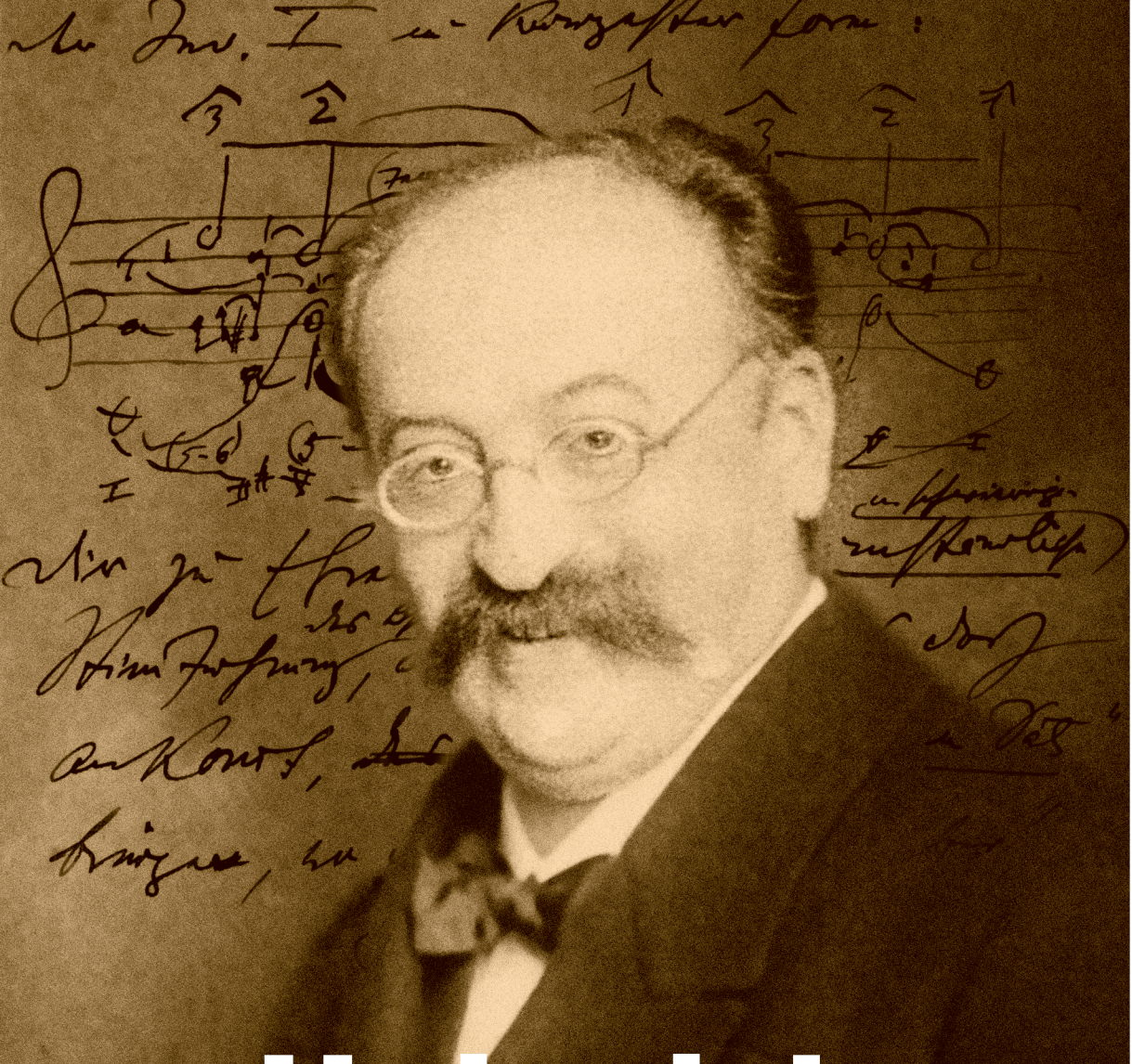

Heinrich Schenker

Selected Correspondence

Edited by

Ian Bent, David Bretherton
and William Drabkin

Heinrich Schenker

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Preface and Acknowledgments

The framework for all Schenkerian historical and biographical studies—and of a great deal else besides—is provided by Heinrich Schenker's own filing system, i.e. the folders in which he stored his ever-increasing mass of working papers, correspondence, diaries, and other materials at his apartment. This system was evidently a joint creation: the product of Schenker's own legalistic mind, but also significantly of Jeanette's organizational powers. How far back the two were acquainted is unknown, but she may have done secretarial work for him during the summer vacations that her family spent together with him between 1903 and 1909.[1] It was in 1910 that Jeanette left her first husband, Emil Kornfeld, and their sons Erich and Felix in Aussig (Ústí nad Labem) to share her life with Schenker in Vienna.[2]

In 1911 Jeanette started taking down the contents of Schenker's diaries from dictation using her stenographic skills and copying them in her neat hand. At some point she organized the disparate-sized sheets and scraps of paper that constituted his early diaries and paginated them; and in 1912 she compiled an index of all the diaries from 1896 to September 1912 in a small, alphabetically tabbed book—an invaluable, but little-known, biographical resource.[3] In later years, after the couple's marriage in 1919, there are records of their purchasing folders, labeling them, and filing papers away.[4] There are also records of their purchasing two boxes of index cards for the cataloguing of papers.[5] Additionally, Jeanette took down Schenker's lesson notes and copied them into "lessonbooks," starting with January 15, 1912. She copied extracts from documents for his use and took down many important items of correspondence in shorthand, writing

[1] Communication from Heribert Esser, May 1, 2007. The first mention of Jeanette in Schenker's diary is: "July 6 [1909]: to Steinach / 19th: arrival of J[eanette] K[ornfeld] / 20th: departure for Switzerland with Floriz and Felix Pollak."

[2] September 20, 1910, never to see them again, with the exception of Felix, whom she encountered in Theresienstadt concentration camp (communication from Heribert Esser, July 22, 2007).

[3] This index is held with the diaries in the Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection, Box 4, folder 9, and is glued to p. 1045, in the middle of 1915.

[4] E.g.: "Large-format folders and labels purchased for *Free Composition* […] The first ordering of the folders for *Free Composition* with the marked-up labels completed; three full containers yet to be put in order" (diary, December 18–19, 1930); "A folder created for Urlinien" (September 25, 1927); "The letters taken from the folder and placed in a box" (December 7, 1927); "The thick folder of letters emptied; letters 27–29 examined, ordered, and filed away" (November 1, 1929).

[5] E.g.: "Cards for the card file (*Kartothek*) purchased" (March 16, 1927); "Lie-Liechen puts the card file in order" (December 3, 1927); "The second card catalog (*Zettelkatalog*) purchased at Schwanhäuser (20.40 shillings)" (February 21, 1928); "Card-file and cards for the Urlinie graphs purchased" (December 7, 1928).

first drafts for Schenker to amend and copy out; on other occasions she made file copies of letters of which he needed a permanent record (there are examples of both situations in the present volume). She also helped draft his theoretical and analytical texts and thoughts. Schenker once declared that in addition to being an excellent cook Jeanette "stands fully equipped at my side intellectually"; and in a codicil to his will he stated: "Without her practical help down to the very last detail, it [*Free Composition*] would not be complete."[6]

After Schenker's death, Jeanette re-assembled his papers into 84 folders.[7] She entrusted the extensive correspondence that Schenker received from Universal Edition and Drei Masken Verlag, and sundry other correspondence (together with his scrapbook, lessonbooks, unpublished theoretical works, draft materials for *Free Composition*, analyses and sketches for works by Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, and Brahms, and items of his library) to Ernst Oster at the time of his emigration to the United States in 1938. Oster bequeathed these materials to the New York Public Library, and they were catalogued by Robert Kosovsky in 1989–90 as "The Oster Collection: Papers of Heinrich Schenker" (OC). A finding list was published in 1990 and a complete set of microfilms was issued.

Immediately prior to her deportation to Theresienstadt in 1942, Jeanette entrusted a second large batch of folders, including all the diaries, and correspondence to and from over 400 correspondents (together with her husband's compositions, scores, and biographical materials) to Erwin Ratz, who had twice prevented her deportation but was unable to protect her on the third occasion. Ratz kept the materials safe in Vienna throughout the war, selling them in the mid-1950s to Oswald Jonas, who in 1965 took up a professorial position at the University of California, Riverside. After Jonas's death in 1978, the collection was transferred to the University by his family, along with his own papers and those of Moriz Violin, who had died in San Francisco in 1956, the whole collection being named "The Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection" (OJ).[8] One result of this merging of three sets of papers was the re-integration of the massive two-way correspondence between Schenker and Violin, amounting to some 1,026 items—far and away the largest single personal correspondence. This Collection was catalogued by Robert Lang and JoAn Kunselman and a checklist made available in 1982, with the help of Irene Schreier Scott, Heribert Esser, Hellmut Federhofer, and Genoveva Violin Windsor; a printed version of this checklist was published in 1994.

Before both of those transactions, in April 1936, Jeanette had sold six folders (containing Schenker's studies of thoroughbass in J. S. Bach and C. P. E. Bach and analyses of compositions by J. S. Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and others) to Felix Salzer, who fled to the United States in 1939. To these were added Salzer's own

[6] "[…] my wife prepares such wonderful meals, the same wife who, like me, eats potatoes and moreover also stands fully equipped at my side intellectually" (letter to August Halm, November 2, 1922); codicil dated May 20, 1934.

[7] Counting folders 11 and 11a–i as separate folders.

[8] An overview of the Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection, with introduction and itemized inventory of contents can be found online at http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf4j49n9zc/.

papers after his death in 1986, and the entirety was bequeathed to the New York Public Library in 2001, where it was catalogued by John Koslovsky in 2007 and named "The Felix Salzer Papers" (FS).[9] Salzer's own papers included his surviving correspondence, among which were the letters and postcards that Schenker had written to him (thus providing the counterpart to those that Schenker received from Salzer), and a small amount of correspondence from Hans Weisse to Schenker.[10]

The Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection opened to the public (initially with some restrictions) in 1979. Charlotte E. Erwin and Bryan R. Simms were among the first to explore its contents, producing a dual-language edition of the letters from Arnold Schoenberg to Schenker in 1981.[11] But the lion's share of early research into this archive was undertaken by Hellmut Federhofer, who spent five months working at Riverside between October 1980 and February 1981 excerpting entries from the diaries and transcribing letters to and from Schenker. Much of the resulting material is incorporated into his *Heinrich Schenker nach Tagebüchern und Briefen in der Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection* (1985), in which he sought to establish an accurate biographical framework, and to open up areas of Schenker's life and work that had for various reasons hitherto been out of public view. Notable among these were Schenker's relations with artists, scholars, and writers on music in Vienna; his opinions of composers and contemporary performers; and his "world outlook" on the issues of genius, journalism, commerce, trade, politics, wealth, religion, and Jewry. Every student of the development of Schenker's life and thought is indebted to this ground-breaking book and to the articles that Federhofer wrote in the 1980s, as well as to his 1990 edition of Schenker's early music criticism.[12]

Federhofer did not, however, have access to the Oster Collection. Since the late 1980s this Collection has provided a rich source of materials for investigations across the entire field of Schenker studies. The numerous collections of analytical sketches and drafts have proven especially rewarding in examining the development of Schenker's graphic techniques, and also for studying Schenker's approaches to individual pieces of music. The Collection has enabled scholars to chart the slow coming to fruition of *Free Composition* and to study, and in some cases retrieve for publication, theoretical works that Schenker left incomplete. Increasingly scholars have been drawn to the files of correspondence, to the lessonbooks, and to Schenker's scrapbook as sources for biographical information, intellectual development, and publication and reception history.

[9] An overview and detailed description of the Felix Salzer Papers can be found online at http://archives.nypl.org/mus/20415.

[10] A detailed typescript description by Robert Kosovsky of Jeanette's distribution of Schenker's papers and copies of Jeanette's list of the contents of the 84 folders are included on reel 1 of the set of forty-seven microfilm reels of the entire Oster Collection issued by the New York Public Library.

[11] Charlotte E. Erwin and Bryan R. Simms, "Schoenberg's Correspondence with Heinrich Schenker," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 5 (1981): 23–43.

[12] For these works by Federhofer see Bibliography.

The web-based *Schenker Documents Online*, which aims to provide a complete, open-access, annotated dual-language edition of all of Schenker's correspondence in both directions, together with his diaries and lessonbooks, began in 2004.[13] It has had access not only to the three collections discussed above but also to correspondence in many other libraries, archives, and private collections in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and the USA.

The largest of these is the cache of 444 items, overwhelmingly letters written by Schenker to Universal Edition, housed at the Vienna Library in the City Hall (Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, formerly the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek (WSLB)), but on loan from Universal Edition's archive. The transatlantic "marriage" of this cache with materials in the United States enables scholars to bring together the two sides of this major correspondence, consolidating over 1,400 items—the largest Schenker correspondence of any type. Several other caches have similarly provided the counterparts to items in the three main collections.[14] More documents continue to come to light, often as a result of *Schenker Documents Online*'s inquiries, adding to the existing corpus, sometimes supplying the reciprocal side of an existing one-sided correspondence, occasionally bringing a new correspondent into the fold.

Most recently, in 2012 twelve items from Schenker to the Photogram Archive were tracked down in the Austrian National Library (PhA/Ar), complementing those already known from the Archive to the Schenkers; and, during the preparation of this volume, thirteen letters to and from the Vienna Academy were unearthed in the archive of the Academy (now UfMdK), providing crucial new evidence to complement the known correspondence.[15] Items from all these matched collections are included in this volume.

The present volume is in part a product of *Schenker Documents Online*, and its contributors are all contributing scholars to that website. Here the roughly 450 selected documents have been assembled under six general, broadly chronologically arranged themes, the contents of which are themselves presented in roughly chronological order in such a way as to cause communications from and to different correspondents to intersect with and play off against one another.

[13] Its url is: http://www.schenkerdocumentsonline.org/index.html. Currently some of the material is still located at http://mt.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/schenker/; this is due to be moved to the main site within the next two years.

[14] The collection of 209 items of correspondence between Schenker and J. G. Cotta in the Cotta Archive (CA), German Literary Archive, Marbach, when collated with materials in OJ, brings the total two-sided Cotta correspondence to 325 items. The collection of 51 items from Schenker to Felix-Eberhard von Cube located by William Drabkin in an apartment in Hamburg and photocopied by him in the 1980s, when collated with 52 items in OJ and OC, yield a total of 103 items of correspondence between Cube, his father Gustav, and Schenker (and whereas the Hamburg originals seem now to be lost, the photocopies have been deposited in OJ). Until 2007 only letters from Anthony van Hoboken were thought to survive; but in that year letters and postcards from Schenker to Hoboken came to light in the hands of an antiquarian dealer, and these have since been acquired by OJ.

[15] These documents were hunted down by Marko Deisinger and Martin Eybl with the kind assistance of the staff of those institutions.

These documents are accompanied by interpretive commentary in the General Introduction and the twenty-six chapter introductions.

The editors wish to express their thanks to the following institutions for their invaluable help in placing documents and photographic materials at our disposal for this book and for providing information: Special Collections and University Archives at the University of California, Riverside (Dr. Melissa Conway, Head; Sarah M. Allison, Eric Milenkiewicz); the Music Division of the New York Public Library (Dr. Robert Kosovsky, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts); the Vienna Library in the City Hall (Dr. Karl Ulz); the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna (Dr. Thomas Leibnitz, Director); the archive of the University for Music and Performing Arts, Vienna (Dr. Lynne Heller, Archivist; Erwin Strouhal); the German Literature Archive, Marbach (Dr. Eva Osswald and Dr. Birgit Slenzka of the Cotta Archive); the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, GA (Charles Barber, Assistant Director); the Johannes Messchaert Collection, Westfries Archive, Hoorn, Netherlands (Jan de Bruin); the Röntgen Archive of the Netherlands Music Institute (Dr. Frits W. Zwart, Director; Rik Hendriks); Universal Edition, Vienna (Astrid Koblanck, Director; Aygün Lausch, Heinz Stolba; Katja Kaiser, Archivist, and former archivists Martin Sima, Angelika Glatz, and Ronald Kornfeil); Mannes College the New School for Music (Dr. Joel Lester; Ed Scarcelle, Librarian); the Alban Berg Complete Edition (Dr. Regina Busch); the archive of Terezín (Theresienstadt) Memorial (Alice Beranková); Ursula Kralupper of Studio Fayer, Vienna; V. A. Heck Antiquariat, Vienna (Uta Schweger); the Orpheus Trust (Dr. Primavera Gruber); the State Library, Berlin (Dr. Helmut Hell, Jean Christophe Prümm); and the University of the Arts, Berlin (Antje Kalcher).

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After extensive inquiries, correspondence from the following are deemed to be in the public domain: the Ansorge Society Vienna; Theodor Baumgarten; Sofie Deutsch; John Petrie and Aline Dunn; Ernst Lamberg; Fritz Mendl; Heinrich and Jeanette Schenker (who had no children together; nor are any progeny from Jeanette's first marriage known to survive); Simrock; Georg Tomay; Siegfried Türkel; the Society of Viennese Music Critics; Josef Weinberger; and Hermann Wunsch.

Every reasonable effort to trace copyright owners has been made. We would be pleased to hear from those whom we have been unable to locate or have inadvertently omitted, to whom we extend our apologies.

Editorial Method

The Texts of Correspondence

All correspondence items presented in this volume were originally written in German. They have been transcribed and edited, then translated into English. (See Transcription and Translation Credits, at the back of this volume.) For every document, the full text has been given: no ellipses have been introduced. As a result, longer letters may cover a wider range of topics than is encompassed by the theme of the chapter in which they occur. The editors see this as an advantage, since it enables the reader to get a fuller sense of the interchange between correspondents and a better feel for the psychology of the writer (and the recipient).

In translating these texts (though matters vary from translator to translator) we have aimed at an idiomatic English rather than a literal rendering of the German. We want all texts to read as naturally and as clearly as possible. As part of this policy, we have occasionally allowed ourselves to enlarge slightly upon the text; but when doing this we have been careful not to stray beyond the stated or implied content of the German. Anything added to that content is supplied in square brackets. Editorial annotations are in italic type within square brackets. (Occasional square brackets in an original text have been converted to parentheses.) We have adopted American rather than British usage; this governs spellings, construction, punctuation, occasionally the choice of a word or phrase, and the format of dates. At the same time we have avoided the use of obscure or outdated idioms. In the music examples slight imprecisions in such matters as alignment in the original have been regularized, but care has been taken not to alter the musical or theoretical sense. Editorial accidentals and key signatures have been added only when absolutely necessary. Examples bearing corrections are represented by their final version.

Titles of works present a special case. For Schenker's own writings, these are rendered in English, either adopting the title of a published English translation or devising our own where none exists. The same policy has generally been adopted for publications by Schenker's pupils and associates. Works by other authors are given in the original language except where a widely accepted English translation exists. Institutions, on the other hand, are rendered in English. There are two exceptions to these rules: the title of Schenker's *Der Tonwille* has been left untranslated, as has the institutional term *Hochschule*, which does not have a clear equivalent in English ("college," "academy," and "conservatory" are approximate) and whose translation as "high school" would be misleading.

In cases where the final copy of a letter is not known to survive but a draft of that letter exists among Schenker's papers, we have presented the draft. Drafts in Jeanette's hand have often been heavily edited by Schenker, confronting the editor with more than one option. Wherever possible, we have presented what we believe to be the final version of the draft text. When, as is often the case, Schenker's

annotations are indecipherable, we have presented either the last decipherable version or the base text of the draft, with the situation described in a footnote.

We have used footnotes for a variety of purposes: to explain an ambiguity or uncertainty in the German or the meaning of a technical musical term; to describe a paleographic feature of the original document; to provide background information, especially political, cultural, or social; to describe the circumstances of the writing of a given item; to elucidate an allusion, or to identify the source of a quotation; to cite a publication or a musical composition referred to; to supply brief biographical particulars (though when a name occurs in more than one chapter of the volume, the biography for it is supplied in Biographical Notes on Correspondents and Others at the front of the volume); or to cross-refer from one item to another, or from one part of the volume to another.

The Use of Diary Entries

In many cases, whereas Schenker preserved the letters and cards received from a given correspondent, his own side of the exchange is not known to have survived. (We should remember that some of his correspondents were deported to concentration camps, others disappeared, others fled the country.) Since Schenker summarized in his diaries the content of all important incoming and outgoing correspondence, our primary purpose in introducing diary entries is to supply something missing from one side of the exchange or the other.

Schenker also used his diary to record face-to-face meetings, at home, in a coffeehouse, or at a place of business. Where such discussions form an essential part of the thread of a correspondence, we have included Schenker's record. Such summaries are often less constrained than the language of letters, affording a more candid and vivid sense of the people involved and their interactions.

Format

Each document is preceded by a heading; this gives the author(s) and addressee(s), with the firm that they represent where applicable, the type of document, and the date or dates of writing. Below this is given the shelfmark of the document (see "Library and Collection sigla" under Abbreviations below).

While the content of the body of a letter and any postscript(s) has been presented in full, along with salutation, valediction, and signature(s), other elements of a document may have been suppressed or supplied elsewhere. In particular, datelines (at the head or foot of a letter) have been suppressed and subsumed within the document heading (though if a letter was written over several days, the subsequent datelines have been retained and the date range given in the heading). Letterheads (printed, typed, stamped, or handwritten) giving the name and address of the author have in general been suppressed, as have addresses given at the foot of letters, and recipient addresses in either position, except where the geographical location of the author or recipient is itself significant. In many cases the letterhead or address is included on the first occasion and suppressed thereafter until any change of address occurs. This particularly affects writers such

as Wilhelm Furtwängler and Anthony van Hoboken, who traveled frequently and wrote from many different places. Where printed letterheads have been included, they have often been simplified by omission of telephone numbers, telegram addresses, addresses in cities other than the primary one, bank codes, and graphic elements. In the case of postcards and lettercards, sender and recipient addresses have been treated in the same way as in letters; other matter, such as postmarks, stamps, adverts, and pictures and their captions, have been suppressed, unless the information contained in them is relevant to the content of the item, in which case it has been footnoted.

Indentation of paragraphs has been regularized. The spacing of the valediction line(s) and signature(s) in the original has been approximated; where these have been squashed at the bottom of a page or turned up a margin, they have here been regularized as normal, stepped indentation. Marginal additions have where possible been incorporated into the text at the relevant point.

Abbreviations

Library and Collection sigla

CA	Cotta Archive, Schiller National Museum / German Literature Archive, Marbach, Germany
DLA	German Literature Archive, Marbach, Germany
FS	The Felix Salzer Papers, Music Division, New York Public Library, New York, USA
JM/Ar	Johannes Messchaert Collection, Westfries Archive, Hoorn, Netherlands
NMI	Netherlands Music Institute, The Hague
OC	Oster Collection, New York Public Library, USA (File 1B = copies or drafts of outgoing letters; 12 = miscellaneous materials; 18 = recent miscellaneous correspondence; 24 = correspondence relating to *Der Tonwille*; 30 = correspondence on Schenker's desk at his death; 52 = Universal Edition correspondence; 54 = Drei Masken Verlag correspondence; 82 = materials relating to Beethoven)
OJ	Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection, University of California at Riverside, Riverside, CA, USA (Boxes 5–8, 70, and 89 = outgoing correspondence; 9–15 = incoming correspondence; 35 = biographical materials; 72 = photographic materials)
ÖNB	Austrian National Library, Vienna, Austria
PhA/Ar	Photogram Archive, Music Collection, Austrian National Library, Vienna, Austria
Rothg	Personal library of John Rothgeb
Sbb	State Library in Berlin, Music Division, Berlin, Germany
UG	Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, GA, USA
UfMdK	University for Music and Performing Arts, Vienna
WSLB	Vienna Library in the City Hall (Wienbibliothek im Rathhaus), Vienna, Austria (formerly Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek)

Other abbreviations

DMV	Drei Masken Verlag
UE	Universal Edition
comp.	compiled by
ed.	edited by
edn.	edition
repr.	reprinted
rev.	revision; revised (by)
transc.	transcription; transcribed by
transl.	translation; translated by
vol.	volume

Biographical Notes on Correspondents and Others

Included below are those correspondents (marked *) and others who are represented in this volume in more than one selection. Biographical information about any person who appears in one selection only is usually given either in the introduction to that selection or in a footnote at the first appearance of his or her name.

***Guido Adler** (1855–1941) Austrian music scholar. As the first Professor of musicology at the University of Vienna (1898–1927) he established musicology as an academic discipline in Austria. He edited the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* from its inception in 1893 until 1938 and organized many conferences and festivals, notably that for Beethoven in 1927. Like Schenker, Adler gained a doctorate of law from Vienna University and studied with Bruckner at the Conservatory; his numerous doctoral students included Anton Webern, and, from Schenker's circle, Hans Weisse and Felix Salzer. (Plate 32)

***Eugen d'Albert** (1864–1932) German pianist and composer, notably of operas and musical comedies. Schenker was acquainted with him from at least 1894, receiving support from him for his early published work. (Plate 19)

Wilhelm Altmann (1862–1951) German librarian and musicologist. He joined the staff of the Royal Library (Prussian State Library) in Berlin in 1900, becoming director of the Music Collection (1915–27). Schenker was in contact with him between 1919 and 1934 about sources and photographic materials.

Carl Bamberger (1902–87) Viennese conductor and writer on music. A pupil of Schenker's from 1920 to 1924, he pursued a career in conducting. He and his wife Lotte later taught at the David Mannes Music School (from 1938 or 1939).

Paul Bekker (1882–1937) German writer on music. As chief music critic for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* 1911–23 he was an influential figure. An advocate of Wagner, Liszt, and Franz Schreker, he was ideologically opposed to Schenker, who denigrated his Beethoven monograph (1911) in the elucidatory editions of the late piano sonatas.

Aristide Briand (1862–1932) French politician, advocate of trade unions, leader of the French Socialist Party. He was eleven times Prime Minister of France between 1909 and 1929, and the winner (with Gustav Stresemann) of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1926 for the Locarno Treaties. In 1929–30 he put forward a plan for a European union, which Schenker denounced in *Masterwork* 3.

***Ignaz Brüll** (1846–1907) Austrian composer and pianist. A member of Brahms's circle and the first editor for UE of Mozart's keyboard music, he was acquainted with Schenker between 1897 and 1906 and performed some of Schenker's compositions. (Plate 20)

*__Ferruccio Busoni__ (1866–1924) German-Italian pianist and composer. He edited and made piano transcriptions of works by Bach and others; his artistic manifesto *Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Music* dates from 1907. He supported the publication of Schenker's music at Breitkopf & Härtel, and in 1903 conducted Schenker's *Syrian Dances* in an orchestration by Schoenberg. (Plate 22)

__Friedrich Buxbaum__ (1869–1948) Austrian cellist. He was a member of the Vienna Philharmonic (1893–1900) and the Rosé Quartet (1900–21), and professor at the Vienna Conservatory/Academy (1902–38). He founded the Buxbaum Quartet in 1921, and performed chamber music with Moriz Violin in the 1920s.

*__Felix-Eberhard von Cube__ (1903–88) German theorist and composer. After studying with Schenker (1924–26), he taught at the Rhineland Music Seminar, Duisburg (1927–31), and subsequently with Moriz Violin at the Schenker Institute in Hamburg until it closed in 1934. After war service, he reopened the school in 1947 as the Heinrich Schenker Academy; his *Lehrbuch der musikalischen Kunstgesetze*, designed for the Academy, was published in an abridged English translation in 1987. (Plate 10)

*__Walter Dahms__ (1887–1973) German writer on music, composer, violinist, and conductor. He became a strong supporter of Schenker around 1913, corresponding with him for nearly two decades, but was prevented by war service from studying with him. He shared many of Schenker's views on music and politics and was awarded a Sofie Deutsch stipend in 1920. (Plate 38)

*__Otto Erich Deutsch__ (1883–1967) Austrian music biographer, bibliographer, and cataloger. In 1919 he briefly took over the book dealership Seidel & Son, Vienna, then became Hoboken's personal librarian (1926–35); his first collaboration with Schenker was as series editor of UE's facsimile editions, beginning with the "Moonlight" Sonata (1921). He acted as an intermediary in Schenker's negotiations with DMV (1926–30), and the two collaborated on a revised edition of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony (1927–28). A leading documentary biographer of the 20th century, he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Photogram Archive. (Plate 26)

*__John Petrie Dunn__ (1878–1931) Scottish music theorist and pianist. He studied piano at the Stuttgart Conservatory before joining the faculty in 1902, then moved to Kiel Conservatory, becoming its deputy director, and later returned to Edinburgh as concert pianist and theory teacher at the University of Edinburgh (1920). He was the author of books on piano playing and orchestration, and the translator of an abridged *Counterpoint* 2. (Plate 39)

*__Alfred Einstein__ (1880–1952) German musicologist. He was the author of biographies of Schütz and Mozart and books on the Italian madrigal and the Romantic period. He prepared the editions of *Riemanns Musiklexikon* in which Schenker first gained an entry, and, as head of music publications at DMV in the mid-1920s, oversaw the initial phases of the *Masterwork* yearbooks. Editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* for fifteen years, Einstein was dismissed from that post because of his Jewishness. (Plate 28)

*__Robert Haas__ (1886–1960) Austrian musicologist, specializing in the music of the Baroque and Classical periods and in performance practice. As head of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library 1920–45 he oversaw the establishment and growth of the Photogram Archive. (Plate 33)

*__August Halm__ (1869–1929) German writer on music, composer, conductor, and teacher. He taught at the Freie Schulgemeinde in Wickersdorf 1906–10 and 1920–29. He was also music critic of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Halm corresponded extensively with Schenker from 1916 to 1927; the two men were in agreement on the state of European music, but disagreed on other matters, including the relative merits of Brahms and Bruckner. (Plate 30)

*__Viktor [Victor] Hammer__ (1882–1967) Austrian painter, sculptor, printer, and typeface designer. From 1922 he ran a printing press in Florence, while maintaining a studio in Vienna until 1939, when he moved to the USA. First in touch in 1913, he became a close friend of Schenker's in the 1920s, making a mezzotint portrait of the theorist in 1925.

__Friederike Hauser__ A friend of Moriz and Valerie Violin, Hans Weisse, and the conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, who often stayed at her home in Vienna (IX, Universitätsstrasse 2) when giving concerts in the city.

*__Emil Hertzka__ (1869–1932) Austrian music publisher. Associated with UE from 1903, he was its director from 1907 until his death. He was responsible for modernizing the company and changing its direction by signing contracts with progressive composers such as Mahler, Richard Strauss, Schoenberg, and Schreker, making agreements with or buying out other publishers, launching in-house journals to promote its catalog, and forging links in other countries. Hertzka handled Schenker personally, seeing through his publications from the *Instrumentation Table* (1908) to *Der Tonwille* (1921–24), and taking over the New Musical Theories and Fantasies from Cotta; their relationship went through alternate periods of crisis and calm, culminating in a break in 1925, but resumed in 1928. (Plate 27)

__Robert Hirschfeld__ (1857–1914) Austrian writer on music, teacher of music aesthetics at the Vienna Conservatory/Academy 1881–1914. He was a music critic for the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, the *Wiener Abendpost*, the *Österreichische Rundschau*, and other journals and co-founded the Vienna Concert Society. He was sympathetic to Wagner but hostile to Mahler, and was a member of Schenker's circle in the 1900s.

*__Anthony van Hoboken__ (1887–1983) Dutch musicologist and collector. He amassed an enormous library of books and music, mainly first and early editions of works by Baroque and Classical composers. He was a pupil of Schenker's in piano, theory, and composition, and was one of the most important patrons of his last decade. In 1927, at Schenker's instigation, he launched the Photogram Archive and chaired its Board of Trustees. (Plate 34)

Bronisław Huberman (1882–1947) Polish violinist. One of the leading soloists of the first half of the twentieth century, he also taught at the Vienna Academy from 1934 to 1936.

*__Max Kalbeck__ (1850–1921) German music critic. He moved to Vienna, becoming the highly influential music critic of the *Neue freie Presse* from 1883, and was the author of a four-volume biography of Brahms (1904–14). (Plate 21)

*__Alfred Kalmus__ (1889–1972) Austrian music publisher. He was for a long time Emil Hertzka's assistant at UE, later becoming the head of the New York office of the publishing house. In his capacity as editor of the Philharmonia series of miniature scores, Kalmus oversaw Schenker's and Deutsch's revised edition of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony and (in New York) the *Five Analyses in Sketchform* (1932).

Leo Kestenberg (1882–1962) Hungarian pianist and educator. He was the music adviser to the Prussian Ministry of Science, Culture, and Education from 1918 and Director of the Central Institute for Education and Teaching (Berlin) from 1922. He wrote books on music education and was involved, with Georg Schünemann, in reforming all levels of music education in Prussia in the 1930s. He invited Hans Weisse to deliver a lecture on Schenker in Berlin in December 1930. He was removed from his post in 1932 on account of his Jewishness; in 1938 he emigrated to Palestine.

Paul Khuner (1884–1932) Viennese industrialist, manufacturer of Kunerol (an early form of margarine). His wife was a pupil of Weisse's, and in 1931 he gave Schenker a subvention of 5,000 shillings to help with the printing costs of *Free Composition*.

Albert Kopfermann (1846–1914) German musicologist. He worked at the Royal Library (Prussian State Library) in Berlin from 1878 to 1914, becoming director of the Music Division in 1908. Schenker corresponded with him over the photographic copies of Beethoven sources for the elucidatory editions that he was then preparing.

Alfred Lorenz (1868–1939) German musicologist, best known for his four-volume study *Das Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner* (1924–33) and an article on development in the "Eroica" Symphony first movement (1924). He taught music theory and history at the University of Munich from 1922, becoming Professor there in 1926.

Ferdinand Löwe (1865–1925) Austrian conductor. He taught at the Vienna Conservatory/Academy 1884–1922, serving as its director 1919–22, and was a founding director of the Vienna Concert Society and conductor of its orchestra. Schenker may have known Löwe since the 1880s; they were close friends in the first decade of the twentieth century.

*__Joseph Marx__ (1882–1964) Austrian composer and educationalist. He taught composition, harmony, and counterpoint at the Vienna Academy 1914–52, serving also as its director (1922–24), and was the first rector of the Music Hochschule in Vienna (1925–27). A conservative but influential music critic for the *Neues Wiener*

Journal 1931–38, he supported the proposed introduction of a textbook based on Schenker's *Theory of Harmony* at the Academy. (Plate 31)

Siegfried Ochs (1858–1929) German choral conductor, founder in 1882 of the Berlin Philharmonic Chorus, also editor of J. S. Bach cantatas and the *St. Matthew Passion*.

*__Reinhard Oppel__ (1878–1941) German composer, music historian, and theorist. He taught theory at Kiel Conservatory 1911–24, then lectured in theory and history at the University of Kiel until 1931, with a post also at the Leipzig Conservatory 1927–40. He carried on a voluminous correspondence with Schenker between 1913 and 1935 and had occasional lessons. He assisted Schenker with the preparation of *Brahms: Octaves and Fifths*, and remained in touch with Jeanette Schenker until 1939.

Richard von Perger (1854–1911) Austrian conductor and educator. He was concert director of the Vienna Society of the Friends of Music (1895–1907) and concurrently the director of its Conservatory (1899–1907).

Ferdinand Pfohl (1862–1949) German writer on music. He was music critic for the *Hamburger Nachrichten* from 1892 to 1932, and also taught music theory and history as co-director of the Vogt Conservatory 1913–34. He was an influential figure in Hamburg's musical life and wrote several books on Wagner, including a major study of his life and works (1911).

Oskar Posa (1873–1951) Austrian conductor and composer. He worked at the Graz Opera House from 1911 to 1913 and, as a member of Schoenberg's circle, co-founded the Society for Creative Musicians in Vienna.

*__Julius Röntgen__ [__Roentgen__] (1855–1932) German composer, conductor, and pianist. He lived in Amsterdam for most of his professional life, where he was director of the Conservatory 1912–24. He was a regular accompanist for Julius Stockhausen, Johannes Messchaert, and Pablo Casals. He also edited the keyboard music of J. S. Bach for UE, and other Baroque chamber works. (Plate 25)

Herman Roth (1882–1938) German writer on music. He was a music critic in Leipzig and Munich, and later taught in Stuttgart and Berlin; he edited works by Bach, Handel, and other composers. His textbook *Elemente der Stimmführung* (1926) was influenced by Schenker's *Counterpoint*.

Alphons von Rothschild (1878–1942) Art collector and philanthropist. A member of the Vienna branch of the Rothschild family, he was a major collector of artworks, furniture, manuscripts, and stamps. A piano pupil of Schenker's prior to 1899, he was also Schenker's first important patron, financing the publication of *Theory of Harmony* and *Counterpoint 1*.

*__Felix Salzer__ (1904–86) Austrian (later American) music theorist and teacher, pupil of Hans Weisse in the 1920s, then of Schenker as part of the latter's seminar (1931–34); he also earned his doctorate under Guido Adler at the University of Vienna. After Schenker's death he taught at the New Vienna Conservatory, and he succeeded Weisse at the David Mannes Music School, New York, in 1940,

becoming its director 1948–55. His first book, *Sinn und Wesen der abendländischen Mehrstimmigkeit* (1935), was written with Schenker's encouragement. His compendious *Structural Hearing: Tonal Coherence in Music* (1952) was for many years the leading textbook in Schenkerian analysis. (Plate 42)

Jeanette Schenker [Lie-Liechen, Lie-Lie] (1874–1945) Wife of Heinrich Schenker. She was born Jeaneth Schiff; with her first husband, Emil Kornfeld, she had two sons, then she left him in 1910 to be with Schenker in Vienna; the couple married in 1919. From 1911 she worked as Schenker's shorthand secretary and amanuensis, writing up his diaries and correspondence, and drafts of his writings. After his death she oversaw the publication of *Free Composition*, sold the greater part of her husband's library, organized his papers, and entrusted these to safe-keeping. She was deported to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, where she died a few months before the end of World War II. (Plates 15–18)

Julia Schenker (1826–1917) Mother to at least six children, of which Heinrich was the fifth. Schenker was much attached to her, and she represented a close link with his Jewish background. In her last years she lived with his older brother Wilhelm and his wife in Kautzen; Schenker was much involved in arranging the rituals for her death.

Moriz [Mozio] Schenker (1874–1936) Schenker's younger brother, a banker with the Austrian Provincial Bank, later the Treuga Bank; he oversaw Schenker's financial affairs, and on his behalf negotiated a settlement with UE in 1925; but in 1929 Schenker wrestled with him to regain his savings, in part to finance the publication of the "Eroica" Symphony analysis (*Masterwork 3*) and *Free Composition*.

Franz Schmidt (1874–1939) Austrian composer, pianist, and cellist. He studied at the Vienna Conservatory, returning there to teach cello (from 1901), piano (from 1914) and counterpoint and composition (from 1922); he was director of the Academy (as the Conservatory became) 1925–27 and subsequently served as rector of the recently formed Music Hochschule (1927–31). Before World War I Schmidt was for many years also a cellist in the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and at the Court Opera.

Fritz Stein (1879–1961) German organist and conductor. He was director of music at the University of Jena and the city's organist from 1906. He taught at the University of Kiel from 1920, becoming professor in 1928; from 1933 to 1945 he was director of the Music Hochschule in Berlin.

Jane Stirling (1804–59) Amateur Scottish pianist. She was a pupil and later a close friend of Chopin, to whom she gave assistance on his final concert tour of Great Britain in 1848–49. Her collection of printed copies of works by Chopin, annotated by the composer, was the principal source of Édouard Ganche's influential "Oxford" edition of Chopin (1928–32).

*__Karl Straube__ (1873–1950) German organist, teacher, and choral conductor. He was organist and Kantor at the Thomaskirche, Leipzig, and in 1919 he founded the Church Music Institute at the Leipzig Conservatory. He was a friend of Wilhelm

Furtwängler; both musicians sought to interest the major Leipzig publishing houses, C. F. Peters and Breitkopf & Härtel, in Schenker's analysis of the "Eroica" Symphony.

Charles Sanford Terry (1864–1936) English music historian. He taught at the University of Aberdeen from 1898 and was Professor of music there from 1903 to 1930, specializing in the music of J. S. and J. C. Bach.

Fritz Ungar (1898–1988) Austrian publisher. He founded the Phaidon Verlag in 1922 and the Saturn Verlag in 1926. Ungar was a cousin of Oswald Jonas and with Saturn published a pair of early books on Schenkerian theory by Jonas (1934) and Salzer (1935).

*__Moriz Violin [Floriz]__ (1897–1956) Austrian pianist and teacher. He was the music director of Wolzogen's Buntes Theater in Berlin (1901–02), then returned to Vienna to teach the advanced piano class at the Conservatory/Academy (1908–12). In 1921 he moved to Hamburg, where he taught at the Vogt Conservatory before founding a Schenker Institute in that city (1931), only to return to Vienna after the National Socialists came to power. From 1935 to 1938 he taught in the Schenker Institute within the New Vienna Conservatory, moving to the USA (with Schoenberg's assistance) after the annexation of Austria (1938) and finding employment in San Francisco. Violin was Schenker's closest friend and confidant, with whom he shared the familiar "Du"; more than 1,000 items of correspondence between Violin and his wife Valerie ("Wally") and the Schenkers survive from a period of three decades. (Plates 40, 41)

*__Otto Vrieslander__ (1880–1950) German composer and musicologist. He lived for much of his life in the Munich area, moving to Switzerland in 1929. Although a pupil of Schenker's only briefly (1911–12), he remained a member of Schenker's closest circle, and their correspondence (1910–35) may amount to well over 800 items. Vrieslander assisted with the drawing of music examples and graphs for *Masterwork 2* and prepared a revision of the *Theory of Harmony*, which was intended as a textbook at the Vienna Academy. He also made an "elucidatory edition" of pieces by C. P. E. Bach for UE (1914) and wrote a monograph on the composer (1923). (Plate 29)

George Wedge (1890–1964) American organist and educator. He studied at the Institute of Musical Art in New York (returning there later as its dean), then taught at New York University 1920–27 and the Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia, 1924–26. He is reported to have introduced Schenker's ideas into his teaching as early as 1925 and was thus probably the earliest proponent of Schenkerian theory in the USA.

*__Josef Weinberger__ (1855–1928) Austrian music publisher. The music publishing house of Weinberger, founded in Vienna in 1885, brought out editions of light opera and popular instrumental music; it published the original edition of Schenker's *Syrian Dances* (1898). With Bernhard Herzmansky and Adolf Robitschek, Weinberger co-founded UE in 1901 with the aim of providing standard Austrian editions of Classical repertory and school music. (Plate 23)

*__Hans Weisse__ (1892–1940) Austrian (later American) composer, theorist, and teacher. He was formally a pupil of Schenker's from 1908 to 1921, and for part of that time a piano pupil of Moriz Violin's; he also completed a doctorate in musicology under Guido Adler at the University of Vienna. Weisse taught privately in Vienna throughout the 1920s, his pupils including Oswald Jonas and Felix Salzer and several American musicians, among them Gerald F. Warburg and Victor Vaughn Lytle. He emigrated to the USA in 1931, teaching at the David Mannes Music School and Columbia University and creating a base upon which Schenkerian theory would flourish in American academia. (Plate 43)

General Introduction

The present volume brings together some 450 pieces of correspondence to and from the Austrian music theorist Heinrich Schenker. These have been arranged in six sections, each concerned with an aspect of Schenker's long and wide-ranging career in music. Each section contains several individual chapters that cover the correspondence relating to a specific topic or episode: the publication of a single work, the negotiations with a publisher over a series of publications; an exchange with a particular correspondent at a particular time, a musical work that became a focal point in Schenker's life, and so on. Broadly speaking, the chapters are arranged in chronological order, as are the larger sections themselves.

The title of this volume avoids the word "letters" so common on the title pages of editions of correspondence. While letters may be in the majority in the Schenker correspondence, many other formats are found therein too, including postcards, picture postcards, telegrams, calling cards, printed announcements and invitations, bank documents, and so on. Nor is this the only sense in which our volume is more inclusive than some other editions of composers' correspondence. The editors treat the "Schenker correspondence" as not just those items emanating from Schenker's pen but rather as the whole, two-sided exchange of communications. There are several reasons for making this decision.

The first is a practical one: despite what has been said in the Preface, there are still many instances of correspondence for which only the "other" side is available—those of Dahms, Dunn (with the exception of one item), and Weisse (with five exceptions), for example. It should be said immediately that the Schenker correspondence is in general *not* a trivial one; on the contrary, it is a substantive body of material, long on discussion of deep and important issues, short on appointment-making and small talk. And that holds true for both sides of the exchange of letters; thus where Schenker's side is absent, there is value still in presenting the incoming communications, from which in any case some of what Schenker has previously said can be retrieved. Moreover, those incoming letters often report: "I hear from Vrieslander that …," "Weisse tells me …," "I gather that Hoboken is …," and so on. Indeed, there is a sense in which Schenker's correspondence is but one facet—to be sure, the major one—of a larger entity: the Schenker *community*. Among Schenker's circle there was constant intercommunication. Alliances, animosities, collaborations—some temporary, some long-lasting and deep-rooted—existed among its members. Schenker shows himself keenly aware of these crosscurrents, sometimes holding himself aloof, often bringing diplomacy to bear, occasionally adding fuel to the flames. Those counted as pupils, colleagues, and friends make up a moderate-sized group, whereas the greater network of communications is extensive and diverse, including publishers, performers, educators, journalists, academics, and those who consulted Schenker from far and wide for advice, information, or news of his publications, or who sought instruction from him. Amidst all of these, Schenker emerges as a controlling force, seeking advantage for his cause, ever striving for

the betterment (as he saw it) of German culture and society, and indirectly of humanity.

There is a second, related reason: What started as the enterprise of a lone figure with a powerful sense of his own mission grew, from the 1910s onward, into a discipleship of men, and indeed women,[1] proclaiming not just a theory but an entirely new way of listening to and experiencing music. In this way, Schenker's voice had by 1930 become the voices of many in a geographically expanding domain.

Then there are Schenker's diaries. Numbering more than 4,000 meticulously inscribed pages written over a period of forty years, these extraordinary documents on the one hand chart the momentous events of Europe—war, treaties, the fall of monarchies, hyperinflation, poverty and hunger, and the rise of democracy, Marxism, and fascism—and on the other hand they detail the practicalities of domestic life and his relationship with the beloved Jeanette. Crucially, these diaries also record the daily inflow and outflow of correspondence, the main points of each item being summarized, sometimes supplemented with Schenker's reactions. It is these summaries that furnish the third reason for including both sides of Schenker's correspondence, for where his side is not known to survive the editors have been able to use his summaries of his own outgoing letters and postcards as proxies for the items themselves. Or, put conversely, they are able to use the letters of others as a scaffolding for the reconstruction of Schenker's part in the discourse even when that is not available.

We must not forget that diaries are as fallible as any other human document; this is particularly so in Schenker's case, for we know his diaries were written up not daily but typically weekly and sometimes even months later, often during the ensuing summer (he records precisely when that process took place). Just how he preserved the information in the meantime is something about which we can only speculate: he may have made notes, or kept rough drafts of diary entries until he had dictated them to Jeanette. Evidently some accuracy was lost in the process: the surviving correspondence is occasionally misdated in the diaries, and sometimes important items are left unrecorded altogether.

However judiciously selected, the items of correspondence chosen for this volume cannot adequately represent the 7,000 or more that are known to survive. The editors have striven to provide a cross-section of the types of document, topics, and styles of writing encompassed by the totality. But they encountered several obstacles, the first being that more than half of the correspondence has yet to be studied. Many whole sets of correspondence have, to the best of our knowledge, never been broached: for instance, the eighty-nine items of correspondence with the musicologist and editor Herman Roth, the forty-two pieces with the art critic and painter Adalbert Franz Seligmann, and the thirty-two items from Hilda

[1] Most notably his long-standing and loyal pupils Angi Elias and Marianne Kahn (both of whom had their own pupils, to whom they no doubt disseminated Schenker's ideas) and Evelina Pairamall, and to a lesser extent also Greta Kraus and Trude Kral from his seminar of 1931–34, and above all Jeanette. Nor should we forget the role that his female patrons Irene Mayerhofer (Graedener), Jenny Eissler, and Sofie Deutsch, as well as Angi Elias, played in Schenker's advancement.

Rothberger, wife of businessman and medal engraver Alfred Rothberger. Only a tiny fraction of the correspondence with Schenker's brothers Wilhelm and Moriz (159 items) has yet been examined, as is the case also for that with Jeanette's brothers and sisters and their spouses, Paul and Anna Schiff, Victor Schiff, and Arnold and Rosa Weill (forty-seven items). Then again, while frequent exchanges between Schenker and his sister Schifre and her family are recorded in the diaries, a mere seven items survive, and no letters are preserved at all between Schenker and his mother Julia. As a result, Schenker's family and that of his wife are entirely unrepresented in this volume, regrettable though that is.

Timing ultimately worked against two chapters originally planned for inclusion in this volume: that presenting correspondence with Reinhard Oppel, who taught theory at Kiel Conservatory from 1911, Kiel University from 1924, and Leipzig Conservatory from 1927; and that with the artist Viktor Hammer, whose mezzotint portrait of Schenker (1926) is the most celebrated visual image we have of the theorist.[2] A somewhat different obstacle arose with respect to the correspondence with Otto Vrieslander, who was Schenker's pupil and active supporter in many roles from 1912 to the theorist's death. Jeanette eventually returned Vrieslander's letters to him, and the resulting dual-sided collection, which apparently numbers in excess of 800 items—making it the second largest of all the personal correspondence sets—is now in private possession.[3] Its inaccessibility creates the single greatest lacuna in the entire Schenker correspondence, and one can only hope that it will become available to scholars sooner rather than later—not least because of the far-reaching correspondence Vrieslander conducted with Jeanette between her husband's death and her deportation to Theresienstadt.

Other exclusions were self-imposed because of the inevitable limits of space; of these, Schenker's communications with journal and newspaper editors while serving as music critic in Vienna between 1891 and 1901 would have deserved a place in Section I; and his correspondence with Universal Edition over the elucidatory editions of the late Beethoven piano sonatas and over his final three publications, *Five Analyses in Sketchform*, Brahms's study of parallel octaves and fifths in the musical canon, and *Free Composition*, had a rightful claim to a place in Section II.

The editors have elected instead to offer more material on a limited number of issues, so as to achieve depth in preference to sheer coverage. In so doing, they have arranged the selections in such a way as to show off Schenker's correspondence in many different lights: artistic, intellectual, business, professional, polemical, and private, and encompassing his work in composition, performance, editing, source studies, theory, pedagogy, and analysis.

[2] For Oppel see Timothy L. Jackson, "Heinrich Schenker as Composition Teacher: The Schenker–Oppel Exchange," *Music Analysis* 20, no. 1 (March 2001): 1–115; For Hammer see Hedi Siegel, "Looking at the Urlinie," in *Structure and Meaning in Tonal Music: Festschrift in Honor of Carl Schachter*, ed. L. Poundie Burstein and David Gagné (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2006), pp. 79–99.

[3] See Federhofer (1985), pp. 213–16 and *passim*; *Schenker-Traditionen*, pp. 246–47, 196–99; and *New Grove Dictionary of Music* (2001) and *Grove Music Online*.

What follows is an overview of the six main sections of the volume. Here the editors offer some interpretation of and broader reflection upon the material contained in each of those sections with the occasional speculation that goes beyond the scope of the individual chapter introductions and the footnoting of the correspondence items.

Section 1, **The Early Career**, presents several facets of Schenker's artistic and professional life prior to the publication of his *Theory of Harmony*. Schenker's earliest years in Vienna were devoted to law studies at the University and music at the Conservatory. He spent a little over two years at the Vienna Conservatory, little of it in the study of composition *per se* (he was in Bruckner's harmony and counterpoint lectures); but in the 1890s he devoted considerable time to composition and by the turn of the century had assembled a portfolio of some fifty works or works-in-progress, of which eight had appeared in print. Schenker had the good fortune to win the support of two eminent pianist-composers of the day, Eugen d'Albert and Ferruccio Busoni. Both spoke on his behalf with leading German music publishers, and both performed his solo piano works to win support for them among the concert-going public. The *Fantasy* for piano Op. 2 was especially close to Busoni's heart: he succeeded in getting Schenker to revise it so that its three sections were run together as an uninterrupted work; and he went so far as to suggest new titles for these sections, giving the work as a whole a more programmatic orientation.

"These pieces have a touch of genius about them" (*Diese Stücke sind genial*), wrote Busoni of Schenker's *Syrian Dances* in 1900. The German word *genial* is far stronger than the conventional usage of its mild English cognate: it means "imbued with genius," and that sentiment boosted Schenker's self-image as a composer, for in response he wrote that Busoni's kindness "gives me constant encouragement, and emboldens me to strive further." It is instructive, therefore, to follow the trajectory of this one work from before its publication in 1899 in a first, piano four-hands version, through Busoni's warm-hearted reaction, to its modest success in concert, and heart-rending to see Busoni's engagement of Schoenberg to orchestrate the accompaniments and the Berlin performance of this second version in 1903, in which Schenker must have invested his highest hopes, only for the work's catastrophic reception by the press to shatter his self-confidence as a composer.

By contrast, Schenker's collaboration with another leading performer of the day—the Dutch baritone Johannes Messchaert—brought lasting happy memories from his early Viennese years. It is Schenker's only known stint as a touring artist, and one he undertook primarily as a singer's accompanist.[4] Although the tour lasted only a number of weeks, Schenker recorded the impact that Messchaert's artistry had on him in letters to other correspondents (see the letter to Cube of April 29, 1928) and in his writings on music long after the event;[5] it is even mentioned in the tiny entry on Schenker in *Riemanns Musiklexikon* of

[4] He also accompanied the bass singer Eduard Gärtner in the 1890s and early 1900s in major Viennese concert venues; see Federhofer (1985), p. 19, fn. 37.

[5] See *Tonwille 6*, vol. 2, pp. 35–36 (Ger. orig., 41).

1929, three decades later. For Schenker, Messchaert's art represented the antidote to intoxication with opera, which is why he placed it higher than that of the leading Italian tenor of the time, Enrico Caruso. How much of Schenker's own artistic sensibility, conversely, rubbed off on the singer is an interesting point of speculation: Messchaert's approach to diction and declamation, which so impressed the young Schenker, is in part recorded in an essay that was brought out posthumously in 1927.[6] Schenker acquired a copy of this and noted that its content agreed precisely with his own recollections.

As Schoenberg wrote to Schenker in 1904, "You [...] oblige me to pay you the compliment of giving the real reason why we regard your involvement as essential. Is it necessary to emphasize that we are delighted to find one intellect among musicians?" One wonders what these words—assuming they were genuinely meant—were based on: most likely on Schenker's ten years of writings as a critic, perhaps also on private conversations while the two men were in collaboration over the *Syrian Dances*. Or perhaps Schoenberg was merely using flattery to recruit another member to his planned Society for Creative Musicians. Schenker's side of the correspondence is lost, and the diary does nothing to help us; but his responses were clearly evasive, for he seems not to have attended any of the meetings.

With hindsight, the spectacle of Schenker acting as agent for a publisher is a strange one indeed. But on March 15, 1901, he wrote to Julius Röntgen to recruit him to the fledgling Universal Edition's new series of Austrian practical editions of classical works. Schenker had been aware of Röntgen since at least 1896[7] and admired him as a "deep-thinking, deep-feeling" pianist, not in the virtuoso mold. Josef Weinberger had published Schenker's *Syrian Dances* in his own publishing house in 1899, and early in 1901 as one of the three founders of Universal Edition[8] had offered Schenker his own part in the new editorial venture. Both Röntgen and Schenker opted for eighteenth-century keyboard music: Röntgen for works by J. S. Bach,[9] Schenker for sonatas by C. P. E. Bach, the manuscript of which he handed over in the final week of 1901.

Perhaps his choice of Carl Philipp Emanuel led Schenker to a close engagement with the *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, which in turn led to his writing of *Ornamentation* and so to a life-long interaction with Bach's "master text." What is clear is that it inducted him also into the world of editing and arranging: next to arrangements of organ concertos by Handel (1905), and

[6] Johannes Messchaert, *Eine Gesangstunde*, ed. Franziska Martienssen (Mainz: Schott, [1927]), a copy of which was in Schenker's library at his death.

[7] Schenker heard Röntgen at a concert by Johannes Messchaert on February 5, 1896, describing him in his review of the concert as: "A pure artist, a pure human being, a charming artist, a charming human being." Federhofer (1990), pp. 318–19; see also ibid, pp. 325–28.

[8] The others were Bernhard Herzmansky of Doblinger and Adolf Robitschek.

[9] His contributions included the Inventions, the French and English Suites and Partitas, the Italian Concerto, the Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue in D minor, and the *Well-tempered Clavier*.

keyboard concertos by C. P. E. Bach (1907–08, unpublished[10]), then to scholarly critical editions of J. S. Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue in D minor (1910: ironically to replace that of Röntgen) and Beethoven's piano sonatas. Moreover, the publication of the edition of C. P. E. Bach sonatas and the *Ornamentation* study within six months of one another in 1903[11] was the exemplar for all his later, elucidatory editions. As the correspondence with Röntgen shows, Schenker still had his own interests as a composer very much at heart. Notable, though, is that his remark about the delayed tonic in Brahms's G minor Rhapsody, Op. 79, No. 2, in his letter of April 13, 1901, foreshadows the commentary on this passage in his *Theory of Harmony*.[12] This in turn might remind us that the precursor to the harmony manual, Schenker's unpublished essay in treatise form, "The Tone System,"[13] probably dates from around 1903. Perhaps, then, the years 1901 to 1903, when his aspirations as composer and performer still lingered, might be seen in a new light, as the period during which editing and theorizing began to converge as the parallel, inter-related activities that were to dominate his work as a mature music scholar.

Section 11, **Schenker and his Publishers**, presents some of the exchanges between Schenker and the firms that published his principal works as editor and theorist—J. G. Cotta in Stuttgart, Universal Edition in Vienna, and Drei Masken Verlag in Munich. It is hardly surprising that the letters to these three publishers should be among the most voluminous collections in the surviving papers and also among the most completely preserved. For although he repeatedly professed that he was not a businessman, and that he was forever placing himself and his work at the mercy of the publishing industry, Schenker kept careful records of his dealings with publishers lest they cause him financial damage by breaching the terms of their contracts with him. His training in the law was invaluable, and he became increasingly embroiled with the firms that he approached to bring out his editions of music, his major theoretical texts, and his analytical monographs, yearbooks and pamphlets.

With Cotta, a firm with whom he had no prior connection when he offered them his *Theory of Harmony* in 1905, Schenker conducted an entirely cordial correspondence, accepting all of their recommendations, even though they did not always accord with his artistic principles. This may in part be explained by Schenker's relatively obscure status as a scholar in the early years of the century: he had published (with Universal Edition) only his volume of keyboard music by

[10] See Schenker's diary, pp. 10, 29–33; Federhofer (1985), p. 2, fn. 7, p. 19, fn. 37.

[11] Sonatas edition submitted December 28, 1901, released February 10, 1903; *Ornamentation* submitted October 4[?], 1902, released July 24, 1903 (information from correspondence and the publication registers in the archive of Universal Edition, Vienna).

[12] *Harmony*, pp. 35–36, Ex. 28 (Ger., pp. 49–51, Fig. 32).

[13] Given the name "Das Tonsystem" by Jeanette, this survives as a manuscript and typescript (OC 31/360–87 and 388–417). See Robert W. Wason, "From *Harmonielehre* to *Harmony*: Schenker's Theory of Harmony and Its Americanization," in *Fourth International Schenker Symposium*, vol. 1, pp. 213–58.

C. P. E. Bach and its associated study of ornamentation. Indeed, he made little headway with Cotta at first; and it was only with the intervention of one of his composer-pianist supporters, Eugen d'Albert, that the publishers changed their mind and agreed to bring out the *Theory of Harmony* as a single, large volume, on a commission basis; this was the first of what were to become three volumes of New Musical Theories and Fantasies. Cotta repeatedly warned Schenker not to overextend himself, either by splitting *Theory of Harmony* into two half-volumes, or by including an Afterword that was not central to the topic. Holding out the hope that this additional text would at some point appear on its own, Schenker continued to work on the next main part of his Theories and Fantasies, provisionally entitled "Psychology of Counterpoint" as a way of distinguishing it from popular textbooks on the subject. While he was working on it between 1906 and 1908, the *Counterpoint* project became so large that publication as a single volume would have been unthinkable; Cotta duly brought out the first half-volume, which Schenker had submitted in 1908, but the remaining volumes of the Theories and Fantasies were much longer in the making and were entrusted to Universal Edition in 1921.

The principal casualty of the change of publisher was the Afterword to the *Theory of Harmony*, which had grown to a 125-page essay by the time the latter had appeared. Described for a time as the "capstone" of the entire Theories and Fantasies project, it would have been Schenker's only writing on music history (a subject in which he professed little interest), one that would have shown music to be in constant decline during the 19th and early 20th centuries. When one considers how quickly the text became dated—for the Schenker of 1906, the "moderns" were Bruckner, Wolf, and Richard Strauss—it is surprising that he continued to hold out the hope of publishing it as late as 1923, by which time a new generation of composers with yet more radical agendas constituted the dominant figures in discourse on contemporary music.

Cotta's attitude to Schenker was never more than lukewarm; Universal Edition were far more willing to support his agenda for the reform of the classics and the pedagogical tradition. This may be in part the result of their relatively recent arrival on the scene, in part a desire to support the work of Vienna-based authors, and perhaps above all a shared view of a what constituted a well edited text of a musical classic. It is not surprising that most of Schenker's work for Universal Edition in the first two decades of their association was in the realm of music editing and performance practice; in these more musicological products, which reached a climax in the elucidatory editions of the late Beethoven piano sonatas, there is a clear separation of musical text and verbal commentary, and Schenker's deepest sense of respect for the German "masters" is perhaps most tangible. One of the happier collaborations during the Universal Edition years was that with Otto Erich Deutsch, who was commissioning editor of a series of facsimile editions of Viennese composers. Together they produced a facsimile edition of Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata, at a time when Schenker's mind must have been preoccupied by incipient thoughts about the Urlinie and a theory of structural voice-leading levels. (Years later, Deutsch and Schenker were to collaborate—without receiving any credit for it—on a revised edition of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony for the Wiener Philharmonischer Verlag, a UE imprint.)

The publication of *Der Tonwille* got off to a shaky start. Secure in his understanding of a paragraph in his contract with Universal Edition that guaranteed him sole responsibility for the content of these pamphlets, Schenker set out his hardening political views in the leading article, "The Mission of German Genius." The company's director Emil Hertzka, who was normally well-disposed to Schenker's speaking his own mind, turned against the increasingly polemical tone of what Schenker wrote under the rubric "Miscellanea," the final part of each pamphlet, devoted to a discussion of musical topics—and even non-musical topics—in a cultural and political context. Schenker's outspoken francophobia, together with what Hertzka saw as gratuitous attacks upon the Frankfurt music critic Paul Bekker and other respected writers, eventually led to a complete breakdown in the once cordial relationship between publisher and author. Embittered by Hertzka's lack of support for his work, Schenker accused his publisher of withholding royalties from the sale of his works, of delaying the appearance of the pamphlets and so stifling the dissemination of his creative work, and of exploiting the success of the Beethoven editions (which, in the meantime, had expanded to include text-critical editions of all thirty-two sonatas). Schenker fought a campaign to save *Der Tonwille*, exerting pressure on friends and pupils to purchase additional copies as proof that the work was still in demand. Hertzka went so far as to guarantee regular publication by converting it from a set of free-standing pamphlets into a quarterly periodical; but the loss of trust between the two was too great; and when Schenker discovered a publishing house, Drei Masken Verlag, willing not only to take it over but also to more than double its scope—making it a yearbook of over 200 pages—he arranged a settlement with Universal Edition that put an end to *Der Tonwille*.

In spite of an auspicious beginning with Drei Masken Verlag and a friendly correspondence with their head of music, Alfred Einstein, Schenker's relationship to his new publishing house began to unravel in little over a year. The publisher had underestimated the difficulties in interpreting Schenker's terminology and the graphic symbols attached to it (special dies had to be ordered from the print foundry), and Schenker had underestimated the time needed to produce a coherent text comprising many analyses, each with its own set of music examples and graphic illustrations. Although he sent the manuscript for *Masterwork 1* to Munich by the June 1925 deadline, he made many changes to the text at proof stage, and this incurred both severe delays to publication and substantially higher production costs. Things came to a head in June of the following year when the manuscript for the second yearbook was dispatched within days of the first appearing in print: lacking any means to judge the commercial success of *Masterwork 1*, Drei Masken Verlag was determined to postpone production of the second yearbook until the fall. Schenker's initial fury at this suggestion—he accused the firm of breach of contract, noting further that the concept of a yearbook would be meaningless without continuity in the form of a series of volumes—gradually subsided in recognition that his work would ultimately be better served by a delay in its appearance than by a new legal battle. By agreeing to a revised timetable, he also gained the sympathy and support of three close members of his circle: Otto Erich Deutsch, whose personal acquaintance with Einstein helped restore relations between author and publisher and who himself

spent much time proofreading the second yearbook; Otto Vrieslander who, being based in Munich and understanding the latest developments in Schenker's graphing technique, worked directly with the engravers on the music examples; and Anthony van Hoboken, who helped finance the production costs of the yearbook.

With the publication of *Masterwork* 2, Schenker's relationship with Drei Masken Verlag reached an amicable conclusion. But he was to return to the Munich firm once more, in the spring of 1930, after learning that neither of the two main Leipzig houses (C. F. Peters and Breitkopf & Härtel) was interested in his latest work, a monograph on Beethoven's Third Symphony. Once again the ever-diplomatic Deutsch came to the rescue and arranged for Schenker's "Eroica" to be published on a commission basis as a third *Masterwork* yearbook. Publication followed more quickly, partly on account of the narrower focus of the volume, partly thanks to the enthusiasm and professionalism of the Viennese calligrapher Georg Tomay, who understood exactly Schenker's needs in the four dozen analytical examples and thirty-five pages of foreground graphs that dominate the volume; copies arrived in Berlin in December 1930, to coincide with a public lecture on Schenkerian theory given there by Hans Weisse.

Section III, **Schenker and the Institutions**, shows an individual grappling with an uncongenial world of officialdom and professional affiliation. For Schenker throughout his career, authority was something to be resisted, to wrestle with, to challenge. Indeed, from this section of the volume he might seem to emerge as anti-authoritarian and anti-establishment. Over the Sofie Deutsch bequest, he was in conflict indirectly with a charitable institution and the Ministry of Education, and directly with the Vienna Academy. In his dealings with Guido Adler it was the academic musicological community with which he declined to engage. The request that he serve on a panel of jurors for the Rothschild Artists' Foundation must have created a tension for him between on the one hand his loyalty to both Alphons von Rothschild (as former pupil and patron) and the Jewish Religious Community (to which he paid taxes), and on the other hand his instinct to distance himself from the person who had by 1916 come to embody musicological orthodoxy. That tension showed also (especially in the diary entries) over the invitation in 1926 to serve on the Beethoven Centenary Committee: he accepted, but then did not involve himself and turned down the opportunity to lecture.

Even with the Photogram Archive, an institution of his own invention set up to support his work and on the board of which he sat, he refused to involve himself in several of its public initiatives including, extraordinarily, the Archive's official opening: "I shall firmly keep my distance from these things. I shall stay at home." The long-running quest for a professorial position again exposed the dilemma for him, and his 1910 letter to Cotta (given in this volume in a footnote) bespeaks that dilemma, balancing "the attendant advantages in honor and remuneration" of such a position against the "sacrificing of my freedom."

Schenker's anti-establishment attitude and the high value he set on personal liberty seem to contradict the pro-aristocratic and anti-democratic views that he so fiercely and so ubiquitously espoused. However, for him aristocracy did not

equate with worldly authority, nor democracy with individual freedom. Monarchy and aristocracy were of a higher order, were passed down through families, and were ultimately God-given. The authorities that Schenker resisted were man-made creations: governments, ministries, professional bodies, commercial companies. He admired Rothschild because he saw him as coming from a long, aristocratic line (the Vienna Rothschild family's ennoblement in fact dates back to 1822), whereas he secretly despised Mrs. Deutsch as being a product of commercial success, and therefore middle-class and "new money." Both were his patrons, deserving of his gratitude; but in his mind they fell into different categories. He felt contempt for the numerous people upon whom "profession-specific honorary titles"[14] were bestowed, especially during the Weimar Republic as part of the system of "Orders of Merit for Service to the Republic," whom he perhaps saw as time-servers and sycophants.

While not actually claiming that he himself was imbued with genius—certainly not putting himself on a par with Beethoven and Brahms[15]—he nonetheless saw his theoretical vision as unique and coming from a higher source. This goes some way toward explaining why he refused to collaborate with anybody outside his own circle: there would have been an incompatibility of minds that would have made such cooperation futile.

Section iv, **Beethoven's Ninth Symphony**, takes a single, major work with which Schenker had a career-long involvement. The correspondence concerning Beethoven's Ninth Symphony is testimony to Schenker's belief that analysis, performance, and textual criticism were inseparable aspects of music study. A book on the Ninth—probably of modest dimensions—was mooted as the first of a series of independent "handbooks" emanating from the Afterword to the *Theory of Harmony* and demonstrating the preeminence of the masters. Cotta declined to issue this handbook before the Afterword—now conceived as an independent essay—had appeared; but they also showed little interest in bringing the latter out as the third volume of the New Musical Theories and Fantasies.

Schenker found more sympathy for a study of the Ninth in his home town. In 1910 he received an invitation from the Association of Viennese Music Critics to give a series of lectures on the work, which Universal Edition would then issue in print form. The lectures did not materialize, but Universal Edition offered Schenker a contract for a book-length study of the Ninth Symphony, which he duly completed in the middle of the following year, and which was published in 1912. Schenker had hoped that this would be complemented by a critical edition of

[14] *Berufsspezifische Ehrenzeichen*: these included, for example, Court Counselor, Chamber Counselor, Government Counselor, Medical Counselor, Veterinary Counselor, Commercial Counselor, Economic Counselor, and Education Counselor. There were also counselorships for people who worked in the mountains, forests, and in the building industry.

[15] "That I am no Sebastian Bach, no Handel, no Beethoven, Haydn, or Mozart, no Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, or Brahms—this I know better than all of you. Before them I am dust, not worthy of the wind that bears it aloft"; *Tonwille* 5, vol. 1, p. 222 (Ger. orig., 54).

the score, but the estimated costs of this were prohibitive. Nonetheless, the Ninth Symphony "monograph" ushered in a period of relatively stable relations with Universal Edition, which saw the first three volumes of the elucidatory edition of the late Beethoven sonatas published, and the laying of the groundwork for a series of handbooks that evolved into the *Tonwille* pamphlet series.

The symphonic work of Beethoven is the subject of a rich exchange of letters, and personal encounters, with the Danish conductor and composer Paul von Klenau. Klenau saw no contradiction in his support for Schoenberg's school of composers and his adulation of Schenker's writings on the classics, and wrote to Schenker repeatedly for advice on the performance of the "Eroica," the *Missa solemnis*, and the Ninth. Schenker's replies and his notes on their meetings (summaries of which were written up by Jeanette) reveal his advocacy for performing these works at tempi significantly faster than were customary at the time He was compelled to defend the metronome markings that Beethoven provided for his symphonies, assuring Klenau that the works would not seem rushed so long as he kept the goals of Beethoven's linear progressions in mind and understood the composer's articulation marks.

Schenker also used his conversations with Klenau to stress the importance of consulting autograph scores, which give much more insight into Beethoven's intentions. (In this regard, he mentioned his revisions to the text of the Fifth Symphony, recorded in the *Tonwille* serialization of his essay on the work.) The same applies to an exchange of letters a few years later with the conductor Georg Dohrn, director of the Breslau Orchestral Society, concerning his forthcoming performance of the Ninth: Schenker cited certain features of the autograph score of the Ninth and also commended to Dohrn his textual notes on the Fifth.

Section v, **Contrary Opinions**, identifies certain respects in which some of Schenker's associates diverged from his views and the ways in which they chose to express their differences. On the whole, Schenker's correspondents were friendly, if not deferential. It was not merely that they were fearful of confrontation and so avoided making remarks that might, upon being misunderstood, provoke a hostile response framed in legalistic language. Many were genuinely indebted to him for having enriched their lives in almost unimagined ways through the wisdom he imparted about musical structure and meaning: to Hans Weisse he became a "spiritual father," and other pupils and musicians with whom he came into contact undoubtedly thought of Schenker in similar terms.

There were times when, for these admirers, Schenker's overbearing political sentiments or partisan musical stances became too much to suffer in silence. But expressions of disagreement were confined to specific cases, for instance Walter Dahms's condemnation of the German command during World War I, and Weisse's refusal to accept—perhaps even to believe—Schenker's adulation of the songs of Otto Vrieslander.

Writers and composers with whom Schenker clashed either took no notice of him (Ernst Kurth) or rebutted his claims in their own work (Paul Bekker, Arnold Schoenberg). It is, therefore, all the more endearing to find a composer of some renown—Paul Hindemith—pleading with Schenker to consider his work in greater detail, confident that the closer scrutiny of the music would lead to a

change of judgment on the theorist's part. (What few musicians outside his closest circle did not realize was that, while Schenker's theories underwent considerable development, his likes and dislikes hardly changed over the span of his life.)

The most fruitful exchange of artistic views is found in the lengthy correspondence with August Halm, a near-contemporary who, like Schenker, wrote prolifically about music from an independent vantage point, i.e. without holding an important position at a major institute of higher learning. Their correspondence is on the whole cordial, perhaps because both held out the (forlorn) hope of an endorsement of what they treasured most in life: for Schenker, the wider dissemination of his theories; for Halm, recognition as a composer. Without bringing himself to accept Halm's music, or his opinions on the music of others (notably Brahms and Bruckner), Schenker was clearly touched by Halm's untainted idealism and devotion to music: in the brief "Literature" section in the "Eroica" Symphony essay (*Masterwork 3*, pp. 67–68; Ger., pp. 100-01), Schenker paid eloquent tribute to Halm's masterful thematic analysis, and his dedication to music analysis in general.

By contrast, Schenker's turbulent friendship with the eminent conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, the most successful of all the musicians with whom he came into contact, shows little evidence of intellectual reciprocation. For one thing, Furtwängler was too open-minded about, or fond of, the music that Schenker deprecated (Stravinsky, Bruckner, Wagner), and had neither the music-theoretical foundations nor the literary skills with which to express himself adequately to Schenker. Not only did he lack any understanding of sonata form, as Schenker deduces (with some astonishment) from a conversation dating from April 1925, but he also seemed utterly unconcerned with textual matters, regarding a musical score as something to be committed to and ultimately conducted from memory, rather than an object to be set alongside a composer's sketch or autograph manuscript.[16]

Section VI, **Advancing the Cause**, in contrast to Section V, brings to the fore the measure of agreement and common cause that existed between Schenker and certain of his associates. From about 1920 Schenker was convinced that he had advanced music theory sufficiently beyond the points taken by Fux in counterpoint and C. P. E. Bach in thoroughbass that his work would be remembered long after his death; by the end of the decade he had won over a sufficient number of converts to his cause to reassure himself that his place in the music history books, and that of his writings in music theory seminars, was as good as secure. All his converts, in turn, were beginning to find their places in the Schenkerian world of the future. Outposts of Schenker studies were established in Germany: Felix-Eberhard von Cube promoted his teaching in

[16] The point arises in the diary entry for December 8, 1927: Furtwängler met Schenker at Hoboken's house and was unimpressed by Hoboken's collection of first editions. "I've got everything up here," he remarked, pointing to his head. Schenker, who had recently completed his extensive textual study of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony, was evidently disappointed at not finding in Furtwängler a willing conversation partner with whom to discuss his latest finding.

the industrial Rhineland; Moriz Violin brought Schenker's performing world to Hamburg, only to discover a nascent Schenkerism in that city too. Schenkerian thought was also beginning to thrive outside German-speaking lands, despite the absence of English translations of his writings (the English foreword to the "Moonlight" facsimile excepted): at the University of Edinburgh, a pianist by the name of John Petrie Dunn was teaching counterpoint and orchestration according to Schenkerian principles, and in America there was an increasing clamor for Schenkerian pedagogy in conservatories.

Although circumstances prevented Walter Dahms from studying music with Schenker formally, he was among the earliest to see in Schenker's writings the basis of a reform of music teaching. Dahms and Schenker fell out over Germany's conduct of the war; and yet while Schenker dropped the occasional disparaging remark about Nietzsche, Dahms's support of Schenker's German-centered cultural stance never wavered. And if, like August Halm, Dahms held a more liberal view of what constituted great music and chose to write about a greater range of musical genius, he was nothing but adulatory about the theorist's latest writings, the "Miscellanea" pages not excepted. The correspondence nonetheless retains a formal air, with each writer replying frankly to the other without in any way compromising his own stance.

In Moriz Violin, by contrast, Schenker had a correspondent to whom he could unburden himself freely. Their correspondence is the only one in this volume in which the familiar form of address ("Du") is used: the origins of this uncharacteristically close friendship have yet to be investigated, but the correspondence shows that it embraced an element of shared Jewish identity. Violin, widely recognized as a pianist of unquestionable musical sensitivity, had a performer's intuitive approach to music and musical issues; and his perceptive portrayal of cultural life in Hamburg—to which he moved in the early 1920s, partly to escape Vienna's stifling cultural atmosphere—captures the different environments in which he and his friend worked.

Violin seems to have been keen on fostering Schenkerian sensibilities in his teaching, and he eventually came into contact with musicians who knew about Schenker and knew something of his work. One of them was the Altona city organist, Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Hannemann; the other was a pupil of Violin's named Harry Hahn, who taught Schenkerian theory on his own initiative at the local composers' co-operative, using large-format sketches for illustrating voice-leading techniques, and whose essays and graphic work made an impression on Schenker himself. But the most important step that Violin undertook was to transform the conservatory at which he worked into nothing less than a "Schenker Institute" at which his friend's aesthetic outlook would flourish in both the studio and the classroom. Unable to persuade Hans Weisse to be the theory teacher at his new school, Violin (with Schenker's approval) offered the job to Felix-Eberhard von Cube, who resigned his post in Duisburg to take up this opportunity to promote his teacher's cause in his teacher's name.

The rise of National Socialism put an end to Violin's idealistic plans, and he returned to Vienna in 1933, after which the almost monthly exchange of long letters between Violin and Schenker is reduced to a trickle of relatively short communications.

Long before his relocation to Hamburg, Cube was determined to be a "foot soldier" in Schenker's army, fighting the cause wherever he went. Schenker, for his part, recognized a gifted musician in the young man who arrived in Vienna in late 1923 to study with him, one whose talents he was unable to nurture fully because Cube's father stopped supporting his education after barely two years' study. Cube's unswerving dedication to the cause took him to other cities in northern Germany—Düsseldorf and Cologne—where he presented seminars on Schenkerian analysis. Cube willingly accepted Schenker's quasi-paternal guidance, and was always eager to show his appreciation of his teacher's help, long after formal tuition had stopped. At no time was this more evident than in the summer of 1928, when Schenker turned sixty: Cube sought the cooperation of bookshops in Duisburg and Essen to mount an exhibition of Schenker's writings and editions, and he wrote an impassioned, poetic (and slightly misleading) account of Schenker's rise to prominence on the Viennese pedagogical scene, which was printed in two north-German newspapers.[17]

In later years, as part of the preparation of teaching materials for Duisburg and, above all, for the Schenker Institute in Hamburg, Cube sent draft voice-leading analyses to his teacher for approval; these included an analysis of the first prelude from Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier*, Book I, and the first-movement theme from Beethoven's Piano Sonata in A♭ major, Op. 26, both of which feature in Schenker's late published work. His teacher did not comment on Cube's more scientific explorations of the tonal system, but Cube persevered with these in his later, unpublished writings.

In Anthony van Hoboken Schenker found a pupil who was ideal in almost every respect. He was a gifted musician who was not only attracted to Schenker's latest theory but also understood the scope—and limitations—of its application to performance; he persevered with work on analysis, devoting considerable time to Brahms's Intermezzi Op. 117.[18] As an enthusiastic collector of first and early editions of music, he had amassed an enormous library of musical sources, and his dedication to textual matters complemented Schenker's more ideological approach to primary materials and Otto Erich Deutsch's "purely philological" interests, as Schenker characterized them.

Hoboken's immense wealth was to prove a blessing to Schenker throughout the last ten years of his life, when the Dutchman was a regular pupil of his. The realization of the Photogram Archive, a project born in the spirit of the elucidatory editions, would have been unthinkable without Hoboken's financial support. And he went so far as to guarantee the printing costs of *Free Composition* and so enabled Schenker, in spite of declining health, to work steadily on it during the last five years of his life; for this financial security Schenker apostrophized Hoboken, in

[17] "Ein Meister der Musiktheorie," *Rhein- und Ruhr-Zeitung*, July 24, 1928, and, in modified form, *Duisburger General-Anzeiger*, June 28, 1928.

[18] A twenty-eight-page typescript copy of his unpublished study of Op. 117, No. 1, is preserved as OC 14/2, and an earlier typewritten draft with numerous handwritten emendations by Schenker as OC 14/3. Hoboken's studies of Op. 117 are recorded in Schenker's lessonbooks between March 15, 1928, and April 8, 1929.

the foreword to *Free Composition*, as a man "whose name is indissolubly connected with this work" and for that reason alone has gained immortality.

Inevitably, a man of Hoboken's wealth created enmity within Schenker's circle, and one sometimes gets the impression that the success or failure of one Schenkerian initiative or another was dependent more upon Hoboken's purse than upon Schenker's intellectual authority. Schenker, who resented wealth for its own sake, often spoke unflatteringly about his patron behind his back. Thus, for example, he did not conceal from Cube his displeasure that Hoboken would not contribute a modest sum to establish a pilot program in Schenkerian analysis at the Hochschule in Cologne in the late 1920s. He compared Hoboken unfavorably with Felix Salzer, who, though far less affluent, subsidized the first performances of Weisse's Octet and the post-concert receptions. And he privately blamed Hoboken, at least in part, for the collapse of other initiatives that arose during the last decade, including the proposed "communications" or "yearbook" attached to the Photogram Archive, and a collected edition of the works of C. P. E. Bach projected in twenty volumes.

The Edinburgh-based John Petrie Dunn had studied piano and composition in Germany, but it was only from reading Schenker's New Musical Theories and Fantasies that he claimed to have gained insight into the innermost workings of music. One may therefore read his first letter to Schenker (April 18, 1926) almost as an act of desperation: Was *Free Composition* already out of print, as his local bookseller had feared, and was Dunn therefore to be deprived of the last chapter of this most important of contributions to music theory? Having successfully made contact with his guiding spirit, Dunn soon embarked on an English translation of parts of *Counterpoint* 2 adapted for his university students and had plans to expand this project to other sections of the book. A lengthy extract from the Ninth Symphony monograph in Dunn's *A Student's Guide to Orchestration* (London: Novello, 1928) marks the first appearance of a quotation from Schenker's work in an English publication.

As the only native English-speaking musician with whom Schenker corresponded regularly, Dunn steered well clear of politics, and took special care not to bring up any matter on which the two might disagree, e.g. Wagner's orchestration. Culturally the two shared almost the same ideals: Dunn's disparaging remarks about jazz are, if anything, even more uncompromising than Schenker's pronouncements in the "Miscellanea." Being hampered in his university teaching by Professor Donald Francis Tovey on one side and an "old pedant" on the other, Dunn was never destined to make a major contribution to the dissemination of Schenkerian theory: his mimeographed translations from *Counterpoint* reached only a handful of students over a period of a few years. Nonetheless his death in a road accident at the age of 52 came as a shock to Schenker, who had already put Edinburgh on the map of places his theories had conquered.

By contrast with Dunn, Felix Salzer's musical interests were more wide-ranging than Schenker's. A pupil of Weisse's until the latter's departure for the United States in the fall of 1931, Salzer did not come into direct contact with Schenker until Weisse's little seminar (which also included Trude Kral, Greta Kraus, and Manfred Willfort) reconvened in Schenker's apartment on the Keilgasse, and he became Schenker's private pupil only after the latter lacked the strength to

teach them as a group. Salzer's admiration for the music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance did not prove a hindrance to the new teacher–pupil relationship; on the contrary, Schenker seems to have shared some of his private passions, e.g. for folk music, and in particular for the musicianship of Béla Bartók, thus belying sentiments he had expressed elsewhere that Brahms was the one true purveyor of the Hungarian idiom in art music.

In the 1930s Salzer's greatest achievements—the universalizing of Schenkerian theory, and its establishment at the forefront of the American music theory scene—lay well in the future. At this time, Schenker's hopes for the wider dissemination of his work were pinned on Hans Weisse, who had been his student from as early as 1908 and who remained in close contact with Schenker right until his departure for New York (via Hamburg and its Schenker Institute) in mid-September 1931. As with so many others of whom he had high expectations, Schenker blew hot and cold about Weisse publicly and privately. He envied Weisse his ease in establishing good relationships with influential people, and his natural ability to communicate; but he was also fearful that Weisse might commit an analytical gaffe, e.g. through the presentation of a faulty voice-leading analysis at a public lecture, and so put his entire project at risk. Weisse's boundless self-confidence, however, proved more beneficial to the Schenkerian cause than his teacher could have imagined, and Schenker was not a little startled by the success of Weisse's enterprise at the David Mannes Music School and (a year later, in 1932) at Columbia University.

Weisse began to free himself from Schenker's force-field as he became settled in New York and won adherents to his teacher's understanding of musical structure. True until the end in recognizing Schenker as his "spiritual father," he came to recognize that Schenkerism could take root in the United States only if it cast away the political and cultural ideology that had underpinned it in Austria and Germany. He welcomed the appearance of text-free—and thus demagoguery-free—publications like the *Five Analyses in Sketchform*, and went so far as to propose that the analytical examples and foreground graphs for Schenker's "Eroica" analysis be published separately as teaching materials for a Mannes seminar on the symphony. He was later to ruffle feathers by suggesting, similarly, that the volume of music examples for *Free Composition* could likewise be published on its own, without text. In a quasi-valedictory letter to Violin, which closes this volume, Weisse defends his view of that long-awaited, posthumous publication as "the weakest, from a literary point of view" of all of the Master's writings. This is characteristic of his view of Schenkerian theory as a musical phenomenon that will triumph in the end because of what it is, and as something that belongs more to the future than to the past.

1
The Early Career

I

Schenker as Composer

Upon applying in September 1887 to study at the Vienna Conservatory, Schenker was pronounced "qualified to be placed on probation in the first year of the advanced class (*Ausbildungsklasse*) in composition," and would "at his own wish be assigned to the class of Franz Krenn." Alongside this he was to study piano with Ernst Ludwig. But Schenker evidently changed his mind about composition, opting instead in the first year for harmony and in the second year for counterpoint, both with Anton Bruckner. Not until the third year, 1889/90, did he enroll in a composition class, this time with Johann Nepomuk (Hans) Fuchs.[1] However, he withdrew from the Conservatory altogether on November 20, 1889, having completed his studies for the doctorate of law at the University of Vienna.

No doubt the death of his father at the end of 1887, followed by the arrival in Vienna from Galicia of family members in need of support, had a bearing on his abandonment of musical studies. When precisely Schenker embarked on composition with serious artistic intent is unclear: certainly by 1890, perhaps earlier—as Schenker's encomium upon Ludwig's death might suggest: "He had the leisure and will to take me under his wing when I entered the Conservatory on an imperial scholarship. It was he who paid attention to my compositions."[2] By 1903, when his editorial and theoretical interests were beginning to blossom, composition faded, as the final diary entry in this selection, from 1931, ultimately records.

Just under fifty compositions are known, ten of them bearing opus numbers.[3] Most are preserved in the Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection (boxes 22–23). The majority are songs for solo voice with piano, or pieces for solo piano or piano four-hands. In addition, there are three sets of pieces for chorus, some movements for piano trio, others for string quartet, a serenade for horn and piano, and incidental music to *Hamlet*. Of these works, eight appeared in print; the

[1] Federhofer (1985), 5. The relevant matriculation document is reproduced in *Rebell und Visionär: Heinrich Schenker in Wien*, ed. Evelyn Fink (Vienna: Lafite, 2003), 48–49.

[2] Diary March 14, 1915; Federhofer (1985), 7.

[3] Robert Lang and JoAn Kunselman, eds., *Heinrich Schenker, Oswald Jonas, Moriz Violin: A Checklist of Manuscripts and Other Papers in the Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 67–75; Benjamin McKay Ayotte, ed., *Heinrich Schenker: A Guide to Research. Routledge Music Bibliographies* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 5–39. Identified compositions in the Oster Collection Finding List, 25 (OC 10/17v), 29 (OC 10/75), 174 (OC 50/2), 369 (OC Schenker/1–4); possible unidentified compositions: 24 (10/1 and 8), 27, (10/50), 85 (32/2), 86 (32/25), 94 (32/125). Graphs of some of the compositions are preserved in the Oster Collection: Op. 2, No. 1 (15/15–17), Op. 4, No. 1 (15/18–22).

remainder are in manuscript at differing stages of completion. Those referred to in the correspondence given here, together with known performances, are:

Op. 1 Two Pieces for Piano (Vienna: Doblinger, [1892]): 1. Etude, 2. Capriccio / "To Julius Epstein"

[no opus number] Serenade for Horn and Piano / "To his dear friend, Louis Savart"
performances: November 5, 1893, March 5, 1894, Vienna, Savart [OJ 35/5, [2, 5]]

Op. 2 *Fantasy* for Piano (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898) / "To F. Busoni"
performance: second section, January 8, 1899, Klagenfurt, Schenker [OJ 35/5, [6]]

Op. 3 Six Songs for Solo Voice with Piano Accompaniment (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898, 1901):
1. Versteckte Jasminen, 2. Wiegenlied, 3. Vogel im Busch, 4. Ausklang, 5. Allein, 6. Einkleidung
performances: No. 2 December 1, 1900, Vienna, Gärtner, Zemlinsky [OJ 12/40, [3] = OJ 14/23a, [1]]; No. 4 March 19, 1902, Vienna, Gärtner, Schenker [OJ 35/5, [20, 23]]

Op. 4 Five Pieces for Piano (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898) / "Dedicated to Eugen d'Albert"
performances: two pieces, January 24, 1898, Vienna, d'Albert; No. 2 January 8, 1899, Klagenfurt, Schenker [OJ 35/5, [6]]

Op. 5 Two-voice Inventions (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898) / "Dedicated to Mrs. Irene Mayerhofer"

Op. 6 Three Songs for Low Voice with Piano Accompaniment:
1. Heimat, 2. Nachtgruss, 3. Wandrers Nachtlied, 3a. Meeresstille
performances: No. 3a (with unpublished song "Blumengruss") January 19, 1895, Vienna, Gärtner, Schenker(?) [OJ 35/5, [4]]; Nos. 1 and 2 January 26, 1905, Vienna, Gärtner, Willy Klasen [OJ 35/5, [29, 31]]

Op. 7 [Three songs for mixed chorus], 1. Was ich liebe? (MS), 2. Die Nachtigall (MS), 3. Vorüber (published in a collection of 51 choruses by the Vienna Singakademie [copy preserved as OC 50/2], to which the piece is dedicated)
performance: No. 3 December 18, 1903, Vienna, Singakademie [OJ 35/5, [25, 28]]

Op. 10 *Ländler* for Piano (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1899) / "To Mr. Wilhelm Kux."

Of these, the letters concerning the *Fantasy* Op. 2, are of particular interest: in them we can trace the transformation under Busoni's guidance of three separate short pieces into a single, larger structure.

The correspondence that affords glimpses of Schenker's composing activities encompasses two publishers (Breitkopf & Härtel and Simrock), one organization (the Vienna Singakademie), and five individuals (Eugen d'Albert, Ignaz Brüll, Ferruccio Busoni, Max Kalbeck, and Detlev von Liliencron). The more than 300 letters and postcards between Schenker and Moriz Violin dating from 1896 to 1905 may yield further evidence of Schenker's brief career as a composer. Pertinent diary entries are few and far between; surviving concert programs furnish valuable information, and have been presented in abbreviated form below.

IAN BENT

❧ Breitkopf & Härtel to Schenker (letter), October 16, 1895

OJ 9/20, [5]

BREITKOPF & HÄRTEL
Leipzig
Nürnberger Strasse 36

Dear Sir,

It was very kind of you to send us your Five Pieces for Piano, Op. 2 [*recte* Op. 4], with which we have now become acquainted. Without doubt they will attract many admirers. It is of course not easy to gain acceptance for new piano compositions. For us there is an additional consideration: we have a large number of works that we have already accepted and still have to produce and publish. Accordingly, we have felt obliged for the time being to refrain from taking on anything that is not incontrovertibly necessary. We deeply regret that under such circumstances we are compelled to return your manuscript to you, but nevertheless thank you for the trust you place in us.

With kind regards,
Yours most truly,
Breitkopf & Härtel

❧ D'Albert to Schenker (letter), April 5, 1896

OJ 9/6, [12]

Hotel & Pension du Lac
ON LAKE GARDA Riva. Hotel du Lac

Dear, revered friend,

I have long been intending to write to you, and must earnestly ask your forgiveness for not having gotten round to it before now. I am enchanted by your Pieces for Piano. If I have not played any of them so far, this is due solely to the fact that I have given almost no concerts this year other than the Brahms evening in

Berlin, but have instead devoted myself entirely to the orchestration of my opera *Gernot*.[1] We have been here since the end of January and have greatly enjoyed the peace and quiet. Now the idyll is over; tomorrow we travel slowly back to Dresden and on to Coswig, only to travel to London at the end of the month, where I have to give seven concerts—the first under Mottl's direction. I am now starting to play the piano again, and your opus shall be the first new piece on my agenda. It will be a great pleasure for me to study it, of that I am sure.

As concerns the young Szalit,[2] it is a real pity that she has not come here rather than going to Abbazia to recuperate. The effect would have been just the same, and I would have been able to teach her for another two months.

I did not suggest this, because Mr. Szalit expressly told me in Vienna some time back that there was no possibility of breaking away from Fischhof[3] before the end of April. I am naturally very happy that the young lady is not studying with this piano fop, and wholeheartedly concur with the idea that she should study with you for the time being, for you are a serious musician and will point the young lady in the right direction. If you see Mr. Szalit, please give him my best thanks for his kind letter. I should very much like to know as soon as possible whether the young lady is definitely coming to me, and if so when. As to her health, I do not think that Lake Starnberg could have a detrimental effect—quite the contrary. I should also like to know how to divide up my teaching; for this year I could be at her disposal only from the end of June to the end of September—i.e. three months—in Leoni[?] on Lake Starnberg. Not until next year would I be in one place for a longer period of time: March to November. So would you take over the continuation of the young lady's study on my behalf in the intervening period? Please let me know your feelings about this.

Enclosed at long last is the vocal score of *Ghismonda*.[4] The opera was a great success, but the rotten Dresden press maligned it from top to bottom so that the remaining performances were played to an empty house. The dear Dresden public just lets its views be dictated by their criticism and has no judgment of its own. When one sees with what resources the successful opera scribblers of today contend, one might as well give up any attempt to persevere with a serious work.

As soon as I play something of yours, I will send you the program. Where do things stand over a publisher? Breitkopf & Härtel are somewhat sluggish—it is not worth thinking of them. Please avail yourself of my services: whatever lies within my meager power I will do.

With cordial greetings from me and best regards from my wife, I remain, in anticipation of an early reply.[5]

Your ever true
Eugen d'Albert

Address until April 16: Coswig nr. Dresden
April 17–26: Baden-Baden Hotel
Badischer Hof

[1] *Gernot*: opera on libretto by G. Kastropp, first performed Mannheim, April 11, 1897. Schenker received an invitation to the première (OJ 9/6, [17]), but evidently did not attend.

[2] Paula Szalit (1886 or 1887–1920): Polish pianist and composer who came to public notice early as a child prodigy and was taught by Robert Fischof, then studied temporarily with Schenker before moving to Eugen d'Albert. In 1896 Schenker described her in a review as "a nine-year-old child, a wondrous talent" and spoke of her "superb rhythm, elegantly developed dexterity, […] wholly subtle pedal technique such as the most mature of all virtuosos possess" (Federhofer (1990), 321), and praised her improvisations.

[3] Robert Fischhof (1856–1918): Viennese pianist, pupil of Anton Door, Anton Bruckner, Franz Krenn, later Leschetizky and Liszt; from 1884 to 1918 Professor of piano at the Vienna Conservatory (Academy).

[4] *Ghismonda*: opera on libretto by d'Albert after K. L. Immermann, first performed Dresden, November 28, 1895.

[5] No reply is known to survive.

❧ D'Albert to Schenker (letter), January 2, 1897

OJ 9/6, [14]

Frankfurt a.M.–Sachsenhausen
Letzter Hasenpfad 91

Dear friend,

Most cordial thanks for your printed Pieces for Piano [Op. 1]! I am even more pleased with them in print than in manuscript—if that were possible. I have begun negotiations with another publisher to have your remaining compositions published by him. Let us hope I will succeed. When the right moment arrives to send him something, I will alert you.

I sent you the libretto of *Die Abreise*.[1] There are still a few errors: p. 7, line 11 from the bottom must be "Jugend" not "Fugend"; p. 18 line 14 from the top "Im" instead of "Dem"; line 15 "erfreuet mich" instead of "gehört für mich"; also, on p. 24 line 10 it should read "Der Versuch" instead of "den Versuch." I hope to be able to send you the score soon.

On January 24 I am due to play in Vienna. Since I am giving a Beethoven evening (at special request of Mr. Gutmann), I cannot play your Pieces for Piano this time; but perhaps another opportunity will present itself at which I can be useful to you by performing the pieces. I am entirely at your disposal—needless to say, where time permits.

With cordial greetings and retrospective New Year's good wishes, and also from my wife,

Your devoted
Eugen d'Albert

[1] *Die Abreise*: opera on a libretto by F. von Sporck after A. von Steigentesch, first performance Frankfurt, October 20, 1898.

❧ Brüll to Schenker (letter), January 23, 1897

OJ 9/23, [1]

Dear Dr. [Schenker],

I am delighted that Mr. Violin would like to play something from your composition[s], and I am happy to put at your disposal for this purpose the evening in March (I believe it will be March 19) that I am arranging.

Since Mr. Violin's address is unknown to me, may I ask you please to tell him provisionally on my behalf that I will be delighted for him to participate in compositions of yours—what's more, perhaps with one of his own works as well?

I do not insist on your giving me some of your work to look through, but it would be of great interest to me. If you wish to give me the honor of a visit, then please let me know in advance the time you will be coming, and please exclude the days 28, 29, 30, and 31 of this month, and on the other days avoid 1–3 o'clock.

With kind regards,
Yours most truly,
Ignaz Brüll

Vienna IX
Liechtensteinstrasse 4, 1st floor

❧ Diary entry, February 7, 1897

Visits to Goldmark and Brüll. Favorable, it seemed to me even genuinely favorable judgment of my compositions.

D'Albert plays the variations from my *Fantasy* at sight (Hotel Bristol). The artist himself has an unfullfilled personality: he lacks what the great artist has, what the great human being has . . . subdued appearance.

❧ D'Albert to Schenker (letter), May 8, 1897

OJ 9/6, [18]

Heidelberg

Dear friend,

If only I knew everything as definitely as that I am going to play your compositions! I would have done it long ago, but could not find five minutes to study them thoroughly. After I left Vienna I was in Russia, then I had unbroken rehearsals for *Gernot*—I hope that the pandemonium will soon stop so that I can take it easy. The first thing then shall be to learn your pieces by heart. In the forthcoming winter I will play them, for sure—not for your pleasure, but for mine.[1]

I am hugely pleased that I shall be able to see you at the meeting of the Society of Composers, and that you will be able to hear my *Gernot*. I am absolutely counting on seeing you in Mannheim on the 26th—we can go into detail about

everything then.[2] I sent the piano-vocal score to your old address, so I hope you have received it. On the 10th I travel to England for ten days to do concerts, and do not get back here until the 21st. My wife and I thank you cordially for your kind good wishes, and send you both our warm greetings.

So rest assured of the promise
of your faithful
Eugen d'Albert

In great haste!

So you will see the young Paula on the 26th: she is doing excellently.[3]

[1] In a letter of June 11, 1897, d'Albert was to write: "Are you in agreement with Busoni's proposal: *Fantasy in Three Parts*? I have mastered the difficult pieces." (OJ 9/6 [19]).

[2] Schenker's diary for May 31, 1897, records: "Back from Germany—from the trip to Mannheim (Tonkünstler festival), Frankfurt, Heidelberg, etc. Did not form any encouraging impressions: no signs of new sources of art springing up anywhere." (OJ 1/1, 2b).

[3] In what is perhaps the first glimpse of him as teacher, Schenker records in his diary sometime between February and September 1897: "Paula Szalit prepared for concerts: among other things, J. S. Bach's fugues in C♯ minor (five voices) and E♭ minor." (OJ 1/1, 3).

❧ Schenker to Kalbeck (letter), May 10, 1897

OJ 5/19, [3]

Dear Sir,

I do not flatter myself by presuming that you have taken notice of my literary efforts in Harden's *Die Zukunft*, in the *Wiener Neue Revue* or in *Die Zeit*. Closer to my heart would be if you would do me the honor of listening to some of my compositions, upon which Brahms, not to mention Goldmark, d'Albert, and Busoni, have pronounced with much—perhaps overmuch—appreciation.[1] Please do not for a moment think I am covertly asking you to publicize me in your writing. All I have in mind is to introduce myself in the very best circles here as a composer before d'Albert plays something of mine. May I hold out any hope?[2]

With great respect,
Dr. Heinrich Schenker

[1] Both of the opening sentences are terminated with question marks, which cannot be rendered in translation.

[2] On May 17, Kalbeck invited Schenker to visit him and bring his music (OJ 12/7, 1).

❧ Busoni to Schenker (letter), [May 17, 1897]

OJ 9/27, [1]

Greatly revered Dr. [Schenker],

After all that Maestro Goldmark[1] has told me about you, it will be a great pleasure for me to become acquainted with you personally. —May I ask you kindly to call on me the day after tomorrow (Wednesday) in the morning?[2]

Through a mistake on the part of the doorman, a first letter from me that was prepared for you was not delivered. Please forgive me for the double inconvenience by

yours truly,
With kind regards,
Ferruccio B. Busoni

[1] Karl Goldmark (1830–1915): Hungarian Jewish composer, especially of opera, who lived much of his life in Vienna.

[2] The letter that follows indicates that Schenker came to him a day earlier than proposed, on Tuesday May 18.

❧ Schenker to Busoni (letter), dated May 18, 1897

Sbb B II 4413

Highly revered Sir,

As I left you, delighted by your kind reception and happy about your spoken and written praise for the items of mine, I took myself off to see Maestro Goldmark. I gave him your letter and told him you were in favor of Peters. The good old master promptly wrote me a glowing, a really glowing recommendation to Peters, with whose publishing house he was certainly well acquainted. On the strength of that, I wrote Peters a letter in which I informed him, so to speak in private, of your flattering praise for my Scherzi and, in particular, Variations. Just imagine, a letter came straight way from him, from which I gathered that he prefers not to take on such serious stuff. He never once asked to see the Variations, but he did the Legend, Scherzi, and the five piano pieces that pleased you so much. I also noticed that he asked to see these items only out of courtesy toward Goldmark, without taking the latter's recommendation particularly to heart. After a couple of days my recruitment by the publisher was at an end: Peters regrets …. For myself, the only thing that is painful is the fact that the old master's recommendation had to come to nought for me. I told Goldmark none of this. For the rest, I believe that Peters would not really concern itself with such serious items.

In the midst of my dejection, there came by chance a heart-warming, truly heart-warming letter from d'Albert, who informed me from Heidelberg that during the forthcoming winter he would definitely play something of mine. He invited me to Mannheim where we could discuss many things. Perhaps I will appear there with my friend Rosé,[1] who plays quartets (needless to say, with three

others). Will I meet you there, too? How that would please me! You did me a power of good, not because you praised my works, but by the manner in which you praised them.

Now, as you can see, I am in a position to send the manuscripts of mine that you would most like to have. It would be better if I could send you the items printed! But what am I to do? Do you know a publisher? Would you care to recommend me to him? Perhaps Kistner, or Rieter-Biedermann, Aibl, or Simrock? What do you think of that? Or should I perhaps, armed with a recommendation from you, set off and hawk myself around some publishers? Goldmark was very pleased to hear that you had firmly promised to help me, and to play something of mine. If you do this, it will surely be a big help! Please forgive this long epistle, but since I no longer felt able to turn to Goldmark it was necessary for me to say all of this to you—you who were so cordial toward me.

Have you by any remote chance read my article about Brahms in Harden's *Die Zukunft* No. 32?[2] On the matter of tempo in the Brahms concerto, I took the liberty of taking Mr. Weingarten to task in the Vienna *Neue Revue*.[3]

Is it fair, do you think? With best wishes to you, and I kiss the hand of your esteemed wife,

I remain
Dr. Heinrich Schenker

[1] Arnold Rosé (1863–1946): Austrian violinist of Rumanian birth. Rosé was concertmaster of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and at the Court (State) Opera from 1881 to 1938. He taught at the Vienna Conservatory/Academy from 1893 to 1901 and 1908 to 1918. In 1882 he founded the Rosé Quartet, which became one of the leading chamber ensembles of Europe. The friendship between Rosé and Schenker was to wane after the Quartet gave the premières of Schoenberg works in 1907 and 1908, despite Rosé's commitment to the German-Austrian Classical repertory.

[2] "Johannes Brahms," *Die Zukunft* 19 (May 8, 1897): 261–65; Federhofer (1990), 230–35.

[3] "Die Berliner 'Philharmoniker'," *Neue Revue* 8, no. 16 (April 16, 1897): 495–97; Federhofer (1990), 222–24, referring to Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 1 in D minor.

❧ Schenker to Kalbeck (letter), May 19, 1897

OJ 5/19, [4] (Plate 1)

Dear Sir,

Once again, warmest thanks for your patience of yesterday. I wonder whether I shall increase it by sending you a few articles by myself? What will interest you most is the fact that I received per article from *Die Zeit* 18 Florins and from the *Neue Revue* 10 Florins.

Everything[1] was written amidst the bitterest of troubles, and bears the scars to no ordinary degree. How thankful I should be if the great event of my life were to emanate from your circle, i.e. a publisher!

With most devoted greetings,
Yours,
Heinrich Schenker

[1] At this point Schenker is presumably speaking of his compositions, or both his compositions and his journalistic work, and of the period after his father's death in 1887.

❧ Busoni to Schenker (letter), [c. May 20, 1897]

OJ 9/27, [2]

Dear Dr. [Schenker],

Your second epistle sounded more consolatory than your first; more consolatory for me, too, who take an active interest in your fortunes.

I should be delighted if something were to materialize with Lienau,[1] for which I should of course like to do anything that I can, and will do as soon as the opportunity arises.

In the meantime, the package containing music has also arrived, the content of which confirmed my excellent impression throughout.

How would it be (a subjective idea and nothing more!) if you were to combine your ~~Ballade~~ Legend and Variations into a single work, perhaps entitled *Fantasy*? The C major Scherzo would make a good middle movement, which, by the way, I would much rather have without Trio, "as a single outpouring."

So, for example: *Fantasy*,

1. In modo d'una leggenda
2. Intermezzo umoristico
3. Finale, alla variazione.

I believe that in this form your work would not be inferior to Schumann's Op. 17.[2]

Sadly, I shall not be able to come to Mannheim, but please, if you have a chance, convey my greetings to d'Albert. Congratulate him on his success with *Gernot*, as for my part I most heartily do.

I have not read your article on Brahms,[3] but am eager to catch up with it.

Warm thanks for the music that you kindly sent. The Ballade made a fine, serious impression on me. —

If nothing comes of Schlesinger, then we will go on trying.

With cordial greetings,
Respectfully,
Yours
F. B. Busoni

[1] Robert Lienau: Berlin music publisher. The elder Lienau had bought the Berlin firm of Schlesinger in 1863, adding his name to it. Schenker had met the younger Robert Lienau on May 18 or 19, played some of his music to him, and been invited to play

before the elder Lienau. Schenker reported this to Busoni in a letter of May 19 (Sbb B II 4414).

[2] Schumann, *Phantasie*, Op. 17, for piano, similarly in three sections: 1. Durchaus fantastisch und leidenschaftlich vorzutragen; Im Legenden-Ton, 2. Mäßig. Durchaus energisch, 3. Langsam getragen. Durchweg leise zu halten.

[3] "Johannes Brahms," *Die Zukunft* 19 (May 8, 1897): 261–65.

❧ Busoni to Schenker (letter), June 2, 1897

OJ 9/27, [3]

Most revered Dr. [Schenker],

I can answer you today only in haste and briefly, first to thank you for your friendly epistle, and secondly to assure you of the sincerity of my praise. Nevertheless, even though your things please me especially, you must prepare yourself for the fact that your compositions, thanks to the intense subjectivity with which they are imbued, will not become popular overnight.

That is, however, the fate of any worthwhile artistic product—on the other hand, I am no prophet, and could be mistaken in my conjecture.

I shall willingly try out your Legend, Scherzo (without Trio) and the Variations (perhaps with one or two modifications) on the public some day. But my authority is by no means so assured that the very fact of my playing your work will constitute a wholesale and incontrovertible recommendation for it. This truth really came home to me recently when I tried to introduce Nováček's concerto.[1] I regard the dedication as an honor that I cannot refuse.

With friendly greetings, I remain
Yours very truly,
Ferruccio Busoni

I should still like, when the opportunity arises, to discuss the small changes to the *Fantasy*.

[1] Ottokar Nováček (1866–1900): Hungarian violinist, violist, and composer, who studied in Vienna and Leipzig, won the Mendelssohn Prize in 1885, and later emigrated to the USA. Busoni premièred his piano concerto in 1894.

❧ Schenker to Busoni (letter), August 31, 1897

Sbb B II 4415

Highly regarded Sir,

You are the only person who has at his fingertips the solution to the question, so I must, willy nilly, trouble you. A friend of mine, albeit not rich, but all the more willing to make the sacrifice, has offered to have some of my things printed at his expense.[1] This would relieve me of worries about publishers who print the worst

music (recommendations from Schütt, Leschetizky work wonders here!), and who would treat my pieces as if they were even worse than what they usually print. Now, leaving aside an opus that was published five or six years ago in Vienna,[2] I should like to start afresh with the *Fantasy*, then perhaps the five shorter pieces, followed by a string quartet or trio. With the chamber music, I will allow myself time to wait for success with Rosé, our best chamber musician—i.e. in his concerts.

Since you were so very kind as to promise me some artistic advice regarding the *Fantasy*, I must ask you whether you will be coming to Vienna this season and will give me the opportunity to act on your advice. I will gladly wait the next couple of months, high time though it is to go before the public.

Thanking you most cordially in advance for your efforts,

I remain in sincere admiration
Yours most truly,
H. Schenker

[1] Those of Schenker's patrons at this time known to us were Alphons von Rothschild, Irene Mayerhofer, and the Eissler family (none of whom could be described as "not rich"): the most likely person is Moriz Violin.

[2] Two Pieces for Piano, Op. 1 (1892).

Busoni to Schenker (letter), August 31, 1897

OJ 9/27, [5]

Highly revered Dr. [Schenker],

I am absolutely delighted at the favorable turn of events on the publishing front, and with all my heart wish you an initial success from which countless others may yet follow.

Had you waived the honorarium, I now venture to say, the procurement of the house of Breitkopf & Härtel for undertaking the publication and also the printing costs of one of your works would perhaps have been not quite so difficult.

Certainly under the "smoother" circumstances that now prevail it would be not inadvisable to place the name of this world-class firm at the foot of your compositions. Breitkopf & Härtel have sometimes been prepared to do this in the case of <u>good</u> works in return for payment of expenses.

I am to play in Vienna on December 16, and am likely to stay there for several days.

My suggestions regarding pianistic matters are not compositional in nature: an artist of your caliber has no need of the latter.

What I had in mind was principally to propose a few technical pianistic changes to facilitate a more supple performance. To effect the transformation of the three pieces organically into a single *Fantasy*—my general idea—is a matter for you alone, and a task that might perhaps afford you some artistic satisfaction.

If you think you can wait until December, then we can have an interesting little discussion in person. If not, then I would have a crack at tackling the less clear

and persuasive ways of notating some passages. In the meantime, accept the most cordial greetings of

Your sincere and most friendly
F. Busoni

❧ Schenker to Busoni (letter), September 4, 1897

Sbb B II 4416

Most revered and best Sir,

Thank you, thank you for your heart-warming words! I shall gladly wait, since to do something in person is always more accurate than doing it in writing.

As regards Breitkopf & Härtel, I must admit I have still not made the attempt. At the same time, however, I am fearful lest even waiving any honorarium would not elicit an obliging response. How happy I would be to spare my friend the money, if I had any prospect! Peters returned my materials despite my having waived the honorarium, and despite Goldmark's recommendation. I would even go to Kistner or Aibl so as to save money without demanding anything for myself, but where do I get the recommendations from?

One more thing before I end: Would you be interested in writing a short piece about something close to your heart for Harden's *Die Zukunft*? Not that I conduct business for Harden, but it would give me, and surely thousands of others, pleasure to read something interesting about art or the state of art today by you, since you write so excellently and in so natural a way. Believe me, it would please me as much as Harden, just for its intrinsic interest. If it took your fancy, I would then write asking Harden to invite you as suits you best, and things could proceed from there.

What do you think about that? I myself am writing fewer and fewer essays, and correspondingly more short notices.

With most cordial, sincere and friendly greetings,
Yours,
H Schenker

❧ Busoni to Schenker (letter), September 11, 1897

OJ 9/27, [6]

Dear Dr. [Schenker],

Warm thanks for your friendly, ever-welcome words!

I will be very happy to act as an intermediary between you and the house of Breitkopf, and am—while unable to make any promises—not at all without hope.

Will you now forge the *Fantasy* together, in order to present it to the latter publisher as a fully valid test of your talent? And for these purposes, shall I return the manuscript to you?