AESTHETIC CONTRASTS AND SYMBOLIC CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ALBAN BERG AND ERWIN SCHULHOFF IN THEIR LETTERS AND OPERA NARRATIVES

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Abstract

A selection of the correspondence between composers Alban Berg and Erwin Schulhoff is translated and analysed for the first time in English in this study. The aim is to demonstrate the opposing views these two contemporaries held regarding modern composition and music’s role in the tumultuous landscape of post-WWI Weimar society. The ideological divergence that ensued is a fascinating dichotomy of values between the radicalism of Schulhoff and the traditionalism of Berg. As a counterpoint to this polarity, a comparative analysis of philosophical symbolism is presented between Berg’s opera Wozzeck and Schulhoff’s opera Flammen to emphasize how both composers shared a penchant for expressionistic dramaturgy predicated on an explicit display of metaphysical temporality. This phenomenon is expressed in the overlapping treatment of how reality and illusion is juxtaposed in both works, which the composers’ prose works reflect as palpable aspirations of theatricality. What emerges is a mutual connection of discord and harmony that provides a greater understanding of both idealistic composers.

Keywords: Erwin Schulhoff, Alban Berg, Flammen, Wozzeck, opera

In the turbulent era of the Weimar Republic, particularly in the German-speaking regions of many Central European countries, aesthetic trends in the arts were short-lived. This was a constantly-shifting cultural landscape that sought to internalize the horrors of World War I and find new paths of expression to shift established bourgeois attitudes.
In the sphere of music, some composers pursued complete breaks with the past, and some forged new paths that retained vestiges of past forms and values. Two composers who represented this dichotomy are Erwin Schulhoff (1894–1942), who wanted to revolutionize socio-cultural ideals, and Alban Berg (1885–1935), one of the most successful composers to reconcile the past and the present within a modernist compositional language that kept a late romantic core, which made his music enduringly popular. Schulhoff and Berg were contemporaries who communicated with each other in letters, and more importantly, debated their opposing views on music, culture, and society.

Berg was an extremely prolific letter writer, and there are many published volumes of his correspondence with friends, family, and the leading artists of his day. However, his correspondence with Schulhoff has never before been published in English. By analysing key themes in the letters between the two composers, for the first time in English this study examines how the viewpoints of a major composer such as Berg are juxtaposed with that of a minor composer such as Schulhoff, to create a historical context via opposing perspectives. Such an investigation aims to explore Berg’s aesthetics within the framework of another composer with whom he is almost never associated. This investigation yields important insights into Berg’s and Schulhoff’s cultural-aesthetic values at a transitional time, when artistic innovations were commonplace, and where traditional and historic principles were undergoing a recontextualization of social relevance.

Despite their clashing tastes regarding opera, Berg and Schulhoff shared key aesthetic paradigms that are related to their depiction of temporality that juxtaposes the two existential planes of empirical reality with the metaphysical realm of timelessness and illusion. A comparison will be made between the Expressionist works—Berg’s opera Wozzeck and Schulhoff’s opera Flammen, analysing their symbolic similarities in their libretto narratives. To this end, we focus more on the libretto of Flammen, as it is a far more obscure work, to which symbolic associations with Wozzeck are made to highlight their distinctive unity. A key correlation between the two operas is related to time. Flammen’s narrative does not evolve in a linear, chronological line. The passage of time is obscured to expressionistically distort normalcy, and temporal lines are blurred, so that empirical reality overlaps with metaphysical illusion. Indeed, by the end of the opera, it is unclear whether any time has passed at all, or if the beginning is the end, or the end the beginning. The circularity of this phenomenon unifies Flammen and Wozzeck in regard to their mutual temporal designs, which are based on a destabilizing ambiguity that is meant to unsettle their audiences. It is this feature of Flammen that compelled its librettist, Karel Josef Beneš, to refer to the narrative as a “dream intermezzo for the metaphysical grotesque [...].”

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According to Josef Bek, when Schulhoff introduced himself to Berg, he was at an artistic turning point and seeking a new compositional path from the one he had studied and expressed up to then. Expressionism was a captivating solution for the young composer, who had attended the Prague premiere of Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* in 1913. The headstrong Schulhoff first reached out to Schoenberg in 1919, who did not appreciate Schulhoff’s tone, viewing him as arrogant, and subsequently cut ties with the eager young composer. Schulhoff’s reaction to Schoenberg’s letter will be addressed in the section on his correspondence with Berg. In the aftermath of this falling-out, Schulhoff looked to establish communication with other members of Schoenberg’s circle, which is how his association with Berg began.

The correspondence between Berg and Schulhoff—the vast majority of which was written between 1919 and 1921—captures Berg’s thoughts and working life in the years before *Wozzeck* assured his success as a composer. The exchange with Schulhoff is characteristic of this era of Berg’s career between the end of World War I and the premiere of *Wozzeck* in 1925 that is often overlooked in Berg scholarship due to the instability in Berg’s life that produced little else in the central years of his composition of *Wozzeck*. Their discussion in this study’s first section displays the aesthetic divergence between two modernist contemporary composers, while the analysis of their operas in the second section creates a counterpoint to the letters by making clear their symbolic relatedness. Lastly, prose works of Berg’s and Schulhoff’s are presented to depict the idealistic congruence in their approach to dramatic composition. Juxtaposing Berg and Schulhoff in this manner highlights an important connection in music history, which has not previously been presented so extensively to an English language readership, and highlights the explicit familiarity in their letters, and the implicit relationship between their operas, despite their conflicting aesthetic values. In addition, by focusing on the two composers’ aesthetic differences towards music and society, while emphasizing their shared allegorical approach in their operas, we see how these individuals were opposites, and yet were both intrinsically drawn to the expressionistic ethos that informed their leading works of this artistic movement. This is a testament to their mutual approach to crafting operatic meaning and theatricality by the use of unreality. What emerges is a new understanding of a familiar composer, and the intriguing merits of a relatively unknown composer seeking to make his mark on the musical world.

### Central Themes in the Correspondence of Berg and Schulhoff

The extant correspondence opens with several letters from Schulhoff to Berg, where the former introduces himself and the contemporary music series in Dresden that he is organizing. Schulhoff moved to Dresden in 1919 to be among a group of young composers who sought to direct their compositional interests to combat what they felt were obsolete

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5 BEK, Ref. 4, p. 470. This page also reproduces Schoenberg’s full letter to Schulhoff.
expressions of music that suppressed the desired evolution of a more classless and cosmopolitan society. Schulhoff is keen to present works by Berg, along with those of other composers, and knowing that Berg lives in Vienna, mentions the composer Josef Hauer. Hauer, Schulhoff states, composes in a new system that “dispenses with time signatures and bar lines.” This was Schulhoff’s method of steering the discussion to atonal music, presumably to strike a stylistic accord with Berg in these first letters. Berg’s first letter to Schulhoff, dated 19 June 1919 is full of gratitude for Schulhoff’s interest in his earlier works, adding that he does know Hauer. Berg writes that his current pieces (in relation to Schulhoff’s line about Hauer’s composition style), “are all atonal and contain bar lines, which I would not like to sacrifice for practical reasons (interaction in chamber music, or even conducted works!!), completely free of any regular rhythms, i.e. arrhythmic.” From the beginning, Berg is expressing his antithetical position with something that Schulhoff has stated, which is characteristic of their correspondence as a whole.

In his next letter, dated 27 June 1919, Schulhoff begins speaking to Berg in his typical earnest manner and interjects into their discussions of music his leftist ideas on culture and politics, writing: “we all live in a ‘great’ time and it’s about nothing else than ‘culture,’ we have known this since 1914— ‘our’ revolution and the holy military— high imperialism and almighty policeman!!! That’s how it is with you, that’s how it is here and that’s how it is everywhere!! Let’s take the strongest means of fighting against weapons—the white cloth! Luckily one cannot touch intellectual property!” Schulhoff clearly saw the expression of art as a vehicle for social change, perhaps a naively idealistic view that such an expression would be free of consequences. It is the first instance of Schulhoff conveying his penchant for non-conforming social activism that wishes to disrupt bourgeois authoritarianism and artistic restriction. He took this idea further with Berg, stating that “I’m doing a ‘Dada evening’ to bring the organic and the inorganic into art! I will soon send you an advertisement for these events, which we will circulate in all cities and countries, signed by leading figures in literature, fine arts, and music—we are already busy starting propaganda.” Berg’s disinterest in Dadaism is expressed later when Schulhoff brings it up again.
Despite Berg’s seeming conviviality towards Schulhoff in his early letters, Berg communicated a drastically different view of Schulhoff to both Webern and Schoenberg. He wrote to Webern first on 18 June 1919 (a day before his first letter to Schulhoff), where he mockingly quoted large passages from Schulhoff’s letter about the other composers he is associating with, and the passage about rejecting time signatures and bar lines. Berg wrote: “To be sure, based on the letters and decisions, I don’t find this company very agreeable […] when confronted with the ignorance of these young people about Schoenberg’s music, which in spite of bar lines is more arrhythmic than theirs, one loses every interest in getting involved with them.”

In a letter to Schoenberg dated 29 July 1919, Berg was even more critical of Schulhoff, stating: “To judge by his drivelling letters and long-winded, insipid compositions, Schulhoff doesn’t make a good impression on me at all. Did he ever come to see you during his recent visit to Vienna? I can’t tell from his postcard. What do you think of him […]?” Schoenberg never replied to this, but we see plainly enough that Berg shared his former teacher’s distaste for Schulhoff’s boldness and radical thinking. If Berg really believed this, he would maintain the pretence of rapport throughout his letters with Schulhoff. Yet, since he continued to write back, for a time it seems that perhaps Berg did perceive something of use or interest in Schulhoff.

Initially, the correspondence is entirely business-oriented on Berg’s side regarding performances and the discussion of a music publisher in Berlin. Schulhoff’s writing is similar, although he also inserts his moral convictions at times. However, in a letter written on 13 August 1919, Schulhoff recounts his disagreement with Schoenberg to Berg for the first time in detail. He states that Schoenberg accused him of making “a business out of art,” and wanting to perform his (Schoenberg’s) music “for the sake of sensation” and at the “neglect of German art.” Schulhoff takes offense at this, telling Berg that he replied to Schoenberg by saying that the business component was out of his hands, and that his only concern is the “human experience” of music. Schulhoff then reproduced for Berg a large extract from Schoenberg’s letter, where the latter attacks Schulhoff and prohibits him from performing his music. Schulhoff then continued that Schoenberg as a person is very different from his music, and that he suffers from “war psychosis,” and calls him a “big buffoon.” Despite his disappointment in Schoenberg, Schulhoff states that he bears him no ill will and only pities him, but will continue to respect his music and his wish to perform it. In his next letter, dated 15 August 1919, Schulhoff states to Berg: “You must have noticed my exaggerated left-wing leanings, hence the row with the imperialist and officer worshiper Schoenberg!!” He states that the argument with Schoenberg pains us in allen Städten und Ländern herumsenden unterschrieben von Führenden in Literatur, bildender Kunst und Musik werde ich Ihnen auch noch demnächst zukommen lassen, wir beginnen bereits eifrig mit Propaganda.”

13 BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, p. 41.
14 BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, pp. 41-42.
15 BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, p. 43. “Sie werden wohl schon meine potenzierte Linksianergesin- nung herausbekommen, – daher der Krach mit Schönberg, dem Imperialisten und Offi- ziersanbeter!!”
him and he hopes that Berg can intercede and fix things between them. Nevertheless, he continues his diatribe against Schoenberg, telling Berg that: “It is a pity that mental stability can sometimes lead to such aberrations of a spiritual nature—really, a great pity! How much more are you than Schoenberg, your own teacher, who doesn’t seem to be honest at all, and I assure you that I appreciate you much, much more than your dear master, who is a horrendous human delusion […]”

In his first extended letter to Schulhoff on 27 November 1919, Berg partially responds to the above diatribe in broad strokes: “But I must tell you one thing, that you are very much mistaken if you think of me as an imperialist or even a militarist. It wasn’t even the start of the war and I have it in writing that on August 14th, I asked myself whether a nation that treats its greatest [people] like the Germans did does not deserve to be defeated.” He goes on:

“Despite all this, I still believe in the German people […] To the people who name Beethoven and all the greats up to Mahler and Schoenberg. For example, France (despite Debussy, Ravel, Satie) and other lesser countries, did not produce the people who finally had a Karl Kraus even in these dirtiest of times, who was able to prove and show to these very people in the last 60, 70 years, the depth of the most impotent government of a Franz Joseph, and the years of ever more idiotic militarism and mercantilism etc. in Prussia. Whether we will get up out of this filth again depends on when the people realize why they were abandoned by all good spirits, i.e. whether this war and its consequences are enough trial and punishment for us and our reflections, or whether something worse must come before we can send the cursed monarch to hell with the journalists too […] What you say about Schoenberg is—thank God completely wrong. You just don’t know him. You would adore and love him as every warm-blooded young musician and artist does and must do today. Despite everything that has happened between you and him. He, who knows that I am in contact with you, has not told me anything about it until now, probably out of delicacy. I gather that from a remark by Schoenberg that I experienced in a roundabout way and from the tone in which you write about him, which frankly pains me a lot. Let’s remain silent about this, dear Herr Schulhoff, until further notice, i.e. until we are in a position to talk about it verbally. From a distance, it could more easily create misunderstandings than bring clarity.”

16 BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, p. 43. “Schade, dass seelische Stabilität manchmal zu solchen Verirrungen geistiger Natur führen kann, – wirklich, sehr schade! Um wie viel sind Sie doch unendlich mehr als Schönberg, Ihr eigener Lehrer, der doch durchaus nicht ehrlich zu sein scheint und ich versichere Ihnen dies, dass ich Sie viel, viel mehr schätze als Ihrer teuren Meister, der menschlich eine horrende Täuschung ist…”


18 BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, pp. 47-48. “Ich glaube trotzalldem noch an das deutsche Volk… An das Volk, das Beethoven u. all die Ganz-Großen bis Mahler u. Schönberg Namen die z. Bsp. Frankreich (trotz Debussy, Ravel, Satie) u. andere Ententeländer nicht aufzuweisen haben her vorgebracht hat, ja an das Volk, das schließlich selbst in dieser dreckigsten Zeit einen Karl Kraus hatte, der es eben diesem Volk beweisen u. zeigen konnte, wie tief es in den letzten 60, 70, Jahren
It is clear that Berg shared Schoenberg's vision of a “German art” that bears a historic lineage among German composers to which Mahler and Schoenberg belong. Berg expresses this more clearly in his lecture on Wozzeck, where his patriotic conviction is explicit. The following excerpt from this lecture demonstrates his nostalgia for a musical genealogy (to which Berg indicates his own belonging) that is of little or no importance to Schulhoff’s own personal sense of musical identity:

“Only in music that is based on the great tradition of German music—with its moving harmony, its diverse rhythm, especially with its polyphony and immeasurable richness of forms and shapes—is there a straight path leading from Bach to our own time. The music of Wozzeck does not stray from this path of German music—and when I think of music pure and simple it is the only one, the only one that I find to be music at all—and this is what I have intended to show when I have underscored a traditional accordance with rules in my theoretical discussion.”

In his above letter to Schulhoff, Berg made clear his anti-war position, which subsequently pleased his reader. Berg then went on to describe how Schulhoff’s military record moved him significantly, recounting in detail his own harrowing experiences during the war to the younger composer, which would ultimately be reflected in the life and treatment of the title character in Berg’s Wozzeck. Schulhoff replied to this on 29 February 1920, writing somewhat caustically:

“My dear Mr. Berg, you are certainly right in some things, very right, but still, you don’t know what it means to have been in the marching line and to see people drop and die like flies in a candle flame in this way—I tell you, this war was still much, much too short, because it would have had to last 25 years to destroy all the bad elements, because there is still too much there, namely too much reaction […] compared to all this Karl Kraus was only a ridiculous phenomenon […] Tell me yourself—what is Karl Kraus with empty words compared to such facts and instincts?”

20 BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, p. 48.
21 BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, p. 51. “Mein lieber Herr Berg, gewiss, in manchen Dingen haben Sie wohl recht, sehr recht, aber trotzdem, Sie wissen es nicht was es heisst in der Marschlinie gewesen zu sein und Menschen wie Fliegen in einer Kerzenflamme umfallen und sterben zu sehen und dies noch auf welche Weise, – ich sage Ihnen, dieser Krieg war noch viel, viel zu kurz
Schulhoff ends his letter by again attacking Schoenberg; mentioning that he approached Alexander Zemlinsky to mediate a peace between him and Schoenberg; and called Berg to become a revolutionary with him in his crusades.\textsuperscript{22} The argumentative tone of the above passage makes it clear how an irritable man such as Schoenberg could have been offended by Schulhoff’s bluntness. Schulhoff also risks antagonising Berg by disparaging Karl Kraus without realising how important this writer is to Berg.\textsuperscript{23} Expressing a desire for World War I to last for 25 years is hyperbolic, but it emphasizes the seriousness that Schulhoff attaches to revolutionizing and revitalizing society by excising it of ideals pertaining to the continued support of militarism, imperialism, and nationalism, which Schulhoff wants to eradicate entirely. Berg replied on 15 March 1920 to thank Schulhoff for his “personal confessions” and trust, which Berg said touched him deeply. Yet, he added that further discussions of nationalism and Kraus would have to wait for in person communication, which was likely Berg’s way of discreetly distancing himself from Schulhoff’s reactionary views which, at least regarding Kraus—one of Berg’s personal heroes since childhood—the older composer would not have agreed with. Instead, Berg gets down to business and requests to be given the reviews of his compositions that Schulhoff played on his tour of Leipzig and Prague.\textsuperscript{24}

Schulhoff, never one to be shy, writes openly and honestly to Berg in a way that would likely be seen as breaking the reserved social conventions of higher social circles at the time. Indeed, on 5 February 1921, Schulhoff excuses his lack of a reply, stating that his parents have cut him off (presumably financially) for his modernist leanings, where he includes the quotation “cultural Bolshevism” as an implied reason. Schulhoff then writes passionately in a somewhat muddled stream of consciousness: “I can’t and don’t want to let go of my ideas, I’d rather die than make concessions to the masses; I can’t stand chains and I give hours, hours, hours, to the point of madness, while my parents dig into millions and the citizens think I’m a clown, excessively excessive in my concerts—nevertheless, dear Mr. Berg—the more obstacles from the outside, the more freedom inside! I love this state, which helps my ego; I am currently completely alone in everyday life among lyrical philistines!”\textsuperscript{25} This admission demonstrates the extent to which Schulhoff is loyal to his culturally-divisive convictions, while railing against the social norms that offend his values. One of the most significant differences between

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\textsuperscript{22} BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, pp. 51-52.
\textsuperscript{23} For a source that investigates how Karl Kraus’s writings and lectures influenced Berg’s ideas and conceptual growth, see: RODE, Susanne: \textit{Alban Berg und Karl Kraus: Zur geistigen Biographie des Komponisten der ‘Lulu’}. Frankfurt am Main : Verlag Peter Lang, 1988.
\textsuperscript{24} BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, p. 53.
\end{flushright}
both men is Schulhoff’s obvious feeling of being a victim of political circumstance. The upper-class Berg—untroubled by financial problems or artistic recognition—neither identified with this view, nor felt the need to stand against social conventions to the extent that Schulhoff did. Schulhoff then continues by bringing up Dadaism, adding that he assumes that Berg is not inclined positively towards this movement. He writes:

“So it does seem to be the case that the ‘serious’ people are Dadaists, but the actual ‘Dadaists’ are indeed serious people! I would then like to ask you a question: either we are ‘reasonable’ (at least we believe we are) and consider the citizen to be insane, or the citizen is rational (believing so) and declares us to be insane—so who is absolutely right? Please Mr. Berg, don’t you want to try to reform people? If it were up to me, I would first make the white race disappear and start with Negroes; I believe that we underestimate this tribe too much; sometimes you really realize what an eyesore on earth this cesspool is that you call ‘Europe’!!! Don’t take me for being bitter, on the contrary, I tell you that I smile intensely at my fate and am almost happy about it […]

Berg replied to the above discussion:

“[…] All the more because I don’t find the subject (like all the music I know from you) Dadaistic at all. And now, when you hear that comment, you’ll think I’m malicious. But it was just for fun! I seriously believe that real music is never impressionist, expressionist or Dadaist, just as I don’t differentiate between classical and romantic music, only between good and bad. And in that respect, I don’t have the connection to Dadaism that it deserves. I also seem to be too old for it. And once again: our music is modern enough. It seems to me more modern and in every respect more advanced than the products of Dadaism. And yet we are dealing with serious things, with everything that has always shaped music: melody, richness of harmony, architectonics, rhythm, timbre […] Regarding the black race and the ‘European’ cesspool, I totally agree with you!”

26 BÖSCH – VOJTECH, Ref. 7, p. 63. “Es scheint also in der Tat der Fall zu sein, dass die ‘ernsten’ Menschen Dadaisten, die eigentlichen ‘Dadaisten’ aber in der Tat ernste Menschen sind! Daraufhin möchte ich Ihnen eine Frage aufwerfen: Entweder sind wir ‘vernünftig’ (glauben dies wenigstens zu sein) und halten den Bürger für wahnsinnig oder ist der Bürger vernünftig (glaubt es) und erklärt uns für wahnsinnig, – wer ist also im absoluten Rechte? Bitte Herr Berg, wollen Sie nicht einmal den Versuch machen, Menschen zu regenerieren? Wenn es nach mir ginge, würde ich zuerst die weisse Rasse verschwinden lassen und mit Negern beginnen, wir unterschätzen mir zu sehr diesen Stamm, manchmal kommt einem so richtig zu Bewusstsein, was für ein Schandfleck auf der Erde diese Kloake ist, die man ‘Europa’ nennt!!! Halten Sie mich keineswegs für verbittert, im Gegenteil, ich sage Ihnen, dass ich mein Schicksal intensiv belächle und mich fast dessen freue…”

The above exchange once again shows the stark contrast between the reaction- ary Schulhoff and the placating diplomacy of Berg. Schulhoff’s expression to replace white people with black people in Europe should not be seen as a racially-motivated comment, but a cultural one. In Europe at the time, especially among musicians, black people were associated with jazz and popular dance forms, which were fetishized imports from the US. Schulhoff adored jazz and infused many of its idioms into his music. His letter highlights his conviction that Europe needs to drastically break from its endless conservativism. Berg’s reply is an authentic expression of his view that the characterization of a musical style or system is inconsequential to the distinction of whether the music is good or bad. In the decades following his death, Berg’s legacy would pivot on the brilliant way he reconciled the past with the present in terms of composing modernist music that retained a romantic core. In essence, this was his style and approach to composition. This is displayed in his reply above where he cites the structural components that shape music. Thus far, we have seen that Berg is generally more willing to engage with Schulhoff concerning musical aesthetics than politics. His ambivalence to the latter is evident from his disingenuous final sentence regarding black people in Europe. Berg was not overly enthusiastic towards the subject of jazz styles, but did use them sparingly, particularly in his second opera Lulu, in order to appeal to contemporary audience tastes and curry widespread favour.

In a letter from 12 February 1921, Schulhoff writes:

“In these pieces I renounced the captivating bar line, which happened completely unconsciously, because I have the absolute feeling that I can say more in a few large but free lines than within the law that is artificially injected into us, namely, the division of bars. I start from this point of view: We speak—but not in iambic, hexameter, etc., but in prose in which we can express much more than we probably believe ourselves—but in my opinion, one can write music just as well as a writer or poet his prose—yes, as a musician one can go much further than the poet, namely, to bring to life in words what the poet cannot do, bringing the supernatural to life in words, because this [poetry] lacks the proper sound frenzy! This is part of my musical abstraction. My other side is quite ‘specific,’ I would almost like to say, because I have an unbelievable passion for sophisticated dance and have at times danced myself night after night with barmaids (I only dance modern dances like: foxtrot, immer geprägt hat: Melodie, Harmoniereichtum, Architektonik, Rhythmus, Klangfarbe… In Betracht der schwarzen Rasse u. der Kloake ‘Europa’ bin ich ganz Ihrer Meinung!”

28 For a study that exemplifies these musical ideals associated with the US and how they were incorporated into the compositional structure of Berg’s opera-composing contemporaries, see: COOK, Susan C.: Opera for a New Republic: The Zeitopern of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith. Rochester, NY : University of Rochester Press, 1988.


30 For a thorough analysis of Berg’s general understanding and usage of jazz theory and structure, see: ROBINSON, J. Bradford: Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure. In: GILLIAM, Bryan (ed.): Music and Performance During the Weimar Republic. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 129-134.
Boston, Shingan, Passo doppio, etc.) purely out of rhythmic enthusiasm and sensual subconsciousness, which inspires me phenomenally in my work, because in my consciousness, I am incredibly earthly, almost animal! […] It is said that England is the country without music! What nonsense, look how receptive the Anglo-Saxon is to Negro rhythms and tap dances (a rhythmic characteristic). Do you think a German would be able to write such bold ‘music’ as an Anglo-Saxon is able to do! Out of the question—the German is stuck in a deeply sentimental little folk song and has nothing left for his shamelessly banal life […]”

Berg replied to this on 24 February 1921:

“The bar line has not been there for a long time to tie up the melody or phrasing. Look for yourself at my old clarinet pieces or at Schoenberg’s later works: you could easily omit the bar line. [Cyril] Scott (and also Stravinsky) helped himself by adapting the bar line to the changing phrasing and writing 7/4, 3/8, 2/4, 11/2 etc. Schoenberg writes in Op. 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, tremendous, almost endless bars inside and outside, in which the rhythms swing freely and are not bound to any regularity. In fact, he has been calling his music ‘prose’ for many years. Incidentally, this is an expression that [Max] Reger himself (quite independently) used for his music after he had finally freed it from the classic 2, 4 and 8 bars. After all, the bar line is no longer a question of form or architecture, but an indispensable means of communication in music with more than one instrument. After all, a pianist or solo violinist can do without it. But even if it’s just 2, they need it to stay together. Now even with chamber music or orchestra (conductor!!!)”

“I myself have little time for dance forms, although I agree with your arguments (Mozart, Brahms, Schubert). The rhythms of these dances, however, are uniform; even the complicated Negro rhythms. The rhythm of 2 bars is repeated over and over again. After all, our Austrian military drum rhythm is not really that bad ei-
ther! And poor compared to our rhythms. Just look at the middle 2 of the 4 clarinet pieces for that!”

The above exchange is another example of Schulhoff looking to the future and wanting to break with the past, while Berg presents a cogent counterargument for preserving the musical status quo and considering it sufficiently forward-looking to avoid the need to disavow still-applicable structures of composition. Their opposing aesthetic values are again displayed, and these staunch convictions would remain with both composers for the remainder of their short lives.

The letters show Schulhoff as a passionate and temperamental young composer who wished to nurture a sincere friendship with Berg, and engage the slightly older composer in aesthetic discourse by sharing his views and asking Berg for his. From his extant collections of published correspondences, Berg generally only fully and uninhibitedly expresses himself to those he knows in person who are confidantes in his inner circle. Berg did not meet Schulhoff in person until some years after the letters in the current study were written, and it is evident from his overall tone that he wished to remain slightly aloof, consistently citing the need to discuss many of the more delicate matters in person. Berg is clearly flattered by Schulhoff’s interest and efforts on his behalf, but he mainly provides limited and diplomatic responses to the divisive socio-political topics that Schulhoff puts forth. This diplomacy can be seen from Berg’s more open critical views of Schulhoff in his letters to Webern and Schoenberg at the start of his correspondence with Schulhoff. Nevertheless, Berg remains authentic to his own convictions and does not often come across as disingenuous in this correspondence, even if he does not reveal everything to Schulhoff. His own letters are more focussed on matters of performance, organizing future concerts, and negotiating with potential publishers. Schulhoff frequently performed Berg’s Piano Sonata Op. 1 across Europe, and lobbied other musicians and conductors to add Berg’s music to their repertoire. Berg also wanted Schulhoff to provide him with newspaper clippings of positive re-

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views of Berg’s music that Schulhoff performed in order to present to his publisher an incentive to publish new editions of Berg’s early music (particularly the Piano Sonata), to meet the demands of public interest. Berg also saw in Schulhoff the best intermediary for negotiating the premiere of his Three Orchestral Pieces Op. 6.

It can be concluded that Berg viewed Schulhoff as a worthwhile business investment and someone who could help him find a wider audience for his music. Schulhoff saw in Berg a legitimate friend who could mediate a reconciliation between him and Schoenberg, which would enable Schulhoff to be accepted within Schoenberg’s circle of composers, with Berg’s help. Specifically, Schulhoff wanted his music to be featured in Schoenberg’s contemporary music concert series, which Berg ran, but whose musical selections were sanctioned exclusively by Schoenberg. Despite the machinations, Schulhoff genuinely cared for Berg and deeply admired his music, but neither were reciprocated to any degree due to their lack of personal familiarity and the fact that Berg could never morally accept someone fully who was brashly outspoken and so explicitly critical of his former teacher. Moreover, it is doubtful Schoenberg would have been placated by gestures meant to resolve his dislike for Schulhoff, and this probably added unwanted tension to Berg when Schulhoff continued to ask him to broker peace between him and Schoenberg. In any event, the career benefits that both Berg and Schulhoff were able to reap from each other was a central driving force of motivation throughout the early years of their correspondence, and particularly so for Berg.

Symbolic Associations between Flammen and Wozzeck

I will now give a brief plot synopsis of Schulhoff’s opera to provide context for the ensuing allegorical analysis. The opera is in two acts, the first act is comprised of seven scenes (with the first part of the final scene added later by Schulhoff), while the second act consists of three scenes. At the beginning, the protagonist Don Juan is introduced as a man driven by his hedonistic, sexual appetites. The mysterious woman known as La Morte, who is the unearthly personification of death, pursues Juan throughout the opera. The chorus of shadows interjects at various intervals as a fixture outside the opera’s reality to judge Juan’s actions. Juan continues on his path—initially he attempts to resist his carnal urges, but is thwarted by female forces who attempt to seduce him. He eventually relents and chooses to indulge his appetites, after which he encounters supernatural women who inflame his desire, while La Morte follows him—which Juan is sometimes aware of and at other times not. Her presence is felt by him, and is unsettling to Juan, as she is the only woman who eludes his advances. Juan eventually stumbles upon a gallery of male statues that are his dead ancestors who, unlike him,

33 Indeed, in a diary entry from 15 March 1920, Schulhoff wrote of Berg: “I’ve never seen him and he wrote me as I did him 1–2 times a week! This person, although he is completely unknown to me by sight, radiates an incredible amount of sympathy for me and could mean me a blessing! How immensely I enjoy his Piano Sonata op. 1.” Quoted in BEK, Ref. 4, p. 469. “Ich habe ihn nie gesehen und er schrieb mir so wie ich ihm 1-2mal jede Woche! Dieser Mensch, obzwar er mir völlig unbekannt vom Sehen ist, strömt für mich unerhört viel Sympathie aus und er könnte mir Wohltat bedeuten! Wie ungemein viel Freude macht mir seine Klavier sonate op. 1.”
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managed to find happiness. Juan struggles to differentiate between reality and illusion, and engages with women, one of whom is Marguerite, who La Morte kills, invoking Juan to exclaim his desire to die, thus closing the first act.

The second act opens at a costume ball, where Juan is dancing with Donna Anna, who rejects his advances, leading Juan to kill her husband, who is wearing a Commendatore mask. This results in Donna Anna committing suicide, rather than be with Juan. Juan’s sexual frenzy erupts after his failed attempts to revive Donna Anna, and after his erotic suggestions are rejected by a mysterious new woman who arrives on the scene, Juan despairingly beckons to La Morte to be with him eternally. She finally accepts his love, but the spectre of the slain Commendatore suddenly appears and condemns Juan to eternal life, thus prohibiting him from being with La Morte. Juan attempts to die by shooting himself, but not only does he not die, he becomes younger. The final scene of the opera depicts Juan as a man broken by his doomed resignation to eternal life, where he continues to seduce women, seemingly forever, with La Morte looking on and commenting on the hopelessness of Juan’s salvation. We now turn to a more detailed analyses of Schulhoff’s opera and its relationship to Wozzeck.

The opening scene of Flammen is titled Nocturne, and is palindromic in structure both regarding the scene and the opera. A chorus of shadows open the scene by singing of the house where “darkness invites transgression,” and the same group closes the scene with the text: “ […] the light dies down.” This textual feature is very reminiscent of the opening scene from Wozzeck with the Captain’s first lines of “Langsam, Wozzeck, langsam” palindromically repeating the last lines of the scene as “langsam, hübsch langsam.” Similarly just as Wozzeck displays full-scale circularity as the opera repeats once it reaches its end, the final scene of Flammen is also titled Nocturne, denoting narrative circularity. This phenomenon will be addressed in greater detail at the end of the Flammen libretto analysis. In another structural similarity between the two operas, every opening scene description is thematically consistent: In Wozzeck, the time of day is always made evident to emphasize temporal circularity through

36 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 55.
38 BERG, Ref. 37, p. 2.
changing time sequences. In *Flammen*, every scene description presents imagery surrounding lightness, darkness, the colour red, or an indication of visual illumination—either alone or in combination.

The conceptual duality of time as empirically experiential and metaphysically illusory is another characteristic of both operas, as they blur the boundaries of reality to expressionistically distort their narratives. Indeed, Wozzeck is constantly expressing hallucinatory visions that are often prophetic and are glimpses outside the normal scope of narrative time. Likewise, the group of shadows that are present throughout *Flammen* are presented as observers of the action of the plot, like metaphysical beings outside of the opera’s construct of space and time. Their presence is not just a dualistic counterpoint to the conception of reality, but by perpetually drawing attention to nebulous characterizations of light and colour, they personify a depiction of fate. This symbolism polarizes the two temporal planes—heaven vs. hell and the empirical world vs. the metaphysical realm. The interplay of white and red light can be interpreted as a dichotomization of heaven and hell, as Don Juan’s narrative journey continually places him between these opposing planes. Similarly, Wozzeck’s journey is distinguished by his own conflict of temporal emplacement that induces an existential crisis in him as it does in Juan. Wozzeck constantly struggles to reconcile his visions with his reality, which tortures him due to his inability to find a lasting place in any temporal realm. Juan, correspondingly, is tormented by his sexual lust and the desire to free himself from the temptations of the flesh. There is a note of Schopenhauarian philosophy here in the corrupting nature of the will that drives all to desire worldly things that only lead to pain and suffering. This built-in morality tale that is central to the Don Juan narrative (and is most famously represented in Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*), perpetuates the notion of heaven and hell which is, once again, depicted in *Flammen* via the interplay of white heavenly light and the red light of flames and hell. Moreover, the few instances in the libretto where drops of blood and red lamps are mentioned is also suggestive of the infernal.

Another leading trope that unifies both operas is redemption. Juan states in the third scene of Act One: “Swept over waves of avid bodies, there is no salvation for the sinner. I flee—but I have never escaped.” There is more allegorical symbolism associated with the bible here regarding sinners and salvation, but the more substantial notion that associates this text with Wozzeck is that there is no escape—as if everything were fatally determined. Wozzeck seeks social salvation in the guise of wanting to be freed from his lowly social status that invites constant dehumanizing abuse and exploitation at the hands of those who have authority over him and belong to a higher social station, and who are profoundly immoral. The full extent of just how trapped both protagonists are becomes apparent at the end of both operas as they are both presented as perpetuating their agony beyond the boundaries of their narrative scopes: Juan with his immortality and Wozzeck by posthumously passing on his enslaved torment to his innocent son.

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41 BROD – BENĚS, Ref. 35, p. 59.
The fourth scene of Flammen’s first act is titled Chimera (mime), and is the most indicative of metaphysical unreality. The end of the previous scene sets this up with the stage direction of “unearthly” accompanying the distant voice of an unknown woman, who calls out to Juan.\(^42\) The lengthy scene description of the fourth scene depicts Juan climbing up a mountain of naked women; attempting to rise to salvation, only to realize that it is an illusion, causing him to fall down into “despair.” It is a quintessential example of trying to reach a metaphysical ideality that is not rooted in empirical reality, only to fail and grasp one’s place in the world of actuality, which is an agonizing existence. Wozzeck is as hopelessly trapped as Juan is, by a myriad of actors who wish to enslave them both in the roles they are meant to play, yet which they both (unsuccessfully) rebel against. For Juan, the temptation to indulge in worldly hedonism is too strong for his resolve to deny the empirical will and reach metaphysical salvation, as this scene description makes clear. The anthropomorphic shadows confirm this existential conflict that Juan is experiencing. The metamorphic and illusory battle he is waging is a losing one, as more nondescript women suddenly appear and cause Juan to plummet. It is symbolic retribution, perhaps, as the nameless female forms that pull Juan down to earth are his victimized judges. In any event, this scene is steeped in expressionistic distortion that blurs the lines between reality and nonreality, further linking Juan and Wozzeck in their temporally unmoored frame of existence that constantly traverses between both frameworks and torments them both in the process.

The words “eternity” and “infinity” begin to be symbolically evoked as permanent fixtures of this larger existential dilemma, and as a foreshadowing of Juan’s ultimate unchangeable fate within the salvation-devoid world. Berg employs a similar ethos to address the immovable social bondage that, not only Wozzeck is doomed to be trapped in, but one that he passes to his son at the end of the opera. The fifth scene of Flammen in the gallery of statues emphasizes this theme of everlasting time, as the walkways in the scene are described as “stretching back into infinity.”\(^43\) Juan is nostalgically speaking to the statues, fatalistically telling them: “you dream of things long past, that cannot be altered… it’s nice to be the loyal heir to one’s ancestors, to preserve traditions… (to a statue) Ancestor, your nobly furrowed brow implies that you have manifold sins to hide…”\(^44\) The notion of a past that cannot be changed implies fatalistic permanence, which Juan seems to relate to by deeming himself an heir to the statues’ sins. Moreover, the concept of being an heir who inherits sins is precisely the fate of Wozzeck’s son. After he is startled by the calls of the invisible shadows, Juan looks suspiciously at the statues and somewhat defiantly exclaims: “you are nothing! Only a dream, a fairy-tale, a lie! You are what has passed. Only I am reality, what is today.”\(^45\) This text is another example of expressionistic-temporal distortions, and Juan’s difficulty in distinguishing between reality (where he believes himself to be) and metaphysical illusion (the dream of the statues).

Throughout the opera, the spectral presence of a ghostly entity—a female figure known only as La Morte—is following Juan and getting closer to him in a way that

\(^{42}\) BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 63.
\(^{43}\) BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 67.
\(^{44}\) BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 67.
\(^{45}\) BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 69.
he perceives as fatalistic déjà vu up to this point. As the reality of the opera’s narrative becomes more and more distorted, Juan begins to feel constricted by her approach. The stage direction at the end of the fifth scene reads: “La Morte stretches her hands out to him longingly,” Juan, in desperation, states: “But she is not here yet! The future is still empty…” Štúdie 2146 Juan next makes a rather crazed accusation of inconsequence to the statues and then breaks the fourth wall and does the same to the opera’s audience, as the stage direction indicates. It is rare for a narrative character to make a direct appeal to the audience, which is something that Berg does explicitly in Lulu, where the opening prologue is directed to the audience, who are then invited in to the story to behold the events that are about to take place. The ploy for both Schulhoff and Berg is a temporal one that is intended to overlap the planes of reality and illusion, and not only create the desired expressionistic confusion, but to bring in the audience and enlist them as culpable agents by acknowledging them. Regarding La Morte, she is the personification of Juan’s fate, as she edges ever closer to him until he is ultimately (and figuratively) consumed by her. Juan’s gradual decline into permanent suffering is prophetically rendered in the sixth scene’s stage direction regarding light. The background is characterized as infinity, denoting the inevitability of subsequent events, while the foreground is momentarily malleable, or so it erroneously seems to Juan.

The remainder of the first act of Flammen depicts Juan’s inexorable march towards his fate, which he is still trying to resist. Juan is in love with a woman with whom he enters into a Tristan-like reverie of illusion. However, Juan suddenly experiences a Wozzeck-like suspension of reality that is a metaphysical vision of prophetic events when Juan’s stage direction reads that he is “as if mesmerized, pointing into the distance.” Štúdie 2147 Wozzeck’s metaphysical visions are characterized in similar ways, as he is always depicted as standing still and staring into the distance, in a stupor as if mesmerized. Juan is confused by the vision and asks: “are you beckoning me? You come, eternal wave […] the time has come! I’m going!” Štúdie 2148 The woman attempts to entice Juan to stay, to which he replies: “Yes, it was a dream, which shattered in the daylight.” Štúdie 2149 This is a reference to Tristan und Isolde’s famous love scene, where the duality of the empirical vs. the metaphysical is symbolized in the metaphysical illusion of their love only being realized at night, with the daylight bringing them back into the empirical realm that wishes to subdue their love. Štúdie 2150 Fate is looking to do likewise to Juan, whose logical faculties start to erode, similarly to Wozzeck’s, when he cryptically exclaims to the woman: “That’s enough! Nothing but circles on the water’s surface. I’m leaving you, I’m going into the light.” Štúdie 2151 Wozzeck exclaimed the same when he commented on the naturally forming toadstools in the second scene of act one. Both, Juan and Wozzeck are commenting on circular entities found in the natural realm of reality, signifying

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46 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 71.
47 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 73.
48 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 75.
49 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 75.
51 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 75.
the opera’s fatalistic circularity and the largescale repetition that will ensue at the end of both operas.

Juan begins to fracture further with the woman, exclaiming that he is “never here,” and that “I retain my destiny […] everything is as the dream.”

The conflict of temporal displacement and further imagery of dreaming and questioning reality also occurs in the next scene. Yet, Juan is also emboldened by the woman, seeing some vestige of possible happiness as he states to her: “Your soul, you, eternity, heaven and love freed from passion’s curse from the oppressive chains of the flesh. Oh, do you feel how the wings of the spirits save us, sweep us into a new existence?”

The temporal imagery is explicit here, with the oppressive chains of the flesh being the empirical world, and the image of salvation in a new existence standing for the metaphysical realm. It is, however, a momentary glimmer of irrational hope, because just as quickly, flashes of lightning appear, and with it, La Morte: Juan’s fate has arrived to break his illusion of unattainable ideality. La Morte, proclaiming herself as being death, quickly removes the other woman, to which Juan despondently proclaims: “Everything I do is futile!”

Fate has dealt him a harsh blow, and Juan temporally laments: “to and fro, to and fro… eternal leave-taking, eternal return… no repose… why does the soul dream of peaceful happiness in the vortex that dismantles it piece by piece… to and fro, to and fro.”

Leaving and returning, just like the movement of to and fro, again denotes circularity, similarly to how Wozzeck alludes to endless circles by desperately chanting “on we go!” in the fourth scene of act two, as his own sanity begins to unravel at an alarming rate. Juan is expressing a reconciliatory reflection that is mirrored in the imagery of doomed and hopeless circularity in which Wozzeck also finds himself. As Juan realizes above, there is “no repose” concerning his empirical torment.

At the start of the second act, Juan is wooing Donna Anna who is married to the man in the Commendatore mask at a costume ball. Donna Anna resists the advances of Juan, who suddenly attempts to abduct her. The Commendatore interjects, and in the ensuing duel, Juan kills him. Juan mocks the risen spectre of the Commendatore and once again tries to physically take Donna Anna, but she kills herself, declaring: “Even in life, Juan, you are the very image of death. I belong to him who truly loves!”

Donna Anna’s final words have a prophetic ring regarding the life/death duality that she sees in Juan, just as he is trapped in the duality of the two temporal realms. As Juan’s attempted ideality once again crumbles around him, the red light of flames and the implied infernal appear, ushering with them the chorus of shadows and naked, dancing women. La Morte appears, to whom the “spellbound” Juan directly speaks: “You come and are silent, my longed-for bride, light of my final dream! I desire to be constant, to be true to you forever!”

Juan’s seeming delirium is, like Wozzeck’s, due to his proximity to the metaphysical unreality of what he sees but cannot touch.

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52 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, pp. 75, 77.
53 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 81.
54 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 85.
55 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, pp. 87, 89.
56 BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 103.
Juan entreats La Morte, “we shall chain ourselves together here in eternal rest,” to which she replies: “I am no end, no beginning, people go through me as through a doorway… as long as you live you are nearer me than in death; in death you ebb past me—into sameness, you cannot grasp me, as I cannot grasp you.”\(^{58}\) The symbolic foreshadowing of Juan’s curse is implicitly laid out here with this imagery of eternity and life/death duality. In the moment that Juan and La Morte proclaim their love for each other, the statue of the Commendatore appears and curses Juan by silently raising his fist at him. La Morte tells him that he may not join her now in living death as Juan hoped for regarding their “eternal rest” together, as the expression of happiness that he wanted with La Morte—the one woman whom he has actually succeeded in wooing after not recoiling from her hideous form upon lifting the veil that covered her. She says to him: “[…] the stony fist pronounces judgment upon you, eternal judgment—you are Juan, who can never die.”\(^{59}\) In a frenzied attempt to deny this prophecy, he attempts to shoot himself, which only renders him even younger. He despairingly utters: “I have to be like this for ever, ever, and ever!”\(^{60}\) Gwyneth Bravo and Brian Locke describe the wider subject of mortality and immortality in opera, noting how “death becomes a catalyst for transcendence and redemption.”\(^{61}\) Therefore, by denying Juan the ability to die, he cannot experience this resolution. The expressionist paradigm supersedes any semblance of catharsis, allying *Flammen* with Berg’s operatic imperative in *Wozzeck* regarding the same denial of freedom that is prohibited to both protagonists.

The final scene of the opera is the *Nocturne* that is the same as the opera’s opening *Nocturne*, with stage directions that state that all is again as it was then. Juan has no words in this scene, as at the beginning, and only the shadows and La Morte speak, unlike before, when she laments her inability to be with Juan. Juan has returned to the house of the beginning and as such, is reliving everything as before. The palindromic repeat is triggered as La Morte sings of the futility of seeking salvation. The ending of the opera is symbolically and structurally identical to the ending of *Wozzeck* with their shared tragic finales that bear no cathartic resolution or redemption—only a continuation of the misery. In his lecture on *Wozzeck*, Berg wrote how the ending and beginning of his opera can be structurally connected in a circle:

> “Although it [Wozzeck’s ending] clearly cadences on the final chord, it creates the feeling that it could keep going. In fact, it does keep going! The first measures of the opera might well link up harmonically with these final measures without further ado, thus closing the circle. Here is the end of the opera, then the beginning.”\(^{62}\)

The true horror of both *Wozzeck* and *Flammen* is that fate is not only inevitable, but that it mercilessly repeats itself in an unending, eternal cycle of empirical subjugation. This is achieved by either being cursed with immortality, in the case of Juan, or by passing on hereditary damnation in the case of Wozzeck. The desolate, irredeemable outcome is the same in both instances. The end for Juan is also paradoxical, as

\(^{58}\) BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, pp. 111, 113.

\(^{59}\) BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 119.

\(^{60}\) BROD – BENEŠ, Ref. 35, p. 119.

\(^{61}\) BRAVO – LOCKE, Ref. 3, p. 128.

\(^{62}\) BERG, Ref. 19, p. 232.
infinity is a metaphysical attribute, which he has become, but in the empirical world. His torment is being forever caught between both temporal realms with no possibility for salvation. Bravo and Locke describe Juan's narrative as ultimately one of "endless immortality" through the implementation of circularity regarding the reprise of the Nocturne. Wozzeck’s bondage between the two planes causes him to go insane, kill his common-law wife, and ultimately die horrifically. Fate then curses his son to follow in his father’s footsteps.

Theoretical Text Associations between *Wozzeck* and *Flammen*

In the previous sections, we saw aesthetic disparity in the letters between Berg and Schulhoff, and symbolic unity in their overlapping treatment of their shared application of metaphysical temporality. Another important dimension of similarity between Berg and Schulhoff is their mutual indebtedness to Richard Wagner as a model for their concept of operatic theatricality. Berg’s connection to Wagner has been extensively documented. Nicholas Baragwanath notes that “few would deny that Alban Berg’s music owed much to Wagner. In particular, his work from around 1907 onward employs techniques that seem to correspond in significant detail to Wagner's late practice. His use of symmetry, cyclical patterns, and cellular motives may well derive from an understanding and emulation of designs […]” Berg’s student and friend Theodor Adorno states that “Wozzeck fulfills Wagner’s demand that the orchestra follow the drama’s every last ramification and thus become a symphony, and in so doing finally eliminates the illusion of formlessness in music drama.” Berg himself expresses an amalgamation of these influences in his lecture on *Wozzeck*, writing how

“Apart from the wish to make good music, to fulfill musically the intellectual content of Büchner’s immortal drama, and to translate his poetic language musically, from the moment when I decided to write the opera I had nothing in mind about a technique of composition, nothing in mind at all except to give the theater what belongs to the theater, that is, to create music that at every moment fulfills its duty to serve the drama. Furthermore, to create music that provides everything that is needed to bring this drama to reality on stage […]”

Schulhoff echoes these sentiments in his article “My Opera ‘Flammen,’” writing:

“I let myself be guided by an instinct for action and music, for theater and imagination. Am I allowed to try to approach Wagner? If I call Wagner my role model, I apologize a priori to all those people whose glasses are a sign of their intellect, that I dare to worship Wagner so boundlessly at this time, because he taught me the requirements of the opera and the stage. However, I wrote completely different

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63 BRAVO – LOCKE, Ref. 3, p. 129.
music than he did—my work is a completely different musical drama and has a fundamentally different structure, because it is not rooted in leitmotifs, but changes from one theme to the next by means of symphonic interludes that connect the individual scenes. Only with regard to the erotic element have I retained Wagner's basic principle, which belongs to the theater and must be musically accentuated."

Despite their prominent differences of opinion regarding politics, socio-cultural paradigms, and overall musical aesthetics, it is clear that Berg and Schulhoff had similar ideas regarding operatic creation and production, where the Wagnerian idiom was explicitly indicative to both Wozzeck and Flammen. Moreover, beyond the broad conceptions of theatre, Schulhoff’s opera has purely orchestral interludes that are of a symphonic nature. This is a practice that allies Flammen closely with Wozzeck, whose second act was created by Berg as a five-movement symphony. Schulhoff was aware of this feature in Berg’s opera. In his article “The New Opera Style,” Schulhoff writes:

“The new opera style finds its strongest expression in Alban Berg’s ‘Wozzeck.’ A complete break with everything conventional and operatic can be found here in the following suite-like pieces: Rhapsody, march-song duet, passacaglia, andante affetuoso, and individual scenes that are divided into ‘inventions.’ Overall, this three-act stage work could be described as a three-movement symphony, since each act represents a movement in its form.”

Where Berg’s and Schulhoff’s notion of “symphonic” differs is in regard to the interludes. Whereas Schulhoff’s interludes are lengthy and symphonic, as he stated, Berg’s application stems from a different approach. He notes:

“To write entirely symphonic transitions or intermezzi […] would not have conformed to my idea of musical drama (which despite my respect for absolute music is never out of mind when I compose for theater). So here too I was compelled to realize a variety rich in contrasts by making these nine ‘[twelve?]’ interludes into transitions sometimes resembling codas to what went before, or introductions to what


followed, or both together. At times I wanted the most unnoticeable connections between the different parts of these musical forms, at other times quite brusque juxtapositions."69

In the published lecture from which the above passage was taken, Berg repeatedly referred to Wozzeck’s middle act as “symphonic” or a “dramatic symphony,” but the form of the act should not be confused with Berg’s organizational delineation of the orchestral interlude transitions. I am not suggesting that Schulhoff misinterpreted the overall symphonic meaning in Wozzeck, but I want to draw a clear distinction between the composers’ implementation of orchestral interludes for the sake of complete clarity. Schulhoff’s structural and formal knowledge of Wozzeck cannot be overlooked within an overall comparison of this opera and Flammen, particularly as Schulhoff stated that symphonic structures were paramount in the architectural design of his opera. Although he mentions Wagner in connection with his overall conception of operatic dramaturgy, his correspondence with Berg, awareness of Berg’s work on Wozzeck before this opera was completed, and the direct mention stated above in his article, all seem to indicate that Berg’s work was in the forefront of Schulhoff’s mind when he composed Flammen. This idea is further advanced by the symbolic and philosophical similarities between the libretti of both operas.

Conclusion

This study has sought to depict the dichotomies, first and foremost between the two composers under scrutiny, who stood at antithetical poles in terms of their vision of what modern composition should encompass musically and represent socially. This ideological divergence between Berg and Schulhoff is seen in their letters, which displayed their values and indeed their clashing personalities. Music at this time was in a state of transition, and some of these letters, translated and analysed in this study for the first time in English, give important insights into the cultural-aesthetic morality of a major composer in Berg and a minor but still significant composer in Schulhoff.

The subsequent symbolic juxtaposition of Schulhoff’s opera Flammen with Berg’s Wozzeck shows the correlation between the works, as seen in their shared treatment of metaphysical temporality that is used to underscore the unsettling, distorted qualities of the Expressionist ethos that both operas explicitly embodied. Excerpts from both composers’ prose works reveal a dramaturgical indebtedness to elements of Wagnerian dramatization, which motivated both composers to craft their stage works as representations of a kind of theatricality that was in full service of the drama.

A final question on the characters, Don Juan and Wozzeck, is necessary to further deduce the extent to which they reflect their composers’ vision of a flawed world. Are the two protagonists heroes, villains, or anti-heroes? Certainly, neither of them did anything heroic, and they hurt people and directly or indirectly caused the deaths of women that they purported to love, which would seem to be the acts of villains. However, what Berg and Schulhoff were most keen to portray was the sense of hopelessness

69 BERG, Ref. 19, pp. 234-235.
driven by an unchanging and merciless fate. In this regard, they can both be viewed as victims—of a set of circumstances that pushed them both to commit immoral acts, as they seemingly had no choice. Juan wanted to break free from his sexual desires, but the naked phantom women around him perpetually prevented him from ascending to transcendent heights that denied these base, worldly urges, which constantly assailed Juan as seductive ploys to keep him imprisoned in his cage of lust. Likewise, Wozzeck was not born evil, but is consistently abused and humiliated until he is gripped by an insanity related to his inability to transcend the corrupting factors of his reality, which ends up destroying him. This interpretation of these factors render both Juan and Wozzeck as anti-heroes who emulate their composers’ pessimistic world views. Berg and Schulhoff disagreed on many things, but by ultimately dooming their main characters in equivalent ways, they demonstrated an unwritten kinship that may be seen as exemplifying the mutual connection indeed harmony between them, in contrast to the discord that was also distinctly evident in their relationship.
Resumé

Estetické rozdiely a symbolické korelácie medzi Albanom Bergom a Erwinom Schulhoffom, ako sa zobrazujú v ich korešpondencii a v opernom narratíve

V štúdii ponúkame po prvýkrát v anglickom preklade výber z korešpondencie medzi skladateľmi Albanom Bergom a Erwinom Schulhoffom a jej následnú analýzu. Naším zámerom je demonštrovať protichodné názory týchto dvoch súčasníkov, týkajúce sa modernej kompozície a úlohy hudby v búrlivom období weimarskej spoločnosti po skončení prvej svetovej vojny. Ideologické rozdiely, ktoré sa z tejto korešpondencie vynárajú, sú fascinujúcou dichotómiou hodnôt medzi Schulhoffovým radikalizmom a Bergovým tradicionalizmom. Ako paralelnú liniu k tejto polarite ponúkame porovnávaci analýzu filozofického symbolizmu prítomného v Bergovej opere Wozzeck a Schulhoffovej opere Flammen. Zdôrazňujeme v nej, že obaja skladatelia mali záľubu v expresionistickej dramaturgii založenej na neskrývanom zobrazovaní metafyzickej dočasnosti. Tento fénomén je vyjadrený v podobnom zaobchádzaní s realitou a ilúziou v oboch dielach, čo prozaické texty skladateľov odrážajú ako jasnú aspiráciu na teatrálnosť. Výsledkom je vzájomné spojnie harmónie a disharmónie, umožňujúce nám lepšie pochopiť oboch idealistických skladateľov.