

Introduction

¹ Arnold Schönberg: Dedication of *Style and Idea*, c. 1950 (ASSV 5.2.4.6.) (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien, T75.10).

² [Dr. M.]: Neue Wiener Bühne, in: *Der Humorist* 44/9 (May 8, 1924), 2.

³ Gerald Stieg: *Die Fackel*, in: *Karl Kraus-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*. Edited by Katharina Prager and Simon Ganahl. Berlin 2022, 103–122, 103.

In the dedication of *Style and Idea*, his collection of essays that appeared in New York in 1950, Arnold Schönberg counted the composers Anton Webern, Alban Berg, Heinrich Jalowetz, Alexander Zemlinsky and Franz Schreker, the architect Adolf Loos, as well as the writer Karl Kraus among his “*spiritual kindreds*.”¹ As a constituent element of their congeniality he defined a tacit understanding in artistic and social matters and a common ethic program aimed at a claim to truth in all artistic disciplines. In delivering on this claim to truth, Arnold Schönberg and Karl Kraus shared a determination full of privations, incorruptible action, as well as an unerring sense of style and intellectual consistency.

An advocate of progress in music, Schönberg personified the courage to deviate from convention; like no other composer of his age and sphere, he stood for an anticipation of the future in terms of material, technical, and aesthetic developments. Schönberg was a stylist, innovator, and humanist; a loyal group of followers adhered to him as a prophet just as vehemently as his opponents accused him of charlatantry. Inspiring the interdisciplinary orientation of Viennese Modernism, he was also a writer and painter.

An advocate and censor of language, Kraus stood for its evaluation, for the identification and elimination of false speech; like no other writer of his age and sphere, he waged an unrelenting battle against corrupting newspaper lingo, against double moral standards and aesthetic ennui. Kraus was a stylist, satirist and humanist, with a “*Krausian religious community*”² revolving around him, but also the target of his opponents’ sharpest attacks.

The periodical *Die Fackel* [The Torch], which Arnold Schönberg and many of his contemporaries (→ chapters 1 and 3) venerated as if it were a secular restoration of the Holy Scripture, appeared between the beginning of April 1899 and February 1936 in 922 issues on 22,578 pages. Its sole editor and, from 1911 onward, sole author was Karl Kraus.³ An attentive reader, Schönberg confessed to have learned how “*to write, and nearly [how to] think*” from the ingenious word-smith (→ letter 18); he may have “*learned more from [Kraus] than one is allowed to learn from anyone if one wants to remain self-reliant*” (→ 251). The diction of his essays, lectures, and self-interviews, Schönberg’s penchant for polemic and satire, and finally specific themes he addressed permit conclusions as to an educational fundament lastingly informed by his reading of *Die Fackel* (→ chapter 6). Kraus, on the other hand, lacked musical expertise and interest: “*I am far removed from your art*” (→ letter 10). The configuration of their acquaintance, which

⁴ Cf. Julian Johnson: The Reception of Karl Kraus by Schönberg and His School, in: *Karl Kraus und Die Fackel: Aufsätze zur Rezeptionsgeschichte = Reading Karl Kraus*. Edited by Gilbert J. Carr and Edward Timms. München 2001, 99–108, 103.

was established between 1895 and 1899 and would never develop into a friendship, was characterized by mutual appreciation and a respectful distance.⁴ In Schönberg's written statements, this distance manifests itself in all its nuances (→ chapter 9).

Preconditions

The juvenile biographies of the two protagonists of this book bundle continuities and disruptions of a Jewish experience that would receive a lasting impulse from the tensions resulting from the acculturation, assimilation, and anti-Semitism in Vienna before 1900 – and which was influenced by an equally complex and dynamic social and political environment.



①
Oskar Kokoschka:
Arnold Schönberg, 1924,
oil on canvas (The Savings
Bank Foundation DNB,
Munchmuseet, Oslo)

Finite Romanticism and the Emancipation of Dissonance New Tones in Vienna around 1900¹

Therese Muxeneder

¹ First published in: *Vienna 1900. Birth of Modernism*. Edited by Hans-Peter Wipplinger. Wien 2019, 91–99.

² Wolfgang Kos and Ralph Gleis: Zur Ausstellung, in: *Experiment Metropole. 1873: Wien und die Weltausstellung*. Edited by Wolfgang Kos and Ralph Gleis. Wien 2014, 14–23, 14f.

³ Eduard Hanslick: *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*. Wien 1869, 391.

⁴ Theater- und Kunstinrichten, in: *Die Presse* 26/67 (March 9, 1873), 19.

⁵ Martina Nußbaumer: Der Topos "Musikstadt Wien" um 1900, in: *newsletter MODERNE. Zeitschrift des Spezialforschungsbezirks Moderne – Wien und Zentraleuropa um 1900* 4/1 (March 2001), 20–23.

In 1873 the City of Vienna hosted the World Fair, projecting to an international audience its self-perception as a center of pioneering spirit, innovation and prosperity. The dream life of the metropolis² was presented, with a key role assigned to the arts and especially to music. A "*visible palingenesis of Vienna's concert life*"³ had already taken place during the 1869/70 season with the opening of the Imperial Royal Court Opera Theater and the new Musikverein building. Any and all "*music bodies*" were urged by the curators of the World Fair "*to show off the splendor of Vienna as the city of music to its fullest advantage*"⁴. The power of this renown was illustrated impressively by the success of the "Waltz King" Johann Strauss and other musical export hits during the Paris Exposition universelle in 1867. An awareness of the magnitude of this cultural heritage led to the topos "Vienna, City of Music"⁵ being launched in a synergy of economic, societal and cultural-political strategies. The fact that many composers of historical significance had flocked to the city in search of an influential sphere since the Baroque period was seen as an important testament to its world renown. Preserving the classical heritage and nourishing emerging music were two equal pillars of the public music scene into the 1890s, the operetta boom and the triumph of waltz music encouraging a reappraisal of light entertainment. The dominant role played by Vienna in the area of musical art was emphasized with the Internationale Ausstellung für Musik und Theaterwesen [International Exhibition for Music and Theater] held in 1892 – an exposition frequented by 1.25 million visitors.

The construct "Vienna, City of Music" as the epicenter of the music world can be interpreted as one of many indications of efforts to compensate for Vienna's loss of political supremacy within the Habsburg Monarchy. In his memoirs, Stefan Zweig pointed out the identification and identity-establishing role played by art in fin-de-siècle Vienna:

There was hardly a city in Europe where the drive towards cultural ideals was as passionate as it was in Vienna. Precisely because the monarchy, because Austria itself for centuries had been neither politically ambitious nor particularly successful in its military actions, the native pride had turned more strongly towards a desire for artistic supremacy. [...] And just

⁶ Stefan Zweig: *The World of Yesterday*. London 1943, 21, 26.

⁷ Carl Dahlhaus: Musik und Jugendstil, in: *Art Nouveau, Jugendstil und Musik*. Edited by Jürg Stenzl. Zürich, Freiburg i. Br. 1980, 73–88, 76.

⁸ Ibidem, 73.

⁹ Eduard Hanslick: *Aus neuer und neuester Zeit*. Berlin 1900, 77.

¹⁰ Max Vancsa: Kehraus im Konzertsaal, in: *Die Wage* 10 (April 27, 1907), 398–402, 399.

¹¹ Richard Batka: Wiener Musikbrief, in: *Prager Tagblatt* 33/8 (January 8, 1909), 1ff., 2.

¹² Th[eodor] H[elm]: Wiener 'Ansorge-Verein', in: *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 28/6 (February 7, 1907), 151.

¹³ R[ichard] Sp[echt]: Konzerte II, in: *Der Merker* 3/3 (February 1912), 112f.

¹⁴ Gesellschaftskonzert, in: *Der Morgen. Wiener Montagblatt* 2/12 (March 20, 1911), 6.

¹⁵ Bildende Kunst, in: *Wiener Abendpost. Beilage zur Wiener Zeitung* 16 (January 21, 1913), 1ff., 2.

¹⁶ A[dalbert] F[rantz] S[eligmann]: Kunstausstellungen, in: *Neue Freie Presse* 17333 (November 23, 1912), 1ff., 3.

*as this musicality was expressed by us writers in carefully wrought prose, the sense of rhythm entered into others in their social deportment and their daily life. A Viennese who had no sense of art or who found no enjoyment in form was unthinkable in 'good society'.*⁶

The cultural-scientific discourse on "Vienna around 1900" allows us to derive a series of epochal terms, but in the special case of musical art, these terms either only touch upon the subject superficially or characterize it altogether incorrectly. The question critically discussed by Carl Dahlhaus as to whether there could have existed similar constellations in composition as in other art genres – which might, for example, allow for a multi-discipline terminological narrowing of "music and Jugendstil" – can only be answered peripherally in view of the heterogeneous status of composing in Vienna around 1900. Seeing as music, in its aspirations to remain autonomous, did not fulfil any functions which could be "*obliterated by composed-out educational reminiscences*"⁷, the antithesis between Historicism and Jugendstil was not tangible in musical art. The "*hazy atmosphere*"⁸, elicited by the label of Vienna Secessionism as a commonplace for simultaneous but, in their individual materiality and concreteness, entirely different concepts – e.g. poster vs. string quartet, vase vs. orchestral song, frieze vs. opera, etc. –, cannot be ignored when analyzing the sonorous witnesses of this time. Owing to the multifariousness of artistic witnesses to this era, it is, however, possible to arrive not only at a topographical specification but also to identify commonalities in terms of substance.

Already at the time, attempts were made – often in an associative manner and without any theoretical basis – to denote similar moods in different métiers in order to reduce phenomena in music to a common denominator with those in the visual arts, architecture and literature. Gustav Mahler, along with Richard Strauss, was considered the exponent of the "*musical Secession*"⁹ and a propagandist of "*the most extreme hyper-Secession*"¹⁰. Their colleague Arnold Schönberg, an orchestrator of wild cacophonies, → ⁶ was seen as an "*ultraviolet music Secessionist*"¹¹ and "*the most provocative among Viennese musical Secessionists*"¹², who in his "*complete dispensation with ornaments*" resembled an "*Adolf Loos in notes*"¹³ or, in a different guise, the "*Kokoschka of music*"¹⁴. Conversely, Kokoschka was compared to a modern composer: "*He stands today approximately where Arnold Schönberg stands in music*"¹⁵. A "*clique*", which had been marching under the banner "*Made in Austria*" since the turn of the century, was assigned a claim to cultural hegemony unparalleled in Europe by the media, as well as the self-conception "*that Klimt was the leading painter of the present – or was it Kokoschka by now? – Schönberg the leading musician, and that all modern architecture was based on Otto Wagner and his school*"¹⁶.

¹⁷ Cf. The Vienna Circles: a diagram of creative interaction in Vienna around 1910, in: Edward Timms: *Karl Kraus – Apocalyptic Satirist. Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna*. New Haven, London 1986, 8.

¹⁸ Horst Weber: *Die Musik der Wiener Moderne*, in: *Mahler-Handbuch*. Edited by Bernd Sponheuer and Wolfram Steinbeck. Stuttgart 2010, 100–113, 103.

This atmospheric assessment of an era, a navel-gazing of cultural supremacy, mentions some of the time's most charismatic protagonists as well as those circles¹⁷ and networks later constructed in research of "Vienna around 1900". With regards music, a permeation of intellectual and creative spheres took place in artists' studios, salons and public spaces, in concerts, at the theater and the opera. It made its way into music publishing, led to reciprocal inspiration, contributed to a specific constitution of music iconography, occasionally had biographical preconditions, and forged friendships, as well as work groups, didactic committees and associations, with similar goals, which may on the whole have been united by "an awareness of the threats to the subject"¹⁸.

Vienna established itself as a diagnostic center for all kinds of corrosive processes and signs of wear, represented an experimental laboratory for new identity constructions and



6
 Theo Zasche: The Modern Orchestra. Much Ado about Nothing, in: *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt* 36/88 (March 31, 1907) "Performers": Arnold Rosé, Richard Strauss, Gustav Mahler, Arnold Schönberg (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien | ASCI PH7981)

A Dream Is Viennese Life¹

Karl Kraus

¹ Excerpt from: *Die Fackel* 307–308 (September 22, 1910), 51–56. The title is an allusion to *Der Traum ein Leben* [A Dream Is Life] by Franz Grillparzer (1840) which, in turn, refers back to the play *La vida es sueño* [Life Is A Dream] by Pedro Calderón (1635).

² In the lead, Kraus refers to his first official lecture in Vienna as part of the lecture series “Wiener Vorlesungen”, which he delivered on May 3, 1910, at the hall of the architect’s union, Eschenbachgasse 9, Vienna’s 1st district.

³ De facto 150 meters walking distance.

⁴ Elisabethstraße 20, Vienna’s 1st district.

⁵ Horse and cart, hack chaise.

⁶ In 1909, 300 automobile taximeters (horseless carriages) were given license to transport passengers in Vienna, much to the financial detriment of the coachmen.

⁷ Disinhibited crowd. The term goes back to Korah, mentioned in the 4th Book of Moses. Together with other Israelites, Korah turned against Moses during the wilderness wanderings.

⁸ Starting the motor with a crank handle.

⁹ Heinrich Sikora, a developer involved in concrete construction and homeowner in Vienna’s 18th district. Allusion to the refusal of many Viennese homeowners to grant homeless adolescents asylum in empty buildings. Attempt by the city and the police to tackle juvenile prostitution and moral decline.

I dreamt I had to give a lecture, the audience was assembled, but I had forgotten my manuscript at home. The hall² is only a stone’s throw away³ from my apartment⁴, I thought, but even this short distance I decided not to cover on foot, out of consideration for the situation of our cabs⁵ and so that I wouldn’t have to keep the audience waiting even one minute. I thus spent an hour looking for an automobile taximeter⁶, called a taxi for short in this unhurried city. Though I was already overcome by repulsion, steeling myself for the machine to heap up ten crowns every quarter of a minute, I got on. At once, Korah’s horde⁷ gathered around the vehicle, watching the chauffeur’s attempts at getting it to start up⁸ with the kind of rapt attention that would surely have been better spent on another cause. When we reached the next crossing, the automobile ran over the real estate owner Sikora⁹, who noiselessly sank to his knees and showed the curious crowd a bloody stump. Unable to stand the sight, I asked the chauffeur not to flee, but to turn back and to ask the man for forgiveness. The chauffeur approached him and said: “How about the two of us, then, dear neighbor?” The dying man was reconciled and smiled, and we drove on. After a short interval, the chauffeur declared that he could not go on, as he did not have any matches for the lantern¹⁰. For this reason, and also to make faster progress, I boarded a gig, whose driver had attracted my attention with his incessant cries of “Gig! Let’s go!”. To be fair, I could not have gotten rid of him any other way than by accepting his invitation. Now he started to feed and uncover his horses, which is a pastime of the coachmen when the evenings are getting long. Inside the cab, I found a broken mirror, and in it, saw a gray hair on my temple. The promenaders were startled by the carriage, and since the coachman kept crying “Shoo!”, they were startled even more and did not know whether to move backwards or forwards. They couldn’t do either; I realized that they weren’t able to walk at all. No one was hurt. But after a while, the coachman declared that he could not go on, as there was “hail”, an expression with which he alluded to black ice. When I gave him one hundred and fifty crowns for the fare, he refused to take the money, and said reproachfully: “But Sir, what is this you are giving me?” I invoked the rate of one hundred. He murmured: “On a day like this!”, and demanded two hundred. I gave him the money, without understanding what was so special about that particularly day. Soon, I found another cab; however, the driver did not

¹⁰ Lantern on the automobile powered by lamp oil.

¹¹ Prostitutes. The only witch burning incident in Vienna occurred on September 27, 1583, on Gänseweide (Weißgerberlande, Vienna's 3rd district).

¹² The sleeping (passive) chief of police: Allusion to a massive surge in homelessness and criminality in Vienna in 1910. Wording from Viennese newspapers.

¹³ Karl Freiherr von Brzesowsky, from 1907–14 chief of the Imperial-Royal police headquarters.

¹⁴ Johann Gabriel Seidl, librettist for songs by Franz Schubert, wrote the words to the Austrian Emperor's Hymn, born on June 21, 1804, Krugerstraße 8, Vienna's 1st district. Allusion to 19th-century prostitution hotspots at the nearby bastion.

¹⁵ Johann Nepomuk Vogl, lyricist, writer, publicist and librettist for songs by Franz Schubert, born on February 7, 1802. To Kraus, Schubert represented the "sounding soul of the imperial city"; Karl Kraus: Ziehrer-Jubiläum, in: *Die Fackel* 121 (November 1902), 16–20, 18.

¹⁶ To the Berlin editorial office of *Die Fackel* housed at the offices of Herwarth Walden.

¹⁷ Allusion to the Imperial-Royal Austrian Postal Savings Bank built to plans by Otto Wagner (1904–06); a cash office was added in 1910.

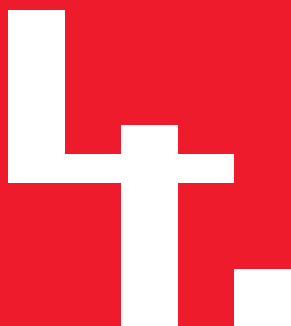
¹⁸ Decompression sickness, diver's paralysis. Pneumatic mail, Vienna's underground postal system.

¹⁹ Ring tramway on Stubenring.

²⁰ In 1908, trumpets replaced whistles for signaling on electric trams.

²¹ Albert Johann Gerngroß, proprietor of the Viennese department store Gerngroß in the second generation.

call me over but stared at me with hostility. When I asked him: "Can we go, your grace?", he jumped up angrily and screamed: "I am taken!" Now I was on foot again, desperately looking for a ride. I walked through winding little streets, where witches used to be burnt, but now they are looking out of the windows.¹¹ They are allowed to behave indecently, without grossly offending public decency, and I instantly decided to wake up¹² the Chief of Police¹³ and ask him why he had robbed the girls of the only joy they still had by banning them from playing the piano. He told me to lodge a formal request, he believed to be in a position to assure me that my wishes would be taken into consideration, as the authorities took an objective stance on prostitution and would, as long as there was no objection ... – I made a sweeping gesture and suffered an epileptic fit. A court psychiatrist, who had rushed on the scene to help, asked me if I knew Johann Gabriel Seidl's¹⁴ date of birth. Since I was able to answer this question coherently, he declared that, while I had been of unsound mind before the crime, and also after, I had been of sound mind during my actions, which meant I could be held fully accountable. I replied that I could not be made to take full responsibility for my crime, as I did not know Johann Nepomuk Vogl's birthday.¹⁵ They then asked me this very question, and, seeing as I was indeed unable to answer it, I was acquitted. I must telegraph this news to Berlin immediately,¹⁶ I thought. I went to a post office,¹⁷ where there was a great crush, for several officials forced to work in this subterranean office had just died from caisson disease.¹⁸ I got there just when the coffins were being loaded. I was asked to queue at the adjacent counter, which was unmanned, but I could hear laughter and saw the telegraphists playing tag. I was glad how smoothly everything was going; but now I really had to make haste! I got on a tram,¹⁹ of which there were forty in a row to choose from, since the first could not move because of a procession. When it had passed, the trailer car conductor relentlessly blew his trumpet in my ear,²⁰ in an attempt to prove to the driver that he, too, was someone important. While we were driving, the lights kept going out, making it impossible to read the tramway card. Actually, it was dark most of the time, and the lights only came on every so often. Aha, I thought to myself, these must be the well-known lucid intervals of urban traffic. There was massive jolting and rocking at every turn, and the people tumbled around and died like flies. A hatpin pierced my left eye, but one gentleman still had the presence of mind to ask me for a light. Someone was getting off now, and the man standing next to me pointed out: "That was young Gerngross!"²¹ At the next crossing, the tram collided with a carriage occupied by an Argentinian married couple. Trying to avoid the embarrassing spectacle, I fled to a restaurant, where forty young waiters were picking their noses. It was a big establishment. Forty food runners asked me if I had



Correspondence

Arnold Schönberg – Karl Kraus – “Die Fackel”

¹ Hermann Böhm: Archivarisch, in: *Karl Kraus-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*. Edited by Katharina Prager and Simon Ganahl. Berlin 2022, 385–392, 386.

² The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Music Division, Arnold Schoenberg Collection.

³ There are also considerable gaps in Kraus’s correspondence with Arthur Schnitzler and Else Lasker-Schüler; cf. Johannes Knüchel and Gerald Krieger: Korrespondenzen, in: *Karl Kraus-Handbuch*, see fn. 1, 95–102, 100.

⁴ Hermann Böhm: Archivarisch, see fn. 1, 387.

⁵ Ibidem. Willi Reich was able to examine the Schönberg letters in 1946 and made transcriptions of them, which he later sent to Gertrud Schönberg; cf. Willi Reich: *Arnold Schönberg oder der konservative Revolutionär*. Wien, Frankfurt, Zürich 1968, 56.

Assessing the extent of the written communication from 1905 to 1929/30 between Arnold Schönberg and Karl Kraus, and between Arnold Schönberg and the publishing company “Die Fackel”, is difficult owing to the dispersal of documents in Kraus’s estate.¹ While the original letters addressed to the composer are largely kept in one place,² the correspondence in the other direction is incomplete, both in terms of the number of documents and the quality of the manuscripts.³

After Kraus’s death on June 12, 1936, his long-standing confidante and assistant Helene Kann aimed to unite his writings and letters, and to preserve them in an archive in accordance with his will. A portion of the archival material was retrieved from the printers Jahoda & Siegel (Hintere Zollamtsstraße 3, Vienna’s 3rd district), which printed the periodical *Die Fackel* between 1901 and 1936, while another was taken from the deceased’s apartment (Lothringerstraße 6, Vienna’s 4th district), including his extensive correspondence. As Kann’s apartment (Mahlerstraße 14, Vienna’s 1st district) did not offer enough room for the combined holdings, parts of the material had to be outsourced to the Austrian National Library, while individual documents found their way as donations into the private collections of Kraus’s friends and admirers. When the National Socialists seized power in Vienna in 1938, the archive was scattered into different directions. Following her emigration, Helene Kann had parts of the collection sent to Switzerland, another was shipped by her helper Anita Kössler to Sweden, while further documents from Kraus’s estate were kept hidden during World War II in apartments of private individuals in Vienna. Those objects that originated from Kraus’s study at Lothringerstraße 6, Vienna’s 4th district, (including Schönbergiana → 80) are considered lost today. The space of remembrance set up by Oskar Samek at Reindorf-gasse 18, Vienna’s 15th district, was destroyed in October 1938 by the SA, and little to nothing is known about the possible whereabouts of the documents kept in its library. The same applies to the Krausiana from the editorial office of Richard Lányi⁴ (which, along with his business correspondence, also included letters written by Schönberg). The majority of the letters relevant for this chapter – i.e. those written by Schönberg to Kraus – were likely preserved by Kann until the end of the War. In her will, Kann provided for the Kraus archive to be entrusted to the City of Vienna.⁵ After her death, the archival material remained in the possession of Kann’s daughter for six years, before their transfer to the present-day

⁶ The list of the cast was reproduced in: *Die Fackel* 182 (June 9, 1905), 15.

⁷ Cf. Friedrich Pfäfflin: Karl Kraus und Arnold Schönberg. Fragmente einer Beziehung, in: *Karl Kraus*. Edited by Heinz Ludwig Arnold. München 1975, 127–144, 129f. (special volume Text & Kritik).

Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [Vienna City Library] could be implemented in 1955. Several years before, in 1952, Anita Kössler had already provided the library with those documents that had been hidden by private individuals. The Wienbibliothek would later acquire further Krausiana.

Arnold Schönberg died on July 13, 1951, in Los Angeles. Apart from the real estate on Rockingham Avenue in Brentwood Park (his residence since 1936), his estate included his compositions, writings and artworks, as well as his library, musical instruments, furnishings, photographs, sound recording media, documents and teaching materials. Schönberg had appointed his second wife Gertrud (née Kolisch) as his universal heir, which made her primarily responsible for his artistic estate. Several weeks before his death, the composer had left his correspondence, comprising some 33,000 pages and including a small number of written notes from Karl Kraus and the publishing company “Die Fackel”, to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. These are accessible for researchers as digital copies via the website of the Arnold Schönberg Center.

Most of the letters, postcards and other written messages Schönberg addressed to Kraus are available today as typewritten transcriptions. The original messages are scattered – some of them were sold at auctions and a few of them circulate on the autograph market.

The exchange of letters, which is published with annotations in this publication, is partly based on original documents, but in some instances has to make recourse to foreign transcriptions of varying provenance and, where necessary, to (rudimentary) information from auction catalogues. Our aim is to provide as comprehensive a documentation as possible which, together with the annotated original texts reproduced in chapters 5, 6 and 8, is to afford a complete overall picture.

The exchange of letters started with a theater performance: Karl Kraus had procured a special license to stage Frank Wedekind’s comedy *Die Büchse der Pandora* [Pandora’s Box], which had been proscribed by Viennese censorship, in May 1905 for an invited audience at Nestroyhof, Praterstraße 34 in Vienna’s 2nd district. In the play’s first performance on May 29, 1905, Tilly Newes – the author’s later wife – played the role of Lulu, while Wedekind himself played Jack the Ripper. Kraus appeared in the role of the imperial prince of Uahube, and gave an introductory speech.⁶ The private performance was attended by Schönberg’s student Alban Berg and his brother Hermann, as an extant list of seat reservations proves.⁷ A second performance was announced in *Die Fackel* on June 9, 1905:

A repeat performance of “Büchse der Pandora” for invited guests will be held between June 14 and 17, provided we manage to secure the participation of all those who were

⁸ *Die Fackel* 182 (June 9, 1905), 28.

⁹ Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, I.N. 200.081 | ASCC 23144; published in: Friedrich Pfäfflin: Karl Kraus und Arnold Schönberg, see fn. 7, 130.

¹⁰ Cf. Henry-Louis de La Grange: *Gustav Mahler. Vol. 3. Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion (1904–1907)*. New York 1999, 636–650.

¹¹ Hans Liebstockl: Der Fall Schönberg, in: *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt* 36 (March 7, 1907), 9 (review of the *Chamber Symphony* op. 9); David Josef Bach: Der Fall Schönberg, in: *Arbeiter-Zeitung* 19/66 (March 8, 1907), 1–3.

¹² *Ibidem*, 1.

*involved in the first performance, some of whom are currently not in Vienna. [...] All those who wish to see the play, which will once again feature a performance by the author himself, are asked to inform the publishers of "Die Fackel", Schwindgasse 3, Vienna's 4th district, by June 11, stating which category of seats they wish to purchase tickets for (made out in their name), and their full address. If chosen, they will then be sent an invitation and tickets after June 11.*⁸

Schönberg, who had secured himself a ticket for the second staging, had to cancel on the day of the performance due to an unforeseen engagement.

1

Schönberg to Kraus

Vienna, June 15, 1905⁹

Arnold Schönberg

— — — Wien — — —

IX. Liechtensteinstrasse 68/70

My esteemed Mr. Kraus, unfortunately I won't be able to make it to the performance of "Büchse der Pandora"; as I will have to attend to a very urgent matter on Thursday evening. I am returning my ticket to you with many heartfelt thanks. What a shame. I had been very much looking forward to it.
With kind regards, yours
Arnold Schönberg

It has not been possible to ascertain whether another performance of *Büchse der Pandora* did indeed take place at Nestroyhof. The second surviving letter Schönberg sent to Kraus is dated May 11, 1906, but without any doubt was written in 1907 (cf. Kraus's subsequent letter dated May 12, 1907). In his wrongly dated letter, Schönberg referred to the press crusade against the Director of the Vienna Court Opera, Gustav Mahler, which had been going on for months and in the last week of April 1907 had reached a preliminary climax.¹⁰ Joining forces with Alexander Zemlinsky, who had been appointed to the Court Opera in mid-April and had given his conducting debut on May 3 with a performance of Verdi's *Otello*, Kraus was to be persuaded to take a prominent stance on behalf of Mahler in *Die Fackel*. The "Case of Mahler" thus provided a connection with two newspaper articles, titled "The Case of Schönberg" and published in March 1907.¹¹ In his review of the premiere of Schönberg's *String Quartet No. 1* op. 7 (February 5, 1907, Bösendorfersaal, Vienna's 1st district), performed by the Rosé-Quartett, the composer's childhood friend David Josef Bach leveled unsparing criticism against the work, without any regard to loyalties between them ("alien to the degree of atrociousness"; "lack of an overall impression"; "a sheer insoluble problem")¹², condemned the *Chamber Symphony* op. 9 into the bargain ("overstuffed and crammed full"; "overabundance";

¹³ Ibidem, 2.

¹⁴ Arnold Schönberg: *How One Becomes Lonely*, 1937 (ASSV 4.1.23.); published in: idem: *Style and idea. Selected writings*. Edited by Leonard Stein. Berkeley, Los Angeles 1984, 30–53, 42.

¹⁵ Therese Muxeneder: Gustav Mahler war ein Heiliger. Arnold Schönberg und Gustav Mahler, in: *„Leider bleibe ich ein eingefleischter Wiener“. Gustav Mahler und Wien*. Edited by Reinhold Kubik and Thomas Trabitsch. Wien 2010, 203–213, 204.

¹⁶ Arnold Schönberg: *How One Becomes Lonely*, see fn. 14, 42.

¹⁷ Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, I.N. 200.082 | ASCC 104; published in: Friedrich Pfäfflin: Karl Kraus und Arnold Schönberg, see fn. 7, 130; here dated 1906.

¹⁸ Apartment at Liechtensteinstraße 68/70, Vienna's 9th district. Schönberg's brother-in-law Alexander Zemlinsky lived in the same building.

¹⁹ Jens Malte Fischer: Mahler, Leben und Welt, in: *Mahler-Handbuch*. Edited by Bernd Sponheuer and Wolfram Steinbeck. Stuttgart 2010, 14–59, 49.

“heightened to intolerability”), before commenting on Schönberg’s “friendship with Mahler” which both of them were “accused of”¹³ from several sides. In his 1937 lecture “How One Becomes Lonely”, Schönberg made indirect references to Bach’s criticism: “One would not believe today that the best musicians and even friends of mine, who had some esteem for my musicianship, misjudged my music very badly.”¹⁴

Mahler had come to Schönberg’s defense in the aftermath of the commotion caused by the premiere of the *String Quartet No. 1* op. 7 and, despite not being able to decipher the work himself, recommended it to Richard Strauss.¹⁵

*So when I showed the First String Quartet to Gustav Mahler, the great Austrian composer and conductor, at that time head of the Imperial Opera in Vienna, he said: “I have conducted the most difficult scores of Wagner; I have written complicated music myself in scores of up to thirty staves and more; yet here is a score of not more than four staves, and I am unable to read them.”*¹⁶

Schönberg felt a moral obligation to establish an incorruptible lobby for Mahler against the resentful Viennese press.

2

Schönberg to Kraus

Vienna, May 11, 190[7]¹⁷

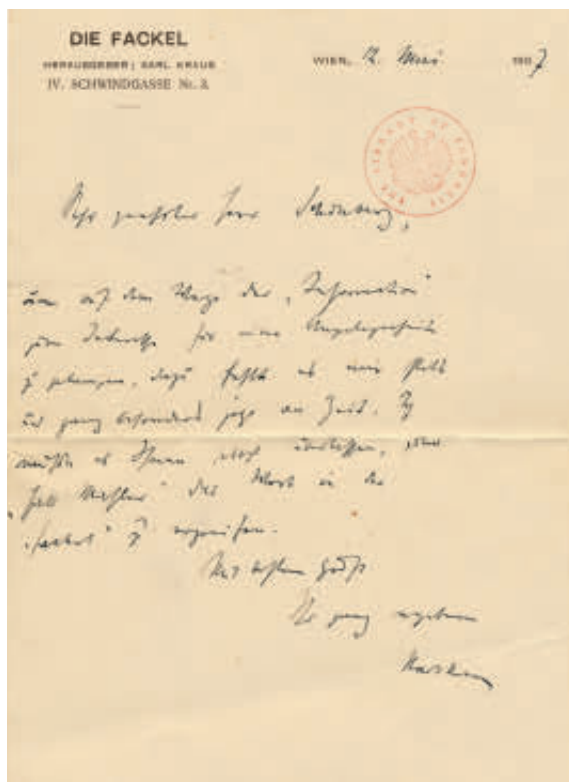
Esteemed Mr. Kraus, I have felt the urge for a while now to interest you in the case of Mahler. I hope very much to be able to convince you that he is an extraordinary person, the kind that is extremely rare – hence the outrageous treatment he is subjected to by the press.

I would like to ask you for a meeting to discuss this matter. I am free in the mornings (Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday) from 10.30 am, and every day in the afternoons from 5 pm, and can meet you wherever is convenient for you. Perhaps you would rather do me the honor of coming to my place; then we would also have Zemlinsky on hand,¹⁸ who has a better memory for facts than I do.

In the hope of receiving a favorable reply, I send you kind regards and remain respectfully yours,

Arnold Schönberg

There is no indication of a personal acquaintance between Mahler and Kraus, nor of Kraus ever attending a performance at the Court Opera or a symphonic concert conducted by Mahler. Yet, the publisher of *Die Fackel* followed “the era of Mahler in Vienna at least occasionally with words that were emphatic by his standards”.¹⁹ We have no documentation of Kraus ever paying Schönberg a private visit at his apartment; in fact, Kraus’s reply suggests that he ruled this out.



11
Karl Kraus to Arnold
Schönberg, May 12, 1907
(The Library of Congress,
Washington, D.C., Music
Division, Arnold Schoenberg
Collection | ASCC 12997)

²⁴ Der Fall Mahler, in:
Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung
8745 (May 22, 1907), 2f.

²⁵ Wording and selection
list of prominent Viennese
signatories: Eine Adresse
für Gustav Mahler, in: *Neues*
Wiener Journal 15/4880
(May 25, 1907), 3.

*enthusiasm by a list of Gustav Mahler's many accomplishments. [...] There is no surplus of men of his caliber in Vienna, especially not in the sphere of art. Truly: We need him much more than he needs us. Should the Opera and Gustav Mahler really part ways in the future – the loss would be much greater on the Opera's part.*²⁴

Shortly after, a letter to Mahler circulated in Vienna, backdated to May 11, 1907, the day of his 10-year anniversary at the Court Opera. This "address", honoring Mahler's achievements and his ethos – and bearing the signatures of Hermann Bahr, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Gustav Klimt, Kolo Moser, Arthur Schnitzler and Arnold Schönberg, among others – was presented to him on May 24 at his place of activity.²⁵ However, the press campaign conducted in the spring of 1907 prompted Mahler to take action: Following a meeting with Heinrich Conried, the Director of the Metropolitan Opera in New York, Mahler's contract with the Met was announced on June 11. The conductor, composer and pianist Felix Weingartner was officially named as his successor in Vienna on August 19. The last performance directed by Mahler was staged on October 15, 1907 (Beethoven's *Fidelio*).

⁵⁴ Julius Korngold: Musik, in: *Neue Freie Presse* 16318 (January 26, 1910), 1ff., 3.
⁵⁵ Song by Arnold Schönberg. From "Das Buch der hängenden Gärten" by Stefan George, in: *Die Fackel* 300 (April 9, 1910), 9. The manuscript, on which the feature in the magazine was based, is now lost.

Contrary to his open letter to Ludwig Karpath, Schönberg did not seek refuge in *Die Fackel* with an essay against Julius Korngold, who accused the composer of taking a "*direction of precious, pathologically-sensitive moods*" in his George Songs⁵⁴, but rather let his music speak for itself. The jubilee number 300 printed the song *Sprich nicht immer von dem Laub* op. 15/14 as a reproduction of Schönberg's handwriting.⁵⁵ → ³⁵ It is reasonable to speculate that Schönberg processed the critic's words in his painting *Blue Self-Portrait* → ³⁶ dated February 13, 1910. The missing left ear allows for associations both with Vincent van Gogh's self-portraits and with Korngold's review of the concert at Ehrbar-Saal, organized by the Verein für Kunst und Kultur [Association for Art and Culture], which included a first performance of Schönberg's *Three Piano Pieces* op. 11. For the review by Vienna's leading critic

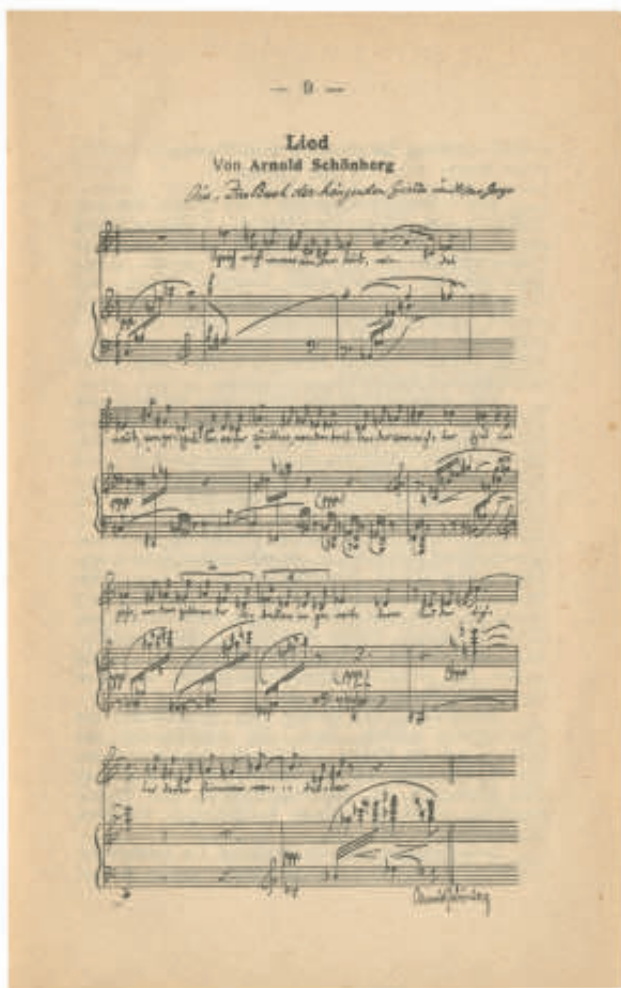


⁵⁶ Julius Korngold: Musik, see fn. 54.

⁵⁷ Between 1909 and 1911, the Berlin office of *Die Fackel* was housed in the editorial offices of Herwarth Walden's magazine *Der Sturm*. Kraus had been involved in the magazine's founding, both conceptually and financially, and contributed to it as an author. On January 13 and 20, 1910, Kraus gave lectures at the Berlin salon of Paul Cassirer at the invitation of Walden's art association.

revolved around the theme of hearing: the effects of Schönberg's music on the sensitive organ (*"the artist's rebellions elicited savage rebellions from his listeners"*), the detachment from any and all regularities of receptiveness (*"not for one moment do these piano pieces offer any sense of cohesiveness for the ear"*), as well as the substitution of musical comprehensibility with *"a babbling and slurring akin to a grimace for the ear"*. Finally, the critic expressed his wish that Schönberg's *"overstimulated ear"* would recover, that his *"musical thinking"* would find *"its way back to nature"*, that he would *"renounce dissonance as a religion"*.⁵⁶

The new compositions were interpreted by the soprano Martha Winternitz-Dorda and the pianist Etta Werndorff. Kraus had initially considered including a composition by Herwarth Walden in this issue.⁵⁷



35

Arnold Schönberg; Song
[*Sprich nicht immer von
dem Laub* op. 15/14], in: *Die
Fackel* 300 (April 9, 1910)
(Arnold Schönberg Center,
Wien, Book F9)



58

Arnold Schönberg: *Pierrot lunaire* op. 21, 1912

a. *Der Dandy* [The Dandy], mm. 16–17

b. *Der Dandy* [The Dandy], m. 30

c. *Nacht* [Night], m. 10

d. *Die Kreuze* [The Crosses], m. 8

⁷⁸ Hermann Scherchen: *Werke und Briefe. Vol. I: Schriften I*. Edited by Joachim Lucchesi. Berlin etc. 1991, 164.

⁷⁹ Edward Steuermann: *The Not Quite Innocent Bystander. Writings*. Edited by Clara Steuermann, David Porter and Gunther Schuller. Lincoln, London 1989, 37.

*I first saw Schönberg through a large glass door in the stairwell, when I entered the hall before the start of the rehearsal. He was still working alone with Albertine Zehme. I saw the gleaming profile of an ecstatic clown, who was roaring into an invisible room: "The verses are holy crosses on which the poets slowly bleed to death." Schönberg's gestures, voice and expression were imbued with the rapture of someone beside himself with excitement.*⁷⁸

The participating pianist and Schönberg pupil Eduard Steuermann reported about the premiere:

*Mrs. Zehme insisted on appearing in the costume of Pierrot, and on being alone on stage. The instrumentalists and the conductor, Schoenberg, were behind a rather complicated screen – complicated because on a small stage it was not quite so simple to build a screen that would allow the speaker, but not the audience, to see the conductor.*⁷⁹

This set-up was adhered to in later stagings, as Scherchen, who conducted several concerts of the first performance series, confirmed:

"Pierrot" was staged as follows: There were two walls on the podium, covering the entire stage, with an opening in the middle, which the soloist emerged from. Mrs. Albertine Zehme was clad in a costume which barely hinted at the Pierrot character. The conductor stood inside near the opening,

Karl Kraus – Contradictions

Arnold Schönberg

¹ Possible reference to Friedrich Nietzsche's *Götzen-Dämmerung* in: *Werke. Erste Abtheilung. Vol. VIII.* Leipzig 1904 (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien, Book, N12).

² Aphorisms and maxims by August Strindberg: *Ein Blaubuch. Die Synthese meines Lebens. Vol. I.* München, Leipzig 1908 (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien, Book S125).

³ Prose sketches by Peter Altenberg: *Bilderbögen des kleinen Lebens.* Berlin 1909 (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien, Book A8).

⁴ On Schönberg's perception of the aphorisms used by Karl Kraus → chapter 5.

⁵ Allusion to the creation of humanity in Genesis 2 (Story of Paradise).

⁶ Excerpt from: Arnold Schönberg: *Musik der Parteifreunde*, September 1909 (ASSV 3.3.2.) (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien, T26.04). Allusion to the parties New Germans, Wagner Devotees vs Conservatives, Brahms enthusiasts.

⁷ Allusion to the rejection of the article intended for the *Fackel: Eine Rechtsfrage* (→ 111–115).

⁸ "Anybody who needs experiences of a grand kind will surely be awash with them. I am fighting a Battle of the Titans with commas." Karl Kraus: *Pro domo et mundo*, in: *Die Fackel* 309–310 (October 31, 1910), 39.

Perhaps it is the knowledge of systems' untenability that prompts the poets and thinkers of our time to choose the aphorism or sketch as an expressive form with such frequency. Perhaps Nietzsche¹ and Strindberg² or Altenberg³, or Karl Kraus⁴ – motivated by a similar perception – have withdrawn from the constraints of an order that takes more than it gives because it wraps us in a sense of security that has impenetrable seclusion as its prerequisite. Perhaps they cast off the formal constraints because they felt duty bound to their nature that bade them to stray, that compelled them to absorb and convey; in the sweat of their soul to merit the interpretation of a small piece of earthly life and to see in the tree of knowledge primarily the power that could dispel from Paradise, from the vastness of a Paradise of naked truth into the confines of a world clothed according to systems; from a Paradise in which the path does not change when conscious senses are insufficient for grasping the world and its beauty, because it is the unconscious ones with which one drinks in the everlastingness, a Paradise from which one is dismissed, however, when the blinkers turn into eyeglasses and enable us to see "that we are naked."⁵

And music, in particular, is supposed to rely on systems, forms and formulae? Music, of all things, with the tremendous richness of its material and the infinitely manifold possibilities for the interpretation of this material. Nothing can compel me to discern the same mood twice, even within an entirely simple musical construct; it can trigger a whole world of associations. It can contain everything that is equal, and likewise everything that is contrary. Such as in strophic songs, for example, one melody has associations with all the verses. And music, of all things, is supposed to have to be "based" on a system, a form or a program? Music, so ambiguous and all-embracing without this, like the root words of the *Ursprachen*, which can easily be differentiated and distinct at a level only rarely achieved even by the most cultivated constructed language?⁶

I could pacify myself by thinking that Kraus did not want to tell me his opinion, but only his form.⁷

Or perhaps he just wanted to move a few of my commas that conquered him and remained in place in the Battle of the Titans.⁸

Crossing of Paths

1899

Karl Kraus and Arnold Schönberg in the Court Room

¹ Excerpt from: *Neues Wiener Journal* 7/1884 (May 3, 1899), 5.

² K. k. priv. Carl-Theater. Zum ersten Male: Das Dreieck. Lustspiel in 3 Acten von Oskar Friedmann, in: *Wiener Zeitung* 100 (May 2, 1899), 16.

³ Oskar Friedmann, author of numerous plays and operetta libretti, actor, director and co-founder of the "Intimes Theater" [Intimate Theater] on Praterstraße in Vienna, editor of the periodical *Wochenjournal*, co-founder of the publishing house "Wiener Verlag", and brother of the author Egon Friedell (Friedmann).

⁴ Café Griensteidl, Palais Herberstein, Michaelerplatz, Vienna's 1st district; a regular meeting place of Vienna's young literary figures. In January 1897, the establishment, also known by its honorary title "Café Größenwahn" [Café Megalomania], was demolished in keeping with a new development plan. It later reopened as Café Glattauer.

⁵ Leopold Müller, singer, director of the Carl-Theater in Vienna.

⁶ Coarse language, Viennese dialect; refers to the Thurybrücke [Thury Bridge] in Vienna's 9th district.

Carl-Theater¹

Oskar Friedmann gave his debut as a playwright yesterday!² Is it possible that someone might not know who Oskar Friedmann is?³ Oskar Friedmann belongs to literary Vienna like the famous waiter Gustav to Café Griensteidl.⁴ A premiere-goer by profession, the good-natured, blond young man has not missed a first performance for years. He can invariably be found in proximity to the critical Areopagus which forms ad hoc during intervals. Oskar Friedmann is a strict critic. His strictness stands in contrast to his benevolent face. Whenever I saw and heard Oskar Friedmann during the intervals, I said to myself: It is only a matter of time before this man will come along with his own play! For anyone who judges so harshly can only have bad intentions. Oskar Friedmann soon started to frequent Café Griensteidl. Now he had almost made it. For those who go there for afternoon tea are considered part of the literary world. Oskar Friedmann turned up like clockwork, let others make jokes at his expense and familiarized himself with literature by purchasing manuscripts; he delivered speeches at banquets and kept on the right side of Mr. Leopold Müller.⁵ who supports promising talents. The way was paved, and Vienna was ripe for his assault. Oskar Friedmann released a three-act play called "Das Dreieck" [The Triangle]. Yesterday, it was performed for the first time. All of literary Vienna claimed their right to free tickets. "Das Dreieck" is French in its construction and thurybrückesque⁶ in its development. The entire plot is only sufficient to cover one short act. Franz Lawathy surprises his wife with Albert Thanhofer and challenges him to a duel. But Thanhofer is innocent, for it is, in fact, Dr. Reitter who is the woman's seducer, something which has been graphically laid out throughout the entire previous act. Lawathy, who is clueless to the point of bigotry, asks Reitter to be his second. In the end, the duel does not happen, as the lover manages to prove Mrs. Lawathy's innocence. This cements the triangle. The playbill refers to this obscenity, which is devoid of any piquancy, as a comedy. While the basic theme is quite well conceived, such a play must not be called a comedy. A few jokes with an erotic tint, some of which are known

⁷ Excerpt from: *Die Fackel*
4 (early May 1899), 16–19.

already beyond Café Griensteidl, drew hearty laughter. There was applause at the end of each act, and after the third, Oskar Friedmann himself appeared ... as of yesterday, Oskar Friedmann is a playwright!

The Abjectness of Our Theater Operations⁷

Karl Kraus → ⁷⁰

The official gazette of the newspaper “Wiener Zeitung” of July 2, 3 and 4, 1896, announces that, as decreed by the Imperial Royal Regional Court of Vienna on June 23, 1896, Z. 51949, Oscar Friedmann, who will come of age on July 13, 1896, will continue to be placed under guardianship (on account of feeble-mindedness ascertained by the courts) for an indefinite period of time.

*

Oscar Friedmann appears in the District Court of Neubau on October 3, 1898, to request the suspension of his prolonged guardianship.

*



⁷⁰

Karl Kraus, 1906
(photo: Hermann Clemens
Kosel) (Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek, Wien,
NB 502868-B)

⁸ Alfred Schmidt, court advocate, Salzgies 12, Vienna's 1st district.

⁹ Maximilian Neuda, court advocate, Habsburgergasse 3, Vienna's 1st district.

¹⁰ Emil Kohn, advocate, Margarethenplatz 8, Vienna's 5th district.

¹¹ Johann Fritsch, medical officer, forensic physician at the Regional Court of Vienna, forensic psychiatrist, Habsburgergasse 1, Vienna's 1st district.

¹² Hermann Hoevel, medical officer, forensic physician at the Regional Court of Vienna, forensic psychiatrist, Lerchenfelderstrasse 14, Vienna's 8th district.

¹³ Hermann Bahr, author; Julius Bauer, author, journalist; Carl Karlweis (Karl Weiss), dramatist.

On April 22, 1899, Court Advocate Dr. Alfred Schmidt⁸, who has been appointed as guardian, as well as the trustees Dr. Max Neuda⁹ and Dr. Emil Kohn¹⁰ voiced their concerns about this request. The District Court of Neubau decrees a further examination of Friedmann's mental state to be performed by the forensic psychiatrists Prof. Dr. Fritsch¹¹ and Dr. Hoevel¹² and to this end stipulates a new date of hearing on May 24, 1899, 11 am, dept. I, room no. 6.

*

On May 2, the playbill of the Carltheater announces:

Das Dreieck.

Comedy in three acts by Oscar Friedmann.

*

The compilation of the above facts and announcements affords theater-goers insights into the ugliest chapter in the history of our literary cliquishness to date. I refute any possible suspicion that it is my intention to expose a human being, who is subject to psychiatric control, to public ridicule; like anyone deprived by law of their free right of disposal, the author of the "Dreieck", too, can be assured of my gentlest sympathy. Far be it from me to squander even two lines of theatrical critique on the event that took place on May 2 at the Carltheater, and I would not have uttered a single word about what took place on June 23, 1896, at the Regional Court of Vienna, if the two incidents combined did not constitute such drastic proof of the abjectness of our theater operations. If several critics, who are otherwise unconditionally devoted to the clique, now attack Mr. Friedmann and protest in their way against the utter nonsense that the Carltheater recently subjected its audience to, their belated indignation can only bring a smile to those in the know. For it takes a sad sort of courage to hold poor Mr. Friedmann responsible for the clumsy joy he takes in sexual expositions or the awkwardness with which he brings them to the stage. [...] The audience had every right to be outraged by these crude expressions of erotic cravings, and, since they were unaware of the context, to let the pitiful author feel their displeasure. The guardian did not join in the protest of Viennese dramatists against a curtain call, and Mr. Friedmann was allowed to appear in front of the curtain. But the audience's indignation hit the wrong target; rather than the pale and trembling author, who took awkward bows, they should have booed his unscrupulous protectors who had exposed the invalid to the commotion of a premiere in the first place, and now, in the central aisles, tried their cheap propaganda on the journalists [...] What was so nauseating about this strange evening at the theater was that renowned literary patrons¹³ allowed a person under legal guardianship to unleash his babbling baseness on the public without reservations or hesitation.

1913

For Else Lasker-Schüler¹

¹ *Die Fackel* 366–367 (January 11, 1913), iii; 368–369 (February 5, 1913), iii.

² Else Lasker-Schüler, avant-garde poet; her first husband was Jonathan Berthold Barnett Lasker, the brother of world chess champion Emanuel Lasker (Immanuel Lasker), who became acquainted with Schönberg in the 1930s; her second husband was Herwarth Walden (Georg Lewin), the editor of the magazine *Der Sturm*.

³ Walter Otto, ancient historian, from 1911 associate professor for classical philology at Vienna University; he later became the founder of the German National party of Southern Bavaria.

⁴ *Die Fackel* 313–314 (December 31, 1910), 36.

⁵ *Die Fackel* 288 (October 11, 1909), 13; 294–295 (February 3, 1910), 26f.; 309–310 (October 31, 1910), 4; 315–316 (January 26, 1911), 20–26. Karl Kraus also included Lasker-Schüler's poems in his lectures (for the first time on May 15, 1911, Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Musik [Academic Association for Literature and Music], Vienna).

⁶ Sigrid Bauschinger: *Else Lasker-Schüler. Biographie*. Göttingen 2013, 148.

⁷ *Die Fackel* 387–388 (November 17, 1913), 23.

⁸ Paul Lasker.

⁹ Den "Wohltätern ins Stammbuch", in: *Vorwärts. Berliner Volksblatt* 30/37 (February 13, 1913), 6.

The poet Else Lasker-Schüler² is facing severe financial hardship. Her struggle to meet the daily needs of life has become so serious that the undersigned circle of friends and admirers feels obliged to make an urgent appeal for support to all those who have an understanding for the poet's work – ahead of the tastes of our time though it may be – and thus want to contribute to her welfare.

We ask for any donations – even small ones are very welcome – to be sent with the reference "for Else Lasker-Schüler" to Imperial Royal University Professor Dr. Walter Otto³, Vienna, 19th district, Gebhardtgasse 1. The proceeds from this collection will be presented to the poet along with a list of the names of the donors.

Pauline Fürstin zu Wied
Selma Lagerlöf
Richard Dehmel
Karl Kraus
Adolf Loos

Helene Fürstin Loutzo
Karin Michaelis
Peter Nansen
Walter Otto
Arnold Schönberg

Karl Kraus met Lasker-Schüler in 1909 in Berlin through her husband Herwarth Walden. Kraus considered her "*the most powerful and enigmatic lyrical figure in modern Germany*"⁴. He published a selection of her texts (mostly poetry) in *Die Fackel*⁵, and sometimes recited them during his lectures. Following her divorce from Walden, the poet became reliant on financial support from friends and patrons. Kraus took on the role of benefactor, securing her a successful reading in Vienna in March 1912⁶ and printing the above-cited appeal in *Die Fackel* in January the following year. Owing to a journalistic faux pas made in the Berlin press, the rumor circulated in February 1913 that the collection had only raised 11 crowns,⁷ which considerably damaged the poet's public image. Lasker-Schüler herself commented on the matter:

It is not for myself but rather for my son⁸ that I make this sacrifice – the greatest of my life – to capitulate. The way I am being treated by some newspapers, however, is simply appalling; I give thanks for such begging benefactions.⁹

Shortly afterwards, the amount of donations raised was corrected to 4,660 crowns in *Die Fackel*.

⁴ First published in: Karl Kraus: Das Haus auf dem Michaelerplatz, in: *Die Fackel* 313–314 (December 31, 1910), 4–6. Haus Goldman & Salatsch, Michaelerplatz 3, Vienna's 1st district.

from the world; all those who have been able to complete their works because the world allowed them to do so: they all should issue a warning to the future by standing up for the great man whom the world denied this opportunity.

Alban Berg, Oskar Kokoschka, Karl Kraus, Arnold Schönberg, Anton von Webern

To Adolf Loos on His 60th Birthday, December 10, 1930³ → 75
Karl Kraus⁴

In Vienna, children are featherbedded and men are abused. The dainty servant of public opinion, however – who frequently honors us with his visits and sugar-coats the Viennese with the honey that famously flows in their country, which we, up until now, have mistaken for street filth – is of a



74
Oskar Kokoschka, Gertrud and Arnold Schönberg, Adolf Loos, Berlin 1927 (photo: John Graudenz), in: *Der Weltspiegel* 12 (March 20, 1927), 3

⁴⁵ Universität Innsbruck, Forschungsinstitut Brenner-Archiv, Sammlung Pfäfflin. English translation cited from: Karl Kraus: *In These Great Times*. Manchester 1984, 259.

⁴⁶ Jens Malte Fischer: *Karl Kraus*, see fn. 41, 812.

⁴⁷ Edition: <https://kraus1933.ace.oeaw.ac.at/index.html> (2023–28–08).

⁴⁸ Klaus Weissenberger: *Zum Rhythmus der Lyrik von Karl Kraus. Das schöpferische Prinzip eines "Epigonen,"* in: *Karl Kraus. Diener der Sprache – Meister des Ethos*. Edited by Joseph P. Strelka. Tübingen 1990, 19–37, 36 (Edition Orpheus. Beiträge zur deutschen und vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 1).

⁴⁹ Gertrud Schönberg: *Amerikanische Anekdoten. Wie wir nach A. kamen* (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien, Nuria Schoenberg Nono Collection, 7).

*Don't ask why all this time I never spoke.
Wordless am I,
and won't say why.
And silence reigns because the bedrock broke.
No word redeems;
one only speaks in dreams.
A smiling sun the sleeper's images evoke.
Time marches on;
the final difference is none.
The word expired when that world awoke.*⁴⁵

The poem contains several allusions, including Goethe's "*Man lache nicht!*" [No laughing!], reprimanding the audience during a performance of Schlegel's *Alarcos*; *Faust II* (High Mountains): "*Mephistopheles: Hell swollen with the sulphur's stench and acid, | Gave out its gas! The bubble was so massive, | That soon the level surface of the earth, | Thick as it was, was forced to crack and burst.* *Faust: To me the mountain masses are nobly dumb, | I don't ask why they are, or where they're from.*";⁴⁶ the NS slogan "*Deutschland erwache! Juda verrecke!*" [Germany awake! Death to the Jews!], to which he dedicated a semantic analysis in *Dritte Walpurgisnacht*, discussing the missing placement of commas; as well as the swirling "*Sun of the Swastika*", the symbol of a new era – "*seitdem die andere diesen Planeten bescheint, hat sie auf keine dunklere Schmach geblickt*" [since that other has shone on this planet, it has seen no darker disgrace].⁴⁷ The "*elegiac character*" and "*desperate lamentation*"⁴⁸ of the poem was only heard by few contemporaries, which is evidenced by many a persiflage and numerous ironic commentaries. Kraus was to compile them later on in a separate issue of *Die Fackel*.

In late September, Schönberg returned to Paris. Between October 11 or 12 and October 17, Kraus also sojourned in Paris and subsequently went to Juan-les-Pins. There thus remained six days for Kraus and Schönberg to meet for the last time. On October 25, Schönberg, his wife, and daughter Nuria boarded a passenger ship in Le Havre headed for New York.

Schönberg on the Atlantic Ocean and Kraus on the Côte-d'Azur were far removed from the memorial celebrations held for their deceased friend Loos at the Vienna Musikverein on October 26. Pieces by Webern and Schönberg were performed, including a movement from the latter's *String Quartet No. 2* op. 10. From among their Viennese friends, Oskar Kokoschka spoke from the perspective of a "relative by choice."

On October 31, 1933, Arnold Schönberg disembarked in New York at noon, after a voyage of six days ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰. His hesitant optimism was tainted by the ignorance prevalent on the ship as to Germany's political situation: "*The complete negation of the Hitler catastrophe by the passengers on the ship. Cheerful and convivial.*"⁴⁹ The composer, immigrating under great media

Januar

13. Sept. 33

Man frage nicht, was ich dir jetzt zu schreiben
ist, das ist die Frage;
und sage nicht, warum.
Und nicht, was ich, da ich dich kenne.
Nur nicht, das heißt;
man frage mich nicht, was ich dir
und nicht, was ich dir, was ich dir
ich sage nicht;
man frage mich nicht, was ich dir
ich sage nicht, was ich dir, was ich dir
ich sage nicht, was ich dir, was ich dir

für Lidi

K-K.

78

Karl Kraus: *Man frage nicht*,
September 13, 1933
(Universität Innsbruck,
Forschungsinstitut
Brenner-Archiv, Sammlung
Pfäfflin)

12.

Krausiana in Arnold Schönberg's Estate Library

Julia Bungardt-Eckhart

¹ Julia Bungardt-Eckhart: *Ex libris Arnold Schönberg. Bücher und Zeitschriften in der Nachlassbibliothek. Kommentierter Katalog.* Wien 2022 (Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center 18/2021). In this catalogue, individual entries from which are reproduced over the following pages (some of them slightly redacted), every copy of a book and issue of a magazine was given a consecutive number ("Catalogue no.").

² The music collection in Schönberg's sheet music library includes the score for Anton Webern's musical rendering of Kraus's poem *Wiese im Park*, no. 1 of the *Four Songs for Voice and Orchestra* op. 13. Wien: Universal-Edition 1926 (UE-Nr. 8557); as well as the piano score by Ernst Krenek: *Durch die Nacht. Ein Zyklus aus Worte in Versen von Karl Kraus* op. 67. Wien: Universal-Edition 1931 (UE-Nr. 9410).

³ On the history of the library, cf. Julia Bungardt-Eckhart: Arnold Schönberg und seine Bibliothek, in: *Ex libris Arnold Schönberg*, see fn. 1, 9–37.

⁴ Schönberg owned both the "dossier edition" (published as special editions of *Die Fackel*) as well as the 1922 book edition.

Arnold Schönberg's library¹ includes just over 1,100 books, around 400 magazine issues and 1,400 sheet music editions². A private library is never a static and complete entity during its owner's lifetime. Compiled, built and used over a period of nearly 60 years, it accompanied Schönberg – at times only as a reference library – on his frequent moves within Austria and Germany, and all the way into exile in the US. Throughout this period, the volumes were not only re-arranged, inventoried and annotated but some were also lent out or lost. At the same time, acquisitions, donations and (with the composer's growing popularity increasingly unsolicited) mail deliveries of books meant that the library was constantly growing. This dynamic of increase and decrease did not stop altogether after the collector's death. Minor losses and gains continued posthumously – until its archiving and beyond, the library was subject to coincidental and deliberate fluctuations.³

An exploration of the library nevertheless affords remarkable insights into the creation contexts of works and writings, reflecting not only its former owner's educational horizon, interests, preferences and ambitions but also those of his time and environs. These have literally inscribed themselves into the library in the form of handwritten dedications, foreign owner's marks and annotations, while enclosed cards, letters and photographs attest to Schönberg's wide network of friends, students, companions, performers and artists. Additionally, signs of usage and perusal, such as the often rather extensive marginalia he left in his private copies of books and magazines, make the estate library a highly illuminating culture-historical source which is of interest not just to Schönberg scholars.

Almost half of the extant book collection is made up of belles-lettres, including many works by contemporary authors who were also esteemed by Karl Kraus, such as August Strindberg, Rainer Maria Rilke, Frank Wedekind, Peter Altenberg, Else Lasker-Schüler and Richard Dehmel. Schönberg's ownership of dedication copies of works by Kraus confidants, including Adolf Loos, Berthold Viertel and Oskar Kokoschka, is indicative of Schönberg and Kraus's mutual appreciation and of their shared and overlapping circles of friends and artists. The Krausiana in Schönberg's estate library → ⁸³ include 71 issues of *Die Fackel*, two editions of *The Last Days of Mankind*,⁴

⁵ Schönberg's biographer Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, who in 1971 sifted through Schönberg's library at the composer's home in Brentwood Park, recorded the following general statement: "Schönberg owned everything by Peter Altenberg, Kandinsky, Kokoschka, Otto Weininger and Karl Kraus." Idem: *Schönberg. Leben Umwelt Werk*. Zürich 1974, 168f. On losses thereafter, cf. Bungardt-Eckhart: *Ex libris Arnold Schönberg*, see fn. 1, 33.

⁶ Schönberg created some of these covers himself; ibidem, 22f.

⁷ On this index, cf. ibidem, 12–14 and 309–334.

⁸ Aside from the instances documented through inscriptions and passages in letters, we can assume that the actual number of gifted sheet music and books was much higher.

⁹ See Losses, 300.

¹⁰ Anton Webern to Arnold Schönberg, December 17, 1920 (The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Music Division, Arnold Schoenberg Collection | ASCC 18121). Karl Kraus: *Nachts*. Leipzig: Verlag der Schriften von Karl Kraus (Kurt Wolff) [1918].

six poetry volumes, a copy of the one-act play *Traumstück*, a Nestroy adaptation, as well as Berthold Viertel's essay on Kraus.⁵

The issues of *Die Fackel* occupy a special place in the library. They were the only issues of a periodical to be bound into hard covers⁶ → ³⁷ and included in the handwritten library index Schönberg compiled from January 1913, in which he inventoried the majority of books and sheet music editions in his possession until 1918.⁷

What is remarkable is the great number of books Schönberg was gifted by students and former students, by family members, friends and colleagues.⁸ Many of the Krausiana he owned were gifts which illustrate the extent of his students' – especially Anton Webern's – veneration of Kraus.

Appraisals of Schönberg's works, writings and letters reveal that the extent of books the composer actually read and knew far exceeded the scope of his estate library. In this, we need to differentiate between his "virtual library", which is very hard to reconstruct, and the losses of publications which we know were once part of his collection. The handwritten index (see above), for instance, proves substantial losses with regards to his compilation of *Fackel* issues.⁹ There are a series of other titles we know Schönberg owned at one time: For instance, Webern gave him the book *Nachts*, a volume of Kraus aphorisms, for Christmas in 1920, which is now missing from the library.¹⁰ His publishers Universal-Edition, who ordered books and sheet music for him, in the summer of 1928 offered to forward him "the latest issue of 'Die Fackel' and K. Kraus's 'Die Unüberwindlichen' which are available for you" from Vienna to the South of France, where the composer was staying.¹¹ However, Kraus's post-war drama is not part of today's extant holdings¹², and in terms of *Fackel* issues, too, there is presently a large gap in the collection from October 1920 to early December 1928.



83

Works by Karl Kraus in Schönberg's estate library (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien)

¹¹ Universal-Edition (Hugo Winter) to Schönberg, July 21, 1928 (Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien, Universal Edition Collection | ASCC 17772).

¹² Karl Kraus: *Die Unüberwindlichen. Nachkriegsdrama in vier Akten.* – Wien, Leipzig: Verlag "Die Fackel" 1928.

¹³ On February 21, 1915, Schönberg wrote to Alban Berg that he wanted to bind his *Fackel* issues, but that several were missing: "These are issues that I have lent out." (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Musiksammlung, F21.Berg. 1321/184 | ASCC 6197).

¹⁴ Arnold Schönberg Center, Wien, T14.64. On Schönberg's process of "self-archiving", cf. Bungardt-Eckhart: *Ex libris Arnold Schönberg*, see fn. 1, 26f.

¹⁵ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, see fn. 13, L6 Alban-Berg-Stiftung 379.

Evaluations of his correspondence reveal a constant circulation of magazine issues, poetry volumes and new releases among his circle of students and friends. The loss of individual *Fackel* issues can be explained through loans that were never returned.¹³ Conversely, some of the works Schönberg borrowed would "get stuck" in his library, too: Some of his *Fackel* issues have comments in Alban Berg's handwriting, suggesting that they once belonged to his library. The fact that Schönberg's copy of the issue of *Der Brenner* dedicated to Kraus → ⁷³ is missing from the magazine collection in his library, however, is owed to the special structuring of his estate: As the periodical includes an essay written by himself, he filed it with his manuscripts.¹⁴

Catalogue

Kraus, Karl: *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit. Tragödie in fünf Akten mit Vorspiel und Epilog.* – Wien: Verlag "Die Fackel" 1919. 639 p.

Kraus, Karl: *Die letzte Nacht. Epilog zu der Tragödie Die letzten Tage der Menschheit. Geschrieben im Juli 1917 zu Thierfehd (Glarus).* – Wien: Verlag "Die Fackel" November 1918. 48 p. Book K45

Characteristic features of the copy: hand-bound in orange cloth, labeling on the spine with black pen: *ERSTAUSGABE | KARL KRAUS: DIE LETZTEN | TAGE DER MENSCHHEIT*
Catalogue no. 385 (see fn. 1)

Kraus, Karl: *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit. Tragödie in fünf Akten mit Vorspiel und Epilog.* – Wien, Leipzig: Verlag "Die Fackel" Erschienen Ende Mai 1922. xxiii, 792 p.

Book K46

Characteristic features of the copy: hand-bound in ocher-colored cloth, labeling on the spine with black pen: *KRAUS: DIE LETZTEN TAGE*

Annotation: This copy was a birthday present from Anton Webern, who wrote to Berg on September 7, 1922: *About the present: [...] Schönberg has expressly asked not to be given any presents this year [...] But I believe the two of us are exempt from this; I am sure he won't be displeased. I have already thought of something. (Kraus, book edition of "Last Days")*¹⁵
Catalogue no. 386

Kraus, Karl: *Traumstück. Geschrieben zu Weihnachten 1922.* – Wien, Leipzig: Verlag "Die Fackel" [1923]. 23 p.

Book K47

Hardcover

Catalogue no. 387