im Gegenteil noch einige Zeit bis dahin vergehen, weil ich vor Allem meine "Lehre vom musikalischen Zusammenhang" schreiben will in der Grundsätze ausgesprochen werden auf denen auch die "Komposition mit 12 Tönen" beruht.

[3] Woher mein Weg war und wo ich gegenwärtig halte, habe ich vor mehreren Monaten in einigen Vorträgen meinen Schülern mitgeteilt [sentence numbers added].<sup>138</sup>

In Simms's translation:

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<sup>136</sup> The number of Schoenberg's students is likely to have decreased in 1923. Although a few people, such as Hans Erich Apostel, joined Schoenberg's circle by 1923, there were not many people who became his students between 1922 and 1923, according to information provided by the ASC (see Appendix II).

<sup>137</sup> Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?," 122.

<sup>138</sup> Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?," 131.

[1] As you can imagine, I have not been asleep these 12 years. I have been concerned with the further elaboration of these ideas. [2] Unfortunately, I am not so far advanced that I can make the fruits of my inquiries public. On the contrary, there will still be some time before I can write my "Lehre vom musikalischen Zusammenhang" ["Theory of Musical Coherence"] in which the fundamentals of "Composition with Twelve Tones" will be expounded.

[3] Where my inquiry has led me and where it stands at the present I communicated to my students in a few lectures given several months ago.<sup>139</sup>

In the immediately preceding paragraph, Schoenberg had expressed suspicion that perhaps Hauer had developed his theory based on an idea Schoenberg had raised first, in his *Harmonielehre* of twelve years earlier: to avoid the repetition of single tones in close succession as "this would create the danger of these notes being brought into prominence and functioning as fundamentals."<sup>140</sup> In sentence [1], Schoenberg states that he had been pursuing this idea in the intervening years.

In sentence [2], Schoenberg reports the current status of this investigation. The first clause of this sentence includes the word "veröffentlichen," which is translated as "[to] make . . . public" by Simms. Although the word can refer to "publicizing" or "announcing," it also has the meaning "to publish." It seems more likely that here Schoenberg meant the latter, because the clause ends with a semicolon, and is followed by another clause in which Schoenberg uses the word "schreiben" ["to write"]. In the second clause, Schoenberg explains that he would like to *write* the "Theory of Musical Coherence" before doing something expressed in the first clause.<sup>141</sup> Because the letter draft was written in response to Hauer's article, Schoenberg's ultimate goal must have been to *write* articles about the results ("Ergebnisse") of his inquiries, as Hauer had

<sup>139</sup> Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?," 122.

<sup>140</sup> For the preceding paragraph of the letter, and a discussion of Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre*, see Simms, "Who First Composed Twelve-Tone Music?," 121–122.

<sup>141</sup> Regarding the "Theory of Musical Coherence," see Fusako Hamao, "From *Zusammenhang* to *musikalische Zusammenhang*: A Study of Schoenberg's *Gedanke* Manuscripts," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Music Theory, Chapel Hill, NC, December 1998.

done. In sentence [3], Schoenberg employs “mitteilen” [“to communicate”], which also encompasses the meaning “to disclose.” Taken together, sentences [2] and [3] may be translated as follows (with italics added):

[2] Unfortunately, I am not so far advanced that *I could have already published [articles on] the results of my inquiries; on the contrary, there will still be some time to do so because I would like to write, first of all, my “Lehre vom musikalischen Zusammenhang”* [“Theory of Musical Coherence”] in which the fundamentals of “Composition with Twelve Tones” will be expounded.

[3] Where my inquiry has led me and where it stands at the present I *disclosed* to my students in a few lectures given several months ago.

If Schoenberg was not at the stage of writing articles on his findings in July 1922, but had already announced verbally the new method to his students, this supports not only Greissle’s belief that Schoenberg’s announcement took place before 1923, but also the aforementioned hypothesis that the lecture series was not a private preview, but its first day was, in fact, the announcement meeting about which Schoenberg and his students spoke.

At the same time, the fact that Schoenberg explained his new compositional method in his draft letter to Hauer implies that Hauer was not invited to the lecture series. As Greissle (1973) recalls: “Hauer, he was not on that day there, but a little later, [Schoenberg] invited Hauer on one Sunday and again a lot of friends.”<sup>142</sup> This agrees with Schoenberg’s recollections, as shown in the fifth column of Figure 1. Schoenberg generally described the attendants of the meeting as “students” and “friends” without mentioning their names, but he referred to Hauer’s name in (1950a). Therefore, there must have been at least one meeting in which Hauer *was* invited, after the summer of 1922. In addition, Hans Erich Apostel witnessed a meeting that

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<sup>142</sup> Interview by Joan Allen Smith, 22 June 1973, in *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 203.

took place in late 1923: Schoenberg showed his analysis of the piano pieces of Op. 23 to his students, shortly after the publication of the work in November 1923.<sup>143</sup>

Schoenberg's above statement also suggests that he had not yet wholly developed his new idea in July 1922, and that a lecture series before July 1922 was not his original plan. Schoenberg had to disclose his method to his students and friends in order not to be seen as a plagiarist of Hauer, even though he had to do this earlier than intended. The motivation for later meetings, on the other hand, might not have been the same. As his twelve-tone method changed significantly in 1923 (as can be seen from Stein's "Neue Formprinzipien"), later lectures or meetings were likely motivated by Schoenberg's wish to publicize a more developed method, rather than stemming from lingering anxiety.

#### POLNAUER'S DATING RECONSIDERED

Greissle (1979) states that the misunderstanding about dating comes from the fact that "there were several such meetings." As he lived on the second floor of Schoenberg's house in Mödling (after marrying Gertrud), he is likely to have witnessed all the meetings that took place there.<sup>144</sup> Like Greissle, the people who lived in Vienna between 1921 and 1923 might have attended the later meetings in addition to the first announcement meeting, regardless of the length of their residency in 1923. For example, students marked with one asterisk in Figure 4a might have attended the lecture series as well as the meeting(s) that took place after they returned to Vienna in 1923. In that case, they might have confused the first announcement meeting with

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<sup>143</sup> See Szmolyan, "Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik," 121.

<sup>144</sup> Arnold Greissle-Schönberg, *Arnold Schönberg und sein Wiener Kreis: Erinnerungen seines Enkels* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 15–16. The Greissles moved to an apartment on Jakob Thoma Strasse, in Mödling, in late April 1923, and stayed there until 1938, although they returned to Schoenberg's house briefly after Mathilde's death, at the end of 1923.

later meeting(s) in their recollections. However, the existence of multiple meetings cannot justify the dating of Deutsch and Rufer as spring (Frühjahr) 1923, because they were not in Vienna at that time. Although they could have simply misremembered the date, it is curious that both would have made an identical mistake. A possible explanation is that both speculated the date was spring 1923 after consulting the same source.

We saw in a previous section that Rufer was not sure about the year of the meeting, but probably remembered that it occurred after Schoenberg came back from Traunkirchen. Before Rufer, Schoenberg (1936), Polnauer (1959), and Deutch (1970) had identified 1923 as the date of the meeting. But Schoenberg's dating does not include the word "spring," and his 1936 essay was not published until 1975.<sup>145</sup> Polnauer's speech and Deutsch's recollection, on the other hand, appeared in an essay by Szmolyan, in the March 1971 issue of *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*.<sup>146</sup> Rufer could have read this essay before he wrote his article, which was published later that year in the July–August issue of *Melos*, and found out that two of Schoenberg's students indicated the same year.<sup>147</sup>

Deutsch's recollection (1970) was earlier: it was broadcast in a French television program on Schoenberg, filmed at the composer's house in Mödling, in October 1970, five months before the publication of Szmolyan's essay. But Szmolyan notes that he obtained a copy of Polnauer's speech transcript from Georg Schoenberg (the composer's son), who was living in Mödling at that time.<sup>148</sup> Deutsch used to be Georg's tutor in schoolwork such as Latin and Greek, and even

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<sup>145</sup> See Appendix I for the full citation.

<sup>146</sup> Szmolyan, "Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik," 116–118.

<sup>147</sup> Josef Rufer, "Begriff und Function von Schönbergs Grundgestalt," *Melos: Zeitschrift für Neue Musik* 38/7–8 (1971): 281–284.

<sup>148</sup> Szmolyan, "Die Geburtsstätte der Zwölftontechnik," 114 and 116.

after he settled in Paris, Georg sent a letter to Deutsch.<sup>149</sup> Considering their closeness, when Deutsch visited Mödling for filming, it is possible that he asked Georg to provide information about his father, and heard about Polnauer's speech through Georg. Or, Georg might have showed Deutsch the copy of the speech, as he had done for Szmolyan. Because both Rufer and Deutsch likely had access to Polnauer's speech, they may have been influenced by his dating.

According to the Stein–Rufer correspondence, Polnauer, in the summer of 1957, could not remember the date of the first meeting. So, when he delivered his speech in December 1959, how could he identify the date as February 1923? Did he find a diary or schedule book for 1923 after he answered Stein? If that was the case, he could have pinpointed a specific date instead of just “one morning in February.” Did he ask someone else about the date of the announcement meeting? But none of the students listed in Figures 2a and 2b identified the date as February 1923, and other students remembered by those listed—such as Anton Webern and Alban Berg—had already died by that time.<sup>150</sup> It seems more likely that Polnauer's date was speculated, based on a source published between summer 1957 and December 1959. Schoenberg's legacy was preserved in the United States at this time, but it was not open to public. So what could the source have been?

In 1951, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt published *Arnold Schönberg*, in which a chapter begins as follows:

Schoenberg spent the summer of 1922 with some pupils in Traunkirchen. During a walk he said to Josef Rufer: “I have discovered something which will guarantee the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years.” There followed an indication of the “method of composition with twelve tones.” At that time he had written a number of

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<sup>149</sup> Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 213. Georg's letter to Deutsch, of 20 July 1939, in LC (ASC ID 23349, scans available at <<http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD097/goergi-19390720-1.jpg>> and <<http://www.schoenberg.at/scans/DVD097/goergi-19390720-2.jpg>>).

<sup>150</sup> Moreover, Steinbauer, Trauneck, Kaltenborn, and Seligmann were not in Vienna in February 1923.

works in which the method had been consciously used. Schoenberg had not made any of them public: he hesitated for years before he spoke of a discovery and before showing its results, which he knew would take the technique of composition along quite new lines.<sup>151</sup>

Here, Stuckenschmidt mistakenly dated the Rufer episode as summer 1922.<sup>152</sup> In the same chapter, he cited Schoenberg's letter to Nicolas Slonimsky of 3 June 1937, which explained that he introduced the new compositional method in some movements of Op. 25 in the fall of 1921.<sup>153</sup> Although Stuckenschmidt seems to have been troubled by the discrepancy in the dates between Schoenberg's statement and the Rufer episode—i.e., the fall of 1921 vs. the summer of 1922—he simply bypassed the inconsistency by placing these statements apart and not going into further detail.

With the publication of Rufer's *Das Werk Arnold Schönbergs* in late 1959, it became clear that the episode occurred in the summer of 1921, around the time Schoenberg composed the Prelude of Op. 25.<sup>154</sup> Despite Rufer's correction, the summer of 1922 still appeared as the date of the episode in essays written in the early 1960s—for example, in those of Winfried Zillig.<sup>155</sup> Moreover, according to Stuckenschmidt's description in the above paragraph, Schoenberg "hesitated for years before he spoke of a discovery and before showing its results." This

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<sup>151</sup> Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schönberg* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1951), 64. Quoted from the English edition, *Arnold Schoenberg*, trans. Edith Temple Roberts and Humphrey Searle (London: John Calder, 1959), 82.

<sup>152</sup> It is corrected to the summer of 1921 in Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Schönberg: Leben, Umwelt, Werk* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1974), 252. See also the English edition, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (New York: Schirmer Books, 1977), 277.

<sup>153</sup> Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg*, 87.

<sup>154</sup> Josef Rufer, *Das Werk Arnold Schönbergs* (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 1959), 26.

<sup>155</sup> For example, Winfried Zillig writes, "In any case, Schoenberg said in the summer of 1922 to his pupil Rufer during a walk, he made a discovery which would guarantee the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years. This discovery was the method of composition with twelve tones related only to one another." ["Jedenfalls teilte Schönberg im Sommer 1922 seinem Schüler Rufer auf einem Spaziergang mit, er habe eine Entdeckung gemacht, durch welche die Vorherrschaft der deutschen Musik für die nächsten hundert Jahre gesichert sei. Diese Entdeckung war das System, mit zwölf nur aufeinander bezogenen Tönen zu komponieren."] See Zillig, "Arnold Schönberg," in *Stilporträts der neuen Musik: Sieben Beiträge von Siegfried Borris, Wilhelm Keller, Heinrich Lindlar, Walter Kolneder und Winfried Zillig* (Berlin: Verlag Merseburger, 1961), 27.



makes it seem as if the announcement meeting occurred several years after the summer of 1922. Although it is not known whether Polnauer had actually read Stuckenschmidt's biography, it should be noted that information on the chronology of Schoenberg's life was not necessarily accurate in 1950s.

In this regard, Rufer's *Das Werk* was the most recent and comprehensive study of Schoenberg to have been published before December 1959. In addition, Stein's "Neue Formprinzipien" was the earliest published essay on Schoenberg's new method, and it was well known among his students. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that Polnauer consulted these two writings when he searched for a clue about the date. In "Neue Formprinzipien," Stein attached the following footnote to his analysis of the third of the Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23: "It was apropos of this piece, shortly after its composition, that Schoenberg first told the present writer about the new formal principles."<sup>156</sup> According to Schoenberg's sketchbook, Op. 23/3 was begun on 6 February 1923, and completed three days later. However, he repeatedly stated in his writings that he told Stein about the new method in 1921.

With regard to this puzzle, Maegaard speculated that Schoenberg composed Op. 23/3 in February 1923 and told his secret to Stein at that time—although he did not deny the possibility that the piece might have been conceived in 1921.<sup>157</sup> Hans Oesch suggests that Op. 23/3 may have been started in the fall of 1921, and that Schoenberg told Stein about the new method at that time.<sup>158</sup> Heneghan proposes that Stein's footnote "was misplaced, added, possibly after the essay

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<sup>156</sup> Stein, "Neue Formprinzipien" (1924), 296; and "New Formal Principles," 68.

<sup>157</sup> Jan Maegaard, *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen Satzes bei Arnold Schönberg* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1972), vol. 1, 96–97.

<sup>158</sup> Hans Oesch, "Schönberg im Vorfeld der Dodekaphonie: Zur Beduetung des dritten Satzes aus opus 23 für die Herausbildung der Zwölfton-Technik," *Zeitschrift für Musiktheorie* 5/1 (1974), 9–10.

was written, at the point where the words ‘third piece [dritte Stück]’ occur in the text.”<sup>159</sup> This is because the Prelude was simply called a “piano piece” without an opus number at the time of the composition, and as it was written after the two piano pieces that later became Op. 23/1–2, it was the third piano piece. Whereas the above studies presuppose that the footnote refers to Schoenberg’s private conversation with Stein in 1921, How offers a different interpretation. As the new formal principles—illustrated in Stein’s essay—represent Schoenberg’s view in 1923, she assumes that, in addition to the 1921 private conversation in Traunkirchen, Schoenberg told Stein his new idea privately, shortly after the composition of Op. 23/3 in 1923, and that Stein’s footnote indicates the latter occasion.<sup>160</sup>

Whether Op. 23/3 had already been started in the summer of 1921, the footnote has been misplaced, or the footnote indicates a private conversation between Schoenberg and Stein in early 1923, it is important to note that such discussions had not yet begun in 1959. It was not until 1972 that Maegaard raised questions about Stein’s footnote, after studying Schoenberg’s unpublished essay in which he stated that he told Stein about the secret privately, in the fall of 1921.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, Stein did not state clearly in his footnote that the meeting with Schoenberg was private and confidential, and neither did he specify the location of the meeting. Although Stein was absent from the first meeting, he did not necessarily tell Polnauer about his absence when Stein asked him about the date of the meeting. Even Rufer, who was informed about

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<sup>159</sup> Heneghan, “Tradition as Muse,” 154.

<sup>160</sup> How, “Arnold Schoenberg’s Prelude,” 264–269. This interpretation is questionable because it is unlikely that Schoenberg trusted Stein shortly after the composition of Op. 23/3 (completed on 9 February 1923) to the degree he had in the fall of 1921. In a letter of 1 March 1923, Schoenberg wrote to Stein: “I am naturally very angry with you,” adding that “I was really horrified when you rang up to tell me you were going away, and began to make some kind of protest, but you didn’t catch what I said and I couldn’t make myself repeat it, in order not to be perpetually playing the big bow-bow” (*Arnold Schoenberg: Letters*, ed. Erwin Stein, trans. Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser [London: Faber and Faber, 1974], 84).

<sup>161</sup> Maegaard, *Studien zur Entwicklung*, vol. 1, 96. According to his n. 146, the unpublished essay was “Wiesengrund” (cited here as Schoenberg [1950b]).

Stein's absence in the Stein–Rufers correspondence, describes Stein as the note-taker of the meeting in his recollection. If Polnauer misinterpreted the footnote due to its ambiguity, as meaning that “Schoenberg first told [his students and friends including] the present writer about the new formal principles”—that is, as a description of the announcement meeting—Polnauer easily could have found the dates for Op. 23/3 in Rufers catalogue (6–9 February 1923) and reached the conclusion that the meeting must have occurred sometime in February.<sup>162</sup>

It is almost certain that Polnauer was not aware of Schoenbergs private conversation with Stein in the fall of 1921, because neither Webern's letter to Jalowetz nor Berg's notes for *KzT* includes any reference to the private occasion. Although Schoenberg (1950a)—which includes his description about Stein's involvement—was the only article *published* before December 1959 among the four statements listed in Figure 1, it is unlikely that Polnauer read the article, as it appeared in an issue of *The New York Times*, which was not circulated in Vienna. If, as How assumes, Schoenberg told Stein about his new principles privately, shortly after the composition of Op. 23/3, Polnauer had no way of knowing about this conversation, as there is no written document regarding the matter. Polnauer could not have asked Stein about the footnote either, as Stein had died in 1958. Under such circumstances, it is understandable that Polnauer assumed that Stein's footnote indicated the announcement meeting, for which Polnauer was present. Although Stein missed the first meeting, Polnauer still must have been able to remember his presence in the following meeting(s) of the lecture series.

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<sup>162</sup> Josef Rufers, *Das Werk Arnold Schönbergs*, 22 and 115. Rufers states that the first draft of the third piece is found in Sketchbook V, under the entry “Five Piano Pieces, Op. 23” (p. 22); he lists the content of the sketchbook under the heading of “Sketchbook V” (p. 115), which includes the starting and completion dates of the third piece.

## REDATING SCHOENBERG'S ANNOUNCEMENT

All of the above arguments—the similarity between Schoenberg's recollections of the announcement meeting and Webern's description of the early lectures, information obtained from the Stein–Rufner correspondence (Figure 3), and the absence from Vienna of more than one third of Schoenberg's students in the spring of 1923 in comparison to the period between late 1921 and early 1922 (Figure 4)—suggest that the first day of the early lecture series was the very announcement meeting that everyone remembered. Accepting this conclusion, let us move on to the last question: When did the first meeting take place?

Webern's letter to Jalowetz indicates that the lecture series began after *Melos 3/1* was published on 1 November 1921, but before Webern wrote the letter. The starting date can be further narrowed down, as Jalowetz and Zemlinsky (both in Prague) were invited to the wedding of Greissle and Gertrude, which took place in Mödling on 10 November 1921. As Webern was also invited, he must have met Jalowetz at that time.<sup>163</sup> If the lecture series had already started by that time, they could have talked about the important news when they met; Webern would not have needed to explain it in the letter. Thus, the lecture series must have started after Jalowetz went back to Prague, sometime after 10 November 1921.<sup>164</sup>

The period can be narrowed down again because of Stein's absence from the first day of the lecture series. We saw earlier that Stein went to Darmstadt sometime after 5 December 1921 (after conducting *Pierrot Lunaire* at the Verein concert in Vienna), and came back to Vienna by early February of 1922. According to the Society's newsletter, a general assembly took place on

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<sup>163</sup> See Figure 4a for the list of the guests at the wedding.

<sup>164</sup> This argument agrees with Muxeneder's speculation that the lecture series must have begun between the middle of November 1921 and 7 January 1922, because of the wedding (Muxeneder, "Arnold Schönbergs Verkündigung der Zwölftonmethode," 306, n. 25).

5 December 1921, the day of the concert, to discuss the financial problems of the organization due to hyper-inflation in Austria.<sup>165</sup> Among the issues to which they agreed were an increase in membership fees and the temporary suspension of further concert activities until financial conditions had improved.<sup>166</sup> As a result, this performance became the last regular Verein concert in Vienna, although some miscellaneous concerts followed.<sup>167</sup> As the organizer of the society,<sup>168</sup> however, Stein must have stayed in Vienna for some time after 5 December 1921, to cancel the “series B” concerts, scheduled for 11 December (Mozart’s string quartets) and 18 December 1921 (Bruckner’s Seventh Symphony, arranged for chamber orchestra).<sup>169</sup>

In December 1921, Steuermann and Berg traveled together, and arrived at Frankfurt on 14 December.<sup>170</sup> Steuermann played recitals in Darmstadt and Frankfurt, and also played Berg’s *Wozzeck* for auditions at the Frankfurt and Darmstadt opera houses.<sup>171</sup> They left Frankfurt on 21 December 1921<sup>172</sup> and arrived at Vienna the next morning.<sup>173</sup> Their travel eliminates the possibil-

<sup>165</sup> Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, *Mitteilung* 29 (December 1921), held at the ASC.

<sup>166</sup> The newsletter also suggests a possibility of a further general assembly in the December, although it is not known whether such a meeting took place.

<sup>167</sup> Simms, “The Society for Private Musical Performances,” 128.

<sup>168</sup> According to Berg’s letter to his wife, Stein “is now running the Society in Vienna (as a sort of public company)” (Berg, *Letters to His Wife*, 304, letter no. 315).

<sup>169</sup> These concerts were announced in the Society’s newsletter; see Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, *Mitteilung* 28 (November 1921), 5, in the ASC.

<sup>170</sup> They stayed at the house of the Seligmans, whose son, Walter Herbert, was Schoenberg’s student (Berg, *Letters to His Wife*, 294–295).

<sup>171</sup> Berg, *Letters to His Wife*, 294–296. Steuermann’s recitals took place on 15 December (Darmstadt) and 16 December (Frankfurt).

<sup>172</sup> Berg’s postcard to Schoenberg from Frankfurt, 19 December 1921 (*The Berg–Schoenberg Correspondence*, 313). In this postcard, Berg states that “[w]e return home on Wednesday,” that is, 21 December 1921.

<sup>173</sup> Alban Berg, *Handschriftliche Briefe, Briefentwürfe und Notizen: Aus den Beständen der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. Herwig Knaus (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 2004), 227–228. (See Österreichische Nationalbibliothek catalog number “ÖNB Musiksammlung F21 Berg 480/443.”) Although this letter draft is undated and incomplete—it starts at the middle of the letter, and the name of the addressee is not indicated—Herwig Knaus, the editor, assumes that it was written in December 1921 to “Maria Seligman [*sic*],” mother of Franz Herbert Seligmann, because Berg thanked the recipient of the letter for his recent stay in Frankfurt, and expressed his New Year’s wishes for 1922 at the end of the draft. As shown in n. 170, it is known that Berg stayed at the Seligmann’s house in Frankfurt in December 1921 (see *Handschriftliche Briefe*, 327, n. 188). In this draft, Berg wrote, “we arrived at Vienna in the next morning, instead of 10:30 o’clock in the evening, and of course, there was no transportation at that time.” “[W]ir schliessl[ic]h statt abends 1/2 11 in W[i]en zu se[i]n erst nächsten Morgen ankam[en] natürlich zu einer Zeit in wo [e]s noch gar keine Fahrgelegenheit gab.”]

ity that the first lecture took place between 14 and 22 December 1921 (assuming they were present). Also, Berg wrote to his wife about the people with whom he made contact during the concert tour, and Stein's name was not among them.<sup>174</sup> The lack of Stein's name implies that he was still in Vienna at that time: if he was already in Darmstadt, he could have attended Steuermann's concert on 15 December 1921, and met Berg there.

When Schoenberg's students and friends gathered at the house of the master on 1 January 1922 and signed two postcards, one for Berg and the other for Alma Mahler, Berg had not been able to come due to sickness, as evidenced by Webern writing on Berg's card, "Happy New Year! Get well soon!"<sup>175</sup> In the card to Alma Mahler, Mathilde Schoenberg invited her to come to their house on Friday, 6 January 1922.<sup>176</sup> Because Stein's signature is not found on either card, he must have already been in Darmstadt by New Year's Day. On 4 January 1922, Schoenberg sent a telegram to Berg: "Mathilde and Greissle sick with the flu, Friday unfortunately impossible."<sup>177</sup> This means that Schoenberg had an appointment with Berg on 6 January, but had to cancel it; therefore, there was no lecture between 4 and 6 January, nor probably on the morning of 7 January. On 10 January, Stein sent a letter to Schoenberg from Darmstadt, in which he thanked Schoenberg for his letter.<sup>178</sup> As Stein also expressed his wish to hear news from Vienna in this letter, he must have left Vienna not recently, but some time before. Taken together, it is reasonable to assume that Stein left Vienna sometime after the middle of December.

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<sup>174</sup> See Berg's letters to his wife on 15 and 17 December 1921, from Frankfurt (Berg, *Letters to His Wife*, 294–296).

<sup>175</sup> "Prosit! Baldige Besserung!" (*Briefwechsel Arnold Schönberg–Alban Berg, Teilband II: 1918–1935*, 157).

<sup>176</sup> Card to Alma Mahler, dated 1 January 1922, in the Alma Mahler and Franz Werfel Collection at the University of Pennsylvania (transcribed in ASC, ID 6778).

<sup>177</sup> "[M]athilde und [G]reissle grippekrank darum [F]reitag leider unmöglich." Quoted from How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 177. Schoenberg's telegram to Berg, dated 4 January 1922, is in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (ASC, ID 6229).

<sup>178</sup> Stein's letter to Schoenberg, dated 10 January 1922, in LC (ASC, ID 17067); see n. 115 for this letter.

**FIGURE 5.** When did Schoenberg disclose the new method to his students for the first time?

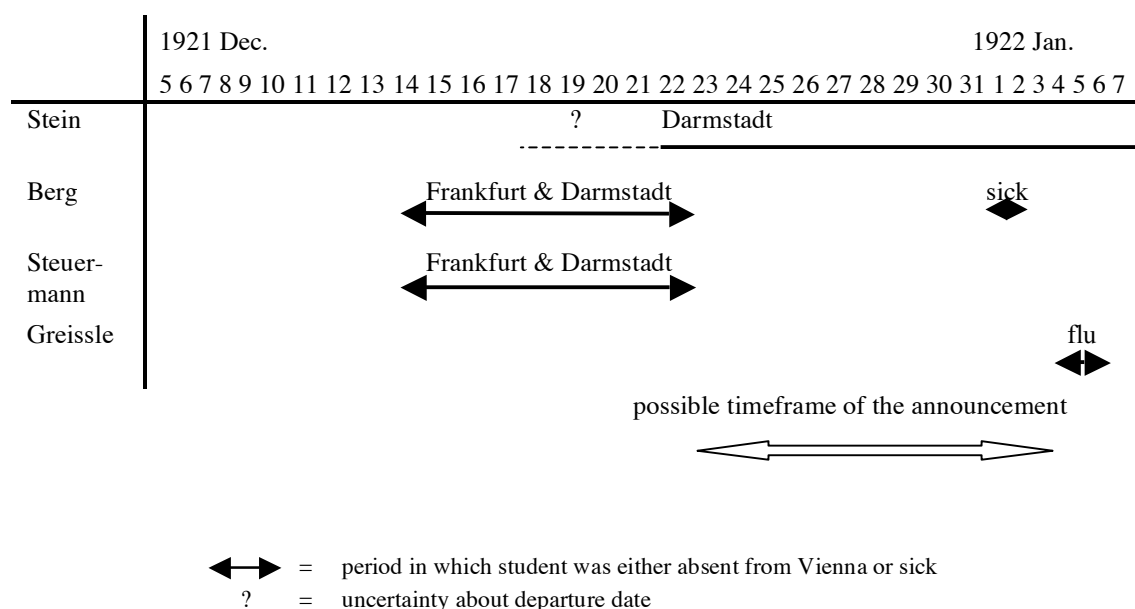


Figure 5 exhibits a summary of the above discussion, the principal points of which are: (1) After the concert on 5 December 1921, Stein probably stayed in Vienna until the middle of December; (2) Steuermann and Berg were away between 14 and 22 December 1921; (3) Berg was not able to come to Schoenberg's house in Mödling on New Year's Day due to sickness; and (4) Greissle had the flu after 4 January 1922. It should be also noted that Steuermann (1959) recalls Berg's absence from the announcement meeting, stating that "he could not come for some reason." On the other hand, Greissle, Ratz, and Stein support Berg's presence, as shown in Figure 4b.

In order to narrow down the period further, it is necessary to investigate the four pages of notes handwritten by Berg. If the *KzT* typescript covers Schoenberg's lecture given at the first day of the series, it is likely that Berg was present to take notes, as his notes supplement both

what was told in the lecture and the text of the typescript.<sup>179</sup> Regarding the four pages of Berg's notes, How points out that they cover only the first six pages of *KzT*, after which point the typescript continues for seven more pages.<sup>180</sup> How suggests that "[p]erhaps Berg's handwritten notes and the first six pages of *KzT* correspond to the first lecture in the series, while the last seven pages of *KzT* correspond to the second lecture in the series, with the awkward hanging thought leading to what will be the topic of the third lecture in the series."<sup>181</sup>

However, it is still not clear if the first six pages of *KzT* represent a transcript of the first lecture, because the typescript is a fragment and does not entirely cover all topics remembered by students. For example, Deutsch (1970) observes that Schoenberg "spoke the first words, . . . 'I finally have found out that the new technique is the completion with twelve tones of the chromatic scale, but these twelve tones in interdependence from what' [*sic*]*—*that is, those were Schoenberg's words, and he added, 'And with that, our music,' he means Austrian music, 'they have for fifty years the leadership.'"<sup>182</sup> Kolisch also recalls opening words by Schoenberg that are similar to those remembered by Deutsch; but there is no such statement in either *KzT* or Berg's notes.<sup>183</sup> The lack of the introductory remarks in *KzT* may mean that the first six pages of the typescript represent a transcript of the first lecture, and that the introduction was edited out for some reason. Or, it is possible that the announcement meeting started with the introduction, and the lecture illustrated in the first six pages of *KzT* was not the first one in the series. Here,

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<sup>179</sup> How also suggests the possibility that Schoenberg's lectures were recorded by a Dictaphone (a sound recording device used for dictation), although further study is necessary to confirm the use of the equipment in the announcement meeting (see How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 173–176). If this is the case, Berg was not necessarily present at the meeting: he could have made his notes while listening to the recording.

<sup>180</sup> How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 158 and 174.

<sup>181</sup> How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 174.

<sup>182</sup> Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 202.

<sup>183</sup> Kolisch (1973) recalls the opening phrase of Schoenberg's speech: "[H]e told us that he—but I don't know whether he called it—probably not discovery or invention, but he said he had found something, which would assure the hegemony of German music for centuries" (Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle*, 204–205).



further research on *KzT* and Berg's notes is needed to clarify Berg's presence at the announcement, although that is beyond the scope of this essay.<sup>184</sup> Regardless of what may eventually be determined on that front, it is most likely that the announcement occurred between 23 December 1921 and 3 January 1922.<sup>185</sup>

### CONCLUSION

From the above evidence, I conclude that the early lecture series was not a private preview, but its first day was the very announcement meeting about which everyone spoke. This meeting most likely occurred between 23 December 1921 and 3 January 1922, less than half a year after Schoenberg's discovery of the new method.<sup>186</sup> The "myth" of the February 1923 meeting was created by Polnauer, who seemingly misidentified the date in his speech of 1959. Polnauer's dating possibly influenced the recollections of some of Schoenberg's students in the early 1970s, and gained further support when Schoenberg's 1936 comments on Richard Hill's article were published posthumously in 1975, as the composer had already cited the same year as

<sup>184</sup> I discuss this problem in my forthcoming paper, tentatively titled "Schoenberg's Silence and Berg's Notes."

<sup>185</sup> Based on Webern's letter to Jalowetz, dated Christmas 1921, How suggests that the lecture series must have started after Christmas because the letter "did not make a reference to twelve-tone ideas or Schoenberg's new lecture series" (How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Suite for Piano Op. 25," 176). However, this is only a Christmas greeting letter: after a greeting message, Webern explained briefly about his Christmas present to Jalowetz, and ended the letter without referring to any other topic (*Anton Webern: Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, 496). On the other hand, in his next letter to Jalowetz, dated 7 January 1922, Webern reported recent news in detail, including his concert with *Schubertbund* on 10 December 1921 (NB: Webern wrote 15 December as the concert date, but the concert occurred on 10 December; see *Anton Webern: Briefe an Heinrich Jalowetz*, 500, n. 18). As this concert took place before Christmas, the lack of reference to Schoenberg's lecture series in the Christmas letter does not mean that the lecture series must have started *after* Christmas 1921. Also, How suggests that New Year's Day of 1922 "would be the perfect time for Schoenberg to announce his new twelve-tone ideas" because "the names on the New Year's Day postcard to Berg match so closely to the list of people Greissle says was there" (How, "Arnold Schoenberg's Prelude," 181). Although How assumes that the lecture series took place in early 1922, I take the position that the announcement took place as early as 23 December 1921.

<sup>186</sup> This conclusion, however, raises a new problem to be solved. Why did Schoenberg (1936) state that he was silent for nearly two years after the composition of his first twelve-tone piece, when instead he seems to have disclosed his new method in less than half a year? Although he might have confused the announcement meeting with later lectures that took place in 1923, a different explanation may be possible. A detailed discussion of this problem will be provided in my forthcoming paper, tentatively titled "Schoenberg's Silence and Berg's Notes."

Polnauer. Accordingly, this “myth” was received as established “fact” by the 1980s, and its reliability was not questioned until recently.<sup>187</sup>

This conclusion is significant for theorists as well as historians because *KzT*—a transcript of the lecture series—exhibits the musical concepts essential to Schoenberg’s twelve-tone methods, such as the *Grundgestalt*. Although further research is needed to clarify which part of the lecture series is portrayed in the typescript, the transcript must demonstrate the standing point Schoenberg had reached at the time his announcement took place. As Schoenberg’s *Nachlass* lacks writings on his new method that are dated before May 1923, *KzT* serves as a valuable document to illuminate the early stage of his development toward the twelve-tone method.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> For example, Smith indicated “in February of 1923” without any reference (*Schoenberg and His Circle*, 197), and even corrected Schoenberg (1940) as follows: “in 1924 [*actually 1923*] I had become aware that Hauer had also written twelve-tone music” (*Schoenberg and His Circle*, 198, italics mine).

<sup>188</sup> Schoenberg’s “Twelve-Tone Composition,” dated 9 May 1923, is the earliest dated article on his twelve-tone method among the source documents deposited in ASC. For this article, see *Style and Idea*, 207–208.

## APPENDIX I

## SCHOENBERG'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT MEETING

Schoenberg (1936)

Source: Commentary on Richard S. Hill's article, "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows and the Tonal System of the Future" (in *Musical Quarterly* 22/1 [1936]: 14–37); published as "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows" (1936), in *Style and Idea*, edited by Leonard Stein, translated by Leo Black (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 213.

At the very beginning, when I used for the first time rows of twelve tones in the fall of 1921, I foresaw the confusion which would arise in case I were to make publicly known this method. Consequently I was silent for nearly two years. And when I gathered about twenty of my pupils together to explain to them the new method in 1923, I did it because I was afraid to be taken as an imitator of Hauer, who, at this time, published his *Vom Melos zur Pauke*. I could show that I was on the way to this method for more than ten years and could prove so by examples of works written during this time. But, at the same time, already I did not call it a "system" but a "method," and considered it as a tool of composition, but not as a theory. And therefore I concluded my explanation with the sentence: "You use the row and compose as you had done it previously." That means: "Use the same kind of form or expression, the same themes, melodies, sounds, rhythms as you used before."

Schoenberg (1940)

Source: Memorials written in the summer of 1940; in Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life, World and Work*, translated by Humphrey Searle (London: John Calder, 1977), 442–444.

1921 found out that the greater distance between a tone and its repetition can be produced if twelve tones lay between. Started twelve-tone composition. Told Erwin Stein. I had now a way I wanted to keep all my imitators at a distance because I am annoyed by them. . . .

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

Curiously when I had shown the four basic forms, Webern confessed that he had written also something in twelve tones (probably suggested by the Scherzo of my symphony of 1915), and he said: "I never knew what to do after the twelve tones" meaning that the three inversions now could follow and the transpositions.

Schoenberg (1950a)

Source: “Protest on Trademark,” *New York Times*, 15 January 1950, p. X9; reprinted in “Schoenberg and America,” selected and edited by Sabine Feisst, in *Schoenberg and his World*, edited by Walter Frisch (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 307–308.

Today atonality is tolerated by all radio listeners, on condition that it will not try to say anything sensible, anything to move your soul, to touch your feelings.

I could not have foreseen that in 1921 when I showed my former pupil, Erwin Stein (now at Boosey & Hawkes) the means I had invented to provide profoundly for a musical organization granting logic, coherence and unity. I then asked him to keep this a secret and to consider it as my private method with which to do the best for my artistic purposes.

But in the meantime, Josef Hauer had tried similar procedures, and if I were to escape the danger of being his imitator, I had to unveil my secret. I called a meeting of friends and pupils, to which I also invited Hauer, and gave a lecture on this new method, illustrating it by examples of some finished compositions of mine.



Schoenberg (1950b)

Source: “Wiesengrund,” December 1950; in Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 338.

When a few years after the First World War I invited my friends and acquaintances to take note of my recently developed new technique, I first explained what led me to it. Then I illustrated the use of the rows with examples from my most recent works. At the end I formulated my most important thesis: one follows the row, but otherwise composes as before.

[. . .]

In the fall of 1921, when I completed the first compositions based on this new method, I called Erwin Stein . . . to come to Traunkirchen and asked him to guard as my secret for as long as I found it necessary what I thought to share with him. He gave me this promise and kept it loyally. When, however, I returned to Vienna some time later, I heard rumors about Josef Hauer’s *Tropenlehre*, which would have made me appear as a plagiarist of Hauer. That wounded and disturbed me, and I had to resolve to comment on it.

## APPENDIX II

## A LIST OF SCHOENBERG'S VIENNESE STUDENTS, GROUPED BY THE STARTING YEAR OF STUDIES

Year	Name
before 1904	Elsa Bienenfeld, Vilma von Webenau
1904	Alban Berg, Karl Horwitz, Zdzislaw Jachimecki, Heinrich Jalowetz, Viktor Krüger, Anton von Webern, Egon Wellesz
1906	Erwin Stein
1907	Robert Neumann
1908	Benedict Fred Dolbin
1909	Karl Linke, Josef Polnauer
1910	Ernst Galitzenstein, Ernst Kraus, Elisabeth Rethi, Wilhelm Winkler, Fritz Zweig
1911	Karl Blau, Rudolf Heller, Robert Kolisko, Paul Königer
1912	Max Deutsch
1914	Gottfried Kassowitz
1916	Ernst Bachrich
1917	Richard Leonard Ehrmann, Berta Engel-Miller, Zenka Glücklich-Frischmann, Pauline Klarfeld, Fritz Heinrich Klein, Paul Pella, Paul Amadeus Pisk, Erwin Ratz, Selma Stampfer, Matthias Winkelmayr
1918	Lola Allers, Erich Allina, Johanna Beil, Hugo Breuer, Otto Breuer, Lydia Brodsky, Lily Diamant, Frida Dicker, Edgar Elbagen, Marta Maria Frank, Harry Gröbel, Regi Hammer, Käthe Harms, Karl Hein, Helene Herschel, Käthe Horner, Grete Jeiteles, Hanns Jelinek, Olga Kaupy, Markus Klein, Margarete Kneplers, Martha Koref, Lili Kowalska, Else C. Kraus, Otto Lammermann, Hans Josef Leitner, Hans Mahler, Alice Moller, Hans Neumann, Olga Novakovic, Walter Oesterreicher, Karl Rankl, Gertrud Reif, Gertrud Schiff, Dolly Schlichter, Viktor Schlichter, Zofia Spatz, Walter Steffen, Roland Tenschert, Josef Trauneck, Viktor Ullmann, Maria Ulrich, Hans Urban, Eta Veith, Otto Wächter, Anton Walchner, Alfons Wallis, A. Wallner, Anny Wottitz, Christine Wurst
after 1918	Rudolf Serkin
1919	Leo Brüstiger, Hanns Eisler, Emy Estermann, Heinrich Fath, Grete Feuer, Gustav Fuchs, Margit Halirsz [?], Fritz Kaltenborn, Hugo [= Fritz?] Kaltenborn, Marianne Kirschner, Rudolf Kolisch, Edith Komeisch, Malvide Kranz, Friedrich Mahler, Hedwig Massarek, Hans Mayer, Louise Plohn, Josef Rufer, Magda Schwarz, Walter Herbert Seligmann, Lisette Seybert, Christian Spanner-Kamoger [?], Lona Wassertrudinger
1919 [?]	Victor Seybert
1920	Felix Greissle, Georg Heinbach, Othmar Steinbauer
1921	Józef Koffler
1921 [?]	Hermann Grab
1922	Hans Erich Apostel
1923	Roberto Gerhard
before 1924 [?]	Löhner
before 1925 [?]	Richard Hauser
1925	Winfried Zillig
[information unavailable]	Irene Bien, Friedrich Deutsch, Hans Enders, R. Farris, Erna Gál, Lona Truding, Rudolf Wenzel

1. The above table is based on information provided by the list "Pupils of Schoenberg in Mödling and Vienna" that appeared on the Arnold Schoenberg Center's homepage before an update to its website. This table includes attendants of his "Seminar for Composition," which took place between October 1918 and June 1919, and October 1919 and June 1920. For the attendants of these seminars, Appendices II and III of Jerry McBride, "Dem Lehrer Arnold Schönberg," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 8/1 (1984), 37–38, was also consulted. When there is conflicting information about the starting year of a pupil's studies, between the list of the Arnold Schoenberg Center and the appendices of McBride, I have followed the dating of the latter.
2. Those who became Schoenberg's students in the same year are ordered alphabetically.
3. Parenthesized question marks in the list from the Arnold Schoenberg Center are maintained.

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## ABSTRACT

Arnold Schoenberg recalled that he gathered about twenty of his students in 1923, in order to announce his new compositional method based on twelve tones, which he had kept confidential for nearly two years. His reminiscences about this announcement appear several times in his writings, yet his reference to the date of the occasion varies from recollection to recollection. The reminiscences of his students are not consistent in this regard either, although “February 1923,” identified by Josef Polnauer, has been widely accepted as the date of the meeting. However, this date has become a point of debate in recent studies, along with the publications of newly uncovered documents related to Schoenberg’s announcement. In particular, a letter by Anton Webern, dated 7 January 1922, reveals that Schoenberg conducted a lecture series on his new method *before* 1923. In this essay, the author investigates recollections of the announcement meeting made by Schoenberg and his students to see if they contain any confusions or misunderstandings that might have caused an incorrect dating. After sorting out the details, the author discusses the unreliability of Polnauer’s dating, speculates on how the “myth” of a February 1923 meeting was created, and concludes that the first day of the lecture series (described by Webern) was actually the oft-cited announcement meeting, which most likely occurred between 23 December 1921 and 3 January 1922.

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Fusako Hamao is an independent scholar who received her Ph.D. in Music Theory from Yale University. Her study on the origin of Schoenberg’s twelve-tone method appeared in *Current Musicology*, and on the sources of the texts in Mahler’s *Lied von der Erde* in *19th-Century Music*. She is currently working on articles about Schoenberg’s *Gedanke* Manuscripts as well as on Webern’s activity in the wake of the *Anschluss*.

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