

# The Movement of a Musical Work

*Ernst Krenek's Opus 20  
in the Interwar Years*

JOHAN LARSON LINDAL







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## On Notation

This dissertation uses endnotes. In the case of printed literature, citations only make use of the author's name and the year of publishing, unless stated otherwise. In the case of sources, acronyms of newspapers, journals, organisations, dictionaries, and institutions are used with date of issue or other relevant information. References are sorted according to archival institute, library, or digital database, with the exceptions of published biographies and literature—books and journal articles—used for the dissertation. In the extreme case of one author having published more than one text during the same year (good job!), I have marked these texts [1] and [2] to distinguish between them. To efficiently navigate the endnotes, please see the list of acronyms and abbreviations below.



# List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

## Journals, Dictionaries, and Books

- AUF: *Der Auftakt: Musikblätter für die Tschechoslowakische Republik*  
BBDM: *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*  
BDE: *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*  
BSU: *Brooklyn Standard Union*  
BTU: *Brooklyn Times Union*  
BT: *Berliner Tageblatt*  
BVZ: *Berliner Volkszeitung*  
CET: *Coventry Evening Telegraph*  
DAZ: *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*  
DM: *Die Musik*  
DNM: *Das neue Musiklexikon*  
DS: *Die Stunde*  
DT: *Der Tag*  
DZ: *Die Zeit*  
FBZ: *Freiburger Zeitung*  
FZ: *Frankfurter Zeitung*  
GDMM: *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*  
GSERM: *The Gramophone Shop Encyclopaedia of Recorded Music*  
HFB: *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*  
HAM: *Hamburger Nachrichten*  
HRML: *Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon*  
ILN: *Illustrated London News*  
KAZ: *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*  
LRM: *La Revue Musicale*  
MA: *Musical America*  
MDA: *Musikblätter des Anbruch*

- MHVWZ: *Musikalienhandel und Vereins-Wahlzettel: Mitteilungen des Vereins der deutschen Musikalienhändler*
- M&L: *Music & Letters*
- MLM: *Musikalisch-Literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, Musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen*
- MEMM: *MacMillan Encyclopaedia of Music and Musicians*
- N8U: *Neues 8 Uhr Blatt*
- NEMM: *New Encyclopaedia of Music and Musicians*
- NFP: *Neue Freie Presse*
- NMZ: *Neue Musikzeitung*
- NWJ: *Neues Wiener Journal*
- NWT: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*
- NYT: *New York Times*
- NZB: *Nationalzeitung Berlin*
- NZFM: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*
- NZN: *Neue Zürcher Nachrichten*
- PMR: *Phonograph Monthly Review*
- PMG: *Pall Mall Gazette*
- PT: *Prager Tageblatt*
- R-U: *Radio-Umschau*
- RW: *Radio Wien*
- RWZ: *Rheinische Westfälische Zeitung*
- SSH: *Die Stimme seines Herrn*
- SCH: *Salzburger Chronik*
- SFMW: *Signale für die Musikalische Welt*
- SVB: *Salzburger Volksblatt*
- SVD: *Svenska Dagbladet*
- SW: *Die Salzburger Wacht*
- TMT: *The Musical Times*
- TMW: *Talking Machine World*
- TS: *The Sackbut*
- VW: *Vorwärts!*
- VZ: *Vossische Zeitung*
- WG: *Westminster Gazette*
- WMZ: *Wiener Morgenzeitung*

WZ: *Wiener Zeitung*  
 YPLI: *Yorkshire Post & Leeds Intelligencer*  
 ZFM: *Zeitschrift für Musik*  
 ZFMW: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*

## Organisations and Archival Institutions

AFMA: Anstalt für Musikalische Aufführungsrechte (Agency Of Musical Performing Rights)  
 AKM: Gesellschaft für Autoren, Komponisten und Musikverleger (Austrian Society of Authors, Composers, and Music Publishers)  
 AMMRE: Anstalt für Musikalisch-Mekanische Aufführungsrechte (Society for Music-Mechanical Performing Rights)  
 AMP: Associated Music Publishers  
 ANNO: The Austrian National Library Historical Newspapers and Journals Search Engine  
 ASM: Assotsiatsiya Sovremennoy Muzyki (Soviet Association for Contemporary Music)  
 BDK: Bund Deutscher Komponisten (Union of German Composers)  
 BSO: Boston Symphony Orchestra  
 CDNМ: Corporazione delle Nuove Musiche (Italian Corporation for New Music)  
 EKI: Ernst Krenek Institut  
 GDT: Genossenschaft Deutscher Tonsetzer  
 GEA: German Exile Archive  
 GEMA: Gesellschaft zur Verwertung Musikalischer Aufführungsrechte (Society for The Collecting of Musical Performing Rights)  
 HFM: Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin (Berlin Music Conservatory)  
 ISCM: International Society for Contemporary Music  
 MK: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga (Soviet International Publishing Agency)  
 PHI: Paul Hindemith Institut  
 STAGMA: Staatliche Genehmigte Anstalt zur Verwertung Musikalischer Aufführungsrechte (Third Reich State Agency for The Collecting of Musical Performing Rights)  
 SÜWRAG: Südwestdeutsche Rundfunkdienst-Aktiengesellschaft (Sout-

West German Broadcasting Company)

UE: Universal-Edition

VCL: Wienbibliothek im Rathaus (Vienna City Library)

WPV: Wiener Philharmonischer Verlag

ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library)

# Movement I.

## op. 20 and the Musical Work Concept

### Introduction: What Makes a Musical Work?

On 29 March 1940, the New Carnegie Chamber Music Hall in New York hosted the third instalment of a concert series called “Contemporary Concerts.” We do not know much about the event itself, but we know that Austrian refugees made up a fair portion of the performers and possibly the audience.<sup>1</sup> It was a coming together of the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ world in troubled times.

The programme, not quite as contemporary as the title implied, consisted of music from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among the five performed pieces was an obscure thirty-something minute long string quartet by an Austrian composer who had recently emigrated to the U.S. Although composed only seventeen years before, the world in which the quartet had once emerged was practically gone. A few weeks after the concert, the offices of the Viennese firm that had published it would be ransacked by Gestapo officers on the hunt for ‘undesirable’ music. The only gramophone recording of the quartet had long since been withdrawn. The musicians who had once toured with it were scattered all over the world.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless it had managed to stick around and resurface in the heart of Manhattan as a “contemporary” piece of music. This dissertation commits to writing the early history of that music piece: the *Third String Quartet*, opus 20 by Ernst Krenek (henceforth ‘op. 20’).<sup>3</sup>

To understand how this music piece could reappear despite everything that had happened to it, we need to know more than who played



it and who listened to it. We need to explore the relationship between movement and stability in a broader sense. To the audience on 29 March, *op. 20* was not just a sequence of sounds but a distinct artwork, a *musical work*. As such, it had transcended its historical origins, whatever these had looked like, and still managed to appear in 1940 as ‘the same’ entity as back in 1923, when it had been composed. Music, an ambiguous concept that I explain further below, is perhaps the most elusive of all art forms. It is trickier to make a piece of music appear as if it is staying ‘the same’ than, say, sculptures or paintings.<sup>4</sup> So how was *op. 20* fixed as a musical object?

The ‘romantic’ or ‘idealistic’ Western work concept depends on the idea that a piece of art is an original, unique, and complete entity, created by and forever attributable to a single identifiable ‘artistic genius.’ The idealistic work concept also presumes that artworks exist eternally, beyond space and time. This understanding has given rise to legislation and regulations on the use of artworks. In music, this means that a concert performance is regarded as more than just something we listen to in the moment. According to the idealistic work concept, any performance is only one concretised instance of an eternal abstract entity, the ‘work.’<sup>5</sup>

A musical work is also in general seen as a ‘whole,’ meaning that it has a specific set of parts, including beginning, ending, and that none of these parts may be removed without distorting the work, like ending a story or movie half-way. The musical work concept, according to music philosopher Lydia Goehr, is a regulative concept, meaning that it treats instances of musical pieces “as if” they were corresponding to works existing beyond time and space.<sup>6</sup> *op. 20*’s history is, for good or bad, the history of a musical work.

Musical works, viewed as individual musical objects referring to an idealistic concept, have real consequences for people and societies. Moreover, objects are not merely defined by others, but they have agency in defining themselves. Literature scholar Rita Felski defines agency as “anything that modifies a state of affairs by making a difference.”<sup>7</sup> The observation that agency is not limited to humans has for decades been an important theme in social research. An especially

important perspective in this regard is Actor-Network Theory (ANT). This goes for music pieces as well. Music sociologist Tia DeNora suggests that we study musical compositions as resources that allow other things to happen. She emphasises the importance of studying the interface between a work as ‘text,’ understood not only as notation but for instance also recordings, and the *agencies* to which this text applies:

[T]he ‘career’ of an art work, a particular symphony or pop tune, for example, is by no means ‘over’ once concerts are given or LP’s, CD’s and Singles are distributed to outlets, played on radio stations and purchased for home consumption. ... There is therefore much to be learned through in-depth focus on the points where musical ‘texts’ and social actors/auditors meet, on *how* this process is situated in ordinary life.<sup>8</sup>

For me, studying OP. 20 as a work means exploring people’s beliefs and ways of making sense of music pieces in daily life. In other words, I explore how music pieces become *conceptualised* as works, that is, understood, upheld, and established as such. Ideas and convictions about what musical ‘works’ encompass are formulated by specific people in specific environments. However, I also focus on the aspect of music pieces participating in this process by way of their own agency. The conceptualisation or the ‘work-making’ of musical works is therefore a matter of interactions. The relative stability and elasticity of specific musical works can thus be observed by focusing on these interactions.<sup>9</sup>

I therefore study how this quartet emerged, how it circulated, and how it became a fixed object through connections of people, objects, ideas, and organisations. I acknowledge that any concepts or objects used in music are, to some extent, social constructs, not eternal or universal truths. However, at the same time, neither are those objects complete illusions or fabrications, as has sometimes been the claim of cultural sociologists. The often-prevailing attitude of ‘de-masking’ the many ‘façades’ of artistic production has not always been productive, as described by for example Nick Prior: “For too long, it is argued,

sociology has cast a reductionist and imperialist shadow over the arts, diminishing both the specific properties of works and the affective nature of engagements with them.”<sup>10</sup>

The idealistic work concept has had some trouble coexisting with music practice, even directly hurting some music communities by imposing on them its putatively ‘universal’ standards. The audience and artists may not care at all about the name of the piece that they are hearing, the year of its completion, or the origin of its creator. Music, after all, is performed, whether live or in recordings, leading Christopher Small to propose the active verb ‘musicking’ instead of the noun ‘music.’<sup>11</sup> Many music traditions around the world value collective effort and borrowing over originality and individual creativity. This tension between ideal and practice is especially felt in music copyright, which still to a considerable extent relies on an idealistic work concept. The work concept is at the same time powerful, confusing, and hazardous.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, musical works are obviously out there, regardless of the epistemological lens with which we choose to conceptualise them. Works matter to listeners, musicians, composers, publishers, retailers, lawyers, and politicians, to name a few. They have consequences for millions of people’s daily lives, work, and income. Becoming a musical work is inherently a social and communicative act, a “matter of concern” as sociologist Bruno Latour would phrase it.<sup>13</sup> The conceptualisation of a work of art as such therefore needs to be accepted through some form of procedure. In other words, not entirely different from a scientific discovery or a legal fact, the notion of what a work ‘is’ needs to apply sufficiently to any object aspiring to be a work once it enters any social context. The work needs to ‘hold.’<sup>14</sup>

As hinted above, *op. 20* did hold together as a musical work; the question is how. I explore this ‘how’ in different media technologies, knowledge organisation systems, music criticism, and, last but certainly not least, performances. Following an object means looking at different forms of movement or ‘circulation.’ Circulation is often used when studying the history of knowledge to acknowledge that there is no central base from which an object or a piece of knowledge emerges,

but a dynamic network of connections between people and objects.<sup>15</sup> I do not use the circulation concept, however, but instead argue for the concept of *movement*, for reasons discussed further in the methodological framework section.

### Purpose and Research Questions

My purpose with this dissertation is to study how the music piece known as Ernst Krenek's '*Third String Quartet*, op. 20' emerged and moved in the world during its early history. Within this movement, I want to understand how the piece was conceptualised as an idealised musical work. I study how the piece, in all its various manifestations, was made into an object that corresponded to the idealistic work concept. Although this purpose puts emphasis on human action, my study expands agency to other actors as well. I view objects, including op. 20 itself, as actors in the conceptualisation or 'work-making' of op. 20.

I begin with the creation process and premiere of the quartet in the years 1922–1923 and end the investigation at the time in which it reappeared in American exile. I could have included more on Krenek's and op. 20's history in the u.s., but it is relevant to cut the story short around this time, and not just for feasibility reasons. Krenek had a somewhat different career after becoming an American citizen in 1945 than he had before that, and I would not be going too far assuming that op. 20 had as well. Thus, I limit myself to what is often called the 'Interwar' period, ending in 1939 in Europe and in 1941 in the u.s. Although this periodisation is in many ways misleading—wars were indeed fought throughout many parts of the world between 1918 and 1939—it makes sense in the European and American contexts of which op. 20 was part.

The romanticisation and idealisation of artistic and intellectual creators, such as authors and composers, has been critiqued by Roland Barthes through Michel Foucault to more recent critical examples in musicology and literature studies, as well as the history of science and innovation.<sup>16</sup> I instead turn from the creators to the *creations* to let a single music piece show how music meets the musical work concept

in practice. I want to understand how op. 20 became an individuated and lasting object within the various environments in which it appeared.

Studying a musical work critically, as with any concept or object, carries with it the well-known risk of reifying that which we seek to problematise. My starting point, therefore, is that all objects, including artworks, have some level of agency of their own, exerted in their movement between different social contexts, affording them some flexibility in the often extended process in which they become fixed and distinguished as works. I also acknowledge that musical works, whether ‘constructs’ or ‘facts,’ are relevant; the question is where, with whom, and how. Exploring these issues is a crucial aspect in comprehending the development of ‘modern’ Western music and music philosophy, as well as musical intellectual property rights and the role of music in the emergence of an ‘information society,’ both historically and currently.

In short, this dissertation is a contribution to studies of ‘modern’ music history. While my background is in history, I am writing from an interdisciplinary perspective on culture and society developed and fostered in my current research environment. My dissertation also draws on media history, cultural history, history of knowledge, musicology, and cultural sociology, along with other more specific fields such as ‘modernism’ and ‘avant-garde’ studies. One important continuity throughout the dissertation is also the broader concept of ‘media’ as means for the communication and circulation of knowledge in various forms.<sup>17</sup> My aim is to answer the following research questions:

- 1) *From its creation until its appearance in American exile, in what ways did Ernst Krenek's Third String Quartet come to be conceptualised as a musical work?*
- 2) *In what ways and in which circumstances did this conceptualisation move?*

## Structure of the Dissertation

First, we acquaint ourselves more with our main character, *op. 20*, and its creator, Ernst Krenek. Then the following sections review previous research on the work concept through its origins and history in Western art music, especially musical ‘modernism,’ but also as part of a longer history of aesthetics, law, and knowledge organisation. Before beginning the empirical chapters, I introduce a theoretical and methodological discussion that establishes an interdisciplinary framework for analysing historical conceptualisations of musical works, as well as the social contexts within which these conceptualisations emerge.

The first empirical chapter, Movement II, discusses the creation and premiere of the piece that would be conceptualised as *op. 20*, including the broad critical reception of the premiere. Movement III discusses the aftermath of the premiere, the publication of three different scores as a series of connected actions leading to fixed editions, as well as the public and private circulation of these scores. Movement IV focuses on the broader movement of *op. 20*, in part through performances by new interpreters in various countries, in part through the ‘new media’ of radio broadcasting and the gramophone. Movement V takes on the quartet beyond the public performance and traditional means of fixity by studying its role in musical knowledge organisation, more specifically music dictionaries, musicology, and historiography. Movement VI discusses the return of performances during the late 1930s and *op. 20*’s appearance among the exile communities on the U.S. east coast. This is followed by a concluding discussion.

## A ‘Contemporary’ Work of Music: *op. 20*

Composed within the well-established ‘string quartet’ genre by Ernst Krenek, then 22 years old, in May 1923 and published in 1924 by music publisher Universal-Edition in Vienna, *op. 20* has a playing time of around 30–33 minutes. A string quartet is intended for performance by two violins, a viola, and a cello. The string quartet genre simultaneously offers a strict, traditional format while enabling the composer

to experiment with musical content. This enabled many composers to challenge musical presuppositions while acknowledging their history.<sup>18</sup>

op. 20 is also largely an ‘atonal’ piece of music in the sense that it lacks key. Key, such as ‘C minor’ or ‘A major,’ was a fundamental component in Western musical composition since the 17<sup>th</sup> century and still is in many music styles to this day. By not conforming to this system, op. 20 was a ‘modern’ piece belonging to what was often referred to as ‘contemporary’ music, but in the German-speaking world also within the narrower early 20<sup>th</sup> century avant-gardist movement of *Neue Musik* or “New Music.” As such, the quartet not only had to endure an uneven competition with older, established music pieces, but also belonged to a relatively marginal movement within contemporary German-speaking musical life.<sup>19</sup>

Musicologists, mainly German-speaking ones, have studied op. 20 in different circumstances. Above all, Krenek specialist Claudia Maurer Zenck, who has studied Krenek’s life and work thoroughly since the 1970s, has analysed the piece. However, apart from a few other examples, such as Martin Zenck and Rudolf Stephan, the piece has been comparably less researched than other compositions by Krenek.<sup>20</sup>

I first found op. 20, hardly surprising, on the internet. As a historian with most of my family having a background in 20<sup>th</sup> century European art music, often connected to ‘avant-gardes’ or ‘contemporary’ music, I became interested in the history of these scenes, especially the way they have organised themselves. While searching for a good starting point, I came across the early festival programmes of the International Society for Contemporary Music (henceforth ‘the ISCM’), founded in 1922.<sup>21</sup> The music that was promoted through this international association, so deeply committed to the idea of the ‘new’ and ‘contemporary,’ reflected a young musical generation struggling to continue the modern Western ideals of originality and progression in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup>

op. 20, it turned out, was one out of three new compositions that enjoyed their first public performances at the first official festival of the ISCM in 1923. Although the other two pieces, by Paul Hindemith

and William Walton, could have been equally interesting for this type of study, a bit of research revealed that they were barely mentioned, let alone played for decades after the festival. op. 20 was the most 'successful' of these three pieces. Although it is also at first glance a relatively unknown and marginal piece in the history of 'modern' Western art music, op. 20's compelling origin story begs the question of how the quartet continued to move after this renowned premiere. This, together with the fact that the piece had a relatively limited impact, enables me to devote the entire dissertation to it.

op. 20 was also from the beginning ambiguously framed both in terms of content and form. On the one hand, it was created within the aesthetic paradigm of 'expressionism,' stressing metaphysics and subjectivity over objective 'reality.' Some critics considered music to be the most expressionist of arts through its supposedly metaphysical immanence, being able to represent the unrepresentable, unnameable, and unsayable.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, op. 20 was also part of 'neo-classicism,' celebrating older musical forms but with new expressional means, as well as *Neue Sachlichkeit* or 'new objectivity,' contrastingly stressing realism and the importance of being in touch with contemporary society.<sup>24</sup> This makes op. 20 a 'hybrid' work caught between hardly commensurable music-aesthetic visions. It also appears as in a limbo between different phases of its creator's career. Maurer Zenck wrote in 1982:

The 3. and 4. Quartet were written in 1923 and marked Kreněk's encounter with neo-classicism. It happened with irony as in the third, which resembles Hindemith's attitude, whose ensemble performed the work for the first time in Salzburg (symptoms of this are a fugato at the end of the first movement, the subsequent 'scherzando,' and the intricate waltz movement) ...<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, judging from the few readings of op. 20 by music scholars after 1980, there is no consensus on the quartet's form. Form, nevertheless, is of high importance in music, and not least the type of art music that op. 20 belonged to. Musical form is often treated like grammar rules, in which breaking the rules may come off as 'mistakes.'



From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, a string quartet consisted of four *movements*, the conventional *sonata* form: an introduction usually in *allegro* ('fast') tempo, a second movement usually in *adagio* ('slow'), a lighter *scherzo* (literally 'joke'), often a dance arrangement, and a *finale* often recapturing some of the piece's initial themes.<sup>26</sup>

During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, this convention was increasingly challenged, which can be clearly seen in op. 20. Different readers have identified at least between five and seven movements. It may also be interpreted as one long movement with a set of smaller 'parts' or 'sections.' Maurer Zenck's musicological analysis from 1994 is probably the most in-depth so far. According to her, the idea of the quartet was to employ many different sequences and themes in what appears like a fragmented and incidental manner, which she calls an "over-emphasis on breaking forms," in such a way that they nevertheless brought forth a 'whole.'<sup>27</sup> Combining diversity and unity, op. 20 is a piece that requires (or empowers!) listeners to determine its form.

Despite its peripheral position as a minor, hybrid, 'avant-garde' work, op. 20 was performed at least 25 times before 1945. It was both recorded and broadcast, making it part of two new media formats at the time, both of whom have had an important role in negotiating the musical work concept.<sup>28</sup> We may compare it to Krenek's *Fourth String Quartet*, which was composed only some eight months later, but, according to published sources, performed only three times during the same period.<sup>29</sup> This makes the quartet an interesting example of how contemporary music pieces moved around and reappeared in the European interwar period.

However, op. 20 also stayed relevant well beyond the interwar period, even after Krenek's death in 1991. On 10 April 1979, it was included as part of a Krenek festival in California, performed by the Thouvenel Quartet and coinciding with an emerging scholarly interest in Krenek and his early music. In 1982, the same quartet performed it in Vienna for the first time in perhaps half a century.<sup>30</sup> A more recent performance occurred at the Vienna Musikverein in May 2017. In May 2020, it featured briefly in an internet forum contest on the best string quartets written after 1920.<sup>31</sup> Although it remains an obscure part of

Krenek's career, op. 20's more recent appearances on Spotify and YouTube suggest that it will stay relevant in the future.<sup>32</sup>

## The Composer

Ernst Heinrich Křenek was an Austrian-American composer born in Vienna in 1900, then the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He was the only child of Arnošt (Ernst) Křenek Senior and Emanuela Josefa Křenek, both from Moravia, Czechia. As a teenager, he became a student of Austrian composer Franz Schreker, whom he followed to Berlin in 1920 to study composition full-time. By his early twenties, Krenek had become a productive and regularly performed composer himself (see Figure 1). In total, he composed nearly 250 different pieces of music with opus numbers, including several operas of relative fame.

Like many of his contemporaries, Krenek explored a great variety of styles, such as atonality, neo-classicism, neo-romanticism, and twelve-tone technique. His most known work is the 'Jazz opera' *Jonny spielt auf*, first performed in 1927 featuring an African American Jazz musician in one of the main roles, an opera that is still at times performed and—with reason—critiqued for its persistent use of 'black-face' and depictions of African Americans.<sup>33</sup>

Although an outspoken anti-Nazi, Krenek for a time supported the Austrian dictatorship of 1934–1938, seeing it as a bulwark against Nazi Germany. Like *Jonny*, the 1933 opera *Karl V*, with its Christian-universal and anti-nationalist message, was a provocation to the Nazis. Krenek's music was censored in Germany in 1933 and in Austria in 1938, the year in which he emigrated to the United States.

Krenek continued composing while taking up teaching on the American east coast. He became an American citizen in 1945, changing the Czech spelling of his last name from Křenek to Krenek. Like many other European artists in exile, he would end up in California, passing away in Palm Springs in 1991. Buried in Vienna, Krenek is considered an important and influential composer of Western art music in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>



FIGURE 1. Ernst Krenek in 1923. Source: EKI.

Beside composing and teaching, Krenek had an analytical attitude to composition and produced a vast corpus of literature on music. He discussed music with philosopher Theodor W. Adorno through letters in the late 1920s and early 1930s, later published.<sup>35</sup> He was also well familiar with the musical work concept. For instance, he wrote in *Music Here and Now* (1939) on the possible implications of 'modern' music for how musical works might be understood.<sup>36</sup> He was involved in several organisations in Austria and later in the u.s., had a leading role in music journals *Anbruch* and *23: Eine Wiener Musikzeitung*, and produced articles for the *Wiener Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* until 1933. He also wrote several books on composition and music theory as well as autobiographical accounts.

Much has been written about Krenek in both German and English. His personal life has been portrayed in documentaries and biographies, of which John Stewart has contributed the most important one.<sup>37</sup> Most Krenek-related research specialises on one or a few of his works. Peter Tregear, Susan Cook, Meret Forster and Claire Taylor-Jay have focussed on the political dimension of Krenek's music. He is also often grouped with his contemporaries Kurt Weill and Paul Hindemith for the German-speaking dramatic music in the interwar period known as the *Zeitoper* or 'opera of the time'.<sup>38</sup> Last but not least, Krenek's widow Gladys Nordenstrom founded the Ernst Krenek Institute in Krems, Austria, which publishes the *Ernst Krenek Studies* series.<sup>39</sup>

### The Paradox of Progression: New Music, Contemporaneity, and Avant-Gardes

Krenek's music is generally placed within the broader spectrum of musical 'modernism.' This broad and often confusing concept can be defined as the pursuit or contemplation of 'modernity' or the 'modern condition.' In the arts, modernism often deals with attempts at breaking away from traditional conventions and methods while 'advancing' or 'developing' an art form in the service of innovation and progress, often understood as an inevitable aspect of modernity.<sup>40</sup> Adorno dis-

cussed the modern condition in music as the “rupture between self and forms.” 20<sup>th</sup> century composers, he claimed, were at odds with the “handed-down traditional forms and genres” that they were being taught but could not themselves pass on in a convincing manner.<sup>41</sup> Modernism in music was thus permeated by new composition techniques that often appeared as radical breaks with tradition. Musical modernism also encompassed the introduction of new genres grouped under the umbrella of ‘contemporary music,’ in German *zeitgenössische Musik* or simply *Neue Musik* (“New Music”). Little united these musical currents, but composers such as Krenek would be seen as belonging to them.

However, contemporary music was not just an aesthetic choice but also part of a copyright regime, as opposed to older pieces that were in the ‘public domain’ and did not demand royalties. Many composers feared joining copyright collecting societies in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century because they thought audiences might abandon music by more recent composers, whose works they would now have to pay for.<sup>42</sup>

Though I realise that I may contribute to romanticising or reifying musical movements that might not have been as unified as they are portrayed, I choose the broadest possible term ‘New Music’ when discussing avant-gardist or contemporary music during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to avoid conceptual confusion as much as possible (see Figure 2).<sup>43</sup> Part of op. 20’s agency lies in highlighting the social fabric of the New Music movements. Following this piece helps me explore musical modernism not just as an aesthetic and historical concept, but as a social process.

The idea of being ‘contemporary,’ defined in the *Cambridge English Dictionary* as “existing or happening now, and therefore seeming modern,”<sup>44</sup> is tightly linked to the history of Western arts. All these arts have, at least since around 1800, constantly innovated and re-defined themselves to continue and advance their specific artistic legacy, or, in some cases, to outright discard and move beyond all tradition.<sup>45</sup> If we choose the Cambridge definition, op. 20 was probably one of the most contemporary European pieces of art music at the time of its premiere. Unlike the two other performed pieces that

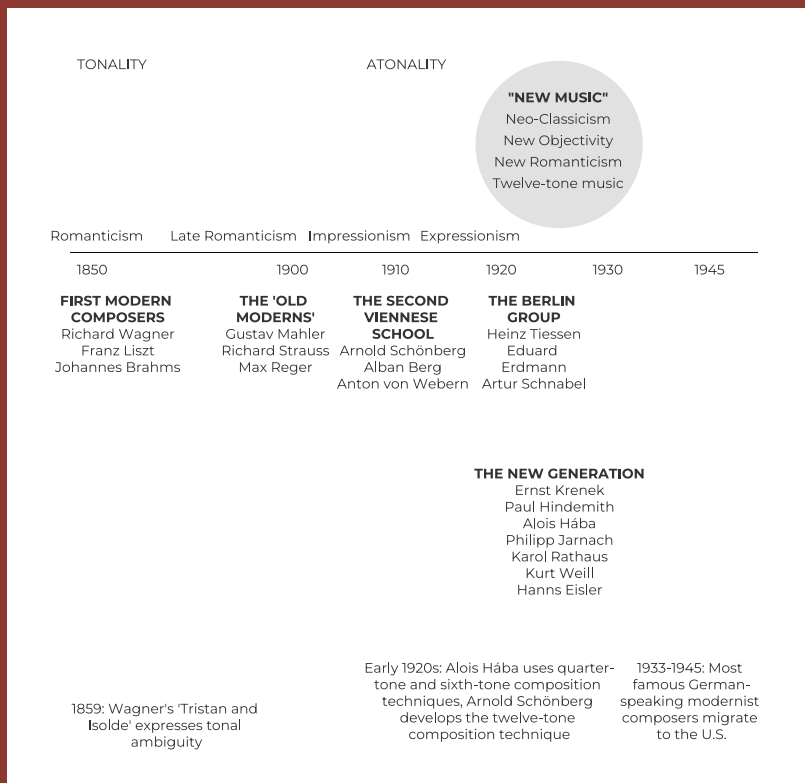


FIGURE 2. Musical modernism in the German-speaking world before 1945.

were first performed at the festival, this one continued to be performed again and again, published, exported, broadcast, and recorded within three years of its premiere.

While emphasising the ‘now,’ contemporaneity is paradoxically dependent on historiography. Any contemporary music piece is defined by not being ‘historical.’ Eventually, it too must however become so, and therefore *non*-contemporary. Expressing the importance of contemporaneity, or the specific historic moment in which a piece of music was made, may seem antithetical to the idealistic work concept, which says that every piece of music has an eternal existence beyond the ‘now’ and ‘history.’ What Aleida Assmann has called the “modern time regime” means that humans need to combine two different modes of existing; the past as a solid background and the present and future as liquid processes, reflecting tradition and progress respectively.<sup>46</sup>

The idealistic work concept, however, allows for contemporary music pieces to have their cake and eat it by assuming that they remain ‘the same’ long after their premiere, surviving their own history and thus their metaphorical ‘death.’ To this end, the notion of a musical *canon* provides some support. The canon concept may refer both to a specific composition technique and a distinct tradition of musical works; here, I focus on the latter.

From at least the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Western art music gradually became organised into a ‘classical canon.’ This canon, which Lydia Goehr has called the “imaginary museum of musical works,” was created by musicologists, music critics, and other professionals together with the emerging bourgeois concert audiences. The canon was made from large collections of celebrated music pieces regarded as having ‘lasting value,’ having been composed by creators who received status of unusually creative ‘genius’ before or after their deaths. These were mainly the German-speaking ‘masters’ of 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, like Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Brahms, although each nation-state cultivated its own national canon.

The canon consisted of what Peter Burkholder calls ‘museum pieces,’ which were musical works in the sense that they were regarded as

eternal and as such impossible to change or erase. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the classical canon had come under pressure from younger composers, like Ernst Krenek, who were rejecting their predecessors' ways of composing. However, although Krenek's generation was seen as radical youngsters, their aim was to continue the same art music tradition that they had grown up with but guiding it into the future using new means. Many of them had no wish to abandon ideals of originality and genius along the way. Most of them wanted to become part of the canon. To do so, they had to tread the fine line between convention and invention.<sup>47</sup>

Western music in the period after 1800 was increasingly characterised by its insistence on continuous 'progression' to renew compositional and performing techniques to remain 'contemporary,' 'new,' or 'innovative,' although some elements of this thinking had existed even in earlier times.<sup>48</sup> By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the convention of tonality was gradually abandoned by some composers in favour of 'atonal' techniques. They were succeeded by 'serial' composition techniques in the late interwar and early post-war years.<sup>49</sup>

'Modern' composers like Krenek were, however, criticised for either disregarding the needs of the audience or for abandoning compositional conventions, creating 'noise,' 'chaos,' or artistic 'degeneracy.' In the interwar period, some of these modern composers were censored, exiled, abused, and even murdered by authoritarian regimes.<sup>50</sup> The progressive side of musical modernity was accompanied by reactionary backlashes.

Political oppression aside, a perhaps even broader problem for Krenek's generation was that the public and critics often wanted to hear the old 'masters' rather than their contemporary heirs. Any new music style, it would seem, had to emulate its predecessors in a satisfying way to be acknowledged by a broader audience. At the same time, modern technologies like recording offered new hopes for creating lasting manifestations of works. This fed into utopian visions of a universal musical language transmitted through a global catalogue of reproducible masterpieces. Radio, although a more ephemeral medium, was viewed as a successor to older musical institutions that



might become a more democratic supporter of music.<sup>51</sup> The ‘imaginary museum of musical works’ would become more accessible and even more perpetuated.

Although constructed, like the idealistic work concept, the canon had real consequences. To this day, although the canon has incorporated some ‘modern geniuses’ like Arnold Schönberg and Igor Stravinsky, the repertoires of Western concert halls still rely heavily on compositions 150 years old or more, and the perceived ‘crisis’ in audience numbers seems to continue to haunt lovers of ‘high’ musical culture.<sup>52</sup>

Those pieces who manage to stay relevant within a given music tradition are regarded as more or less part of the canon. Other pieces are completely forgotten after their premiere and bundled off to the heap of historical artefacts, for many different reasons. Others still are never performed at all. Most, however, exist somewhere in between public relevance and periods of neglect, and some may only be ‘discovered’ centuries after their creation. Because listeners demand at least some variation, less known pieces usually appear sporadically on concert programmes.<sup>53</sup> This latter option seems to have been the case for OP. 20.

Apart from the already mentioned research on Krenek, there are many different types of studies on New Music composers. Some of these belong to the wider academic field of ‘reception studies’ focusing on reviews and other forms of art criticism with regards to one or several music pieces.<sup>54</sup> Other studies pursue a detailed analysis of one or several scores to understand aesthetic and methodological aspects of certain compositions, styles, or composers.<sup>55</sup> Then there is the popularised approach of ‘authorship studies,’ or in my case ‘composer studies.’ These either come in lighter, biographical form, or explore various concepts or historical issues regarding the lives and careers of individual composers.<sup>56</sup>

Yet another branch explores ideas and philosophies on music in relation to modernism or early 20<sup>th</sup> century music, sometimes focusing on individual historical music scholars such as Adorno.<sup>57</sup> Musical modernism has also received critique for being an over-simplifying umbrella term for an abundance of different movements, as well as its

blindness to the global and colonial implications emanating from modernism's credo of 'progression' and 'originality.'<sup>58</sup>

*Avant-garde*, literally French for "vanguard," is a concept often applied to certain artistic circles or generations attempting to push the aesthetic norms and boundaries of their field. It is sometimes used in cultural research as a way of understanding movements or ruptures in art life, in which a younger clique of artists challenges older or 'consecrated' establishments. The interdisciplinary field of avant-garde studies explores the many choices, issues, and dilemmas faced by these movements.<sup>59</sup> For example, many have pointed out that, paradoxically, avant-garde movements have been anti-inventive in their manner of closing off alternatives to their universalist claims.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, while the musical avant-gardes were living off the idea of progression through rejection of the past, they were nonetheless indebted to that past. Most of the institutions and habits that they inherited, including the string quartet genre, had emerged in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as part of the bourgeois social order: large concert halls, music education, touring elite ensembles and singers, etc. Peter Burkholder, for example, has distinguished between 'progressionism' and 'avant-gardism.' The former stays on the course of continuing the musical tradition through innovation, whereas the latter, supposedly, rejects tradition wholeheartedly.<sup>61</sup>

Now that I have covered the immediate context of op. 20 and its creator, I go on to review the broader history of musical works, both as a theoretical concept and as an object of empirical inquiry.

### Musical Works as Historical Objects

The noun 'work' has a long etymology, often denoting something that has been completed in terms of writing or singing. It does not by necessity designate a single source of this completion. The modern idealistic or 'romantic' concept of a *work*, however, refers to an exclusive and original artistic creation of an autonomous creator or 'genius.' It is a unique and unchangeable object created *ex nihilo* ("from nothing") and it exists beyond time and space.<sup>62</sup>

To understand the musical work concept, we need to acknowledge its specific roots in 'Western' (mainly European) music and the history of this tradition. Bruno Nettl holds that every society counts something as music, but that few societies share a common definition. The English word 'music' has its origin in Greek *mousike*, or 'art of the muses,' and in Latin *musica*, which implies that the concept has not always pertained only to song or instruments, but also to poetry and lyricism. Though heavily dependent on sound as its primary medium, in many societies, music is produced through writing as well. It is inherently a form of communication, involving a limited set of signs or building blocks usually denoted 'tones' and relies on some degree of shared intelligibility among its recipients.

There is however no consensus regarding these criteria. They are predominantly Western and carry with them specific Graeco-Roman semantics. Another Western musical bias is the notion that music is good or pleasant, which is not a universal or consistent idea, not even in Western history. In Islamic traditions, *musiqi* or instrumental music is 'true' music, whereas reciting the Qur'an through singing does not count as such and is regarded as 'purer.'<sup>63</sup> Though I am obviously focusing on the Western musical tradition by studying op. 20, I understand it from an ethnological perspective as a particular tradition with certain norms, rituals, and historical development, and without myself making universal claims.

The history of music and the concept of musical works did not develop teleologically, as a trajectory inevitably bound for the 'modern' idealistic work concept.<sup>64</sup> The work concept emerged not only in Western music but more specifically in European 'serious' or 'classical' music, which I simply call *Western art music*.

Although the term 'art music' is rather new, its origins can be found in a tradition of Western European norms of practice based on a specific notation system. This system was developed in Christian music during the medieval period. Like some non-European traditions, art music is conventionally performed by following a score, pre-written instructions that are only intelligible to those who have learned it. Although many of its instruments and compositional techniques have

remained the same, the history of Western art music has brought it far away from its origins.

The various practices found in Western art music largely developed in Italy, Central Europe, France, and England from medieval and renaissance 'modal' music, then 'tonality' of the baroque and classical periods in the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and then into romanticism during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Western music's ceremonial use of words in religious chants, songs, and rituals was long seen as its most refined form, whereas secular music was regarded as more ephemeral and less valued. Here we might talk of a proto-work concept since religious music pieces were seen as objects worthy of some preservation.

Later, as Carl Dahlhaus points out, music without words became elevated to the highest status as 'absolute music' during the romantic period. To many 19<sup>th</sup> century Western philosophers, 'pure' instrumental music represented the highest art form of all, like Georg W. F. Hegel's claim that it was the best artistic medium for manifesting the metaphysical. Arthur Schopenhauer viewed it as the expression most closely connected to the 'Will' of the world. To Friedrich Nietzsche, music was an accurate expression of 'truth.'<sup>65</sup>

It was also in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the classical 'tradition' or 'performing canon' was established, although it had been slowly evolving since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This occurred at roughly the same time as museums, libraries, classification systems, archives, and canons of other arts emerged. Just as significant was the expansion of music literature. Leon Botstein identifies, for example, many new genres within this literature, such as popularised music history, guidebooks to repertoires, and program notes for concertgoers, all emerging between 1800 and 1900 as the audience for concerts and public music education grew. Modern musical life was characterised by an increasing dependence on organisation, classification, and dissemination by way of the printed word.<sup>66</sup>

Throughout the modern period, art music provided the notions of 'originality' and 'creative genius' that became essential in copyright legislation and popularised romantic stereotypes of composers and

song writers that have largely survived into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. These ideals supported and continue to support an idealistic work concept.<sup>67</sup> They have also been reproduced in music philosophy and historiography, and are still being reproduced.

Some contemporary philosophers of music deal with the *ontology* of music, or what musical works ‘are.’<sup>68</sup> The two main strands in Western ontology of artworks go back to Ancient Greece, with Plato representing an idealistic conceptualisation of art that allows for pieces of art to be completely metaphysical. A piece of music, for example, may never be played, yet it may exist. Aristotle’s tradition, on the other hand, emphasises the dialectics between idea and realisation as essential to the existence of a musical work, meaning that the work could not merely ‘be’ but also needed to enter the physical world as *poiesis* (creation, object) or *praxis* (practice, experience). This notion has clearly enjoyed the most support, at least until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, during which Plato’s ideal seems to have taken over.<sup>69</sup>

Art philosopher Roman Ingarden, one of the most important post-war theorists on the musical work concept, argued that neither the physical score, nor the performance, can be the same as the work. Something else must be corresponding to these manifestations, not a ‘real’ object but a metaphysical entity.<sup>70</sup> Ingarden’s metaphysical conceptualisation, inherited from Plato’s tradition and the idealistic work concept, has been developed more recently by for instance Julian Dodd. Dodd argues that musical works are ‘types’ represented by ‘tokens.’ While music pieces, like dances and stage dramas, are repeatable artworks dependent on instantaneous action, *type/token theory* holds that they exist as ‘abstracta,’ that is, non-causal and non-spatiotemporal entities. A music performance manifests, but is never the same as, the musical work as abstract.<sup>71</sup>

Type/token theory tends to present musical works as ‘discovered’ rather than invented or created. This implies that the composer happens upon a set of already existing or potential sound sequences and puts them together in a certain order. This, as critics rightly observe, ignores much of the labour of composers and musicians. Saam Trivedi calls the type/token model “ontologically profligate.”<sup>72</sup>

*Set theory*, by contrast, defines works as ‘concreta,’ that is, causal and spatio-temporal entities. Works as sets can only be conceptualised by their concrete, material manifestations, which usually means its finite set of live performances. However, if the set theory is employed consistently, Dodd has remarked that one could never encounter a single work without encountering *all* performances of it, regardless of how many there are and how ‘good’ or ‘bad’ they may be.<sup>73</sup> Jarrold Levinson has proposed something of a middle way, claiming that a type needs to be ‘initiated’ to exist. The *initiated type* is a generic entity allowing for its own reproduction and re-instantiation; its performances ‘testify’ to its existence.<sup>74</sup> It still is, however, a type.

P. D. Magnus and Guy Rohrbaugh have proposed yet another way, in which we view artworks as *species*, namely ‘wholes’ to which scattered parts or individuals relate while displaying individual ‘practices.’ What makes different instances of a work species present similarities between one another, for example the cause of op. 20 being ‘op. 20’ in each single performance, is a form of underlying mechanism. This mechanism, whatever it is, unites several performances that could otherwise have been seen as distinct from one another. On the other hand, Rohrbaugh admits that all performances of a work species are spatio-temporal, “historical individuals.” Joseph G. Moore also claims that works exist in an interface between sound structure and historical setting.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, Levinson holds that a work of music can never be completely reduced or isolated to its sound structure but is also somehow bound to the historical and societal context in which this sound structure is produced.<sup>76</sup> Amie Thomasson claims that the “beliefs” and “practices” of artists and art life simply cannot be ignored in philosophies of art.<sup>77</sup> Musicologist Charles Rosen concludes: “I think we must conclude that the ideal form of works of art is always at least partially distorted both by the conditions of their initial presentation and production and by their transference to new eras, new venues, or new media.”<sup>78</sup>

This summary of music and art philosophy illustrates an important paradox in studying musical works. Although theoretical-philosophical conceptualisations of the work concept share a reluctance to acknowl-

edge works as part of a larger social process, they seldom disregard the various historical lives of individual musical works. Importantly, however, they keep taking the work concept for granted as a starting point, or at least underplay the fact that the concept itself was never self-evident as it has its specific roots in European history.<sup>79</sup>

Another strand of research, often represented by Lydia Goehr, has developed a historical critique of the musical work concept. Any ahistorical conceptualisation of the musical work, Goehr claims, is bound to have limited relevance, because the work is inherently a historical construct. The gains made from idealising the work by disregarding history simply do not outweigh the epistemological costs. An ahistorical conceptualisation of the work, in fact, denies the work its material and social forms, making it less relevant than it could be. Historiography therefore has a potential of revising the various historical and existential aspects of musical works that have been overlooked. People determine and define musical works everyday through, for example, copyrighting pieces of music or by assigning them titles and creators.<sup>80</sup>

Although musicologist Ulrik Volgsten has critiqued Goehr's claim that the idealistic work concept broke through in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, her fundamental point still stands, namely that the musical work concept emerged as the result of historical processes and that historical contexts co-constitute the ontology of works.<sup>81</sup>

Goehr's thesis on the historical development of musical works is one of the most influential but should be seen as part of a broader intellectual shift toward critical, nominalist perspectives in the histories of philosophy, law, and knowledge. This means that central concepts, systems, and practices are treated more as historical objects and less as universal facts. Many such takes on the musical work concept have emerged since the 1980s. For example, Ruth Solie and Pamela A. Potter have studied 'organic' conceptualisations of musical works prevalent in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Their sources have generally been drawn from contemporary musicologists and music critics.<sup>82</sup>

Another important strand comes from the history of intellectual property, that is, the legal right of an author to their individually

created artistic or intellectual creations. Carla Hesse writes that, in virtually all societies before the Industrial Revolution in Europe, artistic and intellectual expressions were seen as inspirations from a deity or spirit (Latin: *genius*) and therefore never the property of their human creators, however talented.

Although European and other music traditions often relied on notation for performance, a single piece of music was as a rule an instantaneous or contingent practice, a ‘work in progress,’ not a fixed object of property supposed to be saved for posterity. Musical notation, the score or ‘sheet music,’ was mainly a means to an end, namely the performance, although composing notes was seen as a cherished and complex art form. Fixing music in writing did not become a general rule in European art music until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. If a score was being re-performed several times, often under supervision of or even interpreted by the composer, this was seen as an opportunity to renew and edit its content, not to cement it forever.

Consequently, music pieces were rarely made into tradable goods, even if individual composers could become successful and highly respected. Until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, neither sheet music publishers nor composers were entitled to protection of music pieces but were instead granted privilege to publish by the state.<sup>83</sup>

To Goehr, the ‘classic period,’ which lasted roughly between 1750 and 1830, represents a transitional phase during which composers were still subjects to rulers or lords while longing for greater autonomy. During this time, she claims, their creations also assumed an increasingly autonomous role. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, composers became agents on the emerging music market as well as the so-called ‘public sphere.’ The composer was equally an entrepreneur and an intellectual. The idea of the musical work as an end in itself emerged with this new composer’s role. Works could and should circulate among the broader population, in the role of both consumers and citizens. If composers did no longer have to meet requirements from an employer, then the products that they created were individuated as they themselves saw fit.<sup>84</sup>

Hesse, among others, points to John Locke’s *Second Treatise* (1690)



as a milestone in establishing art as property and art pieces as works. Locke claimed that all knowledge derives from the human senses as they work on nature, implying that God had little to do with human creativity and that property was the product of an individual's own labour, thus belonging to that individual. Over the following two centuries, different theories on artistic property and artistic creation processes were applied and interpreted differently in different legal systems.<sup>85</sup> Germany and France were early in favouring the interests of the creator while the Anglo-Saxon countries had and still have a more public-oriented, utilitarian approach. Copyright history, then, shows how idealistic artwork concepts owed and still owe much to legislation. It also shows how copyright's understanding of artistic works has always been biased, situated, and contingent.<sup>86</sup>

Idealistic conceptualisations of musical works were more difficult for people to accept than in the case of works of literature, mostly because music is a relatively ephemeral art form dependent on performance. Musical works only became established entities in copyright during the 19<sup>th</sup> century through a series of national legislations, with the first international agreement being the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886).<sup>87</sup> By this time, music professionals as a rule began to define works of music not only by 'originality' or by having a single identifiable creator, as had been possible before, but as eternal, metaphysical entities. An increasing emphasis was, at the same time, paradoxically, laid on the concrete manifestations of musical works. While scores had served an important function for centuries, they now served increasingly to render the work a fixed, physically lasting, and documented entity. The work could be stored, copied, sold, and licensed.

This reflected a growing capitalist market in which more and more phenomena were being commodified into tradable goods. Olufunmilayo B. Arewa writes that while musical works were made into commodities, they also became increasingly "sacralised." The idealistic work concept enabled the glorification of an increasingly commodified art. In music, the sacralisation process also carried a 'visual bias,' favouring written music and creating a hierarchy between the

visual-fixed and the strictly aural-ephemeral.<sup>88</sup> This art was for the most part created by men from a high-class, Western context. Acknowledging these unequal foundations of copyright, authors, and artworks, Carys J. Craig has proposed a feminist reinterpretation of copyright law, while Kavita Philip and Kevin J. Greene have shown how the global copyright regime up to this day puts non-white and non-Western creators at a disadvantage.<sup>89</sup> While the ‘work’ and the ‘creator’ are supposedly universal categories, their respective communities are clearly gated.

Volgsten attributes the success of the idealistic or ‘platonic’ work concept to its flexibility. In a two-linked process that Dahlhaus has termed *objectification* and *reification* [*Verdinglichung*], the musical work is first treated as a worldly object that has been created, and second reified as an idealised eternal work. This convergence of tangibility and idealism enables individual copyright after the creator’s death since the work is understood to exist beyond time and space. It also enables protecting a work in various mediated forms, be it performance, score, or phonogram for instance, since they are all seen as manifestations of ‘the same’ work, though never *the* work. Hence, the ‘true’ work remains forever pure and unattainable.<sup>90</sup>

Just as musical works were more highly valued in the 19<sup>th</sup> century than before, so were their creators. Although ideas of musical geniality have existed in many places, Volgsten has showed how in Europe, a specific cult of the creative spirit, the romantic ‘genius’ ideal, gained ground throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This ideal praised individual creativity over divine or transcendental inspiration. However, notions of community-based creativity, exemplified by 18<sup>th</sup> century philosopher Johann G. Herder’s idea of the ‘popular spirit,’ long co-existed and competed with those of the creative independent subject, as proposed by for instance Immanuel Kant. All composers living in the modern copyright regime, however, had more power and authority over their creations, and, perhaps, a stronger sense of responsibility and care than before.<sup>91</sup>

The idealistic work concept emerged not only in philosophy and law, but also in modern knowledge organisation. Laura Skouvig and

Jack Andersen define knowledge organisation as “the organization and representation of texts in various forms of information systems (e.g., classification systems, library catalogues, the Internet, libraries, archives, etc.) for the purpose of mediating, supporting, and producing social practices that constitute every kind of information system.”<sup>92</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries saw increasing efforts of organisation, preservation, and standardisation of knowledge. Dictionaries, libraries, and archives were being assembled in many spheres of society on a larger scale than before. Humanity’s knowledge, which risked getting lost in the ever-quickenning pace of the world, was to be stored and filed for posterity.<sup>93</sup>

The modern accumulation of human information has sometimes been likened to a both figurative and literal struggle to overcome death and what Anya Bernstein calls the “violence of the archive.” The question has always been which knowledge is to be organised in which way, and by whom, be it nation-states, certain groups, or supposedly everyone.<sup>94</sup> Fabienne H. Baider emphasises the unique role of the lexicographer in “the sanctification of some authors and the relegation to near oblivion of others.”<sup>95</sup>

Richard Smiraglia has studied the role of the artistic ‘work’ in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century organised classifications of art, defining the *modern catalogue* as “an inventory of documents, fit together into a unified, superimposed order.”<sup>96</sup> The ‘modern’ catalogue ordered artworks according to unifying principles, with a uniform title as collocating device. Works were enrolled as units in this system. Knowledge organising systems such as libraries, archives, collections, and encyclopaedias covered art through the lens of a work concept, classifying works according to author, year, genre, and other criteria.<sup>97</sup>

Western art music professionals tried to organise and preserve what they regarded as a treasury of works of eternal value. While there is little research specifically on the musical work concept in modern knowledge organisation, Philip V. Bohlman and Christiane Sibille have studied many music-organising projects before World War II aiming at benefitting the nation-state, mankind, or both. Examples are the German and Austrian phonogram archives of collected local

folk music and the League of Nations' attempt at assembling an international music library.<sup>98</sup>

Rasmus Fleischer and Elizabeth Knyt have also shown how conventional dualisms in conceptualising Western musical works have changed and been challenged. One such dualism has been the live performance's relative accuracy in interpreting the written score, described as 'work fidelity' [*Werktreue*] through a 'text-event' distinction. Knyt and others have shown that, even after 1900, the idea of 'work fidelity' or 'text fidelity' was not always cherished by composers or performers. Another dualism, between 'mechanical' and 'live' music, has been illustrated by Fleischer and Toivo Burlin. Following the advent of recorded music in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, gramophone records increasingly competed with scores for the role of blueprint for the musical work. The concept of 'live music' only appeared in the late 1920s, venerating the instantaneous performance as a reaction to 'mechanical' or 'dead' music.<sup>99</sup>

Finally, there has been some reassessment of the work concept in creative practice. Umberto Eco has discussed how composers after 1945 have increasingly and often deliberately loosened the boundaries of the individual work by creating more possibilities of interpretative creativity within the score itself. This gave rise to what Eco has termed the *open work* or 'work in movement.' An open work attains its value based on the many possible ways of interpreting and listening to it. The point was to challenge the idea that a performance is always corresponding to 'the same' work.<sup>100</sup>

Although all these examples show that the ontology of musical works has always been contested, even among important actors in Western art music, they do not necessarily suggest that the idea of musical works as such has been in doubt. Critically oriented historical encounters with the musical work concept have all shown the importance of the concept, its human-made origins, and the relative difficulties with which it has been negotiated within musical traditions. However, I have so far not encountered any study dealing with how individual music pieces have been conceptualised as works while regarding them as historical objects with agency.

## Reassembling Musical Works: Music, Mediators, and Intermediaries

For much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, sociologists of culture assumed that ‘social factors’ best explain why, for example, artworks are made and received in a certain way or why artists make certain choices. Pierre Bourdieu is probably the most well-known theorist of this viewpoint, offering a multitude of concepts and frameworks for interpreting the dynamic relations between artists in cultural ‘fields.’ Another important framework has been Howard S. Becker’s concept of ‘art worlds’ stressing the collective production of artworks.<sup>101</sup> One main point of critics of Bourdieu and his peers is that assuming that arts are determined by societal structures often reduces artworks, even artists, to tools or products of ‘society.’ Especially in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the limitations of such frameworks have become obvious when studying agency, technology, and mediation in art.<sup>102</sup> Already in the early 1980s and onwards, Vera L. Zolberg and others would initiate a critique of the ‘Bourdiesian’ paradigm. In the 1990s, Antoine Hennion and Tia DeNora called for new perspectives that allowed for music actors to be afforded more agency and independence than previously.<sup>103</sup>

As mentioned earlier, an important alternative framework has been Actor-Network Theory (ANT). Despite its name, ANT is not so much a theory as a loosely formulated theoretical-methodological perspective. It owes much of its emergence to sociologist Bruno Latour’s studies of scientists in the 1980s and 1990s. ANT does not attempt to separate ‘the social’ from other domains. It addresses the rather common sociological trap of going back and forth between studying specific events and expanding one’s analytical scope to the general. By doing that, researchers satisfy the urge to look for what is not visible, tangible, and present in a unique situation. ANT’s proponents react to what they see as an age-long ricocheting between actors and structures, grand narratives and the local, or between constructs of ‘the social’ and for instance ‘culture.’ The alternative, they claim, is to study *as-sociations* or *networks*.<sup>104</sup>

When studying op. 20’s history, I stick to the term ‘association’ to describe those social contexts in which the quartet appeared and

reappeared. I only use the term ‘network’ in a more overarching sense, for example when several associations are connected across cities and borders. One such example would be the broader New Music scene. This was a network that had interconnected local, national, and international spaces of interaction. Within this vast network emerged more or less ephemeral associations.

Following ANT means describing in detail specific groups of actors and actions without imposing *a priori* concepts on them. The main impulse should be to let the actors themselves steer the production of concepts, categories, and practices. Associations need to be performed and re-performed to continue. The social landscape is understood as a reciprocal flow of influence that researchers must follow in a horizontal fashion. Associations and networks rather resemble the decentralised ‘rhizome’ of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari than structuralist or post-structuralist terms like ‘field’ or ‘art world,’ although ANT’s compatibility with the idea of art worlds has been advocated by, for instance, Hans van Maanen.<sup>105</sup> Latour emphasises the need for following objects, actions, and ideas where they may go rather than assuming that they form part of anything outside these movements: “[ANT] is a theory that says that by following circulations we can get more than by defining entities, essence or provinces.”<sup>106</sup>

Focusing on things has also been an important part of anthropological research, and ANT is to some extent an invitation to integrate more ethnographic methods in social research. Another common characteristic of ANT texts is their emphasis on description rather than external explanation. In fact, the description becomes the explanation as the researcher ‘merely’ points out what the actors already say and do.<sup>107</sup>

However, and this is important, some concepts inevitably arrive from ‘the outside.’ The work concept itself is in some ways an external concept, although it has been shown to exist and to have circulated in musical life, perhaps especially so during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is important to acknowledge the distinction as well as the grey areas between totalising, theory-driven studies and empirical, actor-driven studies. My ambition is to find a middle way. A key to this, I believe,

is to not afford theory priority over materials. Literature scholar Wai Chee Dimock stresses “weak theory,” allowing for an analytical ‘leakiness’ instead of ‘strong’ explanatory frameworks. Leakiness, she claims, allows for “a low threshold in plausibility and admissibility” and “does not aspire to full occupancy in the analytic field.”<sup>108</sup>

Associations are not determined by external forces, nor are they isolated from them. Although I am focusing on a central, often external concept, the difference I can make lies in the actors and entities to which I afford agency and analytical emphasis. And, after all, I am focusing on the history of an object, not of a concept or individual.

This brings me to how ANT deals with the sociological problem of agency. If we study associations, we are bound to encounter agency in both humans and non-humans. One significant contribution of ANT is the acknowledgement that objects too have agency. Things influence action and form fundamental parts of any association. Instead of actors simply influencing other actors and objects, we have ‘actants’ affecting and being affected by one another.<sup>109</sup> This analytical element can benefit historical and empirical endeavours, since it brings new and less obvious sources into play. Anne-Marie Mol goes on to claim that ANT is not an attempt at objectivity but offers an enhanced empirical sharpness by making “unspoken events and situations visible, audible, sensible. ... It opens up the possibility of seeing, hearing, sensing and then analysing the social life of things – and thus of caring about, rather than neglecting them.”<sup>110</sup>

ANT has inspired and been inspired by other reimaginings of the human, the nonhuman, and the material. Jane Bennett has, for example, discussed a “vitalist materialism” or “thing-power.” This materialism, not to confuse with Marxist theory, goes beyond the life-matter binary and hierarchies between ‘organisms’ and ‘objects.’ Bennett also exemplifies ‘thing-power’ as a “*material recalcitrance*” of cultural objects. This means that objects inherently resist that which they confront, similar to Adorno’s notion of *nonidentity* that depicts the mismatch between a concept and the thing it refers to. In a similar vein, but inspired by Deleuze and Guattari rather than Latour, Rosi Braidotti stresses the idea of a *nomadic* subject. The nomadic subject

allows for a deconstructed, de-territorialised, and fluid identity that may be remade again and again.<sup>111</sup> Taken together with the other above perspectives, we may also think of things as nomadic entities.

It should not come as a surprise that ANT and similar intellectual frameworks offer art sociologists and anthropologists some useful additions to the toolbox. Alfred Gell, Georgina Born, and Norman Long have produced frameworks that afford pieces of art and music considerable agency in the social contexts that they are part of. Gell's notion that artworks exert agency in that they expand the space of reflection of its recipients is especially valuable.<sup>112</sup> Fredrik Engelstad has employed some of Gell's main arguments and integrates them with Latour's framework of ANT to propose a power and agency theory of the arts. Understanding artworks as embedded in associations means acknowledging that art not only reflects nature or society, as in the Aristotelian tradition, but that it also produces them.<sup>113</sup>

Born has, however, argued against the 'microsociology' of music as conducted by Hennion and DeNora. Instead, she suggests, music sociology needs to consider the multiplicities of social mediations of music.<sup>114</sup> ANT perspectives in music have subsequently been suggested and applied by music sociologists such as Nick Prior, Gavin Steingo, and Benjamin Piekut.<sup>115</sup> Prior stresses that the main contribution of ANT in musical studies is not to claim that musical works or any objects have 'lives' of their own, but that they possess agency in a context.<sup>116</sup> Steingo and Piekut have both discussed the potential of ANT in offering new perspectives in understanding the historical 'emergence' of the musical work concept and the problems that come with taking the concept for granted or as a 'natural' fact when studying music histories. Steingo, however, largely turns down the role of ANT in favour of historical materialism.<sup>117</sup>

Steingo is not alone in disregarding ANT as a primary perspective. Sceptics to ANT are common, with some claiming that it allows for problematic 'totalitarian' or 'anti-critical' impulses. Dick Pels, for instance, objects from a Marxist standpoint that "the acknowledgment of this moral and political agency of things leads one to abandon the critical, anti-fetishist reflex and to accept that material reification



or fetishisation is precisely what holds the social order in place and allows it to move at the same time.”<sup>118</sup> The network, moreover, can seem to be a surprisingly devious entity when it comes to discussing power relations. Since all networks are supposed to be treated as horizontal, we risk losing sight of the asymmetries between them.

These are important possible limitations in ANT, and it is appropriate to acknowledge them. ANT, in my view, is most obviously problematic in the sense that it is dogmatic and especially polemic towards any broader use of social theory (except for ANT itself, if that counts). Its disregard for other perspectives is not always productive.

When engaging with a musical object, however, ANT remains an inspiring and useful perspective, for all its faults and risks. ANT may allow for us to study the work concept ‘from below,’ or, more correctly phrased, horizontally. Bearing Dimock’s above statements in mind, I do not let ANT completely dominate my analysis. Rather, I employ some of its core concepts to study OP. 20 as a historically and socially conceptualised musical work. I do this simply because they work better for my purpose than any other that I have found. ANT and the other fields that I discuss in this section acknowledge that musical objects need to be studied as multifaceted social agents. So how could their insights be mobilised to study OP. 20, more specifically?

To begin with, the concepts of *mediator* and *intermediary*, regular features in ANT, correspond well to the central problems of stability, fluidity, and identity continuously discussed in relation to the musical work concept. An intermediary, as defined by Latour, “transports meaning or force without transformation.”<sup>119</sup> In other terms, intermediaries can be read as actants who transfer their social role or the knowledge that they contain without having to transform themselves. An intermediary does not need to change shape or function when it transcends associations. Its ontological stability enables it to count for what it ‘is.’ An intermediary can be a fixed, reproduced, generally acknowledged symbol that people may understand similarly across different social worlds, such as road signs, houses, and chairs.

Contrastingly, mediators are fluid, contingent and may be constantly assigned new meaning, as they are unique in each instance.

Their fluid nature causes mediators to transform whatever they carry with them. This means that even those road signs, houses, and chairs that I just mentioned may in fact turn into mediators in certain situations. Mediators may appear simple but can easily become complex and have profound implications for the constitution of reality. An intermediary may be constituted by several mediators. In my case, an example of an intermediary would be a published score of a defined musical work made up of an abundance of ambiguous statements, collection of materials, and symbols. Intermediaries, seen from Latour's viewpoint, are rare. Mediators, on the other hand, are everywhere.<sup>120</sup> Latour exemplifies how the two concepts may differ:

A properly functioning computer could be taken as a good case of a complicated intermediary while a banal conversation may become a terribly complex chain of mediators where passions, opinions, and attitudes bifurcate at every turn.<sup>121</sup>

Dimock further explains the distinction as pertaining to the potential of change in any specific association: “whereas [intermediaries] only serve as passive links among a finite set of givens, [mediators] actively introduce new elements, new directions, changing the dynamics among several newly connected and jointly differentiated neighborhoods.”<sup>122</sup>

As these quote illustrates, the distinction between mediators and intermediaries is not always crystal clear. This is probably in part because of the general fluidity that Latour affords objects. We should not take these concepts as binary opposites but as ends of a spectrum. We also cannot predict whether any entities may turn out to be mediators or intermediaries. I use the concepts in this way and interpret op. 20 as an object that assumes the roles of mediator or intermediary to varying degrees. This makes it important to identify other actors influencing how this musical piece was being conceptualised as a work within specific associations, and how they were influenced by op. 20.

An instrument for stabilising intermediaries is the *standard*, defined by Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star as agreed-upon rules or norms for producing objects that are “deployed in making things work

together over distance and heterogenous metrics.”<sup>123</sup> Standards are supposed to transcend diverse communities and still hold together. However, they often bump into technical issues such as storage and retrieval on the one hand, and interactional issues on the other. As standards are introduced into reality, there is always something that does not fit. This mismatch, as we know, is also a regular problem for the musical work concept. However, for all their shortcomings, standards are essential in ‘modern’ industrial production and distribution. From metric systems to index numbers, they allow objects to travel on a much wider scale than before in history by reducing the various transaction costs.<sup>124</sup>

For op. 20, then, I interpret its relative stability in associations using the two opposing concepts of mediator and intermediary. These two fundamental modes of social existence help me discuss the piece’s degrees of fixity and ephemerality. Talking about standards, then, helps me navigate the relative consistency and stability with which the piece became conceptualised as a work; in other words, in which ways it showed the respective characteristics of intermediary and mediator.

Regardless of level, classification is, in theory, done in accordance with a system based on unique and consistent principles, mutually exclusive categories, and complete coverage of the world that it aims to cover. In practice, a classification system can be more or less congruent with the ‘reality’ of the world it tries to categorise. Like Bowker and Star, I mainly view classification systems as entities that have consequences regardless of their claim to ‘truth’ or ‘realness.’<sup>125</sup> I do not, however, pay much attention to systems as external factors, but mainly as something that can be produced and observed directly within a certain association. In networks, we must also consider what allows circulation to take place. There may be need for coercion, violence, detours, and auxiliary actions before circulation is even possible.<sup>126</sup>

As mentioned, the philosophy of music has understood the ontology of musical works as corresponding to its ‘fixed’ or its ‘ephemeral’ aspects, often reducing this ontology to a case of ‘the score versus the performance.’ But does ephemerality only pertain to performance, or

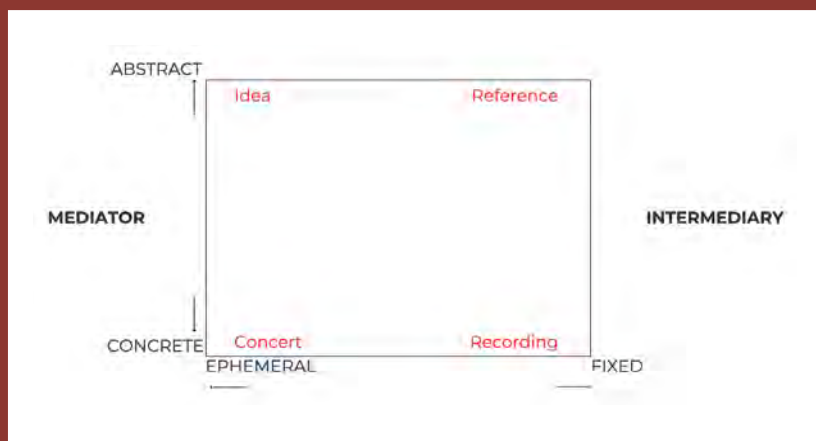


FIGURE 3. Analytical framework for the conceptualisation of op. 20 as a musical work.

can it also be inferred from other activities? After all, music is attached to other writing formats than notation, especially after 1900. As Walter J. Ong and others have pointed out, writing systems by default share a tendency to detach, to abstract from specific settings any concept, event, or object.<sup>127</sup> To better grasp the complexity of how actors may conceptualise a musical work, I add another dimension.

Beside degrees of *ephemerality* and *fixity*, I also distinguish between degrees of *abstraction* and *concretisation* (see Figure 3). Whereas the former pair corresponds to the work's degree of stability and constancy, the latter corresponds to the work's relation to time and space. As an analytical framework, these two axes complement one another in the sense that a representation of a work may be at the same time conceptualised as concrete and fixed, for example as recordings and scores. The work may also be at the same time concretised and ephemeral, such as a performance. It could also be ephemeral and abstract, say, as an idea or an uttered statement. Finally, a fixed-abstract conceptualisation can for example be a printed reference, detaching the work from those spatiotemporal settings to which it refers. However, all these mentioned examples are ideal types. The main focus is afforded to expressions of stability and constancy on the one hand, and the importance of time and space on the other.

I am aware that there is a tension between this analytical framework and ANT. ANT sociologists would probably prefer to study OP. 20 without applying any a priori ontological category. That tension is, however, inevitable. I want to understand how a musical piece, which corresponded to the idealistic work concept, could be conceptualised as a work in social practice, which I can only discern through some guiding model. This is a balancing act. The model that I propose above is neither too broad nor too detailed to impose a delimiting external language onto the actors that I study. In the next section, I discuss a methodology that mitigates this theoretical tension.

## Micro-History, Movement, and Event: A Methodological Framework

While I study OP. 20 as a *historical* object, ANT, on the other hand, has a relatively poor record of being used in historical inquiries.<sup>128</sup> Its promises of renewed empiricism may fall short even when going back only a few years in time, let alone a century. Therefore, I ‘betray’ ANT by merging it with a rather different approach: micro-history. Though they seem uneasy together, they are productive partners.

Micro-history has been conducted for more than 40 years, beginning in the 1970s with authors such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Robert Darnton, Carlo Ginzburg, and Hans Medick. Micro-historians oppose larger systemic studies of economic and political processes, because such approaches—relevant as they are—often leave out vast amounts of source material as ‘less relevant.’ Micro-history rather picks out some of these overlooked traces and investigates them meticulously. This enables otherwise marginalised perspectives and groups to be seen. Examples of micro-historical study objects include villages, religious sects, singular military events, and individuals. The main strength of micro-historical studies lies in their potential for critiquing larger teleological narratives like ‘progress’ and ‘modernity.’<sup>129</sup>

Micro-history also differs from conventional history in that it tends to accept big limitations in source material and not view them as obstacles. It instead explores the implications within the gaps. By combining data, lack thereof, and subsequent implications, a narrative is assembled. The micro-historical account is not a diminished or distorted version of a macroscopic conclusion, it is simply different in matter of level rather than degree.

However, not all micro-historians agree that the case study is relevant in itself. Annasara Hammar and Linn Holmberg state that “[m]icro-historians do not engage in deep studies of particular details for its own sake, but in order to be able to formulate a well-informed assessment regarding a larger cultural and societal phenomenon.”<sup>130</sup> Historian Giovanni Levi holds that every single daily action, however mediocre or insignificant it may seem, reflects a global or large-scale

system. Buying a loaf of bread, for instance, “encompasses the far wider system of the world’s grain markets.”<sup>131</sup>

While I see the benefits of micro-history for understanding larger processes, this approach is not fully in line with my aims. Although following op. 20 has many implications for societal and musical developments during the interwar period, I do believe that this piece has a relevance in itself, both in and beyond its aesthetic properties. Moreover, I am not doing this study to write a grander story of, for example, the early 20<sup>th</sup> century ‘musical work concept,’ ‘music market,’ or ‘transatlantic cultural networks.’ First and foremost, I am sticking to op. 20’s history and the associations to which it testifies.

Bo Fritzboøger has discussed the benefits of merging ANT and micro-history. Both perspectives, he claims, acknowledge the fluidity of categories among the actors studied, as well as the elevated importance of local events and relations for any constitution of reality. Just because ANT refuses to deploy general categories does not mean that they never appear, but that they do so within the study of associations and connections. Emergence before immanence is the guiding principle. However, ANT does create challenges for historical explanations. If the investigation only goes as far as the actants go, I need to settle for a historical account of the thing I study—op. 20—and not a totalising, holistic account of the ‘work concept’ to which it refers.<sup>132</sup>

Historical or sociological case studies of objects and artworks are different from aesthetic analyses in that they use empirical work beyond the artwork, sometimes in a similar vein as micro-history. For example, Donald Sassoon problematises the mediated canonisation of *Gioconda* or *Mona Lisa*. Luke Dickens has studied the different appearances of Banksy’s *Peckham Rock*. Ted Anthony ‘chases the journey’ of *The House of the Rising Sun*, and Suzanne Preston Blier studies the complex origins of Pablo Picasso’s *Les Demoiselles*. A different example is Lydia Goehr’s history of the ‘Red Sea Joke.’ Outside of the art spheres, Isabelle Strömstedt has for example used micro-history to explore the 1941 exhibition of the Swedish Patent Office. Olga Zabalueva studies the development of a Swedish museum project. Adam Bisno has studied the development of German cultural liberal-

ism and business by focusing on the Grand Hotel in Berlin from Imperial Germany until 1945.<sup>133</sup> I also cannot fail to mention the history of books by for example Robert Darnton, which has a strong material and object-focused approach.<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless, critical studies of the lifespans of musical objects are rare.

As important as history is to any artwork, micro-history risks bringing in a range of contextual factors that may have little or no immediate significance for the studied actors and objects. As Rita Felski points out: "Context is often wielded in punitive fashion to deprive the artwork of agency, to evacuate it of influence or impact, rendering it a puny, enfeebled, impoverished thing."<sup>135</sup> Micro-history has also received its share of critique for its often zealous urge to use the singular example as a "window" to any larger process.<sup>136</sup>

Historically situating the musical work risks downplaying the importance of the 'work' itself through over-reliance on structure, determinism, grand narratives, and 'society.' ANT can help me manage these risks. It serves in this study as an antidote to my all too human tendency to draw broad analogies between 'macro' histories and 'micro' events. Latour admits that we may still add some contextual factors to the narrative, but only to fill in where you don't have enough actors to describe the situation at hand. Historical research often requires this when going back to events to which source materials are limited.<sup>137</sup>

My focus, nevertheless, is located at the immediate interplay of actions, associations, mediators, and intermediaries and the standards that they employ when conceptualising op. 20. I only use explanatory historical frameworks when the associations for some reason cannot do all the talking for themselves. This may happen more or less frequently, as it does in many other historical inquiries. Distinguishing between the 'immediate' and the 'external' is also not always a clear-cut process. Part of my research effort is to discuss this distinction.

Another central problem in ANT in relation to micro-history, and history in general, is the concept of time. ANT particularly opposes writing linear histories. This goes for artworks as well. Latour and Adam Lowe have proposed the *aura* of the artwork as a travelling



concept rather than a static one. Walter Benjamin famously claimed in 1935 that the reproduction of an artwork bereaves it of its original setting in time and space (its *aura*).<sup>138</sup> Latour and Lowe instead propose that we consider the assembled temporal and spatial movement, the *trajectory*, or ‘career,’ of an artwork. The trajectory is the totality of various manifestations of an artwork. The conceptualisation of a work of art and its sense of retained originality is conditioned by its movement in space and time, a movement that is not unified but multiple in speed and direction, as Latour and Lowe observe: “Each of the components that together comprise what we mean by a true original begin traveling at different speeds along the trajectory and begin to map out what we have called the catchment area of a work of art.”<sup>139</sup>

According to this view, all representations of the work together constitute the aura of the work, rather than just the ‘original.’ The constant reproduction of the ‘work’ keeps the debate on originality and performance quality alive.<sup>140</sup> This perspective fits music well, as musical pieces are usually represented both multiple times and in different forms. It also prioritises thematic narratives over linear ones, as objects may have several overlapping, ongoing themes within the same stretch of time. This is also how I write *op. 20*’s narrative.

Regardless of which theory or framework one applies to the musical work, I choose to acknowledge that each artwork possesses what Latour and Lowe call a trajectory or career: a lifespan in time and space, a history during which it may come to be conceptualised as a work, regardless of the tools and terms employed to do this. The beliefs and practices of those involved in this career occur in concrete situations that can be observed through historical sources. Along its historical journey, the art piece leaves multiple traces, staying with people as it is being experienced, indeed within people’s bodies, clutching to systems of knowledge organisation as it becomes referred to and known. It spends time in and with other objects. Any piece of art needs to be connected to other pieces, genres, and people to be recognised; it ‘wants’ to be found.<sup>141</sup>

‘Trajectory,’ however, insinuates some form of directed motion with

an end goal in sight. No historical movement of objects is ever final or predictable, and rarely, if ever, can pieces of music be studied as unified entities with a coordinated pattern of motion. Not even a dissertation can cover the whole of op. 20's 'trajectory,' but rather an observable portion of its history. Narrating a *grand tour* of The Work is not my intention. Especially when dealing with 'modern' forms of technology and media, the understanding of time and temporal relations between individuals, events, and things becomes increasingly blurred. An alternative term would be 'circulation,' as mentioned in the beginning. However, this concept comes with its own implications about objects being circulated *by someone* or through some mechanism.<sup>142</sup>

Rather than trajectory, career, or circulation, I argue for the more open-ended term *movement*, a term that reflects motion in both time and space. Lydia Goehr discusses movement as a concept employed in relation to music since ancient philosophy. This is not only reflected in the division of many musical pieces into movements I, II, III, and so on, and neither is it to be understood as music being able to cause listeners to move or 'be moved,' as emphasised by DeNora. Rather, Goehr reads movement into the conceptualisation of a musical piece in itself. The piece 'moves' in its own right, as its own body, and is experienced as such.<sup>143</sup>

Movement should not be understood only as a physical phenomenon, but as an imaginary one; for example, the imagined space that the listening experience creates. I expand this viewpoint a bit further by also encompassing the history of op. 20 as one movement constituted by smaller sets of movements, in part echoing how others have already understood this piece of music, as stated above. Its interaction within associations is treated as part of its movement as a musical work. To be consistent, I have named the chapters of the dissertation 'movements' as well, including this one.

The microstudy of op. 20's movement shows the traces, connections, and associations that this music piece was part of and interacted in. Each interaction of op. 20 within a given association I choose to call 'event.' Another term could have been 'instance,' but this concept has largely come to stand for musical performance.<sup>144</sup>

This is hardly the first time for music or musical works to be understood as events. Composer Philip Glass for example claimed his music to be one ongoing event rather than limited works, lacking beginning as well as ending. I, however, use the term more broadly. Generally, events pertain to action, cause, effect, and interpretation. Latour emphasises the importance of sequences of events and the passing of one event to another rather than as singular instances, while historical *longue durée* perspectives generally do away with events altogether. For Robin Wagner-Pacifi, events can be understood as both ‘flow’ and ‘form.’ The flow is the event as movement, as a temporally and spatially occurring displacement of entities. The form is the event ‘taking shape’ as its movement eventually suggests or contributes to something lasting. Into the event, a range of abstract and concrete entities are brought, such as symbols, ideals, and various societal processes.<sup>145</sup> In my study, these entities are all treated as actants, since they participate in the temporary associations created during an event in which op. 20 was conceptualised as a musical work.

Born has also invited an expansion of the event concept within music research, with inspiration from Gell:

The art object has a kind of career; it changes not only via its changing interpretation in performance and reception, but it can change even in its very physical form. Gell points us towards an ontology not of persons and things, nor of instants and processes, but of what the philosopher A. N. Whitehead attempting to transcend these dualisms, termed ‘events.’<sup>146</sup>

Events thus encompass all the work’s performances, reviews, documentations, and its other representations, without drawing rigid boundaries in between. Seeing artworks as events means recognising the significance of relations in art. The relative stability of op. 20 as a musical work during its movement depends on the consistency of these actants across events.

In other words, instead of taking the work concept as a given, I study the sites, moments, and environments in which music and the musical work happened. More precisely, I study where and when op. 20

happened, within which associations, and with which actants. These observations also serve as the basis for my visuals and figures throughout the dissertation's various sections. The figures articulate how I connect ANT to my other analytical concepts. Onto this empirical lens, I fit the previously introduced theoretical double axis of abstract-concrete and ephemeral-fixed conceptualisations, analysing how the music piece was 'made' into a work.

In part, I am doing a *reception* study in that I deal with how various individuals interpreted the aesthetic properties of op. 20.<sup>147</sup> However, I am not only understanding the reception of op. 20 as occurring in a vacuum consisting exclusively of the work and its listener(s), but as part of the piece's associations. Music criticism is an important part of the source material in a study such as this, but it is not my starting point, nor is it by default of the highest importance for my conclusions. ANT allows for an openness with regards to the relative role played by critics and other interpreters for conceptualising the music piece as a work.

To conclude this section, events, as I regard them here, are the surfaces in which op. 20 was conceptualised as a musical work, be it through performance, recording, publishing, documentation, or otherwise. The events that I study are, however, ephemeral themselves, only partially fixed. I cannot know all the relevant details of every event by only studying the, largely, printed text media left behind. I am required to use contextual factors sometimes, even speculation, to make sense of op. 20.

### Traces and Connections of op. 20

What sources might convey the micro-history of a musical work? A chamber piece from the contemporary music movement offers a manageable range of sources simply because it was almost by default less exposed to the public than other pieces of music. As the events I study took place a century ago, I need to rely mainly on fixed traces of the object in question. These traces are, of course, usually found in texts. There is one obvious problem with this: relying on texts easily

convinces me that text mattered very much, perhaps more than was the case. This is important to remember because my conclusions do make a point on the relation between literature and music in constructing a musical work.<sup>148</sup> Bearing this in mind, I do not forget that this piece of music took on representations beyond the word, such as images, sounds, and places.

Even more importantly, a micro-historical procedure cannot be anticipated. I have been looking for one piece of music among thousands. As many sources as possible have had to be sought out to even find traces of it. Micro-history consists very much of following up and discussing implications, possible traces, and most likely encountering a fair number of false leads. One source may surprisingly refer to another source that proves relevant.

Before going to libraries and archives, I turned to the web for clues. I did a data mining of internet sources using possible varieties of *op. 20*, such as 'Krenek string quartet III,' 'Krenek third string quartet,' 'Krenek *op. 20*,' 'Krenek string quartet 3,' etc., as well as German and French translations. While these mappings provided many of my sources, I also found many hints in the German-speaking music history research field. Maurer Zenck, Michael Kube, Anton Haefeli, and Sophie Fetthauer, among others, have been reading much of the source materials connected to Krenek, Universal-Edition, and other important actors of *op. 20*'s early historical context. These texts function sometimes as literature and sometimes as auxiliary sources.<sup>149</sup>

Limiting oneself geographically is often a necessity in historical research. Because of this, my initial plan was to limit my scope to Germany, Austria, France, and Britain. However, I would soon find out, *op. 20* was also performed in the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and the U.S.<sup>150</sup> Every delimitation process has political implications, and musical modernism has for long been reifying tropes of 'Central,' 'Western,' and 'Eastern' European styles and movements while disregarding some of the historical nuances and global implications of 'modern' music. Leaving out certain parts of a continent, or exclusively focusing on one continent, implies an answer to the question of what or who matters most.<sup>151</sup>

Not taking the less obvious events of op. 20's early movement into consideration would inhibit my ability to critique its movement. My delimitation is therefore more linguistic than geographic; I have studied sources in English, German, and French, with a few other exceptions. All translations are my own unless stated otherwise.

The archive is a two-faced friend. As Luke Tredinnick writes, "historical narratives are already written into the record by those very historical processes to which it also testifies."<sup>152</sup> In my case, sources are mainly categorised after individuals and organisations. All of them constructed their own narratives, both at the time in question and later. Without the work of historians of New Music and institutes supporting this knowledge, this type of research would not be possible. In a way, I am being directed towards the narrative I am constructing. This inevitably steers my selection of actors, my analysis, and my conclusions. Herein, along with more obvious restraints such as time and other resources, lie the limits of the materials of this dissertation. Archives take time to become familiar with and investigate, time that could have been given to other potential sources. For all that, my empirical work has been distributed as democratically as possible across different archives, media, and institutions.

Luckily, not all individual sources need to be tracked down in archives. Personal biographies and historical correspondences are abundant in Western art music history, and many of them are published.<sup>153</sup> Krenek's lengthy memoirs, written in 1942 but published in 1998, provide relevant sources to op. 20's creation and context, as do his diaries from the U.S. and his many published correspondences with friends and colleagues.<sup>154</sup> The most obvious key individual apart from Krenek was German composer Paul Hindemith, to whom op. 20 was dedicated. Hindemith never wrote as much about himself, but many of his letters and other documentation have been published.<sup>155</sup> I have visited the Ernst Krenek Institute in Krems-an-der-Donau, which mainly holds Krenek's post-migration materials. The Vienna City Library, which holds most of his unpublished correspondence from before 1938, yielded many useful sources. I also visited the Paul Hindemith Institute in Frankfurt am Main, where I found the original

manuscript of OP. 20, along with sources from many of its early performances. Nevertheless, many, if not most traces of this music piece, have been found elsewhere.

Organisations enable artworks to attain broader impact and become part of new environments. Their historical records are however sometimes inaccessible or even non-existent. Krenek's publisher Universal-Edition (UE) were kind to send me the producing files of OP. 20, while composers' societies like the Austrian AKM did not have any documents available. UE's historical catalogue has also been retrieved and studied by music scholar Stéphane Buchon.<sup>156</sup> I have mostly relied on Krenek's published personal correspondence with UE 1921–1941, edited by Maurer Zenck.<sup>157</sup> I was also able to consult the German Radio Archive and the Exile Archive of the German National Library in Frankfurt.<sup>158</sup> The ISCM's sources, however, including its local sections, are spread out across many different institutions and countries, and therefore not a realistic option. The same goes for organisations like Pro Musica (both of them), The 'November Group [*Novembergruppe*],' and the Donaueschingen Society of Friends of Music. Deutsche Grammophon sources have been found in their periodical, since most of their documentation before 1945 perished in war bombings, a common archival problem in Germany.<sup>159</sup> Therefore, when I cite these organisations, it is from sources found elsewhere or from secondary literature.

National and local newspapers have proved to be considerably relevant. Reviews and annotations before and after concerts often appeared in these media and constitute important sources of each performance event. This type of media shows how OP. 20 appeared to the public. Gathering this data has for the most part been worthwhile, even when time-consuming.

The vast range of specialised music journals from the period have been especially valuable. Often issued monthly by an editorial staff of professional music scholars and specialists, they discussed new and old works, composers, and musicians on a different level than that of daily newspapers. As participants in the emerging documenting society, they often devoted much effort to monitoring concert life all over the country, often in collaboration with local reporters.<sup>160</sup> French-

speaking sources were mainly retrieved from Gallica, the French National Library database.<sup>161</sup> English-speaking sources came mainly from the databases of the British National Library and *newspapers.com*.<sup>162</sup> The Austrian National Library database for magazines, ANNO, and the Berlin State Library, provided the brunt of German-speaking reviews.<sup>163</sup> Other German sources are provided digitally by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the University of Freiburg.<sup>164</sup> Last but not least, the Stockholm Music and Theatre Library holds many of these journals.

The timeframe that I ultimately settled for begins, as I mention in the introduction, with the circumstances of op. 20's creation, 1922–1923. This was, of course, a rather easy choice. By contrast, there are many ways of choosing an appropriate end. Naturally, there must be some limit. I have chosen 1940, not because op. 20's early history (my own terminology, by the way) 'ends' then, but because it offered the best way to create a coherent narrative. 1940 was the year in which op. 20 made its reappearance in Manhattan, shortly before the u.s. joined the world war, and shortly before the u.s. took over the leading role of the iscm and the New Music movement. There are no clear water-proof time constraints in the history of an artwork. When discussing for example media, knowledge, and associations, linear frameworks often become poor instruments. Instead, we might speak of what Felski calls 'transtemporal connections' when studying individual artworks.<sup>165</sup> op. 20's history goes on after 1940, and elements of that history make occasional 'intrusions' into my narrative.

Now, at last, it is time to let the actors speak. Our first stop is the Black Forest area of southern Germany in the summer of 1922 in a small town at the source of the Danube River.





## Movement II.

### *Ex nihilo?* Idea, Creation, and Performance

#### The Palace of the Prince

The place was Donaueschingen, a small town located at the source of the Danube in south-west Germany. The time was Sunday 30 July or Monday 31 July 1922. The event was the second instalment of the annual Chamber Music Festival at the local Banquet Hall. Composers, musicians, and music pieces were all relatively young and their music ‘contemporary.’ Krenek’s *Symphonic Music for Nine Instruments*, op. 11 was performed, and he attended the concert with his partner Anna Mahler. After-parties were held in the warm summer night at the luxurious Fürstenberg Palace, home to the festival’s patron, prince Maximilian Egon II zu Fürstenberg.<sup>166</sup>

German New Music, having surfaced between the recently crumbled empire and the newly established republic, was sometimes promoted by local patrons from the old nobility. Just as their ancestors had supported the ‘masters’ of the romantic and classical eras, patrons like Fürstenberg were investing in the new generation. Fürstenberg, one of the richest Germans at the time, probably had many different reasons for supporting a strand of music that was overlooked by the broader public. He may have wanted to enhance his family name in a changing world by investing in the next possible generation of canonised composers. He could just as well have seen an opportunity to sell more of his locally brewed beer. Music critic Alfred Einstein would recall in 1958 that “the festivals always occurred in the hottest and thirstiest days of the year.”<sup>167</sup>

Regardless of the reasons, there is no doubt that the festival was something out of the ordinary. Set in a small town with few distractions, it enabled young composers to kick back, listen to each other's compositions, and exchange ideas in a shielded environment.<sup>168</sup> These were chaotic times to say the least; foreign minister Walther Rathenau had been assassinated by right-wing extremists just a month before. This made peaceful towns like Donaueschingen even more attractive for music gatherings, a safe space for musical 'modernism' after the war. The idyllic environment gave rise to a long-lived, semi-mythological narrative that helps explain why the early Donaueschingen festivals have inspired so much research.<sup>169</sup>

One visitor, Berlin composer Max Butting, recalls two conversations, one with Krenek, then 21 years old, and another with an only slightly older man from Frankfurt. This man was Paul Hindemith, 26, viola player, founder of the Amar Quartet, and a fellow composer. In this relaxed environment, they could speak freely about one another:

Thus, the youngsters of completely different schools would come together, understanding each other on equal terms. To name one example, I sat together with Křenek and Hindemith in 1922, and in private moments each of them confessed to me that he envied the other for his special talent and schooling.<sup>170</sup>

Krenek had met Hindemith at his first performance in Berlin in January, where Krenek had stayed and partied on until no one was left.<sup>171</sup> Now, in secluded Donaueschingen, the Viennese and the Frankfurter became more than acquaintances (see Figure 4). They replaced the formal personal address *Sie* with the informal *du*. More so, Krenek agreed to write a string quartet for Hindemith's ensemble and to dedicate it to him personally. What would eventually be called op. 20 had become an intention or idea.

But was this the beginning of a beautiful friendship or an act? Krenek recalls: "My relation to Hindemith had not changed significantly, but from the outside we stood on friendly ground, as one would expect from two leading representatives of New Music." Krenek



FIGURE 4. Ernst Krenek and Paul Hindemith in Donaueschingen, 1922.  
Hindemith sitting in the middle, Krenek to his right. Source: EKL.

suggests that they both exaggerated their friendship for optics, showing that their supposed rivalry was not as serious as some contemporaries believed. Indeed, Krenek dedicated music to different ensembles and individuals, like most composers.<sup>172</sup> The question is, rather, why Hindemith, and why now?

### Paul Hindemith

Hindemith (see Figure 5) was born in Hanau outside Frankfurt in 1895. He got most of his music education from the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt from composer Bernhard Sekles. A multi-musician as well as composer with a working-class background, he spent most of World War I in uniform behind the Western frontline as a military musician. When able, he toured with the Rebner Quartet between 1915 and 1921 to support his family financially. He left the Quartet because he did not feel at home with the more conservative musical views of the other members. In the summer of 1921, he founded the Amar Quartet (see Figure 6) in Donaueschingen. Then in January 1922, he had his breakthrough at a concert organised by the *Melos* Society in Berlin.<sup>173</sup>

There were obvious contrasts between him and Krenek. Krenek, a younger Austrian city boy from a small-bourgeois home, had just begun his service in the Austro-Hungarian army when armistice was declared. He did not play music professionally and focused completely on composition. He recalled seeing Hindemith as a “school mate, who went two classes above me.” Although having great respect for him professionally speaking, Krenek did not enjoy Hindemith’s prankish attitude, described by biographer Geoffrey Skelton as a “juvenile mischievousness,” on a personal level. Instead, his feelings oscillated between envy and intellectual superiority, although he regretted it in his memoirs.<sup>174</sup>

All in all, Krenek and Hindemith were both colleagues and competitors without any serious rivalry. Despite their differences, the two young men were after all composers in the same narrow ‘atonal’ style. Perhaps they might overcome the remaining gaps. The benefits of the



FIGURE 5. Paul Hindemith in the early 1920s. Courtesy of the Fondation Hindemith, Blonay (CH).



FIGURE 6. The Amar Quartet. Left to right: Licco Amar, Rudolf Hindemith, Paul Hindemith, and Walter Caspar. Maurits Frank left in spring 1924 but returned in mid-1927. Courtesy of the Fondation Hindemith, Blonay (CH).

string quartet agreement were many. The Amar Quartet would have a 'household' piece attached to their name to perform as they pleased; Krenek could add another 'opus' to his output whose performance would, for a change, be guaranteed beforehand. Moreover, he would have formed a unique material connection to his supposed 'rival' Hindemith. The fact that Hindemith, as we shall see, kept his copy of the first manuscript of *Op. 20* well preserved until his death in 1963 suggests that he took his gift seriously.

The Frankfurt-based 'Amar Quartet' or 'Amar-Hindemith Quartet,' which I simply call the 'Hindemiths,' consisted of first violinist Licco Amar, violist Paul Hindemith, second violinist Walter Caspar and cellist Maurits Frank. Founded in 1921 for the first Donaueschingen festival, they started out mainly as a private project of Paul Hindemith but quickly became a successful professional ensemble of New Music, performing at least 78 concerts in 1923 alone all over Europe. Between 1924 and 1927, Frank was replaced by Paul Hindemith's brother Rudolf.<sup>175</sup>

Though the Hindemiths had already performed Krenek's contribution to the 1922 Donaueschingen festival, they did not have any other specific relationship to him at this point. The Quartet would only ever perform three other pieces by Krenek on four different occasions, making *Op. 20* the decisive connection between him and the Hindemiths.<sup>176</sup>

### Back in Berlin

After the decision to compose the string quartet for Hindemith, Krenek did not seem too enthusiastic about it. He rather called it an "obligation" to honour a promise that he had made. The haven of Donaueschingen quickly made way for the everyday struggles of composing for a living, as Krenek faced the weight of finishing other more demanding manuscripts, often at the expense of his social life. He finished 7–8 new opuses in 1923 alone, including two operas, while constantly travelling through Germany.<sup>177</sup> Therefore, before we learn more about *Op. 20*'s creation, I want to summarise what happened in and around Krenek's life at this time.



Krenek was a Berliner since 1920. Berlin, with 3,86 million registered inhabitants in 1920, more than today, had grown from an overlooked capital of the German Empire into a European cultural centre in the new republic.<sup>178</sup> Art music was still adapting to a new system of governance. Most of the old patrons were gone, but their substitutes, represented by local and national governments, did not always manage to fill their shoes. Especially in Germany, plagued by financial and political problems, the support of music institutions was assumed in an unequal manner by different *Länder* (states) within the Reich.

Governed by the Prussian state, Berlin was arguably the most diverse and generously financed example of musical life, though it too had significant problems with employment and public funding. Pamela M. Potter, Dietmar Schenk, and Martin Thrun have described 1920s Berlin as a diverse microcosmos of music societies big and small, both specialised and general in their respective approaches. Education of musicians and composers was prioritised by the Prussian administration. Although the various struggles of German society affected musical life, Berlin's concert scene managed to thrive both in popular and art music circles.<sup>179</sup>

Krenek and other students had followed their mentor Franz Schreker to the Berlin Conservatory of Music, an emerging beacon of European music education. Soon enough, Krenek distanced himself from Schreker's musical ideas and began exploring 'atonal' composition around 1921, motivated by a fiercely modernist impulse: "More than ever I was convinced that the young composer had to serve the cause of progress. But now, to be progressive meant to break away from the traditional concepts with much more daring and conviction."<sup>180</sup>

The main methodological inspiration for this breakaway was Swiss music theorist Ernst Kurth's linear counterpoint technique, in which different instruments (if more than one) progressed independently of one another, prioritising a free polyphonic melody over harmonic structure while maintaining a 'whole.' Kurth's influence ushered in Krenek's well-received *First String Quartet*, op. 6 in 1921.<sup>181</sup> His main social and professional circle at this time consisted of the 'Berlin

Group.' conductor Hermann Scherchen and composers Artur Schnabel, Eduard Erdmann, and Heinz Tiessen.<sup>182</sup>

All around Krenek, music associations and networks were changing. Just a week after Donaueschingen, Krenek went east to visit another international chamber music festival in Salzburg (7–10 August). The result of that festival was the creation of a new international organisation: The International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). Music historian Anton Haefeli writes: "Initially an improvised enterprise, [the ISCM] was most of all imagined as a self-help project of the current young, less performed and thus unknown composers, and was supposed to finally provide a public breakthrough to its 'new,' 'young,' or 'modern' music, rising above egoistic and the particularly narrow nationalistic boundaries of the post-war era."<sup>183</sup> This network of associations would prove essential for op. 20 both in the short and long term.

The ISCM's founding was a sign of an increasing internationalisation of Western art music, and New Music was often at the forefront of this development. American composer Edgar Varèse, who visited Berlin in the Autumn of 1922, had for years been calling for an 'international of the arts.' The first such attempt had been the International Musical Society 1899–1914. After World War I, the League of Nations tried to assemble an international musical archive. Meanwhile, the Berne Convention gained acceptance as common ground for copyright. Apart from the ISCM, two American-based organisations were active in the 1920s: Varèse's International Composers Guild and the League of Composers. Another inspiring event was the Mahler festival in Amsterdam in 1920, which featured five 'modern' concerts.<sup>184</sup>

New Music initiatives were also expanding within countries, especially in Germany, and especially in Berlin. Music historian Martin Thrun writes that New Music societies in Germany were often founded upon a 'secessionist' agenda, meaning that they opposed or complemented the established musical institutions by providing alternatives. The Donaueschingen festivals had begun in 1921. In Berlin, which had seen such initiatives since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, several local

New Music societies were active in late 1922: the left-wing *November-gruppe* or ‘November Group’ (1918) and the *Melos* Society (1919), which had been among the earliest initiatives after the war. In 1922, the German section of the ISCM was founded on 17 October as well as a local chapter of the International Composers Guild, the latter of which lasted only two years.<sup>185</sup>

Soon many German cities and towns had their own local ISCM sections. Although these societies tried to incorporate the older generation of contemporary composers, they remained largely in the background in favour of younger talents like Krenek and Hindemith.<sup>186</sup> The festivals and their main associations were important backdrops for the continued movement of op. 20. Now we turn to the ‘where’ and ‘when’ of that creation.

### The Train Ride

For almost ten months after the meeting between Krenek and Hindemith, the quartet had no name or physical form. Since no notes or sketches of it remain, it was probably an idea for a future manuscript, an object of abstract-ephemeral conceptualisation. However, already as an idea (or indeed “obligation”), the quartet exerted agency by constantly reminding Krenek of its anticipated creation. The actual composition of the string quartet, it seems, did not take place until 4 May 1923, as Krenek was going from Darmstadt to Frankfurt and then back to Berlin by train. In all, he claims that the piece took just about two weeks to complete.<sup>187</sup>

The writing process was done by hand, which is often referred to as *scribal culture*, one of humanity’s most ancient text cultures. It differs from print culture in the sense that it is less reproducible, less stable, and slower; however, it is also more open to quick changes and creative freedom.<sup>188</sup> A train ride, with its limited space, constant movement, rocking, changing views, and background noises should give a hint of how the composition was influenced. For comparison, Hindemith chose to end one of his letters explicitly due to the rocking of the train he was sitting on about two years later. In fact, ‘train-composing’ was

not only a necessity but a mark of artistry, perhaps masculinity, as Krenek would later recall: "In those days composers like Hindemith and myself used to show off by composing music on the railroad, to expose the imaginary dignity of art."<sup>189</sup>

The result was a largely 'atonal' string quartet piece. Atonality expressed the idea of 'emancipating' tones from the previous tonal systems of using keys. Musician Marcel Dick, whom I mention again in Movement IV, had this to say: "It was an era consisting of music without a key center and without established, permanent relationships among pitch members. Right or wrong was determined by the judgment of the sensitive ears of the composer – a precarious, rather irrational and not always infallible procedure."<sup>190</sup>

The piece also automatically belonged to the tradition of 'chamber music.' Usually performed by no more than three to five instruments, chamber music became a standard format in 1920s New Music. Considering the financial state of the time, this was not only an aesthetic tendency but a practical choice; fewer instruments required fewer performers and thus cut costs and administration.<sup>191</sup>

The original manuscript, today preserved at the Hindemith Institute in Frankfurt am Main (see Figure 7), was handwritten upside down on printed notepaper from famous publisher Breitkopf & Härtel, which was easily obtainable in any big city. It contained several corrections and additions from different pencils, suggesting that it was written on several occasions and in different places.<sup>192</sup>

Krenek later recalled op. 20 in 1981:

Composed in 1923 and dedicated to Paul Hindemith, the piece expresses my gradual aversion towards the ruthless dissonance of my earlier years and even brings in ironic elements, which would play a significant role in my later composition. Similar to the first quartet, this one also consists of a sequence with no pauses between different sections. The allegro of the beginning [part/movement I], with its sharp two-beat, still bears reminiscence of my earlier way of composing, but suddenly there appears a light-hearted and merry four-beat phrase, which, disguised as a schoolbook Fugato, ends the section. A thoughtful Adagio [part/movement II and III] is again more back-

imind Hindemith  
Frankfurt

# Quintet Streichquartett

## Allgemein sehr rasch

Ernst Krenek

Op. 20  
(1923)

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a string quintet. The title "Quintet Streichquartett" is written in a cursive hand at the top center. To the left, a dedication "imind Hindemith Frankfurt" is written. To the right, the composer's name "Ernst Krenek" and the work number "Op. 20 (1923)" are noted. The tempo marking "Allgemein sehr rasch" is written above the first staff. The score itself is written on ten staves, with the first four staves containing the title and tempo markings. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "marcato" and "f".

FIGURE 7. First page of the hand-written score of op. 20. Top left corner says "Dedicated to Paul Hindemith." Comment below first four rows of bars says "Frankfurt-Berlin 4 May 1923." Courtesy of the Fondation Hindemith, Blonay (CH).

ward-looking. It is interrupted by a powerful Scherzo [part/movement III/IV/V], whose second theme deploys a Viennese Waltz which spreads itself out comfortably. The merry Fugato breaks in and the sharp dissonances of the beginning bring the piece to an end [part/movement V/VI/VII].<sup>193</sup>

The “ironic elements” probably refer to the Viennese waltz of the *scherzo*. This specific section would play an important role later (see Movement IV).

Writing from Berlin on May 24<sup>th</sup>, Krenek announced that he had “completed [*vollendet*]” the manuscript to his music publishing company Universal-Edition (UE) in Vienna, although still without the opus number. This first announcement made the piece known to other actants as ‘finished’ and therefore always already existing beyond its potential events in time and space. UE was the most important of these, because they now had one year to publish the score for them to own the rights to the quartet.<sup>194</sup>

The day after, Krenek mentioned the creation in a letter to his parents (see Figure 8): “I have a terrible lot to do right now, ultimately completing the opera, finishing the III. symphony ..., then the proofs of the symphony for Cassel and a new string quartet for Hindemith.”<sup>195</sup> Judging by this intense writing, OP. 20 was just one smaller piece of production within a heap of work. There was little time to reflect on what he had just created as one individual piece, let alone present it as an eternal ‘work.’ Other actants would have to help him to make this new piece a lasting object.

Just like the production of any knowledge, the notion of a manuscript of music being a ‘work’ of music needed to involve more than one person. Informing publisher and parents in writing constituted two very early steps to afford his music piece some degree of fixity. Krenek introduced the numeral “third,” the ever-so-important adjective “new,” and the genre name “string quartet” as important mediators already fixing the piece into Krenek’s list of musical works. Such was his urge to immediately pin down his new musical creation that, only in a few days, the existence of what would soon be ‘OP. 20’ was already established beyond dispute to several people and associations.



ich sollte ihm etwas einsenden, dazu  
die Korrekturen der Symphonie, für  
Lassel und ein neues Kreischmar-  
sch für Kinderorch. Bin neugierig,  
wie es mit Hertke arrangiert  
ich habe ihm nach Rücksprache mit  
dem Advokaten wieder geschrieben.  
Ich fahre hier weg am Donnerstag

31. Mai abends.

Herzliche Grüße u. Küsse



Iuch Wiederschen

Euer  
Krenek

Berlin, 25. Mai 23.

FIGURE 8. Krenek's letter to his parents on 25 May 1923. Source: vcl.  
(Photograph by author)

If we look at the first figure of *op. 20*'s movement (see Figure 10), we see that most of the events were written or printed and that they involved associations not focused on sound or aesthetics, but on knowledge and text technologies. *op. 20* was conceptualised as a fixed-abstract, 'completed' musical work months before it was performed.

## Among Others: The Salzburg Premiere

### *Prelude*

The summer of 1923 saw many New Music festivals in central Europe: Frankfurt am Main, Donaueschingen, Weimar, and several consecutive events in Salzburg. Krenek began the season with some wild times in Frankfurt where he met with Hindemith and his circle of friends and probably delivered the hand-written gift score of *op. 20*. There is no correspondence between them from this time, which suggests that the whole matter may have been concluded in person. Perhaps the gift even surprised Hindemith.

Although later careful to renounce it, Krenek happily joined in the Hindemiths' lifestyle, at least for the short time when he visited Frankfurt.<sup>196</sup> This was a male-dominated environment, of which women were part, but mainly as companions of men who made their best efforts at living out their young adulthoods as aspiring artists in a German society on the brink of collapse. Germany was experiencing one of its most turbulent years in history, with hyperinflation, foreign occupation of the Ruhr, and attempted coups by Communists, Nazis, and the military in some parts of the country.<sup>197</sup> Things would sometimes get out of hand, creating a sharp contrast to the 'serious' music that these circles created and discussed. Nicknames like "Liquor" (Licco Amar) and "The Fat Dutchman" (Maurits Frank), alongside anecdotes of late nights, excessive wine tasting, student songs, mock military exercises, infidelity, practical jokes, and mental breakdowns, sum up the general attitude of this environment and how it was later remembered by Krenek and other acquaintances of Hindemith.<sup>198</sup>

Becoming invited into Hindemith's company and the Quartet would for Krenek mean that he was being recognised not only as composer



but also as a man. And still, having paid his 'dues' to Hindemith and his clique, Krenek never went for a deeper friendship with any of them. After Frankfurt, he and Anna Mahler soon took a break from concert life.<sup>199</sup> As the dedication to Hindemith faded into recent memory, what would happen to *OP. 20*?

We do not know what the Hindemiths initially intended to do with their new gift, with plans for the autumn season still being made. Hindemith often corresponded through the Arthur Bernstein and Hans Adler agencies to arrange concerts and acquire honoraria. It is possible that he proposed something to or through them. The quartet's first performance, however, was to be part of a historical event in European music. On 29 June, Krenek announced that *OP. 20* was up for its first performance in Salzburg in August on the second day of the first festival of the ISCM.<sup>200</sup>

### *Backstage: The Jury Selection*

The ISCM's organising principle rested on democratic local self-governance. Each country belonging to the ISCM would maintain its own national 'section' of which allegedly 18 existed in 1923.<sup>201</sup> These sections were responsible for selecting works each year to be presented to an international jury of the ISCM and possibly have them performed at the next festival; no work should be 'older' than five years, a statute that appears more as a suggestion than rule, as some of the selected works in 1923 were more than 10 years old. The jury was elected at an annual conference consisting of delegates from each section.<sup>202</sup>

At the same time, each nation represented in the ISCM had its own interests of self-promotion, alongside internal tensions and contradictions. Embracing a spirit of internationalism never really excluded nationalism, which remained an essential part of international cultural exchange in the interwar years. One travelled to events like the ISCM festival to enrich one's own nation rather than other nations. As Giles Masters points out, "ISCM festival participants could hardly have failed to notice the parallels between diplomatic summits and their own endeavours."<sup>203</sup>

The selection of works took place in Winterthur, Switzerland, between 14 and 17 May 1923, by four of the 14 members of the ISCM's jury.<sup>204</sup> Because OP. 20 was then still an unknown sketch on a train somewhere in Germany, it was perhaps never read by all of them. Instead, it was selected later directly by the jury, along with Paul Hindemith's *Quintet for String Quartet and Clarinet*, op. 30.<sup>205</sup>

Hindemith could have submitted copies of both pieces after having received the manuscript from Krenek, but it seems as if Krenek might have done so himself. He had many opportunities for doing so, being involved in both the German *and* supranational ISCM and on a friendly basis with jury member Hermann Scherchen.<sup>206</sup> A letter from Scherchen on 11 July mentioned a "III" by Krenek intended for 18 August at the Bauhaus exhibition in Weimar. This must have been a mistake since OP. 20 was at that time already on the programme for Salzburg and other pieces of Krenek were performed in Weimar. However, informal concerts may have taken place there as well, so we cannot rule out that there was a competing premiere.<sup>207</sup>

Later, in a letter from 4 August, Scherchen recalled a discussion with Czech music critic Erich Steinhard about the 'corrupt' selection process. Krenek and another unnamed composer, possibly Hindemith, allegedly submitted their compositions to the Czech ISCM, were refused, and then had them submitted to the German section in Berlin. Since Krenek and Hindemith were established in Germany, this section "naturally" accepted both pieces.<sup>208</sup> Since no correspondence by either the ISCM, Krenek, Hindemith, nor anyone else involved has been found, the decision may only have been spoken and not written down. Hindemith, for one, preferred discussing and settling some practical things by word-of-mouth rather than in writing.<sup>209</sup>

Although many other pieces on the festival programme had already been announced, attendants evidently knew of OP. 20 in advance, as the programme was distributed in good time before the festival, as shown in several newspapers and music journals.<sup>210</sup> Both French journal *Le Ménestrel* and a British version of the ISCM's official programme included Krenek's quartet but mistakenly took it for his fourth, which still had not been written at this time (see Figure 9).<sup>211</sup>

## LE • MÉNESTREL

### AUTRICHE

La Société internationale de Musique moderne donnera, du 2 au 7 août prochains, à Salzbourg, un festival où seront exécutées les œuvres suivantes :

Premier concert. — Alban Berg : *Quatuor à cordes*; Arnold Schönberg : *Les Jardins suspendus*; Béla Bartók : *Deuxième Sonate* pour piano et violon.

Deuxième concert. — Florent Schmitt : *Sonate* pour violon et piano; Othmar Schöck : extraits des *Chants de Hafis*; Mjaskowsky : *Troisième Sonate* pour piano; Urjo Kilpinen : *Mélodies*; Ernst Krének : *Quatrième Quatuor à cordes*.

Troisième concert. — Sergé Prokofieff : *Ouverture sur des thèmes juifs*; Fidelio Finke : *Burlesque équestre* pour piano; M. Ravel : *Sonate* pour violon et violoncelle; Ph. Jarnach : *Sonatine* pour flûte et piano; Edouard Erdmann : *Sonate* pour violon solo; Walton : *Quatuor à cordes*.

Quatrième concert. — Leos Janacek : *Sonate* pour piano et violon; Arthur Bliss : *Rhapsodie*; Albert Roussel : *Diversissement*; Emerson Whithorne : *Trois Pièces* pour piano; Lord Berners : *Valses bourgeoises* pour piano à quatre mains; I. Stravinsky : *Concertino* et *Trois Pièces* pour quatuor à cordes.

Cinquième concert. — Arthur Honegger : *Sonate* pour alto et piano; K. Szymanowski : *Deux « Chants de Hafis »*; G.-F. Malpiero : *Deux Sonnets*; M. de Falla : *Mélodies*; Alois Hába : *Deuxième Quatuor à cordes*; Paul A. Pinsk : *Chants religieux avec orgue*; F. Busoni : *Fantasia contrapuntistica* pour deux pianos.

Sixième concert. — Darius Milhaud : *Quatrième Quatuor*; M. Castelnuovo Tedesco : *Deux Pièces* pour piano; Francis Poulenc : *Promenades*; Ch. Koechlin : *Huitième Sonatine* pour piano; Manfred Gurlitt : *Cinq Mélodies*; Zoltán Kodály : *Sonate* pour violoncelle solo; Paul Hindemith : *Quintette* avec clarinette.

Jean CHANTAVOINE.

FIGURE 9. Le Ménestrel, 29.6.1923: "Ernst Krenek: Fourth [sic] String Quartet." Source: Gallica.

Now, then, op. 20 appeared in media as a finished, unified work of music, although no one had heard it. Having been officially included on the programme, however, listed next to other works and scheduled in time and place, the piece was temporarily fixed to an upcoming event (see Figure 10). It formed part of the imagination of people who planned or hoped to attend that event. We cannot of course know what they expected, but for a few exceptions. American composer Aaron Copland, then living in Europe, claimed he particularly looked forward to Krenek's work among others.<sup>212</sup>

Then again, op. 20's presence, both in the programme and later during the actual event was exactly that, 'among others.' It was not identified as a single work, but as a component in a larger group, as an actant in an association. Without op. 20, that association and the event within which it formed would still occur. It was not an essential piece, but a replaceable one. To be received as extraordinary, it had to be connected to novelty, amazement, and perhaps outrage.

Thrun claims that there was a high level of "premiere intoxication" [*Uraufführungsrausch*] and obsession with discovering new works and talents in German-speaking New Music. Moreover, a work having its premiere at a festival was a sign of quality and approval. The concept of 'music festival' stemmed from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and literally meant that listening to music was the only primary purpose of the event. In contrast to early modern festivities, music was less accompanied by other ceremonies.

Regardless of its reception, a piece was held in high esteem simply by being on the programme of a modern music festival. If met with success and acclaim at the festival, the piece would then produce an unspoken demand that it be re-performed, so that it could be more deeply appreciated and explored. Festivals like the one in Salzburg might be likened to fairs, fashion shows, or opening exhibitions, where visitors could make note of products to be chosen for future exploitation. Who came and who did not come mattered a great deal. Too many of the 'wrong' kind of visitors might ruin the purpose just as too few of the 'right' visitors would. Rudolf Stephan claims that the audiences of music festivals did not reflect a modern 'public sphere' as

much as one may have presumed. Similar to 18<sup>th</sup> century concert life, attendants were familiar figures. They knew the composer, the musicians, other attendants, and/or the organisers.<sup>213</sup>

Salzburg, once the city of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, was probably not arbitrarily chosen; its location across the German border meant that it was sufficiently easily to access for British, French, Spanish, Italian, and Central European visitors. It was also convenient since iscm's 'founding' festival had been held there a year before.<sup>214</sup> Traveling, moreover, was not easy in these uncertain times. The still ongoing hyperinflation kept some people from attending, for example Hindemith's publisher Ludwig Strecker. Ticket prices ranged from 15 000 to 60 000 Austrian *Kronen*. They were provided by the Heller Booking Agency run by Hugo and Hedwig Heller in Vienna, whereas the booking for British attendees was managed by the American Express Company. Nevertheless, anticipation and attention paid to the upcoming event were high.<sup>215</sup>

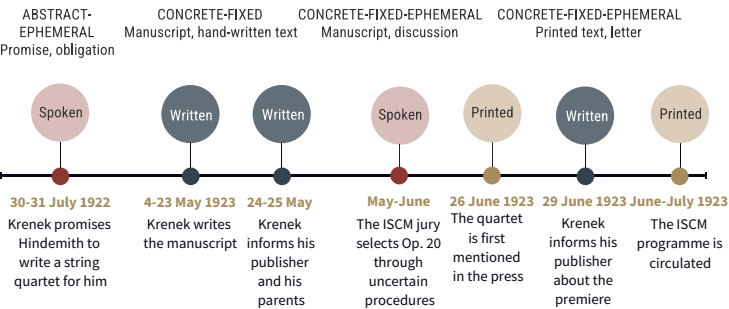
Of the Hindemiths' preparations for the first performance there are no mentions. All we can assume is that they rehearsed it thoroughly and in their own, 'sober' style, closer to what became known as *Neue Sachlichkeit* or 'functionalism' than to the 'expressionism' still favoured by many musicians and composers at the time, as musicologist Hermann Danuser has inferred from some of their early recordings.<sup>216</sup>

### *The Evening of 3 August 1923*

Viennese composer Alban Berg, whose *String Quartet*, op. 3 opened the first evening of the festival, wrote at length about the event to his wife Helene. From these letters we know some of the attendants, including jury members Egon Wellesz and Hermann Scherchen, UE's publishing director Emil Hertzka, iscm's chair Edward Dent, Austrian author Stefan Zweig, Australian violinist Alma Moodie, with the abovementioned Aaron Copland being one of the few Americans present. Reportedly *not* present, however, was Krenek and Anna Mahler, who were still taking some time off.<sup>217</sup> Before I begin delineating what happened on 3 August, when op. 20 was performed, I sketch some relevant fundamental aspects of this concert hall.

# Op. 20 before the first performance

## Events 30 July 1922 – 2 August 1923



## Associations & actants

<b>Donaueschingen</b> Heinrich Burkard <b>The Amar Quartet</b> Beer Max Butting Ernst Krenek Paul Hindemith The Prince	<b>Trains, railroads</b> Money, ticket Table/support Pen, ink Ernst Krenek <b>Breitkopf &amp; Härtel</b> <b>Sheet music retailer</b> Notepaper	Letters <b>Transport</b> Opus number <b>Universal-Edition</b> Ernst Krenek Ernst Krenek, Sr. Josefa Krenek Paul Hindemith	Letters <b>Transport</b> Manuscript Opus number Ernst Krenek Paul Hindemith (?) <b>German ISCM (?)</b> <b>Czech ISCM (?)</b> Hermann Scherchen <b>ISCM jury</b>	Editor Jean Chantevoine <b>ISCM Salzburg</b> Circulating festival programme <b>Printing</b> Paper Other works Title (wrong)	Letters <b>Transport</b> Opus number <b>Universal-Edition</b> Ernst Krenek <b>Amar Quartet Salzburg</b>	<b>ISCM</b> <b>Printing</b> Paper Other works Title (wrong)
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FIGURE 10. Op. 20's journey from idea to manuscript.  
Bold = associations (may encompass organisations as well as other groups)  
Roman = actants (objects, humans, non-humans)

All performances, 35 in total, were held in the Great Hall of the Mozarteum in Salzburg, named after the famous composer. A tribute to modern ‘genial’ musicianship, it had a capacity for approximately 800 spectators. The hall had been built during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, like so many others of its kind: a specialised space of musical contemplation. Communication scholar Darryl Cressman calls this space a “shoebox,” meaning that it is designed for one purpose only, unlike earlier concert halls, which were first and foremost the displays of profane or sacred power, like palaces and churches. With the rise of bourgeois culture, new musical institutions emerged in which audiences were expected to listen to performances for their own sake, not to celebrate some despot, saint, or patron. The occasion was music and music alone, at least in theory.<sup>218</sup>

Whereas ‘pre-modern’ audiences were relatively free to express whatever emotions or disinterest they wanted, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the musical event transformed into an experience of isolation and contemplation. The listener was expected to listen to the work attentively, without interruption, and for its own sake, just as the composer was supposed to have created the work in absolute solitude. The early 20<sup>th</sup> century had seen the emergence of a new, clearer distinction between interpreter and composer, regarded as belonging to two different ‘cultures.’ However, Hermann Danuser claims that Hindemith and others of his generation shared a wish to somehow reunite these two cultures, for example by developing amateur-oriented music.<sup>219</sup>

Op. 20 was performed as the last instalment on the evening of 3 August. The audience, counting fewer members than the day before, was probably worn out by that time. The performance was preceded by four others still fresh in the audience’s memories, all being either sonatas or songs, that is, ‘light’ pieces. Berg wrote all four of them off as “indescribable garbage.”<sup>220</sup>

Krenek’s quartet, then, must have appeared as their antithesis. Rudolf Stephan maintains that the young Krenek was a symphonic composer above all, not the “miniaturist” he would later become. His early pieces displayed varied sounds without extraordinary rhythmic features, rather emphasising the melodic experience, but always with

a “symphonic perspective.” Stephan uses the first intense section of *op. 20* as an example.<sup>221</sup>

As the Hindemiths struck their instruments, a considerable part of the audience was probably weary, possibly hungry, thirsty or in other ways less comfortable than during the other performances. Shortly after being introduced to the first movement’s fast-paced, four-beat rhythm and dissonant melodies, one critic recalls laughter in the hall, “but soon the laughter vanished, as one was swept away by Krenek’s musical temperament.”<sup>222</sup> Laughing was not unusual at concerts and festivals like this; in fact, it was an integral part of the early reception of Krenek’s contemporary Anton von Webern, sometimes transgressing into what has been called a “laughing psychosis.”<sup>223</sup>

Many chamber musicians in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century disliked practicing too much, preferring the buzz of intuitive performance. The musicians gained control only after an initial period of uncertainty, trying, failing, and trying again. This could be thrilling to follow if the musicians were skilled. If not, boredom would probably set in.<sup>224</sup> In the Great Hall, the Hindemiths and *op. 20* succeeded in overcoming the waning listening discipline, which gave way to surprise and excitement (see Figure 11). Berg recalls:

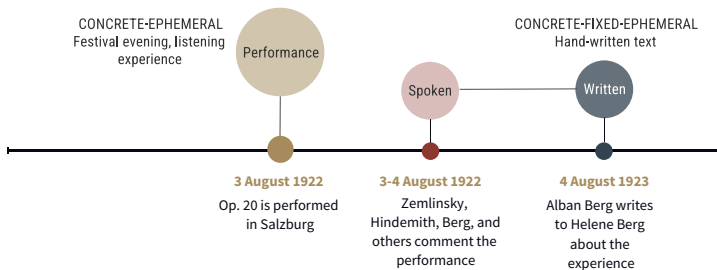
One felt the impatience in the hall, which was less populated than yesterday. Krenek’s Quartet shook up the mood again, and I must confess, he is a splendid man. From the first to the last tone fascinating, full of ideas [*Einfälle*] – and good, meaningful ideas; a great pleasure to listen to it. Everyone else too, for example Zemlinsky, were bewildered. Hindemith, whom I congratulated for the magnificent performance, was bittersweet.<sup>225</sup>

Berg, who had met Krenek and his partner Anna Mahler that same spring, had a personal connection to *op. 20*, perhaps more than most at the festival.<sup>226</sup> Whereas he was more inclined to appreciate it than any of the other “garbage” pieces, he was surely not the only one who experienced the quartet as a refreshing end to a slumberous second day of concerts. This impression was shared by some of the 40-something critics also attending the Great Hall that evening, though not all.



# Op. 20's first performance

Events  
3 August 1923



## Associations & actants

**The Amar Quartet**  
**The Great Hall**  
**Mozarteum**  
**Salzburg**  
**Attendees** (ca. 400-800)  
**Critics** (ca. 40)  
 Furniture  
 Performance tools  
 (strings, instruments,  
 sheet music stands, bows)  
 Dress  
 Scores  
 Programmes  
**Staff**  
**ISCM**  
**Preceding works**  
 Boredom, weariness  
 Laughter

Letter, pen, ink  
 Transport  
 Alban Berg  
 Helene Berg  
 Ernst Krenek  
 Paul Hindemith  
 Alexander von Zemlinsky

FIGURE 11. OP. 20's first performance.

Bold = associations (may encompass organisations as well as other groups)

Roman = actants (objects, humans, non-humans)

### Translating Sounds into Words: Critical Reception of the Premiere

By 1923, European music reception was not only influenced by writing, but inseparable from it. Audiences' expectations of performances were informed by standards of 'good,' 'bad,' 'pure,' or 'banal' music, all conveyed through the means of language, both spoken and printed.<sup>227</sup>

Moreover, newspaper articles and annotations could be circulated through agencies. A number of reviews of *Op. 20* were at some time collected through the Schustermann Newspaper Information Agency, probably by Krenek himself because he had not heard the performance.<sup>228</sup> Networks such as this were an important part of the media infrastructure at the time and extended the range of *Op. 20*'s public mediation even further than the newspapers themselves. The Salzburg concert was not only listened to by the attendants but read by an unknown number of people all over the Western world.

Much like the concert hall, music criticism in newspaper media emerged following the expansion of bourgeois concert life and the emergence of 'autonomous' and 'absolute' music experienced for its own sake. Music critics, an influential group in German and Austrian art music, were the ones largely defining new genres and canons. Composers had little to say in this matter.<sup>229</sup>

Critics were, however, a polarised collective, perhaps especially so in Germany and Austria. While some welcomed the new innovations in music, many denounced New Music altogether as a sign of a decaying society after the war, just as they denounced new concertgoers from the *nouveau riche* and lower classes entering the imperial concert halls in greater numbers, although these audiences seemed to prefer the 'classical' canon.<sup>230</sup>

Music historian Benjamin Korstvedt writes that criticism connected the intangible listening experience with the 'verbal realm' through the press, leading to musical pieces becoming somewhat alienated from their performance. While this may be true, the act of criticism, as music philosopher Patricia Herzog claims, is a complex combination

of the critic's emotions and opinions, the extra-musical and historical features of the music piece in question, and its aesthetic and structural properties. As musical sounds are translated into words, the evaluation of a musical work in a review can just as well be considered an artistic work in its own right.<sup>231</sup> The conceptualisation of op. 20 as a musical work, then, in this case, was mainly conveyed through many smaller (literary) 'works.' These types of printed literature—especially music reviews and shorter annotations—would prove a steady companion for making op. 20 into a known musical work.

The work concept was not just a starting point, but a fundamental element in music reviews of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Critics in this time, Dahlhaus claims, used works to exemplify form schemata and genre norms, often through the method of 'work-immanent interpretation.' This criticism conceptualised the musical unit as existing in a closed off 'sounding functional context,' disregarding history and society.<sup>232</sup> Szendy, in fact, claims that the musical work has always been implicit and taken for granted in music criticism:

[music criticism] does not question the notion of *the work*, which constitutes rather the presupposition or unspoken thought according to which it orients itself: the work is a whole, a given to which listening adapts itself. In fact, one could probably demonstrate that music criticism is born only at the moment when the notion of the musical work is stabilized: starting from the moment, then, when a certain change in the *regime of listening* ... has already occurred.<sup>233</sup>

Although Haefeli claims that the critics of the festival were unanimous in appointing Krenek and his quartet as the great discovery of the event, op. 20 in fact stirred up a fair share of polemics and agitation.<sup>234</sup> Reviews ranged from adoring to abhorred, sometimes ingrained with images of crisis, salvation, and disillusionment with the present, all depending on the critic's position. *Die Salzburger Wacht* reported on 4 August, right after the performance: "As the most important work of the evening we would like to highlight Ernst Krenek's String Quartet, expressing a youthful, sparkling talent, imaginative, bold, perhaps not seldom bizarre, and still stimulating and victorious in its daring

carelessness – while convincing of absolute mastery of compositional technique.”<sup>235</sup> By contrast, the local far-right German-National *Salzburger Chronik* wrote:

Even more horrible, [the concert] then proceeded with the Amar Quartet from Frankfurt who brought us the String Quartet of Ernst Krenek. A fall down into the musical underworld. Should such attacks contribute to bringing the divided peoples of Europe closer to one another and usher in their reconciliation?!<sup>236</sup>

Most reviews were a bit more nuanced, however. Ernest Ansermet, one of the jury members, focused almost exclusively on form in his review in French *La Revue Musicale*, positioning op. 20 as promising, with a “constructive vivacity” and an “unconquerable creative temper,” yet uncertain in its “randomness” and “let-go [*laisser-aller*].” The review ascribed Krenek great potential as a young composer, but he supposedly did not use all of it: “why always resort to the quartet format, and why preserve these introductions of periodic voices?” The “abstract speculation” conveyed by op. 20 was portrayed as an “all too easy solution,” in contrast to a potential alternative, a more “clamorous” music that would have taken more time to construct but would have resulted in a more “convincing” work. At least Krenek’s quartet was celebrated for not “resorting to quarter-tones,” referring to Krenek’s fellow student Alois Hába, whose quarter-tone string quartet was also performed at the festival.<sup>237</sup> op. 20 was compared to Hába’s piece in *The Sackbut*, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, *Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung*, and by Theodor W. Werner in both *Rheinische Westfälische Zeitung* and *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, who also referred to Stravinsky’s *Concertino*.<sup>238</sup>

The musical work concept defined works as organic ‘units’ or ‘wholes’ that one did not simply break down into smaller analytic elements.<sup>239</sup> However, critics such as *Neue Freie Presse*’s Julius Korngold and *Die Musik*’s Adolf Weißmann did not hesitate to deconstruct the work’s unity to negotiate its preferable and less preferable parts. Austrian *Reichspost* claimed that op. 20 was ‘searching’ for form, “in which the abundance of musical thought ... might dress itself.”<sup>240</sup> The

*Nationalzeitung Berlin* positively emphasised the formal properties of allegro, variation, scherzo, and finale, although adding that Krenek ought to have left out the ‘fugato.’<sup>241</sup> These examples suggest that op. 20 expressed such a multiplicity of possible interpretations and formal ambiguities that it nearly defied being represented as a unified work, as ‘one.’

Although technical and formal aspects, as well as the Hindemiths’ craftsmanship, were invoked by many, the most reoccurring actants used to conceptualise op. 20 as a work were drawn in by critics from outside the event. These were ‘abstract actants’ in the sense that they were not present in the listening experience itself. First, the piece was inscribed into abstract phenomena such as Hell, God, demons, and salvation, reflecting the romantic composer ideal’s elevation of musical creativity to the point that composers themselves were referred to as gods or demi-gods rather than merely inspired by such.<sup>242</sup>

Second, the *Salzburger Chronik*, as seen above, questioned the message of the quartet with regards to the ISCM as a peace project. The ISCM had made a great deal of their founding principles as an internationalist project aspiring to reconcile the war-torn European continent through music and art. One of the speakers at the opening day of the festival was French novelist Romain Rolland, a devout pacifist and advocate of Franco-German reconciliation. Through this network, the early organisation in fact formed a peripheral part of the interwar ‘Paneuropean’ movement, which was, essentially, both a peace project and a colonial project. While the ISCM was officially non-political, their activities were continuously politicised throughout the interwar years.<sup>243</sup> Simply by being there, op. 20 was too.

Third, while brought into this wider context of internationalism, op. 20 was more strongly associated with nationality, ethnicity, and even ‘race.’ Racial stereotypes were common in music, although many serious critics and musicologists refrained from them. They could have positive and negative connotations. Being able to mix “Slavic” and “German” elements, for example, might for some critics only be a sign of greater talent.<sup>244</sup>

Despite his Austrian self-identification, and Scherchen’s claim that

the quartet was submitted through the German section, Krenek's Czech parental heritage was attributed to the performance in several reviews, as some critics claimed that the quartet had hints of Czech folk music. British critic Edwin Evans, who had previously neglected to mention Krenek or op. 20 in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, wrote in *The Musical Times* that "Krenek's Quartet opens in boisterous, folk-tunny fashion."<sup>245</sup> The *Salzburger Volksblatt* wrote that the quartet's scherzo was "reminiscent of his Slavic homeland, whose peculiar melody pulls the listener against their will."<sup>246</sup> Austrian Max Graf in *Der Tag* wrote that "there is also a part of Slavic musicianship [*Musikertums*] in him, in his musical art [*Musizieren*] there is a dithyrambic freedom like in the poems of [Otokar] Brezina."<sup>247</sup> British critic Arthur Eaglefield Hull wrote that one of the jury members had felt "a good deal of national expression" in op. 20, something that Hull himself could not sense.<sup>248</sup> Ansermet also referred to Krenek as a Czech.<sup>249</sup>

The connections of op. 20 to Czech and 'Slavic' heritage indebted the piece as a work of music to various legacies. Although the romantic authorship ideal generally disregarded works of art as being created in relation to one another, it could not be denied that one work would always bear some resemblance of another and together form genres, styles, and expressions of 'national' idioms.<sup>250</sup>

The national character of music was particularly important for recently created countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, who quickly had to 'claim' composers as their own. Finding itself a part of showcasing national musical legacies, op. 20 quickly fed into the idea of the *Volksgeist* or 'popular spirit' of Johann Gottfried Herder, which has been contrasted to Kant's individualistic understanding of the artist. This went beyond the musical realm. As already shown above, Max Graf evoked Czech symbolist poet pseudonym Otokar Březina to describe op. 20's "dithyrambic independence" of expression, likely referring to the poem *Dithyramb Světů* or 'Dithyramb of the Worlds'.<sup>251</sup>

The several references to 'Slavic' and Czech culture were not only important because they created a geographical and national 'home,' but were also delicately linked to the ISCM festival. Members of the

young Nazi Party, who were planning a conference in Salzburg only weeks after the festival, had threatened the organisers with attacking the festival with stink bombs if songs in the Czech language were to be performed there, on ‘German’ soil.<sup>252</sup> Conceptualising the quartet, though it lacked song, as an expression of Czech musical language, might have been a matter of defending the ISCM’s multinational character in the face of these threats.

Fourth, non-present individuals were often mentioned. Referred to more than anyone was, hardly surprising, Krenek. Although he was not there physically, for many of those attending and recapitulating the performance, Krenek was indeed *there*. When people listened to op. 20, they heard ‘Krenek,’ not just a string quartet. The piece became an extension of his composer identity and ideas about his creative work process, a biographical piece as well as one of music. Many reviews devoted space to discussing what op. 20 might disclose about the composer’s personal qualities, his artistic development, and his relation to other artists. Though the romantic authorship ideal was since long an established norm in Western art music, at the end of the day the audience and critics witnessed the performers, and Hindemith in particular, not the creator. op. 20 was indeed difficult to talk about without blurring the boundaries between its creator and its interpreter. Much of the early recapitulation of the piece embodied the dual relation from which it had been incepted.<sup>253</sup>

Other non-present individuals were invoked into the reception as well. One was Igor Stravinsky. Adolf Aber opened his review in *Berliner Tageblatt*, which was reprinted in several other newspapers, with a reference to the Russian-French composer.<sup>254</sup> Weißmann claimed Krenek “has discovered in himself rhythm as saviour: rhythm, that he again should be giving credit to Stravinsky for, as he works as the primal power in Hindemith.” Although op. 20 conveyed a “ruthlessness towards the tone” it simultaneously demonstrated a “return to the roots” to Weißmann.<sup>255</sup> The aesthetically conservative Korngold also praised those parts of the piece in which sparks of Stravinsky’s clearly distinct style could be discerned “before the slow melodic beats in Schönbergian intervals of misery.”<sup>256</sup>

Another assumed influence was Ernst Kurth. For Weißmann, op. 20 also seems to have embodied a yearning for a more independent composing, free from the currently predominant “dogma” of Kurth’s linear counterpoint, without completely distorting other aesthetical values such as rhythm and melody.<sup>257</sup> The quartet suggested to Weißmann that Krenek was perhaps not as dependent on Kurth’s teachings as one would assume at the time, that he was moving on stylistically.

Many reviews of the first public performance of op. 20 clearly associated it with Krenek himself. The romantic composer ideal requires that an individual creator composes the musical work by him/herself without external contributions. As an offspring of this original creativity, the work shall then reflect the composer as a token of his/her personality.<sup>258</sup> What exactly constituted this personality differed among critics. Not only was Krenek named frequently and explored as a professional musical craftsman in relation to the work, but by referring to aspects of youthfulness, critics seemed to assume a homology between the characteristics of the work and the composer’s young age; the vividly youthful composer sparked a vividly youthful musical work. ‘Vitality’ remained a key component throughout most, although not all reviews, figuring along with ‘boldness’ and similar phrasings, even ‘recklessness’ or ‘ruthlessness.’

Some reviews elaborated on Krenek’s general artistic past and future course. However, the Hindemiths were also credited with a substantial portion of the piece’s success, as was Hindemith himself. Even reviewers who were sceptical or even negative towards op. 20 were ready to give them their due for their professionalism. op. 20 forged a particularly apparent link between Krenek and Hindemith as musical ‘geniuses.’ Ansermet preferred the more ‘genuine’ Hindemith, who “challenges all labels.”<sup>259</sup> Graf preferred the ‘bolder’ Krenek, “possessed by the devil of music ... a great revelation, a ‘musician of God’ as medieval minstrels would often have denoted them.”<sup>260</sup> Aber emphasised the likeness of the slower (*adagio*) movements of op. 20 and Hindemith’s op. 30 that premiered at the same festival, both “rescuing musical honour.”<sup>261</sup>

One of the most analytically detailed accounts of the performance



came from the influential Frankfurt critic Paul Bekker, who may have discussed op. 20 already during its composition, as he was one of the people visited by Krenek on his train ride in May 1923:

The intense capturing of the tonal movement, of the tonally organic occurrence, is a third means of presenting [music], as in two other works by Ernst Krenek and Paul Hindemith. Krenek writes a string quartet, on the surface monotonous, internally structured into three parts, the finale repudiating the introduction. It displays sharply defined thematic profiling, but these themes are no more contours of expression. There are impulses of tonal movement formed into musical sculptures, in whose spinning a purely melodically perceived occurrence is implemented. With a hammering movement of sharp, chromatic friction, the piece begins, the voices dissolve piecemeal in a free, fugue-ish play, falling into an Adagio, from which a fugue scherzo, alternating into a waltz tempo, drives towards absorption into the accelerated movement of the introduction and all the way to a unisono ending. With the exception of the somewhat dissolving Adagio part, not consistently perpetuating its intensity, it is, in the thematic conciseness within the fundamental idea [of the piece], in the inner unity of presentational form, and in the spontaneous power of the organic construction, this sharply concentrated piece of Krenek which reveals, with new intensification, the creative shaping of musical thought of this great talent. The same goes for Paul Hindemith's Clarinet Quintet, although in that case the public acclaim did not reach its otherwise usual extent.<sup>262</sup>

Musicologist Nanette Nielsen states that Bekker emphasised the phenomenological side of music while never claiming that a piece could be completely abstracted and experienced in isolation from socio-logical contexts. Sound, however, he considered to be a particularly unchanging entity in an otherwise contingent world.<sup>263</sup>

Bekker largely conceptualised op. 20 as an abstract object existing well beyond its performance, more precisely as an object of sound structure, thematical form, and progression. It had, according to him, *three* parts: an introduction, an adagio, and the ending, including the waltz and recapitulation. He described op. 20 as an ongoing process of writing by Krenek, “sharply defined” or “internally structured” into

“inner unity,” yet it also reflected “tonal impulses” and “contours of expression,” suggesting that it had some less fixed elements. However, Bekker also referred to the piece’s relation to Hindemith’s *Quintet* and the relatively higher acclaim given by the audience to op. 20. The former was an ephemeral object and event, the latter an even more ephemeral association and event, while both were experienced concretely at the festival.

Bekker’s review showed how op. 20, after one single successful and highlighted performance, initiated some deeper analysis on musical form and expression, while still being strongly connected to one specific event in time and space. Bekker, along with some other contemporary critics, was developing frameworks for a critique specifically aimed at the New Music. He had good reason to use a performance that received high acclaim for doing this. This means that op. 20 had agency not just in conceptualising itself, but also in defining contemporary musical ‘modernism’ in general.

Although some reviews emphasised the concrete-ephemeral listening experience in the ‘here and now,’ several others already at this point treated it as something existing beyond its premiere, a yet forming abstract object pending between the ephemeral and the fixed. op. 20 appeared both as an instantaneous event *and* a metaphysical entity unbound by temporal and spatial restrictions. The critics were paid to experience it. For the non-attendants reading the reviews, that experience had yet to come. In fact, it may never come for most of them. But these different actants nevertheless formed an association through the quartet, regardless of whether they heard or read it, regardless of whether they perceived it as an ephemeral or lasting entity. In this sense, the abstraction of op. 20 enabled a considerable extension of the network of associations around it.

The clearest examples of a concrete-ephemeral focus were expressed by Graf’s review and Berg’s letter. Their already quoted references to things in past tense, particular events in the Great Hall and its atmosphere were attempts at recapturing something that had happened once and could not happen again. In their concrete-ephemeral conceptualisation, they used different actants than the more abstractly oriented

reviewers: the venue, the listeners, the performers, the instruments, and the sounds of these various people and objects.

Korngold and Graf used both these immediately available actants and others to understand the work, seeming to consciously distinguish between the concrete-ephemeral and the abstract. Korngold first stated that the audience had hopes invested in the work even before listening to it, assessing op. 20 in relation to previous performances of Krenek's music. He then went on to discuss what he referred to as "the piece" [*Stück*], namely that which had been listened to, and only then were the Hindemiths critiqued as a group of interpreters.

Although Korngold slightly emphasised the performance aspect of op. 20, his review suggests that he interpreted op. 20 as having two distinct aspects that could not be evaluated completely simultaneously, one concrete-ephemeral and one not. Similarly, for Bekker, the piece was both an immediate experience and an object of knowledge on musical compositional problems. Both were well established critics and could easily oscillate between various degrees of abstraction, concretisation, ephemerality, and fixity.

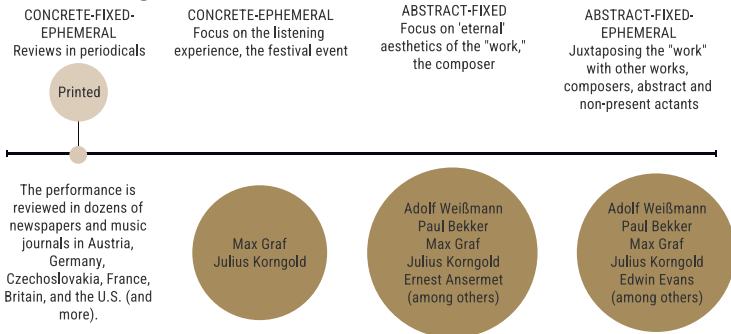
Most observable in the reviews by Weißmann and Ansermet, the experience of 3 August itself was largely irrelevant. These texts de-situated op. 20 from its immediate premiere environment by, for instance, using a present tense describing features of the piece that might be appreciated regardless of the performance, thereby treating it as an abstract work beyond time and space.

Finally, the piece was not only conceptualised as performance, or as an abstract object, both assembled from actants and observations in the critics' vicinity, but also from extra-musical phenomena such as peace (ISCM), nationality (Czechoslovakia), race ('Slavic'), poetry (Otokar Březina), or religion ('musician of God'), all located far away from the concert hall, the typing machine, and the newspaper's offices. As Szendy points out, criticism is rarely explicit about the criteria it poses onto music, but it presupposes the existence of a work.<sup>264</sup>

These extra-musical phenomena should be understood as yet another repertory of abstract actants to draw on when introducing the work op. 20 to an association, perhaps because music-aesthetic and

## Reception of the first performance

### Events 4 August 1923 – December 1923



### Associations & actants

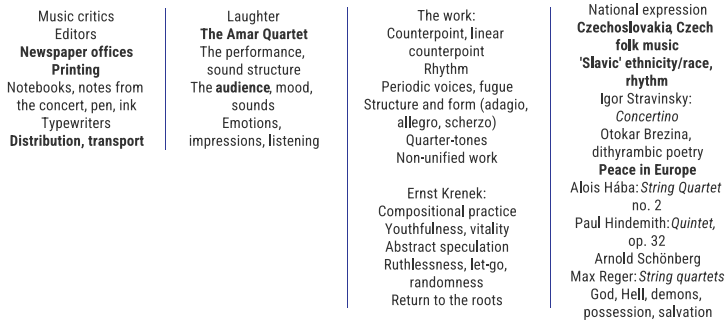


FIGURE 12. OP. 20's premiere in music criticism.

Bold = associations (may encompass organisations as well as other groups)

Roman = actants (objects, humans, non-humans)

performance-related actants were not enough to conceptualise the work to readers far away in Berlin, Hamburg, Königsberg, Frankfurt, Vienna, Paris, London, and New York. They were auxiliary standards used to classify the work, in part to mobilise it as a supporting actant of larger narratives like the nation-state, in part to conceptualise the work itself as a unit that one could make sense of and remember.

Regardless of the level of abstraction, however, we must keep in mind that it was impossible for anyone except Krenek, the ISCM's jury, the Hindemiths, and perhaps another chosen few to study *Op. 20* as a fixed text at this point. The score only existed in a limited number. Its various impressions on critics came from the listening experience in Salzburg and nothing else. Hence, although the abstract conceptualisation helped expand the work's associations, it was still in a pending or fluid state, difficult to establish, and even more so to maintain.

### Precarity and Dependency

Emanating from a seemingly spontaneous meeting between two contemporary young composers, Krenek and Hindemith, *Op. 20* could, to use ethnomusicologist Gabriel Solis' phrasing, have become an object of "ephemeral composition," as opposed to a more lasting one.<sup>265</sup> However, it was quickly made into an object of some stability. There are four main observations on this chain of events. First, the 1922 Donaueschingen festival was hardly a spontaneous event, and neither were the attendants and actants of this association. Krenek and Hindemith were drawn together in this association and the agreement to compose a string quartet did not happen randomly. One could even say that festivals like Donaueschingen were in part made for 'spontaneous' encounters like this to happen.

Second, further on, once it had become a finished manuscript in May 1923, *Op. 20* suggested that it be performed. This suggestion, in turn, soon invited other actants. First, Krenek informed his publisher and then his parents, and later his contacts in, probably, the Czech, German, and central ISCM. At some point the piece was *ad hoc* selected by the first ISCM jury for its first live premiere in Salzburg.

Then, third, *op. 20* was performed and became known to some as the highlight of an otherwise boring concert evening and perhaps even the highlight of the festival. Although a short-lived event, this one performance engaged hundreds of actants and encompassed both preceding steps and the next. Fourth, following the festival, the quartet had become a multi-faceted mediator (see Figure 12). Critics did not hesitate to connect the roughly 30-minute performance to whatever came to mind, such as the hopes for peace in Europe, counterpoint, ‘Czech’ culture, and Christianity. The bond or tension that *op. 20* had embodied between Krenek and Hindemith was also acknowledged in several reviews. Moreover, *op. 20*’s ephemeral premiere produced not just listeners but *readers*. Just as the score preceding the performance suggested action, the performance of that score in Salzburg, however temporary, suggested recapitulation. As Philip Auslander suggests: “It is not realistic to propose that live performance can remain ontologically pristine or that it operates in a cultural economy separate from that of the mass media.”<sup>266</sup> The Salzburg event was supported by a substantial press coverage, which expanded the space for conceptualising *op. 20*. However, each review appeared in newspaper editions bound to specific dates as well as places. They, too, were ephemeral.

Standards are applied to any new object that enters what Bowker and Star call “communities of practice.” However, these standards may be diverse, incommensurable, or contested. The object may even violently resist them.<sup>267</sup> Many of the actants producing different forms of conceptualising *op. 20* employed standards that were widespread and easily accessible, such as form, rhythm, and harmony categories, but also nationality and race. We can also see how the quartet helped producing standards, mainly in New Music, which still was an emerging category, developing its own identity and nomenclature.<sup>268</sup> Through their conceptualisation of the work, critics made composers of New Music a tight-knit group, like Stravinsky, Schönberg, Hába, and Hindemith, and other affiliated individuals, like the predecessor Reger. They discussed issues in composition, counterpoint, and rhythm as defining standards after which this group had to be evaluated.

Although the quartet had enjoyed much attention, the fact remained that all of it was based on a 30-minute performance, which was over in the same moment that the instruments stopped sounding. What was left of op. 20 when the festival was over, and all the reviews had been printed and read? Any mediator is fragile and dependent upon continued action, namely acts of definition. Latour writes that “the object of a performative definition vanishes when it is no longer performed.”<sup>269</sup> Thus, op. 20 needed to be constantly performed, not only in a concert hall but in the broader sense, by anyone, or it would be forgotten. The performances consisted, apart from the musical performance, of discussing, classifying, but more than anything producing a fundamental conceptualisation of the object that would be op. 20. By being performed at the festival, the piece enjoyed such a continued existence for months. But reviews would eventually stop coming and they too would be forgotten. op. 20 was therefore in a precarious state as a work even after its successful premiere. The next movement explores the means available for fixing a newly completed musical work, making it last beyond the ‘now.’

## Movement III. Fixing the Work

A score is defined as a text “containing complete details of a work as it is intended to be performed.”<sup>270</sup> Lydia Goehr maintains that the emergence of the “regulative” work concept coincided with a shift of emphasis in Western art music from musical performance to notated music. By calling for interpretational ‘fidelity’ [*Werktreue*] and repeatability, scores mediated the relation between abstract and concrete conceptualisations of musical works, between its metaphysics and its performance.<sup>271</sup>

Now that op. 20 had made a name for itself, transforming it into a more accessible object would possibly yield an income for its legal owner, its rights-holder. In 1924, Krenek’s publishing firm went on to produce three different catalogued, edited scores that would soon travel the world. Before this was possible, however, what had hitherto been the musical work op. 20 had to be reassembled. This also meant that the initial associations conceptualising it, as I described in Movement II, were soon being contested.

While the associations in which op. 20 was a mediator-actant expanded, so did its possibilities for becoming a circulating intermediary-actant; it became a more stable object with higher likeliness of being regarded as ‘the same’ independently of where it ended up. This development is discussed after I show what happened to the performed piece immediately after Salzburg.



“To Hell with all International Music Festivals:”  
Redefining the Performed Work

Staying relevant after the premiere was a challenge for *op. 20*. Most contemporary pieces of art music did not move around much in 1920s Europe. They often could not compete with the amount of music being produced and performed every year. There was also a widespread disinterest in New Music as well as a pressure for composers to renew and reinvent.<sup>272</sup> Music publisher Ernst Roth, a contemporary of Krenek, wrote in his memoirs:

[T]he second [performance] is a much rarer and much more decisive event. Now the work no longer has the distinction of being a discovery, which camouflages many a failure at the first performance; after the first performance of the work[,] it has taken off its baptismal robe and is expected to make a good impression, so to speak, in its working-clothes.<sup>273</sup>

*op. 20*, however, withstood the test of its premiere. Having premiered at such an important event and within such a vast international network of music professionals as the ISCM, the piece was imbued with a high degree of agency. That agency was specifically tied to its novelty and contemporaneity, making it instantly attractive to several concert organisers, critics, and concert goers. At least four of the other pieces performed at the festival would also accompany *op. 20* at later performances. One of them would even end up on the other side of the same gramophone record in 1925 (see Movement IV).<sup>274</sup>

The ISCM had built into its central statutes that music pieces that were performed at their festivals would also enjoy some further support thereafter. A pamphlet from 1928 read: “Every effort is made to promote friendly relations with other Sections; programmes and reports are sent to the Central Office and exchanged, information is circulated about new works of interest, and composers or performers are invited to appear at concerts in foreign sections.”<sup>275</sup>

Although this may well have been added after 1923, there is no reason to doubt that the same intention was there from the start. The



iscm was, early on, bent on securing some sort of international musical infrastructure and showing a sense of responsibility and care for 'their' music.

However, the iscm was challenged by other caretakers of the quartet, most of all the "bittersweet" Hindemith. He had shared the first performance of his gift from Krenek with hundreds of people from Europe's art music circles. Many of them had come there to socialise or only to listen to their own compatriots. The early iscm festivals would even be called an "orgy of nationalism."<sup>276</sup>

Seeing their indifference to 'his' work, Hindemith may have felt a sting of despair. When Hermann Scherchen greeted Hindemith on 4 August, the day after the premiere, his first reply was reportedly: "To hell with all international music festivals: to write and to make music so that *all people understand it*, and to be happy about it!"<sup>277</sup>

The composer-musician might have had enough of festivals altogether. Although this was understandable after the hectic summer of 1923, what he probably also was tired of was explaining and defining his performed pieces to people from different groups. The festival had no doubt been full of that exhausting activity that Bowker and Star call *categorical work*, the juggling act of making sense of the same object between different associations.<sup>278</sup> Although Hindemith had not, for all we know, become tired of the string quartet, he probably wanted to reduce the need for categorical work during future performances.

There are few actual programmes from the Hindemiths' concerts featuring op. 20. Much of Hindemith's collection consists of his own private notes rather than printed posters, suggesting that many of the piece's performances after Salzburg were of a more 'intimate' character, reflecting the circumstances that brought it into being from the beginning. The fact that he kept detailed records of his performances (see Figure 13) testifies to a strong impulse of fixing these events.

There was another and probably more pressing reason for Hindemith's documentation; all works performed publicly in Germany, as in many other countries, needed to be manually reported to a collecting society. However, Germany at the time had two: the Agency of Musical Performing Rights (AFMA) and the Society for the Collecting

of Musical Performing Rights (GEMA).<sup>279</sup> Copyright enforcement had entered the stage, requiring that *Op. 20* be understood as a fixed-abstract work, and recognising each concrete-ephemeral performance as a representation of that work.

Perhaps trying to ‘cleanse’ the quartet from its many connections to unwanted actants in Salzburg, the Hindemiths performed it again already on 27 September, in the heart of their hometown: Zingler’s Cabinet for Friends of Art and Books in central Frankfurt am Main. In contrast to the grand scale of the ISCM festival, this was a secluded *pro bono* event with a certain ‘VIP’ aura, realising, as Hindemith put it, “music for music’s sake” without visits from sycophantic “Frankfurters.”<sup>280</sup>

The concert was organised by the local Society for Music, founded one year before by (among others) conductor Reinhold Merten and Hindemith himself.<sup>281</sup> The audience of up to 80 probably consisted of people who were familiar with each other. Unlike the premiere, what happened at the Cabinet stayed at the Cabinet and was only ever embodied in the individuals who participated.

Barely three weeks later, on 16 October 1923, *Op. 20* was performed in another small setting: Wuppertal’s Barmen-Elberfeld district, which, like Frankfurt, lay just east of the border of the closed off French-occupied Ruhr. Perhaps the piece’s movement was restricted and adjusted because of the occupation, since it was performed in quite a small place compared to the then closed off big cities in the area.<sup>282</sup> Shortly thereafter, the quartet went to Berlin for the first time.

On 4 November, the Hindemiths performed the quartet in the Grottrian-Steinweg Hall on Bellevuestraße, an important space in the capital’s chamber music life. It was organised by the *Melos* society, an organisation committed to New Music and publishing its own monthly journal.<sup>283</sup>

Conservative critic Karl Westermeyer attempted to utterly write off the performance in *Signale für die musikalische Welt* as an expression of “materialistic foam-whipping” by the “incense-wagging youngsters of the Modern.” What provoked Westermeyer was *Op. 20*’s priorities; it disregarded harmony, counterpoint, and thus the ‘whole’ with which

contemporary critics were so often preoccupied: "Only adolescents and old wig-heads fall for the same mistake of rendering the tonal language the primary signifier ... To Hell with harmony and counterpoint, when one is only concerned with measuring artistic acknowledgement ... !" <sup>284</sup>

Another hostile critic, Alfred Plattmann, wrote in the liberal *Die Zeit*: "This convulsive, uninspired form of musicianship is, for its duration, unbearable. Some smaller ideas did appear, but most of it is cursed, most discordant and sedated stuff. It really isn't easy finding anything beautiful in here." <sup>285</sup>

What made op. 20 difficult to appreciate, to these critics, was that its eclectic content seemed to deny enjoying it as a unitary and coherent work. One might even say that this prevented them from conceptualising it as such, making them regard it more as a musical prototype straight out of the compositional laboratory than a finished product. Westermeyer and Plattmann were not alone in making such judgments. Some three weeks later, two performances took place; first at the old Habsburg palace, *Hofburg*, in Vienna on the 26<sup>th</sup>, then at the *Mozarteum* in Prague on the 28<sup>th</sup>. <sup>286</sup>

Alban Berg, who had praised the quartet in Salzburg, enjoyed a second listening in Vienna. This time, he declared to Helene Berg that it had "much beauty, but also much immaturity." <sup>287</sup> This different listening, almost four months later, was only in part different from the first one: it was still more of a listening to Krenek, the young man, than to a work of music.

The Prague concert was organised by the new Society for Musical Private Performances under Alexander von Zemlinsky. "Bewildered," Zemlinsky had experienced op. 20's premiere only a few months earlier. The Society, which was a direct descendant of Arnold Schönberg's society of the same name while also echoing the ISCM, wanted to bring together the German and Czech communities of Czechoslovakia through music. <sup>288</sup>

The concert received a lengthy review in the *Prager Tageblatt*, focusing on op. 20 having rather "conventional structural features" yet being "hard to digest." The piece demanded focus and preparation:

One needs to listen to this music horizontally, with each instrument independent from the others, resonating instead of contextual, melodic and not harmonic. The development of musical thought is not possible to discern at a first listening. One can hear motivic aspects that disappear like streams in karst and thus become exchanged where one did not expect it, one observes onsets to fugated pieces and then it is all over. Whoever approaches such a work unprepared goes home disappointed.<sup>289</sup>

A shorter review in early 1924 in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* also devoted space to comparing the complexity of the two quartets and their inner structure, although with less apparent frustration. Comparing the two pieces, it stated:

Zemlinsky's String Quartet is a narrative of tones . . . Quite different is the Czech Kreněk in his Quartet, one of daring dissonances, betraying the recklessness of new tones in the musical-schematic work. The form of Kreněk's String Quartet is packed and coarse, and thus the beautifully thoughtful aesthetically revealing work has a more crisp and authentic impact than Zemlinsky's, whose opus is above all conceived from a revelation of beauty to the aesthete.<sup>290</sup>

OP. 20 was experienced as a somewhat 'horizontal' piece, with an individualised, even deconstructed interplay between the four musicians rather than a hierarchic or harmonically dependent interplay. It was also "monstrously difficult" to interpret and required the listener not to be 'unprepared,' as it constantly surprised and undermined expectations. OP. 20 in Prague had to be conceptualised both concretely and abstractly. The concrete-ephemeral performance could not transmit the abstract work in a comprehensible enough way, rendering the piece only half-way completed. It needed to be studied, not just listened to. The performance seemed to cry out for a fixed-concrete score for the listener to merge the physical and metaphysical dimensions of the work. However, that score did not yet exist for all to read. OP. 20's lack of readability, and hence its lack of ontological stability, created discomfort.

The beginning of 1924 passed without any more performances. The

Hindemiths eventually brought the piece back to their hometown, Frankfurt, on 7 May 1924 in the Small Hall of the large building complex *Saalbau*, reviewed by a young Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno:

Křenek's OP. 20 shows traces of hasty work, making it far too easy for itself ... to bring his composition-mechanical void into an objectively directed, conscious state. ... At least, the ... slow part and the blazing ending demonstrate their excellent construction. In radical opposition to the mechanic pseudo-objectivity of Křenek's contrapuntal constructions stand the five Pieces, Op. 5 of Anton Webern, bringing Schönberg's subjectivism to a logic conclusion and thereby simply devaluing it. For the self-centeredness of Schönberg's works points away from a vivid excitement for the pure Self and remains with a refusing irony on the borders of forms. However, Webern crafts through this dependency and absolutizes the Self, so that its personal value is lost and atomised without having to bargain more reality for such a sacrifice, as Křenek's hollowly passing game of movement does.<sup>291</sup>

Adorno claimed that OP. 20 betrayed Křenek's reluctance towards displaying his Self, unlike Anton von Webern. Křenek was thus a gifted musical construction worker who remained inhibited by his resistance towards declaring his subjectivity. Křenek traded Self and subjectivity for "reality," leaving merely a hollow "game of movement" and "contrapuntal constructions." Although Adorno called the quartet a mechanical "void" bereft of substance, it was nevertheless a unified musical work. His main conceptualisation of OP. 20, however, centred not on the performance, but rather on the materially informed creative process or "construction" of the piece. This put nearly all emphasis on Křenek as an artistic subject, becoming a reflection of its creator's potential. What had come out of this process was not in enough sync with Křenek's artistry to deserve a more lasting, fixed manifestation.

To Adorno, OP. 20 existed in both concrete-ephemeral and abstract dimensions, but it should preferably remain as the latter. Other works would better express Křenek's 'truth.' This disappointed critique was not isolated, but part of Adorno's longer interest in Křenek's development, which had begun in 1923.<sup>292</sup>

Eleven days later, op. 20 arrived where Movement II had begun: Donaueschingen's *Festhalle*. Considered an up-beat event to the annual New Music festival, the concert took place only a few days after Hindemith's wedding to Gertrud Rottenberg. The concert enjoyed more widespread coverage than most of the previous ones, rather resembling the Salzburg premiere. Donaueschingen's concert life had a significant impact beyond its vicinity compared to most other halls where op. 20 had been performed after the premiere.<sup>293</sup>

The performance was reviewed in *Neue Musikzeitung*, which, like Adorno, strove to emphasise Krenek's creative process while denouncing the ephemeral listening experience:

*Ernst Krenek's* String Quartet No. 3 was ... a strong disappointment. The many happily invented, often surprising stronger episodes cannot compensate for the studied, externally constructive character of this music. What is however more unpleasant (since it touches upon the roots of this undoubtedly great talent) is a sometimes unexpectedly flat sentimentality breaking through, which gives one the idea of Krenek only using red pepper to quell the dull flavour of saccharin; as if he artificially bends over the tone language that comes so naturally to him, to appear original. ... I got the impression ... that this language is more acquired than innate.<sup>294</sup>

Taking away the focus from the spatiotemporal performance and directing an abstracted version of it onto the individual who created it made op. 20 little more than a mediator for conceptualising 'Krenek the composer.' In fact, though attributed to him, the quartet was presented as an 'external' influence on Krenek rather than the product of romantic inspiration. The work could be both connected *and* alien to its creator, both offspring and impostor.

In the five months between the 1923 and 1924 performances, Krenek himself had moved to Winterthur, Switzerland, funded by a patronship. Soon after having arrived, he finished a new quartet, Op. 24. Like op. 20, it was both composed on a train ride and would enjoy its premiere at the ISCM festival, again in Salzburg, on 6 August 1924, but performed by a different ensemble.<sup>295</sup> For some reason, this quartet would not be published, but op. 20 was about to be.



## Universal-Edition in 1924

Publishing music meant something rather different in 1924 than what is implied by the concept today. Before professional, large-scale recording became the norm for most musical genres, buying sheets of notated music for home use was widespread among amateurs and professional musicians alike. Although by 1924, the practice of performing string quartets in the home had declined even in Germany, where it had been particularly long-lived, sheet music was still a main staple of musical life. The string quartet of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was often too difficult to play for non-professionals, and the concert hall had now become its main medium. From around 1900 on, producing a score for chamber music works was an investment in future public performances, not home use for amateurs.<sup>296</sup>

The increasing proliferation of printed scores in the decades around 1900 was a contested issue. Authorised publishers heavily guarded the territory that copyright law had afforded them. New techniques of copying, like lithography, meant that virtually anyone with sufficient skill could forge illegal copies of scores and sell them, usually at lower costs than authorised copies. It should come as no surprise, then, that UE and other publishers took their business very seriously and did not assign whomever to conduct printing and finalisation of a score that would bear their logotype. The publishing process had to be guarded against unauthorised outsiders.<sup>297</sup> The secrecy persists to this day, making publishing more difficult to observe than performances.

Illegal copying aside, the bottom line of a publishing firm was to make profit. However, no one could ever anticipate whether a musical work would be successful. The publisher had to edit, process, print, distribute, and advertise the score. Some scores paid off hugely, while others lay on the shelf for a long time, if not forever.<sup>298</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that the relationship between composer and publisher could become strained. Many composers viewed publishers as opportunistic entrepreneurs with little understanding of creativity. Others were discontent with the publishing industry because it enjoyed a relatively strong legal protection of exclusive rights to musical works, shutting other commercial actors out of the business.<sup>299</sup>

Universal-Edition (UE), founded in Vienna in 1901, posed an Austrian challenge to the established German family-owned firms who had made Germany the indisputable leader in music publishing. From 1907, its director was Emil Hertzka, who quickly made the firm one of the main international promoters of New Music. Already before 1924, their office had become far too small to keep up with the firm's growing catalogue.

The hyperinflation from the time of op. 20's composition was still felt in early 1924, but on the way to becoming stabilised. According to Krenek's memoirs, the financial uncertainty meant that businesses like UE faced the choice of either laying off production or turning as much of their capital as possible into commodifiable products that would not lose their value as easily as currency. UE apparently chose the latter and invested in promising contemporary composers like himself, whom they hoped would achieve financial success in the long term. Most publishers recoiled from 'modern' composers because their chances of success were unreliable. Therefore, Hertzka was often seen as a brave, compassionate, and just patron of the new musical generation, although the more lucrative aspects of his enterprise were sometimes called out.<sup>300</sup>

UE was indeed not just a philanthropic defender of 'underdog' composers, but an Austrian upstart in the face of older hegemonic German publishers such as Schott and Breitkopf & Härtel. The firm had to take risks to assert itself.<sup>301</sup> It was the material face of the 'idealist' New Music movement.

UE's ambitions were reflected in its expansion through sub-firms and shareholdings. Alfred Kalmus, an employee of UE since 1909 and nephew of Hertzka, had founded an additional publishing firm in Vienna in April 1923 called the Wiener Philharmonischer Verlag (WPV), in which UE were shareholders from the start. The two firms collaborated on editions and UE purchased the entire firm already in 1925. WPV's specialty was the miniature score or *Taschenpartitur*, a small-scale version of the score intended for close reading introduced in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>302</sup>

Krenek's disposition towards UE was still, at this point in his career,

4530	Kreuz Graft op. 20 T. Kleinquartett	Stimmen
1. T. 24 aus Waldhorn zum Hoch	2. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
I. Troline, II. Troline, Troler, Trolenallor	I. Troline 1-14, II. Troline 1-14	
Hornschlag zum Satz!	3. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
2. T. 24 aus Waldhorn	4. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
UM DRUCK!	5. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
Hornschlag I. Troline 1-14, II. Troline 1-14	6. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
Troler 1-14, Trolenallor 1-14	7. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	8. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	9. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	10. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	11. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	12. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	13. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	14. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	15. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	16. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	17. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	18. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	19. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	20. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	21. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	22. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	23. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	
	24. T. 24 aus dem Hoch am Kreisel	

FIGURE 14. UE's producing files for op. 20's first edition. Source: UE.

not particularly influential. He could not make any considerable demands of them as he still only had enjoyed limited success. His main income was at this time not based on royalties but on additional jobs. However, it was naturally in any publisher's interest to publish works whose performances had enjoyed great critical acclaim, such as *op. 20*.<sup>303</sup> This invited a new actant: a deadline. Krenek's contract from 1921 stipulated that all copyrights to his works belonged to UE as long as they published them within a year of receiving them in full. If they did not do so, all rights would return to Krenek.<sup>304</sup> *op. 20*'s publication was therefore a race against time, since the quartet had officially been completed on 23 May and reported on the 24<sup>th</sup> (see Movement II).

Among the many people employed at UE, a few were involved in the process of editing *op. 20*. Hertzka himself does not seem to have participated in operational matters such as *op. 20*. Instead, the publication process was managed by Barbara 'Betty' Rothe, Hans 'K W' Heinsheimer, and Kalmus.

Rothe, Hertzka's secretary, was described by Krenek as one of "the most important colleagues of Hertzka ... one of the most friendly and lovely older ladies I ever got to know. She was a perfect example of skill and reliability, always heaped with work and yet always ready to remember the complicated or otherwise just laughable and exaggerated problems that were tossed into the publisher's lap by weird or downright mad customers."<sup>305</sup> She played a significant role in communicating with Krenek on matters of proof-reading, deadlines, royalties, and other issues.<sup>306</sup>

## "ZUM DRUCK!"

### From Draft to Published Work

The editing of the score into a published work went on throughout most of 1924, probably beginning already in 1923, as demonstrated by the timeline below. It was issued in three different versions: the 'full' score (*UE-7529*), the 'parts' for the four instruments (*UE-7530 a-d*), and a 'miniature score' published separately by the WPV (*Philharmonia-Taschenpartitur no. 247*). Following the timeline, I focus on those

## Edition of the score

### Events January – March 1924

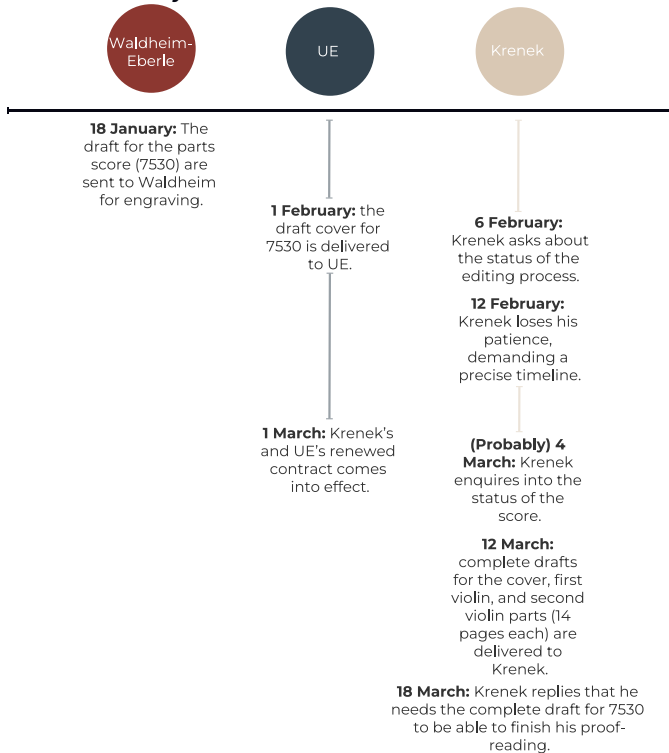


FIGURE 15. OP. 20's editing between 18 January and 18 March 1924.

actors, objects, events, and actions that made op. 20 emerge as a published musical work. These can be observed in two ways; first, the sequence of events, and second, interruptions and failures. The timeline is reconstructed from UE's own sources and historical catalogue together with Krenek's correspondence with UE.

*January–February 1924:  
An Ontological House of Cards*

op. 20 was by February 1924 'due' for something rather than something existing for itself there and then. It was, much like the period preceding its completion in May 1923, in an unstable position, a *quasi-work* pending between abstract, concrete, ephemeral, and fixed conceptualisations. Whereas the score interpreted by the Hindemiths had until then counted as *the* 'work' op. 20, its status was now being challenged. It risked becoming a *homunculus*, as contemporary music theorist Heinrich Schenker called a work whose form or 'organic unity' was altered or incomplete.<sup>307</sup>

This phase of op. 20's movement can be understood as the creation of a *black box*. A black box is an object whose origins and assembling process is unknown to its users and that appears as a unified whole, as almost by magic; we may compare it to a functioning computer or other complex apparatus. Usually, the more actors, objects, and processes that are necessary for completing and concealing a black box, the more problems may arise on the way.<sup>308</sup>

The actants involved here differed depending on which actions were required during which phase of the editing: the staff and facilities at UE's printing partner, the Waldheim-Eberle Printing Company staff in Vienna with its factory and printing staff in Saxony; their paper supplier, the Elbemühl paper factory in German-speaking Czechoslovakia; Krenek, now living in Winterthur, Switzerland; Rothe, Kalmus, Heinsheimer, and other staff at UE in Vienna; and, not least, the postal services of these four countries. Rail bound mail, together with telephones and telegrams, constituted an open system of communication in 'modern' Europe in contrast to 'pre-modern' closed communications reserved for the privileged. The system, as Bernhard Siegert

points out, was so essential to the idea of modernity in Europe that it was sometimes organically compared to the human nerve system, consequently implying that any ‘nervous breakdowns’ could wreak equally significant havoc.<sup>309</sup>

Krenek had to be consulted on every editing detail since he was the creator (see Figure 15).<sup>310</sup> Each version of the score draft also needed to be sent to Waldheim to check its conformity with their printing instruments and templates.<sup>311</sup> This had to be synchronised with the staff at UE, probably Rothe and Heinsheimer, and the wpv, which consisted of Kalmus and his colleague Ernst Roth, who worked simultaneously with completing drafts of the three different versions of the score.<sup>312</sup> Austrian composer and co-editor at UE’s journal *Anbruch*, Paul A. Pisk, was also mentioned in the editing process.<sup>313</sup>

This was an association that demanded considerable time and continuous support from all involved to remain relevant. The geographical distances and the dependency on specific individuals, skills, and the essential but easily overlooked transportation networks created more than a few hurdles. Especially the German postal and freight services had struggled during inflation due to fluctuating fuel prices. By 1924, however, the currency reform gradually made transports more reliable. The railway system, which still accounted for the main bulk of inland freight tons, was continuously struggling in countries like Austria to adapt itself to the new post-war and post-imperial geography of Central Europe, amid almost constant deficit while competing with the emerging car and bus transport system.<sup>314</sup>

Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that this geographical space, mostly lowland, was interconnected like few others in Europe, not least through the German language. op. 20 may not even have been possible to edit in the same way if the involved associations had been scattered throughout, say, Northern Europe.

Meanwhile, the concert halls were supposedly crying out for op. 20, according to Krenek’s frustrated remark on 12 February: “I am not so pleased to hear that the proofs of the Quartet and the Piano Concert are due in the ‘next few weeks.’ I had expected to receive a more precise timeline. The Quartet will be needed for performances!”<sup>315</sup> It is

not clear which performances Krenek meant, and it is not unlikely that he simply wanted UE to make copies available as soon as possible.

Scores became even more important as music became a commodity that travelled far beyond the composer's vicinity. Composers could usually not be present to hand out the score and seize the opportunity to give instructions; therefore, the instructions themselves had to assume that agency so that interpreters followed the "true" intentions of the artist.<sup>316</sup>

Editing the score was a series of modifications that had hitherto not been relevant: translation, foreword, printing, documentation. The risk of making mistakes was omnipresent. Ernst Roth recalled in his memoirs from the music business: "Mistakes are the true scourge of music – of composers, copyists, engravers and publishers alike. In books, and even in the hastily set-up newspapers, printing mistakes are comparatively rare. ... there are few if any music copies or prints without a host of mistakes, and this has always been so."<sup>317</sup>

As Gavin Steingo points out in his fieldwork study of Soweto music culture, accidents and mistakes provide researchers with excellent observations of how objects really work when they function. With each new mediator, the reality of the situation becomes clearer. Smooth functioning systems or black boxes conceal from the world how they really work. When accidents or unintended delays happen, the disguise is temporarily lifted.<sup>318</sup>

The repeated delays of op. 20's editing enable us to briefly gaze into the black box of music publishing. Whether the different stages of editing went as planned or not, they were all directed by the promise of a completed score. Just as the promise of the 'string quartet' to Hindemith had produced the events that led to Krenek's composition and the subsequent premiere, the promise of the publication now produced the events at UE, Waldheim, and Krenek, mediated through telephone, post, and other communication lines around UE's offices in Vienna. The final score called out for smooth production, or, as Krenek put it above, a "more precise timeline." In practice, it remained an ontological house of cards until finished.



*March–April 1924:  
The Seal of Approval*

The process of publication meant that *op. 20* as it was known had to be broken down into parts, cover, translation, foreword, different drafts, a photography of Krenek, page numbers, catalogue numbers, letter exchanges, phone calls, and entries in UE's publishing book. Only then could it reappear as an approved entity ready for reproduction. To add pressure, in the midst of this back-and-forth, Krenek and UE renewed their contract on 1 March, although with no significant changes.<sup>319</sup> The last change to the draft, that I know of, was made by Krenek on that same day. Around mid-late March, Krenek was the central point in a slightly faster process where he was being sent, checking, and approving each of the four parts of the score so that UE could assemble them into the final draft. No more changes seem to have been made at this point; on the contrary, Krenek explicitly forbade UE to add or remove anything.<sup>320</sup>

Although the individuals at UE provided the special tools, knowledge, and skill with which to finish *op. 20* as a commercial product, Krenek needed to be involved in decisions on the aesthetic content and the cover. After all, without a creator, the piece could not be a 'work.' Krenek the "author function," as Foucault would have it, was between at least January and 28 March the only stable point for the fluid *op. 20*.<sup>321</sup>

Towards the beginning of April, Krenek's role was almost over, while the presence of other actants increased (see Figure 16). It fell on Rothe to be *op. 20*'s temporary 'gatekeeper' into UE's catalogue. Although not having much immediate influence over the aesthetics and details inside the notation, she decided, possibly after taking a good look, whether the manuscript before her was all right for an official printing order. For a moment, Rothe's ink stamp with the words "to be printed! [ZUM DRUCK!]" (see Figure 14) distinguished *op. 20* as a completed edition from a *homunculus*.<sup>322</sup>

Stingo, with help from Noam Yuran, has constructed an analogy between the history of the musical work concept and money. As currency was first controlled by weight, the invention of the coin facili-

## Edition of the score

### Events March – May 1924

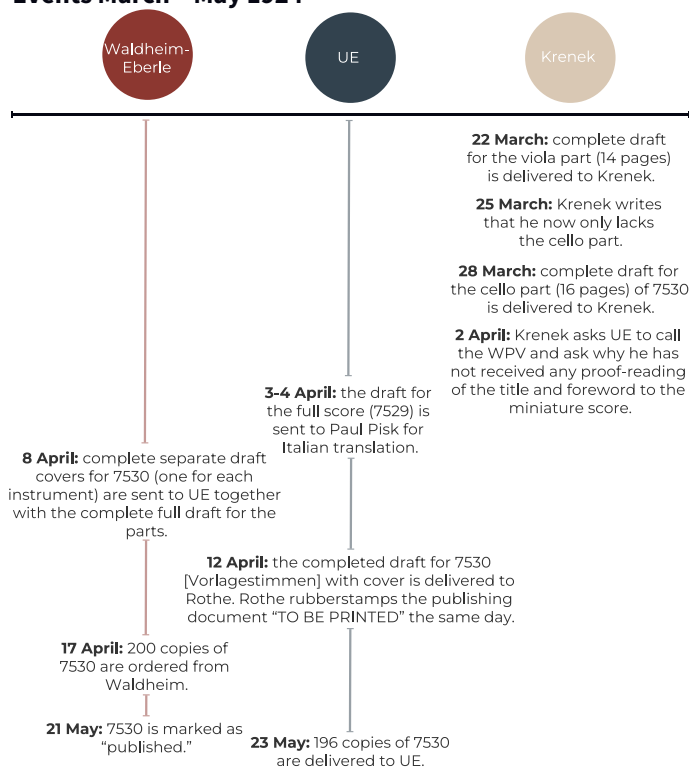


FIGURE 16. OP. 20's editing between 22 March and 23 May 1924.

tated distinguishing its value in weight by its stamp. This symbol then testified to the currency's value, meaning that each coin did no longer require weighing. Today, however, coins are symbols that are certified by their material substance instead of weight. If a dollar bill lacks the watermark, it is not a dollar bill.<sup>323</sup> For op. 20 to transform into an edited musical work, no instruments, performers, or listeners were required, only a name, author, and a stamp testifying to its value.

*May 1924:  
The Score is Out*

The printing process drew on an extended network of factories, transports, and companies in Central Europe. In 1924, up to 90 percent of all sheet music in the world was printed in Saxony, mostly in or around Leipzig. The Waldheim-Eberle company was an Austrian firm based in Vienna. It had recently merged with Josef Eberle & Co. owned by the large Richard 'Rikola' Kola concern. It produced books, lithography, sheet music, and other paper-based products. Its factory was located in Waldheim right between Dresden and Leipzig and its source of paper was the Austrian-owned Elbemühl paper factory, which was located in the German-speaking Czechoslovakian town of Arnau.<sup>324</sup>

Blueprint scores could be made by using many different methods. The Waldheim-Eberle firm used three main technologies for scores in 1932: engraving, collotype or photolithography, and autography. These techniques were all likely in use already in 1924, though we do not know which one was used in op. 20's case. From the first draft, a blueprint was made which could be used to produce endless amounts of new scores. Without this blueprint, the process of editing would have had to start anew.<sup>325</sup>

The first printing order to Waldheim, together with UE's marking of the score as "published" on 21 May 1924, once again concealed the black box of op. 20.<sup>326</sup> Deciding the publishing date was apparently a matter of perspective, but it had serious implications for ownership and royalties. As I mentioned earlier, had the publication been recorded after 23 May, Krenek would have had exclusive rights to the quartet. UE had the interpretative prerogative and chose the date of

printing as publishing date; thus, they endured the race against time with a two-day margin and became the legal owners of op. 20. Had the printers ceased to function, op. 20 might have been transferred back to Krenek. We have no reason to think he would have wanted it that way; UE had the muscles with which to produce and distribute the score and he was busy writing new pieces.

By handing the score over to UE, Waldheim, and WPV, Krenek let loose op. 20 into another universe of possible associations. However, while gradually emerging from the printing machines, the piece was performed in west Germany on 7 and 18 May 1924. Those two weeks may in fact have presented the most critical point in op. 20's movement as a musical work. What 'fidelity' to the work were the Hindemiths observing at Donaueschingen on 18 May? After all, by then, the 'real,' approved, soon-to-be-published score was inside the printers at Waldheim.

On the other hand, there is a slight possibility that the Hindemiths did in fact have access to the edited scores all along, as only 196 out of 200 copies were delivered to UE on 23 May, leaving four mysteriously missing. For a brief time in May 1924, two parallel sets of scores could have been in use. Another possibility is that the copies were lost or damaged, but that is less likely; indeed, publications were subject to mandatory legal deposit to Austria's National Library. This seems to be the most likely explanation for the whereabouts of these four copies.<sup>327</sup>

*July–September 1924:  
The Score Multiplies*

All in all, it took another two and a half months for 7529 (see Figure 18) to appear after the parts and yet another month to be registered as published.<sup>328</sup> Krenek only appeared once in this later editing, when he made another complaint about the delay of the miniature score (see Figure 17).<sup>329</sup> From 9 September, op. 20 existed in at least three different fixed forms, possibly four if the Hindemiths were still keeping their first copies from 1923.

In total, UE produced at least 1194 copies of the score, including parts and full score, perhaps as many as 1994, if their catalogue did

## Edition of the score

### Events July – September 1924

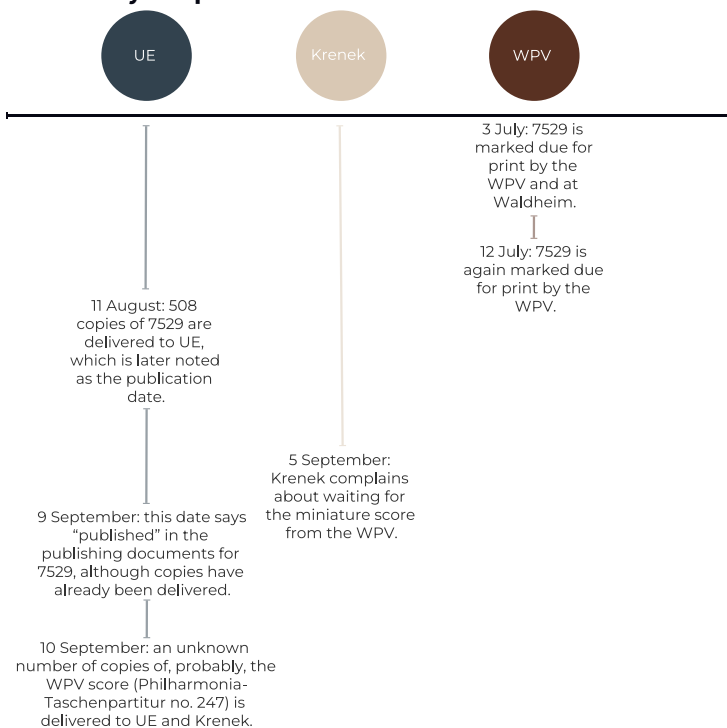


FIGURE 17. OP. 20's editing between 3 July and 10 September 1924.

not list the wpv's 800 miniature copies.<sup>330</sup> An interesting side-effect of wpv's editing was that the quartet, which for the most part clearly lacked anything resembling key, was labelled as being in 'E<sup>b</sup> major' on its front cover (see Figure 19).<sup>331</sup> This key would probably have been inferred from the short 'waltz' section. Someone at wpv—Kalmus or Roth—must have scanned the whole score for anything resembling a key simply to make it fit the standards of the firm's catalogue. It may also have stemmed from a different understanding of tonality and atonality, or a subtle commentary on the nature of 'modern' music, or just a different music-theoretical analysis of op. 20. Whatever the reasons, the E<sup>b</sup> major classification would not go unnoticed.

The 7529 and the wpv editions, identical in content, contained the same short biography of Krenek and a synopsis of form of the piece in German, English, and French, probably written by Krenek. The foreword, however, wrongly stated that op. 20 had premiered in Salzburg in 1924. The score did not provide any explicit division of the quartet into sonata form movements; instead, it used the concept of "sections."

The synopsis of form, a standard feature of scores, was a means for making the work more knowable in detail, distinguishing different themes and parts from one another by using some standards from Western art music and discarding others. In terms of the work concept, the synopsis can be understood as a statement establishing essential and eternal characteristics of op. 20 beyond particular performances. It was a claim to truth.

However, even with the clear descriptions of tempi, orientation (bars), themes, and passages, there were some phrasings of openness or vagueness, like "sort of." As fixed as the score was, it could never offer a completely definitive description because it was not supposed to exist on its own account. It needed associations in which ephemeral-concrete public performance was at least a possibility. I have marked open and vague phrasings in bold in the quote below:

The first section (up to bar 442) consists **mainly** of the Initial theme (bar 5); of a **sort of** calm Subsidiary theme (bar 160); and of the Fugue theme (bar 296 – Inversion bar 363).

# ERNST KŘENEK

## STREICHQUARTETT No. 3

3<sup>ÈME</sup> QUATUOR À CORDES 3<sup>RD</sup> STRING QUARTET

PARTITION

PARTITUR

SCORE

OP. 20



M.S. 7415

*See*

UNIVERSAL-EDITION

No. 7529

FIGURE 18. OP. 20's score by Universal-Edition (UE-7529). Source: Musiksammlung, ÖNB.

The second section (up to bar 530) introduces a new theme, in addition to **reminiscences** from the first section (Fugue theme in the Cello, bars 466/67; Initial theme repeated **a few times** from bar 493 on); and a small Scherzando between bars 501 and 511.

The Principal theme of the third section enters in bar 567. It leads to a Canon in four parts, with inversions (bar 607), which is interrupted by unisono passages (bars 623, 628, 634, 642). A **reminiscence** of the principal theme from the second section occurs in bar 650.

The fourth section (up to bar 697) is a short Intermezzo. A small Allegro Introduction leads to the fifth section (bar 705). The principal theme of this section **is derived from** that of the third section, the Valse is in four sections (bar 705, 749, 767, 787). An **analogous** passage to the Intermezzo of the fourth section (bars 811–819) leads to the sixth and last section, which is a **modified and greatly shortened** Recapitulation of the first section.<sup>332</sup>

The Italian translations provided by Pisk only pertained to musical interpretation within the notation, referring to conventional modes of playing in art music; examples were *un poco marcato*, *dei tre voci basse*, and *Tempo di valzer comodo*. These were derived from Krenek's German phrasing, which was printed alongside the notes, while the Italian translations featured as footnotes.<sup>333</sup>

OP. 20 belonged to UE's larger editions of Krenek's music before his breakthrough in 1927. Only the *A Capella Choirs*, op. 22 and the operas *Zwingburg* and *Der Sprung über den Schatten* were printed in larger numbers around 1924.<sup>334</sup> This suggests that not only Krenek and Hindemith, but also the larger network of associations connected to UE liked its potential and wanted to circulate it.

## Movement of the Scores

Kate van Orden claims that notated music is performative because it presumes and urges some action from its reader. The score does not exist for its own sake but rather functions as a fixed medium for ephemeral performances.<sup>335</sup> It corresponds well to ANT's intermediary: an actant which retains its identity even when transcending different associations.



However, although every score possesses this agency, it does not mean that anyone is going to enact it. Moreover, it does not mean that ‘just’ reading it or collecting it are meaningless acts. Western art music in 1924 had for at least a century been structured so that listening was almost unthinkable without the use of auxiliary texts.<sup>336</sup>

Although the year immediately following op. 20’s publication saw at least eight performances by different interpreters (see Movement IV), it also saw many events happening far from concert halls. What is certain is that the framework for conceptualising the work op. 20 expanded because of UE. It was part of a more complex network of associations than had been possible before. Decreasing its dependency on Krenek, the ISCM, and the Hindemiths, associations connected to UE enabled the work to move beyond its previous ‘comfort zone.’ Let us therefore look at the movement or ‘career’ of the three scores of op. 20.

From its base at Karlsplatz in Vienna, UE distributed sheet music throughout much of the world. Apart from the European and American sheet music markets, the firm was in close contact with Soviet publishers and some East Asian firms.<sup>337</sup> Most of their operations took place in Central Europe, however. Particularly close was their involvement with distributing firms Maass, Gutmann, and Hofmeister. For example, UE was involved in founding the Hofmeister firm’s large storage of sheet music in Vienna, as well as the Josef Blaha store that sold them to the public.<sup>338</sup> Another outlet was the annual Music Publisher’s Fair in Leipzig. It is likely that UE, who had a standing counter at the fair, brought op. 20 with them.<sup>339</sup> But they did not need to promote the scores all by themselves.

From June 1924 and onwards, as op. 20’s printed scores were being distributed, the news was picked up by major journals of art music publishing, such as the Hofmeister firm’s *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht* (MLM), which registered each newly published work of European art music and classified them according to standards of form, instrumental group, and genre. All editions of 1924 were also later compiled into a “Storage Catalogue” issued in 1932, in which op. 20 had the new index numbers ‘12753a’ and ‘12753b.’ It is interesting to



FIGURE 19. OP. 20'S score by Wiener Philharmonischer Verlag (Philharmonia no. 247). Source: Musiksammlung, öNB.

note how the *MLM* denoted it as being in E<sup>b</sup> major, whereas *Die Musik* simply labelled it 'atonal,' the former using the wpv edition and the latter probably using UE's edition.<sup>340</sup>

As a further step in the score's movement, The *MLM* lists were reproduced in other specialised journals for the music publishing industry. UE's published scores were regularly mediated in journals as reference numbers and on to other journals referencing that number or re-cataloguing it.<sup>341</sup> wpv's edition was even advertised in British *The Gramophone*.<sup>342</sup>

Each of these steps was an abstraction. It brought any conceptualisation of op. 20 away from the listening experience, but instead provided fixed-abstract conceptualisations of the work. Catalogues were printed media expected to last. The networks of journals and catalogues made sure that no musical work, once documented, would vanish entirely. But the object that became fixed in these networks, op. 20, had no concrete-ephemeral event directly connected to it.

In general, op. 20 was not singled out in advertisements but included as part of a larger group of published works. To the reader, the announcement was both a documentation of the work and an indication of a future purchase. For someone to be likely to buy a score based on this small piece of information would have required one to be previously familiar with the piece, or at least with Krenek. Nevertheless, the information was there for all who wished to find out more. op. 20 was now available to virtually anyone as a fixed entity existing in hundreds of purchasable copies. Another consequence of the publication was op. 20's entry into dictionaries of music, a process that began at least already in 1926. This is covered in Movement V.

Although UE made some efforts at advertising op. 20's scores, they did not have much press impact in either Germany, Austria, or indeed anywhere. Only in April 1925 did the first and only observable review of the score appear, authored by composer and music educator Bruno Stürmer:

Once again, the limitless overestimation of this young musician becomes clear when one examines a work of his more closely. ... principle bondage, 'de-spiritualisation' of music, torn-apart phrases,

suffocation of emotion. If Křenek once in a while does loose himself from his self-inflicted fetters, he begins to write in a fresh and merry manner and one enjoys his temperament, respects his skill. But this is rare. For those around him have made him their leader, those around him for whom creative-potent carelessness has become an abomination, since they in their cerebral acrobatics have thrown away the last of their passion and musical originality, if they ever had those. And this leadership has corrupted Křenek. The clique has sucked him dry. . . . The dedication of the Quartet to Hindemith is grotesque. What does this most unliterary of all modern musicians have to do with this experiment? When thinking of Hindemith's freshness and power, one only feels the emptiness, the embarrassing lengthiness, the grimly desolation ever more clearly. . . . Too bad for one who could have become a 'real man [*Kerl*].' Let's hope that he does not remain a victim of our time, that he eventually conquers that which currently dominates him.<sup>343</sup>

Most of the review was devoted to examining Křenek's career as an overestimated minion of New Music rather than op. 20 itself. We are left with few clues as to how Stürmer encountered the score as opposed to a sonic performance. While mentioning the prerequisites of close examination, making it possible to break down the work into smaller parts, Stürmer mainly wrote the review on Křenek in general, a review that may have been applicable to any other piece by the composer. The review did however compare Hindemith, an 'unliterary' composer-musician unbound by the regulations of musical text, to Křenek's literary 'experiment' of op. 20, which also included a quick reference to masculinity.

The availability of the fixed score made it possible to maintain other objects and relations as well. A few months after the parts edition, UE-7530, had been published, Křenek made sure to settle his exact rights to royalties from UE's sales of its copies.<sup>344</sup> He then made sure to have copies of the score, UE-7529 or WPV 247, sent to eleven different addresses in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and France.<sup>345</sup>

First, there was family. Anna Mahler, now his wife, was probably given a copy, as with Křenek's other works. His parents received another copy. Alma Mahler-Werfel, Křenek's then mother-in-law, was

an influential figure among German-speaking contemporary composers and had also had music published by UE. When Krenek, who did not have many nice things to say about her, sent her a copy of the score, Alma's daughter Anna Mahler and he were already on their way towards their divorce later that autumn. Nevertheless, Alma Mahler-Werfel received the score at her part-time address in Venice, also known as 'Casa Mahler,' which Krenek had visited that year. Another copy ended up with Alban Berg in Vienna.<sup>346</sup>

Another recipient was conductor and composer Volkmar Andreae, one of Krenek's contacts in his new home in Switzerland.<sup>347</sup> It is likely that Krenek hoped that it would be performed in Andreae's home Zürich or elsewhere. Such hopes would materialise soon enough, although it is unclear if Andreae had any role in this.

OP. 20 was also sent to several of Krenek's former educators and supporters in Berlin: Eduard Erdmann, Artur Schnabel, Franz Schreker, Georg Schünemann, and Leo Kestenberg. A copy was also sent directly to the library of the Berlin Conservatory, now Krenek's alma mater.<sup>348</sup> This Prussian-administered music education centre deserves a special mention. After the establishment of the Republic in 1918, the new leadership attempted to make the Conservatory in Charlottenburg a beacon of musical life in a new Germany, an attempt at which they were largely successful. While Imperial Germany had supported the romantic and classical repertoires, the Republican paradigm shift meant also offering at least some support to New Music. This made the German state a modern music patron like, for example, the Fürstenbergs (see Movement II).<sup>349</sup>

Despite the difficult financial conditions of the 1920s, the Conservatory managed to expand both its budget and number of students, with Schreker and his group being perhaps the most important and earliest drivers of transformation. The Conservatory Library also expanded its catalogue, including its repertoire of New Music.<sup>350</sup> On 24 September 1924, librarian Ernst Kirst received the score with a short note from UE, who, like other publishers, were in regular touch with him. OP. 20 was but one of hundreds of works being collected through free gifts or purchase each year, expanding the already rich catalogue

to keep up with a new, 'modern' repertory.<sup>351</sup> We cannot know if anyone borrowed it, but it is likely that some students and professionals had a look at it. From the Library's 1835 scores and books in 1924–1925, 23 234 loans were registered in that year alone.<sup>352</sup>

Apart from a few possible students, composer and pianist Eduard Erdmann is the most likely reader to have studied the score carefully since he and Krenek were not just colleagues but close friends.<sup>353</sup> *Op. 20* was delivered to him shortly after he and Krenek had concluded a lengthy discussion on atonality and linear counterpoint, sparked by Krenek's increasing disillusionment with the compositional techniques that he had hitherto been using.<sup>354</sup> It thus formed part of a larger, ongoing professional conversation between the two composers. Schünemann, Schnabel, and Kestenberg, all elders of Krenek, had all supported his development, but were not close friends like Erdmann.

The least likely close reader would be Schreker, who, despite having been Krenek's main teacher, had poor appetite for atonal New Music. Supposedly very controlling of his students, Schreker had driven Krenek into hiding his manuscripts in a desire to become more independent.<sup>355</sup>

For *Op. 20* to be in the Conservatory library meant that it had a part in shaping the emerging German post-imperial music canon. These events can also be seen as a way for Krenek, now an ex-Berliner in remote Zürich, to reconnect with and revisit his old city and 'Berlin Group.'<sup>356</sup> That association, like any, needed to be regularly performed to continue, and exchanging compositions was one such performance. While having become more financially independent, Krenek was careful to keep in touch with his old supportive circle. As a gift and an item of composition, *Op. 20* was a useful mediator.

In December 1924, Krenek, who had just returned from a trip to Paris, had the score delivered along with some other pieces, this time to Igor Stravinsky in Nice and to Arthur Honegger in Paris. In contrast to the older 'Berlin Group,' these two men reflected Krenek's forward gaze, because both were important for his move to 'neo-classicism.' He had met Stravinsky in 1924 while staying in Switzerland. They



later had dinner together at one time in Stravinsky's house in Nice, probably at some point in spring or summer 1925. Krenek's relation to Honegger seems to have been limited, although they shared a meal in Paris around the same time as the delivery of the score. Several contemporary French composers influenced Krenek's style and mind-set during the mid-20s.<sup>357</sup> *Op. 20*, with its eclectic use of tonal and atonal elements, was probably used to demonstrate that he had developed and was no longer a distinctly atonal composer.

However, there is no telling whether the score was ever read by any of these recipients, and what impact it had on them. Apart from Krenek's father, none of them seems to have written him back thanking him specifically for the score.<sup>358</sup> As is often the case with gifts, the delivery may have been an end in itself.

*Op. 20*'s editions were objects of intellectual property. They were afforded a creator, a rights-owning publisher, serial numbers, and descriptions of its 'eternal' form. By becoming so, they attained more of an 'ostensive definition,' which remained the same regardless of circumstance and association. A fixed conceptualisation of the work *Op. 20* might be able to travel with more ease, as an intermediary rather than as mediator, less dependent on immediate associations and events to be defined than in the previous movement.<sup>359</sup>

Krenek the composer, as distinct from Krenek the individual, was also made into an intermediary through the scores. This, in turn, made these scores into property; Martin Parker Dixon states that authors exist precisely because art is property.<sup>360</sup> Whereas Krenek in the reviews after *Op. 20*'s premiere was defined by whatever the critics chose to emphasise, he was now travelling as 'the same' composer in the score.

However, although editing had made the quartet into more of an intermediary in the sheet music business, outside of those associations it was still very much a performative object. Ambiguity and misunderstanding would only continue as the work kept moving, now far beyond the German-speaking world.

## An Arsenal of Fixity

This movement has followed *op. 20* as its opus number became introduced in music publishing just as it had been in performances. Gavin Steingo concludes that objects that move between associations, including different musical practices, are not as fragile as they seem:

When things are entangled they are interdependent, lacking autonomy, and reliant on an expanding web of potentially infinite other things. Deep relational entanglement thus results either in stasis ... or in a situation where one small change—for example, the replacement of a single screw in a single pump—sets off a ripple effect impacting an entire system. But both possible results contradict basic logic and practical observation. Objects *do* move and, furthermore, component parts are routinely substituted without causing any major structural change.<sup>361</sup>

Steingo's point is that whichever relational web an object is part of for the moment is not the sum of its potential. Music pieces may change format and move and still retain their 'function.' Nevertheless, developing from mediator to intermediary has consequences. This is what *op. 20* went through in the spring of 1924. The piece had existed as a completed manuscript since 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1923, exactly one year before its publication. This opus-numbered work owed its premiere and early movement to a limited number of actants and associations. The Hindemiths and their associations had managed so far to perform the quartet seven more times after the premiere. This was not self-evident for any piece of New Music and the continued performance events only happened because of hard work.

These associations were, moreover, vulnerable and often changing. In 1924, for example, the Hindemiths had to rehearse *op. 20* with a new member, Rudolf Hindemith, the brother of Paul. Music criticism of the piece decreased shortly after Salzburg, with most concerts yielding only a couple or handful of reviews. This made the opportunities for public exposure and conceptualisation even narrower for *op. 20*. Still, for all these shortcomings, the Hindemiths provided a degree of fixity through performances up until 21 May 1924, when *UE* claimed that role.



UE's arsenal of actants and mediators was different. So were their ways of conceptualising the work. Where the Hindemiths provided eight ephemeral-concrete listening experiences in 10 months, UE provided 1194 fixed-concrete copies ready to be distributed to sheet music retailers in dozens, even hundreds, of cities and towns. Where most of the Hindemiths' concerts after Salzburg yielded between two and a handful reviews, mostly in local papers and easily forgotten within days, UE provided a catalogue with edition numbers, making the work op. 20 traceable wherever one found them. And while the Hindemiths had to re-rehearse before each concert to keep the quartet fresh in mind and body, UE needed not do much except distribute and advertise the score after the initial, demanding, even violent editing work had been done. The standards or principles for classification that were applied to the score would do much of the work for them. Among these were the opus and edition numbers, the key in the miniature edition, the categories of 'modern,' 'chamber music,' and 'string quartet,' and the synopsis of form as a universal claim to the work's essential characteristics.

Of course, the intensive back-and-forth editing in spring 1924 was essential for creating this harmony, and the finished scores still relied on the relative "peace" of the communication systems of its time to reach anyone. Siegert stresses the ontological foundations for any form of object as deeply rooted in the postal system: "What is ... is posted." He also adds: "An eternal postal peace ensures that everything that is the case will be delivered without 'noise and wrangling' and without distortion."<sup>362</sup>

Editing made invisible op. 20's potential diversity by asserting relatively firm standards. This also shifted the conceptual focus of the quartet from the ephemeral-concrete, and ephemeral-abstract, towards the fixed-concrete. The published editions also touched upon the abstract-fixed, as the synopsis of form in the score detached the work from any ephemeral performance. The synopsis was less ephemeral than a review, as its publication was not bound in the same way to any date or month. In addition, it was a higher claim to musical 'truth' than any other text about the piece, since it had the backing and seal

of UE or WPV and Krenek. One could read this short synopsis, then discard the score, never listen to any of its performances, and still be able to conceptualise *Op. 20* as a fixed-concrete-abstract musical work.

Let us not forget those performances, though. The Hindemiths put in continuous effort to keep their performed *Op. 20* going and created a slightly distinct work with its own degree of fixity relying on the ephemeral and concrete. The quartet was not just any piece but an object of care for them, especially Hindemith, as they tried making their mark on the piece and removing it from actants that they thought had nothing to do with it. This was done by placing emphasis on preferred space, time, and association; in other words, by carefully selecting the places and faces that saw it performed after Salzburg. By evading massive, heterogeneous associations like the *ISCM* festival, *Op. 20* was tidied up and socialised; Bowker and Star would call this a ‘naturalisation process.’<sup>363</sup>

Probably realising that the contents of the quartet had power in some places and were completely irrelevant or even despised in others, Hindemith introduced and attached it to more reliable and ‘authentic’ New Music associations in for instance Frankfurt, Prague, and Berlin. To be fair, not all of these were completely distinguished from the *ISCM*. As I eventually show (see Movement VI), this large and international network had not and would not really ever lose its sight on *Op. 20*. While the score were on the move, we have yet to see how this was reflected in other events of broadcasting, recording, and performances across the world. This is the focus of the next movement.



## Movement IV. A World Tour of the Work

### From Leningrad to Rome

German music lost much of its international status as ‘bearer of culture’ following the defeat in World War I. Especially British, American, and French concert organisers, who had been largely banned from promoting German music during the war, were reluctant to let it back onto their stages after 1918, not least New Music.<sup>364</sup> Perhaps for these or for other reasons, *op. 20* would be welcomed mainly in the German-speaking world or in the contemporary Fascist and Communist regimes.

On 5 February 1925, *op. 20* was performed in the Small Hall of the Leningrad *Philharmonia* by the Glazunov Quartet. The USSR was at this time favourable to New Music and ‘modernism’ in its many forms, although not without resistance.<sup>365</sup> The concert, supposedly the second ever of Krenek’s music in the USSR, left few traces, but was probably an effect of UE’s ambitiously developed export networks.<sup>366</sup>

Although they toured most of Europe, it is possible that the Glazunov Quartet found their copies of the score through the Soviet International Publishing Agency (МК) or directly through the concert organisers, most likely the Association for Contemporary Music (ASM). If so, having been founded just the year before, *op. 20*’s performance must have been one of the society’s very first concerts.<sup>367</sup> Artur Schnabel, one of *op. 20*’s recipients in 1924, may also have been involved, as he regularly visited the USSR at this time.<sup>368</sup> He may even have attended the concert.

Leningrad, or Petrograd as it had been known until 1924, was one

of Europe's cultural capitals both before and after World War I and still had, at this time, much space for New Music. Austria was one of the first European countries to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR following the German-Soviet treaty of Rapallo in 1922. UE quickly used the impact of Rapallo by establishing direct collaboration with the MK.<sup>369</sup> Between 1923 and 1925, Scores by Soviet composers poured into the UE's registers by the hundreds on the premise that these would enjoy copyright despite the USSR being outside the Berne Union. Likewise, scores of works by German and West European composers flooded into the USSR from early 1923 on, bringing back some of the pre-war music export relations. UE used this opportunity to secure more sales and marketing opportunities, as illustrated for example by their journal *Musikblätter des Anbruch's* special issue "Russia" in 1925. The results, although less significant than hoped for, were not unimportant, as UE for a long time was the main European distributor of mostly Russian but also other Soviet composers in their catalogue.<sup>370</sup>

UE's exports contributed to the favourable environments for New Music in the USSR until the late 1920s. The *Philharmonia* concert was one of the earliest introductions of Krenek's music to Russian and Soviet audiences, who would continue to follow his career until at least 1928. It may also have contributed to the Glazunov Quartet's long-lasting impact in Soviet musical life, and it is possible that they performed it at other times on some of their long tours in and outside the USSR, before the regime became increasingly repressive in the late 1920s.<sup>371</sup>

Meanwhile, in February 1925 the Hindemiths decided to revisit op. 20 for the first time in eight months since UE's publication. This may not have been so easy; as Dörte Schmidt stresses, any interpreter will be unhappy to have to re-read a score that has been edited.<sup>372</sup> Nevertheless, the Quartet pushed through, which suggests that they still claimed some ownership of the piece. Perhaps they even used their old scores from Salzburg. Judging from the associations to which they now introduced the piece, and comparing to a year earlier, they were now open to sharing it with broader and even unexpected audiences.

## PROGRAMMI

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**Sabato 28 Febbraio 1925.**

**BÉLA BARTÓK** . . . . - Quartetto N. 2, op. 17.

Moderato.  
Allegro molto capriccioso.  
Lento.

**PAUL HINDEMITH** . . . - Trio per Violino, Viola e Violoncello,  
op. 31 (1924).

Toccata.  
Lento.  
Moderatamente mosso.  
Fuga.

**ERNEST KRENEK** . . . - Quartetto N. 3, in *mi* b. magg., op. 20.

Allegro molto vivace.  
Adagio.  
Allegro moderato, ma deciso.  
Adagio - Tempo di Valzer.  
Tempo I (All. molto vivace).

FIGURE 20. Programme of the Rome performance in February 1925.  
Courtesy of the Fondation Hindemith, Blonay (CH). (Photograph by author)

**Konzert-Direktion Hans Adler** frenetico  
Blaschke & Co.

Kammermusikhaus, Sonntag, 13. März 1925, abends 8 Uhr

I. Konzert

**Amar-Quartett**

Lieco Amar (I. Viol.) Paul Hindemith (Bratsche)  
Walter Caspar (II. Viol.) Rudolf Hindemith (Cello)

**PROGRAMM:**

I. Quartett . . . . . Ernest Bloch  
Andante moderato  
Allegro frenetico Erstaufführung  
Andante pastorale  
Vivace

II. Trio für Oeige, Bratsche, Cello  
op. 77 a moll Max 530  
Sostenuto, Allegro agitato — Larghetto  
Scherro — Allegro con moto

III. Streichquartett op. 20 . . . . . E. Krenek  
Allegro molto vivace. Adagio. Allegro deciso.  
Adagio. Gemächliches Walzertempo. Allegro  
molto vivace Erstaufführung  
(Die Sätze folgen einander ohne Unterbrechung)

**Amar-Quartett**

**II. (letztes) Konzert: Dienstag, 17. März. 8 Uhr**  
Hindemith // Béla Bartók // Strawinsky

FIGURE 21. Programme of the Berlin concert on 15 March, 1925. Courtesy of the Fondation Hindemith, Blonay (CH). (Author's photography)

These included more non-German speakers, unknown hotel guests, and a broader radio audience.

Touring through Italy during February and March 1925, the Hindemiths performed the quartet in Rome and Milan, events that had apparently been planned already the year before. The Rome concert, with its programme presenting op. 20 among its “important works,” was organised by the *Filarmonica Romana* and the Italian ISCM, the Corporation of New Music. It took place in the Sgambati Hall. The programme defined the quartet as having an “uninterrupted” form and the key E<sup>b</sup> major, preparing listeners for the performance with an abstract-fixed definition, which was probably inferred from the wpv score (see Figure 20).<sup>373</sup>

Already on their first performance after the score had been published, then, the Hindemiths were experiencing the consequences of publication. The score had become a shadow figure or latent reflection of the performance op. 20. While one thing called op. 20 was about to be performed, something else going by the same name was also being read: the edition. That published edition travelled fast so that it as a rule could enter any association before the performance of op. 20. As a piece of knowledge on the quartet, the edition could from now on become an actant in any conceptualisation of the performed work.

Much like the early USSR, Fascist Italy's attitude to modern art was ambivalent and arbitrary. Widespread cultural censorship was initiated only in the 1930s. Fascist ideology was often interpreted as an embrace of artistic modernity, for example through its connections to the Futurist movement. A more ‘moderate’ Fascist fraction allowed associations like the ISCM until 1939 and the *Musica d'oggi* journal, even actively promoting them. Italy was also continuously visited by people within New Music from all of Europe without much political consideration.<sup>374</sup>

After Italy, the Hindemiths returned to perform op. 20 on three occasions in Germany. The first took place in the Chamber Music House in Berlin on 15 March 1925, incorrectly described as a “first [Berlin] performance (see Figure 21).” The first one in November 1923 had probably been forgotten by most of the capital's critics and



concert-goers (see Movement III). *Die Musik* stated that op. 20 “is full of energy, but lacking blood; a not uninteresting study in peculiar rhythms and strange harmonies, but as expression of spiritual values questionable and pathetic.”<sup>375</sup> After Berlin followed a less known performance in a hotel restaurant in Frankfurt.<sup>376</sup> Then, on 27 May, the Hindemith’s thirteenth performance was broadcast by the newly established South-West German Broadcasting Company (SÜWRAG).

The Hindemiths, by now, were no longer independent of the movement of the edited scores. It is likely that Hindemith and his companions had realised that they no longer had the same distinct relationship to op. 20. To some extent, it ceased to be their object of care. Perhaps Hindemith felt that it did not need to be anymore; it was out there now and did not look like it would fall into oblivion. But op. 20 may have been more difficult to ‘sell’ on radio than on stage.

### A Wireless Work: The Frankfurt Broadcasting

The fourth Frankfurt performance, on 27 May that year, would not take place in a concert venue but at a small radio station owned by the South-West German Broadcasting Company (SÜWRAG). Although this event was as ephemeral as any other spatiotemporal performance, it is interesting because it brought in some completely new actants and associations beyond what had so far been the rule.

The state-owned German Broadcasting Company introduced news, music, and audio courses in 1923 to a limited audience with only 1 580 registered devices. The largely unsuccessful wartime experiments with radio waves, the threat of coup attempts, and superstition made the public suspicious of the new medium. The theory of ‘ether’ had not yet been completely abandoned and the wireless transmission of sounds was still an object of mysticism.<sup>377</sup> Radio was therefore more publicly controlled in Germany than in most other countries, even in Europe where state monopoly was the norm. The state restricted the use of radio to ‘peaceful’ and ‘nonpartisan’ issues like music, news reports, and public education. Radio listening was mainly regarded as

an educational tool and listeners as free-time students using the medium for ‘deep quality’ listening [*Vertiefung*]. Radio would make the home a more enlightened place and bridge gaps in education among the republic’s citizens.

Music became an obvious staple of the audio-based radio medium. Nils Grosch writes that many composers and musicians also came to view radio as a promising modern patron institution for music, replacing both crown, church, nobility, and the state. Meanwhile, performing rights societies struggled to exploit the potential income from the never-ending stream of broadcast music pieces.<sup>378</sup>

Although op. 20’s entry into this world was far from inevitable, it made sense. Responsible for the süWRAG station was none other than radio pioneer Hans Flesch, Hindemith’s brother-in-law, a regular attendant of the Donaueschingen festivals, and acquainted with Krenek. His right hand was Ernst Schoen, an ardent promoter of New Music with ties to the ‘Berlin Group’ and Licco Amar.<sup>379</sup>

op. 20 was one of the very first appearances of the Hindemiths on radio and was part of their “New String Chamber Music” cycle from 27 May to 22 June. Although the number of registered radio devices in Germany had reached over one million by 1925, the relationship between the local Frankfurt station and its listeners had only been developing for one year. Broadcasting New Music was a bold move, but it satisfied Flesch and Schoen’s appetite for experimenting with public communication within a restrictive radio regime, as discussed by radio historians August Soppe, Solveig Ottmann, and Christian Führer. süWRAG would broadcast almost 200 performances either featuring or focusing on New Music within its first two years.<sup>380</sup>

Perhaps to maintain the trust of the local listeners, the journal *Radio-Umschau* announced the performance, the second in order, using a fair amount of sarcasm:

On the 27<sup>th</sup>, the Amar Quartet will present, in orderly fashion, the complete string chamber music that has emerged in Europe during the last years. We know from the listeners, who again eagerly inquired by the phone ... if this was feedback noise, to which the reply was that it was Stravinsky[.] [W]e know however also of other listeners,

who could not understand how a musical ensemble like the Amar Quartet could fit inside the tight broadcasting room and play with their usual proficiency[.] [Maybe] because they had never had it better, or because they wanted to inflict some perverse desires upon the radio listeners that they could not themselves see anyway. (What a pity!) ... One Hungarian, one German-Czech [sic], one Russian: Kodaly, Krenek, Stravinsky. – Occasionally there arises a tiny call for ‘classic Music.’ Then one can only, enthusiastically, reply ‘hm, hm.’ Is it because the times in which You are living are being kidnapped by the Devil? Because the ‘old masters’ are so beloved and trusted by You? True enough, we shall see about that.<sup>381</sup>

Rather than being recapitulated in reviews after it had happened, the event was anticipated before it happened to prepare the listeners, who were assumed to be uneducated on New Music. The announcement in *Radio-Umschau* had to introduce “classical music” as a standard to make this supposedly unknown category comprehensible. This means that there were still elements of fixity even in the elusive “wireless cultural steam engine” as Schoen called the radio.<sup>382</sup> Radio concerts, like ‘live’ ones, depended to some extent on text, print culture, and the establishment of musical genres and canons.

Who, then, listened to op. 20 in May 1925? From what we know, they came from a male-dominated hobby community. Listening to broadcasts in 1925 was different from, say, 1930, because speakers were not yet used. An odd bird in an otherwise well-decorated home, the radio was an intimidating companion in the kitchen or living room. Prices of devices ranged from 250 to 300 RM, creating a sharp line between dedicated users and non-users.<sup>383</sup>

Listening was only possible using one headset per person. Tuning in was seldom a casual thing but rather resembled a visit to the cinema. Adjusting the frequency required patience and some practical knowledge that was often gated as a male prerogative. Some 80% of users probably belonged to an educated middle-class, given surveys from the time.<sup>384</sup> Some were probably familiar with the performers, the composers, and the music pieces. Others may even have studied their miniature scores before listening.

By being played on radio, op. 20 became an object of public education. Being a citizen of the German republic, one should have at least some knowledge of its most recent art music. Contrary to its other performances, the string quartet was now not only made available but encouraged to be out there for anyone to recognise, judge, and conceptualise. However, as with most things broadcast on radio, it quickly gave way to the next broadcast, and the next after that. Other sounds, such as cars, neighbouring frequencies, and local electric works, might interfere with the sound transmission. Even without that, radio sound transmission was not yet easy on string instruments. Not fixity but ephemerality defined radio for most people. It mediated the moment but did not save it.<sup>385</sup>

As a means for conceptualising op. 20 as a work, süWRAG left few observable traces. Nevertheless, we may think of it as a more subtle component in the networks in which the quartet became an actant. Radio offered new opportunities for discovering it (see Figure 25).

After the performance, the Hindemiths carried on their süWRAG cycle of ‘new string quartets’ for the summer. From the autumn on, however, they switched completely to performing ‘masters’ from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and back: Mozart, Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms.<sup>386</sup> They would only revisit op. 20 once more, two years later. By that time, other associations had picked up the piece. Before I present these events, I explore the quartet in yet another medium.

### Part of the Package: The Story of B 29057

Sometime in 1925 or perhaps as late as autumn 1926, the *waltz* section of op. 20, a piece of about three and a half minutes, was acoustically recorded by the Hindemiths. It was soon released as a gramophone record on Polydor (Polydor 66201, catalogue number B 29057, matrix number 912 az), a branch of the larger company Deutsche Grammophon (DG) designated for international export and not to be confused with the later British label. On the other side was its ‘twin’ work, Stravinsky’s *Concertino for String Quartet*.<sup>387</sup>

Recording made pieces like op. 20 accessible to a broader public, as with radio. However, it was also supposed to achieve what the score had never quite managed to do: to literally reproduce the sound sequence in any musical piece as ‘the same,’ making it a truly ‘eternal’ work. Ulrik Volgsten points out that, in phonography only, “music exists as an entirely autonomous *object*. ... the phonogram is carrier of both immaterial form and its sounding materialization...” Similarly, Christopher Hailey claims that “the phonograph fatally undermined music’s eloquent testimony to our impotence to arrest the decay of time.”<sup>388</sup>

Adorno also prophesied that the recording would, for the first time in history, provide musical works with an ‘objectively’ indexed inscription. Whereas notation had for centuries preserved musical pieces in writing, the European system allowed for many variations in interpretation while requiring a specific literacy to be deciphered. Listening to a recording would not require any prior knowledge. Anyone with hearing would now be able to experience the ‘true’ representation of a musical work at will. The gramophone would usher in an Esperanto-esque utopia of universal music, as with photograph and cinema in terms of conveying ‘reality.’ The gramophone was not concerned with harmonies and melodies, but with vibrations per second. Recording emphasised the scientific aspects of sound, not aesthetics, which would ideally enhance the recording’s claim to truth.<sup>389</sup> The metaphysical work would be physically exposed through technology.

However, as with other utopias, the promises of recording fell rather short in the case of op. 20. The recording, which I call B 29057, or simply ‘the waltz,’ was clearly the less important “B-side” of the *Concertino*, although it was certainly not chosen randomly by Hindemith. Being something of a comedian besides a musician and composer, he may have found the rather sarcastic waltz to be one of the op. 20’s better parts. Parodies of the old Central European waltz became common after the war, reflecting a tongue-in-cheek attitude to the forever gone Habsburg days. While recordings of ‘real’ dancing waltzes were still popular, the mock waltz used humour to distinguish New Music from the tradition from which it had emerged while also paying respect to that tradition.<sup>390</sup>

Whichever the case, entering the recording industry transformed how both performers and listeners played, listened to, and conceptualised pieces like op. 20. Thomas Levin claims that recorded music is always motivated by activity, namely performances, unlike the photograph, which can just be of anything. The record is also dependent on another apparatus, whereas the photograph may be viewed without auxiliary technology.<sup>391</sup> This dependency exposed the work to associations, actants, and chains of events that were in some ways different from the concert hall (see Figure 22). These circumstances would alter the conceptual framework for op. 20.

First, the recording session took place in a studio (we do not know exactly where). While it was a live performance, performers had to cluster uncomfortably around a small recording horn. They also needed to use, for example, *vibrato* more than usual to make their instruments audible on the recording. Sometimes they had to play faster than usual to fit the recording format of around four minutes. 1925 was the final year of the ‘acoustic’ or ‘nonelectric’ paradigm in sound recording, a technology that offered no options for post-recording editing. The sound quality, moreover, was not really suited for music but speech.<sup>392</sup>

Second, B 29057 was primarily a “waltz,” a semi-work or a selected portion of op. 20. The recording session demanded that all other aspects of the quartet were ignored. This may not have been easy for the Hindemiths who had not played it like that before. They probably had to rehearse it in the studio to try out the recording horn and technical quality. There is no way to know how many times they did so before beginning the recording session, but the vast majority settled for take one or two.<sup>393</sup> As they did so, gradually, the waltz may have become a piece of its own and not just a minor chunk of op. 20. Peter Szendy claims that rearrangements might question “the very notion of a work.”<sup>394</sup> For the Hindemiths, the DG producers, as well as the consumers and listeners of the record, the short piece probably had little to do with what had previously been known as Krenek’s *Third String Quartet*, except for its opus number, which still followed wherever the record went.

B 29057 was off to a poor start. Following the studio session and the completion of the Polydor record, the movement of the waltz is less observable than that of op. 20 in the concert halls and publishing industry. DG's archives from this time are scarce due to World War II bombings.<sup>395</sup> The German gramophone scene, with specialised journals like the *Phonographische Zeitschrift* and *Die Stimme seines Herrn*, seems to have paid it little attention, despite regularly advertising the Hindemiths' recordings.<sup>396</sup>

One exception was Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt's article on the potential of recordings for New Music in August 1926. The article explicitly praised the Hindemiths' allegedly still planned recordings for DG as pioneers of "the most modern works," op. 20 included, now entering the broader recording industry:

The most plausible value of mechanical instruments for the broader public can be found here, above all. The most complicated music becomes accessible, if one can listen to it often enough. The one-off performance in the concert is not capable of enabling a true evaluation of its worth. The disc however is taken into the home. It can (given sufficient care; always put in a new needle!!) be played a thousand times over. Thus, the work is provided its fidelity; the unfamiliarity disappears and the reluctance towards 'modern music' with it.<sup>397</sup>

Stuckenschmidt's statement explicitly listed specific actants and chains of action in experiencing recorded musical works: the needle demanding constant replacement, the disc, the home, and the repeated, faithful performance of 'the same' piece of music. op. 20 contributed to forming an ideal association of recorded New Music. The partly instructional language also made the record consumption experience into an object of acquired, practical knowledge.

In Britain, *The Gramophone* observed the Hindemiths regularly, but never mentioned this recording.<sup>398</sup> More visible were the recording's chains of associations in the U.S. In November 1926, the American Brunswick Company signed a deal with DG, providing exposure of much of its catalogue in the U.S., including Polydor.<sup>399</sup> Although global shipping in general suffered from protectionism at this time,

Germany exhibited what Hartmut Rübner and Lars U. Scholl call a “shipping imperialism.” German companies pressed to expand their shipping networks. Although in high debt during the 1920s, these companies enjoyed strong private and state support. B 29057’s introduction to American markets around 1927–1928 coincided with one of only two good periods in the interwar shipping industry.<sup>400</sup>

Across the Atlantic, the recording was given new catalogue numbers and distributed by various local agents.<sup>401</sup> American authority on recorded music Robert Donaldson Darrell mentioned the recording several times. In April 1928, however, he declared that the waltz was too insignificant for recording:

The justly celebrated Amar-Hindemith Quartet plays the *Waltz* from [Krenek’s] string Quartet OP. 20 on the reverse of the acoustical Polydor record of Strawinski’s [sic] delightful *Concertino* (66201) ... The Strawinski work ... rather overshadows Krenek’s piece. There are a number of more significant works of Krenek which might be well considered for recording. Unfortunately he is not the only modern composer whose works are being given excellent representation in the concert hall, but not as yet in the recording studios.<sup>402</sup>

“Krenek’s piece” was, simply, a lesser work to be recorded when related to Krenek’s music in general. Instead, the *Concertino*, not B 29057, received the main attention. The waltz was reduced to a ‘flipside’ or supporting actant for the main object. Of course, it still moved wherever its ‘twin’ piece went. For example, the disc Polydor 66201 was included in a suggested \$14 ‘budget package’ for record collectors for its “special merit or unusual interest,” which was indicated by an asterisk.<sup>403</sup>

The *Concertino* also featured as an editorial recommendation to a local collector in Lincoln, Nebraska, who in June 1927 requested suggestions for recordings “of a few modern works which I should do well to know.” No mention was made of Krenek’s waltz.<sup>404</sup> B 29057 nevertheless became a collectors’ item, in part thanks to the popularity of Stravinsky, his *Concertino*, and the Hindemiths. As a recorded work, it probably depended even more on other actants than in the concert hall.



Records were sold and bought on a broader scale than scores. Individuals collected them as representations of genres and composers. These associations were less tied to op. 20's German-speaking New Music network, more heterogeneous, and more contingent. However, they still perpetuated concepts like 'modern' music, which had its own niche in this consumer culture. It was through this standard, not 'waltz' and dance music, that B 29057 made sense.

Although B 29057 clearly enjoyed a vast distribution and advertisement system, it is difficult to assess how well it sold in the u.s. However, because it was acoustically recorded in the very same year that electric recording technology was introduced, it was about to become obsolete. As concluded by the *Phonograph Monthly* in 1928: "the omission of acoustical versions makes it necessary to pass over works like the Columbia and Victor Franck Sonatas and the Polydor Hindemith, Bartok, and Strawinski works by the Hindemith Quartet."<sup>405</sup>

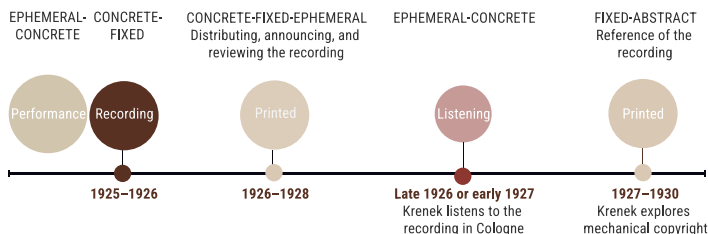
Although B 29057 was part of a celebrated set of 'modern' recorded works, its medium was already too old for it to fit the standards of modern mechanical music. In Europe, although DG's distribution was extensive, the recording never gained much appreciation. Krenek's royalties for all early recordings of his works still amounted to "pennies" after two years.<sup>406</sup>

Krenek heard the recording in a "private home" in Cologne sometime in late 1926 or early 1927, presumably at Eduard Erdmann's or violinist Alma Moodie's place. Krenek was not aware of which record company had released it, suggesting that the Hindemiths had recorded B 29057 without his knowledge. Although he concluded that it was "very bad," Krenek sent several letters to UE asking whether he was a member of the German Music-Mechanical Rights Association (AMMRE) after hearing the piece. Through UE, AMMRE began informing him on the status of mechanical rights in general and the revenues of his recorded music, which at the time was still new territory for him. Although mechanical music licensing had been legislated and enforced for rights-holders since the first decade of the century, including Germany, much of this knowledge was still lost on composers.<sup>407</sup>

Why the quality of the recording was important for Krenek remains

## Movement of B 29057

Events 1925–1930



### Associations & actants

**Studio, recording equipment - horn, needle, space**  
Producer  
**Deutsche Grammophon staff**  
**The Amar Quartet**  
Instruments, performing tools  
Shellac discs  
**Polydor label**  
Igor Stravinsky's *Concertino*  
Specific playing techniques (vibrato)  
**Polyphon-Werke disc pressing factory (Hannover)**  
Catalogue numbers, az. numbers, classification numbers  
**Distribution**  
**Nonelectric recording technique**

**Journals, advertisement**  
Editors  
Robert Donaldson  
Darrell  
Hans Heinz  
Stuckenschmidt  
**Printing**  
Critics  
**Gramophone shops**  
B. M. Mai  
**Transport, transatlantic infrastructure**  
Catalogue numbers  
**Packaging**  
**Polydor label**  
**Trade agreement**  
**Brunswick-Deutsche Grammophon**  
L. B. van G. (record collector)  
Igor Stravinsky's *Concertino*  
**Nonelectric recording technique**  
**Electric recording technique**

Gramophones, needles, other equipment  
**Apartment (Cologne)**  
**Gramophone shops**  
Ernst Krenek  
Letters  
**Postal services**  
[possibly] Eduard Erdmann, Cologne  
[possibly] Alma Moodie, Cologne  
Igor Stravinsky's *Concertino*

Letters  
**Mechanical rights legislation**  
**The German Music-Mechanical Rights Association (AMMRE)**  
AMMRE membership documents  
**Deutsche Grammophon**  
**The Amar Quartet**  
**AMMRE agreements with record companies**  
**Universal-Edition**  
**Royalties, collecting, reporting**  
*The Gramophone Shop*  
*Encyclopaedia of Recorded Music*  
**Printing**  
Editor

FIGURE 22. The journey of B 29057, the recording of *OP 20*.

Bold = associations (may encompass organisations and other groups)

Roman = actants (objects, humans, non-humans)

open to interpretation. It could have been the general ambivalence towards ‘mechanical’ music that he carried with him for the rest of his career. It could also have been the realisation that op. 20 had been taken apart and released as a smaller fragment of its ‘whole.’ What Krenek did not mention might reveal something about how he regarded op. 20 as a work, however. Clearly, he did not think that op. 20 as such was a failed or bad piece of music. Rather, his short verdict showed that he distinguished between practice and idea, between op. 20 as an abstract entity and the concrete-fixed manifestation that he encountered in Cologne. As he would later show in his writings, Krenek was hardly ignorant on the implications of ‘mechanisation’ for how music and musical works were being conceptualised at the time.<sup>408</sup>

Little more is known about the recording’s movement before 1940. Apart from its brief appearances in Europe and USA, and its role in pushing Krenek into assuming his new role as a ‘mechanical’ composer, B 29057’s movement was cut short. The *Concertino*, again without mentioning op. 20, was listed in the 1936 *Encyclopaedia of Recorded Music* as “withdrawn.” The decision to withdraw it had probably been made earlier. Donaldson Darrell, who edited the encyclopaedia, nevertheless chose to include such obsolete acoustic recordings with an asterisk because of their “unusual historical worth or artistic significance.”<sup>409</sup> This significance was, apparently, not extended to B 29057.

### The Kolisch Quartet

In January 1925, ads began appearing of a new Austrian chamber music group performing op. 20 among many other pieces.<sup>410</sup> Founded in Autumn 1924, this ‘New Viennese String Quartet’ consisted of violinist Rudolf Kolisch, cellist Joachim Stutschewsky, violist Marcel Dick, and violinist Fritz Rothschild. The Quartet officially became the Kolisch Quartet in 1927, but both names were used before and after.<sup>411</sup> Playing left-handed and missing the top of his middle finger, along with the idiom of performing all works by memory without scores (!), the ambitious Kolisch soon made his ensemble a well-known feature of New Music.<sup>412</sup>



FIGURE 23. The Kolisch Quartet in 1926. Left to right: Marcel Dick, Felix Khuner, Alexander Stutschewsky, and Rudolf Kolisch. Source: Arnold Schönberg Center.

Initially, Arnold Schönberg was the patron of the ‘Kolischs,’ or “my school” as he called them.<sup>413</sup> The members had long-term ambitions of competing with the best in their field, perhaps particularly so with the Hindemiths, as shown by Stutschewsky’s correspondence with Kolisch quoted in Alexander Ringer’s study: “Seeing as the [Amar Quartet] has already made a breakthrough ... I am counting on 3–4 years of work until a new quartet will be able to push through.”<sup>414</sup>

Touring all over Europe, the Kolischs only began performing op. 20 publicly in autumn 1925. They continued to do so for at least a year, mostly supported and documented by Viennese associations including the *Musikblätter des Anbruch*. Alban Berg had also claimed in spring 1925 that they played it in “private circles.”<sup>415</sup>

A concert in October 1925 in Mannheim did not achieve much attention.<sup>416</sup> The next one, however, did. The 9 December performance in Vienna was reviewed as a unified “whole” in *Neues 8 Uhr Blatt*, remaining “colourful” throughout its duration. Its form was depicted as “six parts forming one movement” and the various themes that recurred throughout the work, some less audible than others, were seen as signs of connection and unity. It was also ambiguously labelled “almost new” and “seldom heard” in the *Musikblätter des Anbruch*.<sup>417</sup> The work performed by the Kolischs was perhaps heard differently from that of the Hindemiths. This time, there was no Hindemith among the interpreters, no composer-musician to which critics could compare the creator Krenek.

On 25 January 1926, the Kolischs introduced op. 20 to Switzerland, where it supposedly “opened up new ground for chamber music” in Zürich.<sup>418</sup> Although Swiss composers and musicians belonged to a less prominent fraction within the New Music networks, at least compared to their German or Austrian peers, the German-speaking part of the country harboured several famous individuals of German musical ‘modernism,’ such as Krenek and Scherchen. Switzerland would also offer several later opportunities for op. 20’s future history (see Movement VI).<sup>419</sup>

The *Neue Zürcher Nachrichten* reviewed the work and the performance as two clearly separated entities. While giving credit to the

Kolischs as musicians, the critic (“K.P.”) tore down the quartet as having “the most unartistic garments” and resembling “a march through the desert, boresome, during which we occasionally risk stumbling upon a major chord.”<sup>420</sup> This made the editor issue a concluding remark after the review on the importance of perspective when it came to contemporary music: “It is certain that we can see no clarified, ripe fruits of a musical era within the modern music that was being offered during the evening mentioned. However, one should consider that every age has its precedents and its successors, its winds of March and its November nights.”<sup>421</sup>

On 16 February, OP. 20 was for a second time performed in Berlin’s Grottrian-Steinweg Hall, but this time through the left-wing November Group mentioned in Movement II, a society for arts named after the 1918 revolution. Unlike most other associations that had hosted the piece so far, this one did not organise conventional “concerts” where music was the one and only purpose. Instead, their “evenings,” with a mix of listening and talks between listeners and performers, reflected the revolution and its hopes of abolishing older hierarchies.<sup>422</sup> In this sense, it resembled the SÜWRAG broadcasting. However, despite its revolutionary air, the event was produced in the press much like any other concert, namely through ads and criticism. The announcement in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* divided the quartet into nine (!) sections or movements.<sup>423</sup>

That evening saw at least one other New Music concert competing for the busy Berlin audiences and critics. In fear of missing out, some of them deserted the event before OP. 20, the last performance, had begun.<sup>424</sup> According to *Vossische Zeitung* critic Max Marschalk, the string quartet was a “horror,” a signature of “weakness,” and badly tuned, which he quickly connected to general developments in music. In fact, he did not find much to like in any of the pieces performed, making the ephemeral-concrete performance less important than the larger category of New Music and connection to the November Group, to both of which these works belonged.<sup>425</sup>

The Kolischs’ competitive attitude towards the Hindemiths, as well as the fact that they did not perform other pieces by Krenek until

perhaps as late as 1930, suggests that the third string quartet was not just a piece of music to them. It was probably a contested object between the two associations. This rivalry, however pronounced or low key, was initially unequal. Despite the constant touring, the Kolischs suffered from unstable finances. Although they had had some initial help from the Viennese Heller agency, they had no official agent, like the Hindemiths.<sup>426</sup>

Nevertheless, while the Hindemiths had connections to Krenek, Frankfurt, the ISCM, and Donaueschingen, the Kolischs had Vienna, the *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, Schönberg, and Alban Berg, although both groups also shared many associations. The 1920s New Music scene should not be seen as a zero-sum game; it was a smaller fish within art music and its associations were sometimes required to collaborate. Yet there were some partisan tendencies between countries, cities, and cliques, to which these two groups testify.

As it turned out, the Kolischs eventually became the more long-lived ensemble, continuing throughout and beyond the 1930s, even in American exile. It appears as if they did hold on to op. 20 even after Rothschild left in June 1926 (see Figure 23), since the last observed performance occurred sometime that same November in Freiburg im Breisgau. The event was likely a private one, but nevertheless generated a handful of short reviews. The relatively small city of Freiburg promoted New Music actively throughout the 1920s, mainly through Ewald Lindemann's ambitious 'Working Society for New Music.'<sup>427</sup>

By early 1927, Stutschewsky had also left, supposedly because he got tired of Kolisch's dominant attitude.<sup>428</sup> His decision could have spelled the end for op. 20's career within the group, but the piece was still listed in *Melos* as part of the repertoire of the 'Viennese String Quartet' until at least 1932.<sup>429</sup> That said, op. 20's momentum in European concert life and professional competition was over already by 1927.

## An “Hour of the Living:” The GEMA Concert and the End of European Performances

While New Music began achieving more success on the larger German stages around 1925, it decreased in the chamber music scene, which had been its ‘home’ until then. During the ‘golden twenties’ of 1924–1929, there were simply more opportunities for composing large-scale music.<sup>430</sup> Meanwhile, Krenek had already in 1924 moved on from linear counterpoint and atonality. In 1927, his ‘Jazz’ opera *Jonny spielt auf*, op. 45 became one of the most successful opera premieres of all time.<sup>431</sup> OP. 20’s loss of attention should be understood in this light.

Although *Jonny* became the press’s focus on Krenek, the fame enabled more of his music to gain public attention. For a short time, this included OP. 20, which was not performed by the Hindemiths for two and a half years after the SÜWRAG event. Its last appearance with them occurred in Berlin on 30 November 1927. Weary after years of constant touring, the Hindemiths had been close to breaking up, but Hindemith reinvited Maurits Frank and got them back together. Although they must have remembered the piece well, they were probably a little rusty. Perhaps for this reason, Krenek requested one copy of each edited score (7529 and 7530) for himself from UE earlier that year.<sup>432</sup>

After the ISCM premiere (Movement II), this event was perhaps OP. 20’s most politicised and publicly advertised and accessible event, as it was organised by the German Composers’ Society (BDK), founded in October, in cooperation with the Society for the Collecting of Musical Performing Rights (GEMA). The event was dedicated to “known” composers and broadcast within an already established radio format called “The Hour of the Living” (see Figure 24).<sup>433</sup> Both the musical and general press transmitted the agenda pushed by the “Gema Concerts.” *Signale für die musikalische Welt* stated:

The Union of German Composers unites composers of all styles who are part of [GEMA] for a common cause. Besides cultural missions of a general nature, the German particularity, the German art, should



be promoted. The unfavourable conditions connected to many purely materialistic entrepreneurs are keeping professional artists from getting exposition. The ‘Union of German Composers,’ supported by the GEMA, will bring forth works of living composers and especially yet unknown authors.<sup>434</sup>

The Social Democratic *Vorwärts!* declared:

We must wait and see to what extent this new organisation may reach its mission of promoting ‘German particularity, German art of all styles.’ The opening concert in any case fell within a quite coherent framework, however otherwise so distinct the individuality of Hindemith, Jarnach, and Krenek. Until the Rhapsodies of Jarnach, one only heard already known and, in part, old works of the performed composers.<sup>435</sup>

Now, Krenek was “German,” and so were his works. Moreover, *Op. 20* was no longer representing the ‘newest’ and upcoming New Music, but rather an established group of ‘living’ composers, as opposed to both the dead and the not-yet-established. The quartet had now become a more fixed work than in its precarious first years, when it had to be reproduced, and the GEMA concert shows that this status meant something. The work, by virtue of existing and with some years to its name, could be used to support the formation of other associations and their specific agendas. The GEMA and the BDK would use *Op. 20* and the other pieces to demonstrate that it had members at all stages of musical careers for political leverage.

The concert took place against the backdrop of a music-political turmoil. It was held at the long-lived *Singakademie* managed by Georg Schumann, who had also co-founded the Society of German Composers (GDT) in 1903. In 1926, however, he resigned from his post, protesting the ongoing schism between GEMA and GDT.<sup>436</sup>

GEMA had been a competing collecting society since 1915 and a more heterogeneous alternative to the composers-only GDT, which were seen as reactionary. In 1926, there were talks of joining all existing copyright societies into one central body, but the idea had fallen short. Beginning in late 1926, GEMA experienced a series of internal embezzle-

ment crises and changes in board memberships. One such episode had occurred only a month before the 'GEMA concert' on 30 November.<sup>437</sup> This did not seem to affect the concert series directly, but it may have attracted more attention.

Although the fixed-abstract conceptualisation of OP. 20 was enough to make it part of this new association and political movement, the performance still mattered. This was not another concert experience. The concert was not just broadcast in Berlin but also by the *Deutsche Welle*, founded in 1926, through Germany's only nation-wide station in Königswusterhausen.<sup>438</sup> It was possible to tune in to the concert in neighbouring countries like France and Austria.<sup>439</sup>

Like previously in Berlin, OP. 20 competed for the attention and endurance of its listeners, forcing some critics to leave it out.<sup>440</sup> One of these was Lothar Band from the *Berliner Volkszeitung*, who left the Singakademie but managed to turn on his radio device after coming home in time for OP. 20, lamenting the long performance schedule. The 'already old' work that Band heard was however a distorted version of it. 'Work fidelity' was not possible in this format, not just because of poor sound quality, but because of the innate properties of OP. 20:

It would have been better if a smaller space, during different times of the day in the broadcasting programme, were provided to the modern art. And we are missing one thing here: taking care of middle steps between that which today already passes as 'old' and the very new. The radio would do itself a notable favour if it built bridges with which to provide the listener the experience of modern music.

In broadcasting, Krenek's quartet sounded unclear, the organic structure was completely blurred, because the timbres of the instruments could no longer be distinguished from one another, which are certainly necessary in this work of an extreme power in which character gets lost.<sup>441</sup>

*Vorwärts!* preferred Krenek's quartet to his other piece that night, and understood it, similarly to how many critics heard the 1923 premiere, as an object of comparison between Krenek and Hindemith: "the

8 nm. (30) **Stunde der Lebenden**  
Übertragung aus der Singakademie  
**Erstes Gema-Konzert**  
veranstaltet vom  
**Bund Deutscher Komponisten**

1. Streichquartett Nr. 4, op. 32 ..... Paul Hindemith  
Schnell – Langsam – Kleiner Marsch –  
Passacaglia  
Amar-Quartett: Lieco Amar (I. Violine), Walter Caspar  
(2. Viol.), Paul Hindemith (Viola), Maurits Frank (Cello)
2. Sonata für Klavier, op. 18 ..... Philipp Jarnach  
Allegretto vivace – Scherzino – Sot-  
tento assai quasi largo
3. Drei Klavierstücke für Violine und Klavier  
op. 24 (Ersta-Hörung) ..... Stefan Frenkel (Violine), Am Flügel: Der Komponist
4. Zwei Saiten für Klavier, op. 20 ..... Ernst Krenek  
Elbe G. Kraus



Lieco Amar  
Horn-Schrammeger und 8. Kap.  
Hofm. Kammeror.

5. O Lacrymosa (Gedichte von R. M. Rilke), op. 48  
für Gesang, sechs Bläser und Harfe ..... Katharina Gaden (Sopran)

6. Streichquartett op. 20, Nr. 3 ..... Amar-Quartett  
Flügel: Bechstein und Steinway & Söhne

Anschließend: Dritte Bekanntgabe der neuesten Tagesnachrichten,  
Stundentempkalender für Dezember, Wetterdienst, Zeitsamstag,  
Sportnachrichten

10.30 nm. (22.30) **Nacht-Musik**

1. Ouvertüre zu der Operette „Flotte Bursche“ ..... Suppé  
Arno Guttmann's Ufa-Symphoniker
2. a) O hüt' euch, liebe Vögelchen ..... Gumbert  
b) Ach, was das doch könnte ..... Berger
3. Polka aus der Operette „Der Graf von Luxemburg“ ..... Lehár  
Arno Guttmann's Ufa-Symphoniker
4. a) Klüppel ..... Stange  
b) Mein Lärche ist ein Weide ..... Hiltsch
5. a) Schöne Frau, Blüthen aus der Revue „Wald und Weid“ ..... K. H. H.  
b) Tango ..... Klopff
6. a) Goldschmied aus der Operette „Die Gendin“ ..... Jones  
b) „Lies, gute Nacht“, aus der Operette „Im Walzerland“ ..... Strauss
7. Rhythmisches Marsch ..... Herzer  
Arno Guttmann's Ufa-Symphoniker

FIGURE 24. Die Funk-Stunde's announcement of the 'GEMA Concert' 1927.  
Source: Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv.

composer reminds us of Hindemith in its inventive teasing and carelessness, even if he is characterised by bloodless speculation.”<sup>442</sup>

*Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung* also understood op. 20 as “more constructed ... harder and more inflexible in sound” than Hindemith’s *Fourth Quartet*. Krenek’s quartet was a sign of his early vitality, skill, but also outdated recklessness, “that spasmodic arrangement that we have by now seen resolved in the later works by Krenek.”<sup>443</sup>

The quartet’s ambiguous form was also, again, up for debate. Whereas Schrenk claimed it consisted of six parts, Alfred Einstein of the *Berliner Tageblatt* saw it relevant to point out the relation between the published edition and the performed work:

[Krenek’s] String Quartet OP. 20, in the score jokingly denoted as a Quartet in E<sup>b</sup> Major, composed in 1923, his two Piano Suites op. 26 ... are today controllable in all their expressive elements, and only for newcomers providing an occasion for amazement, shock, indignation. They are surely written for the day, of which Krenek can be sure, on which the mischievous mixture—of parody, of the abstractive (in the introductory phase of the Quartet), of the *épater le bourgeois*, of seriousness ..., and of talented impudence—can no longer dissolve into its smaller components. Today, it does [dissolve], and the only silver lining is that the Amar Quartet and their likes continue to prefer playing a Bartók or two Hindemith quartets[.]<sup>444</sup>

The E<sup>b</sup> major classification from wpv’s miniature score was confusing the unified and coherent work concept to which Einstein wanted to assign this performance of op. 20. By implying that assigning a tonal key to this atonal string quartet was a joke, Einstein called out what Bowker and Star call “the slip between the ideal standard and the contingencies of practice.”<sup>445</sup> On another note, he claimed that the piece was not shocking anymore, yet not ready to be appreciated as a ‘whole.’ It was still contemporary and had to wait for a standard and category that it might fit, beyond the broader ‘New Music.’

op. 20’s different editions provoked discussions on the problems of ‘modern’ music in general; did modern music have to be atonal? What defined a ‘modern work?’ When had a ‘modern work’ ceased to be

‘modern?’ These and similar questions were what Einstein felt compelled to deal with upon listening to the performance.

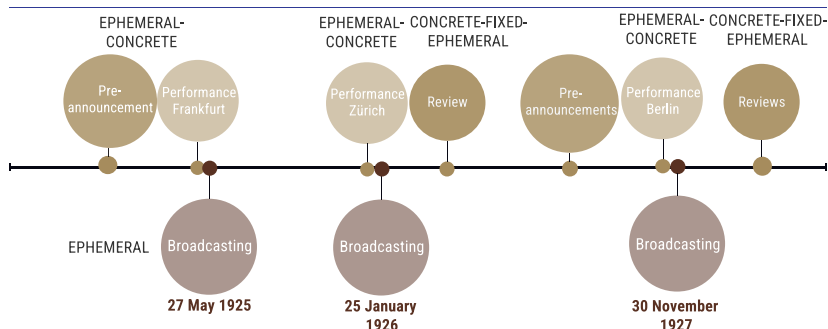
This event was probably op. 20’s last appearance in Europe for at least eight years, perhaps ten. The quartet had a different role now, even among its most familiar associations. Not only was it considered less important than the other pieces of the evening, but the event’s format also challenged the boundaries between established or ‘old’ and ‘new’ works. Apparently only four and a half years were enough to pass this threshold. By showcasing op. 20 as an ‘example work’ in a composers’ rights context, the event also invited the present and contested copyright regime as an actant in conceptualising the quartet as a musical work.

After the “Hour of the Living,” it seems as if op. 20 disappeared from European concert life. It may have continued to be performed in less monitored places but disappeared in the press from 1928 on. Soon, most of Europe had forgotten it. The Danzig String Quartet was perhaps the last group to interpret op. 20 in Europe before 1937. Sometime in early 1929, they supposedly performed or planned to perform a broadcast concert of the piece. The performance, if ever there was one, would have taken place in the Free City of Danzig. This small, German-dominated city-state managed to keep up a New Music concert life for a time, much because of its lead violinist Henry Prins’s efforts. Although no German-speaking music journal mentioned a specific performance of op. 20 in this association, the indication itself suggests that I may only have seen the tip of the iceberg. op. 20 was clearly known and in demand in large parts of Europe, at least during the 1920s.<sup>446</sup>

The quartet was also turned down for performances during these years, at least once by the famous Pro Arte Quartet and possibly once by the Hindemiths when they played at the BBC.<sup>447</sup> Regardless of how many performances actually took place, the work op. 20, during a few intense years 1924–1929, was as accessible as it was replaceable. However, before it fell out of performing fashion, it made one great leap across the Atlantic.

# Broadcasting

## Events 1925–1927



## Associations & actants

Editors  
**Radio-Umschau**  
**SÜWRAG**  
Ernst Schoen  
Hans Flesch  
"New String  
Chamber Music"  
cycle  
**Listeners**  
Editor  
**Previous**  
**broadcasts of New**  
**Music**  
"Classic music"  
"Old masters"  
Temporality  
Nationality  
Feedback noise  
**The Amar Quartet**

**SÜWRAG**  
**Broadcasting**  
**studio**  
Ernst Schoen  
Hans Flesch  
"New String  
Chamber  
Music" cycle  
**Listeners and**  
**devices**  
Radio waves,  
frequencies  
[possibly]  
Competing  
broadcasted  
noise  
**The Amar**  
**Quartet**

**The Kolisch**  
**Quartet**  
**The**  
**Conservatory**  
**Concert Hall**  
**Audience**  
Scores  
**Organisers**  
[unknown]  
**Radio Zürich**  
**Listeners and**  
**devices**  
Radio waves,  
frequencies  
[possibly]  
Competing  
broadcasted  
noise

Editors  
**Neue Zürcher**  
**Nachrichten**  
"K.P."  
Hermann  
Odermatt  
"Modern  
music"  
Tonal-atonal  
binary  
**Neue**  
**Musikzeitung**  
Anna Roner  
**Neue**  
**Zeitschrift für**  
**Musik**  
**Die Musik**  
Ernst Tobler

Editors  
**Radio reporting**  
**L'intransigeant**  
**Le petit journal**  
**Radio Wien**  
**Salzburger**  
**Volksblatt**  
**Die Musik**  
Adolf Weißmann  
**Musikblätter des**  
**Anbruch**  
Frank Warschauer  
**Signale für die**  
**musikalische Welt**  
**GEMA**  
**BDK**  
"German art"  
"Hour of the  
Living"  
**German copyright**  
**regime, power**  
**struggles**

**The Amar**  
**Quartet**  
Ernst Krenek  
Paul Hindemith  
Letters  
**Singakademie**  
Georg Schumann  
[possibly] UE  
Scores  
**GEMA**  
**BDK**  
**Deutsche Welle**  
**Königswuster-**  
**hausen station**  
**Berliner**  
**Rundfunk**  
**Busy Berlin**  
**concert life**

Editors  
**Deutsche**  
**allgemeine**  
**Zeitung**  
Walter Schrenk  
**Berliner**  
**Tageblatt**  
Alfred Einstein  
WPV no. 247  
Tonality  
**Berliner**  
**Volkszeitung**  
Lothar Band  
Contemporaneity  
**Broadcasting**  
Sound quality  
**Signale für die**  
**musikalische**  
**Welt**  
**Vorwärts!**  
"H-r."  
Paul Hindemith

FIGURE 25. OP. 20 in radio broadcasting during the 1920s.

Bold = associations (may encompass organisations as well as other groups)

Roman = actants (objects, humans, non-humans)

### A New World Quartet

On 14 November 1928, *op. 20* was performed in the Town Hall of New York by the New World String Quartet led by Ivor Kármán.<sup>448</sup> It was the first of three concerts given through the local chapter of the Pro Musica, Inc. Society. The overall atmosphere of the concert was ‘international.’ Pro Musica had been founded in 1923, preceded by the Franco-American Musical Society in 1919 by French-born E. Robert Schmitz, and had chapters in the U.S., Canada, Japan, and much of Europe. Although they promoted musical exchange between these different places, most New York organisations focused on importing European music. Carol Oja writes: “Like Methodists bringing the Gospel to China, the founders of these groups aimed to convert the canon worshipers in Carnegie Hall.”<sup>449</sup>

We don’t know exactly how Krenek’s quartet ended up in this association, but we know that Alban Berg provided the number ‘*op. 20*’ to the Pro Musica, Inc. when he was promoting the Kolisch Quartet back in 1925. Moreover, as in the USSR, *UE*’s catalogue was distributed in the US through a trade intermediary, the Associated Music Publishers (AMP). Their main task was to extend and manage copyrights for European firms in the US.<sup>450</sup> These were the most likely connections.

This was the first time ever that *op. 20* was performed in a former Entente country. Germany only joined the League of Nations in 1926, and American audiences had been reluctant toward German and Austrian music well into the mid-1920s. By 1928, however, at least a portion of the New Yorkers were used to hearing new European and German composers. Although the American ISCM was insignificant at the time, New York’s strong musical ties to the ‘old world’ were largely owed to the ISCM’s transatlantic relations and individual American composers like Aaron Copland, who was considerably influenced by his European peers.<sup>451</sup> These relations may also have played a role in *op. 20*’s brief appearance. The city, like Berlin, was now brim-full of Western art music concerts, both New Music and the classic canon. The city brought together European migrants and touring musicians with the emerging American avant-gardes inspired by Dadaism, Futurism, and new music-mechanical experimentation.<sup>452</sup>

Apart from these mostly favourable conditions, circumstances were not the best for op. 20. It replaced another piece shortly before the performance and may have been quickly rehearsed by the New World Quartet, which in addition had changed two members that year. At least one other concert on Broadway beginning at the same time competed for roughly the same group of listeners, who were not all open-minded.<sup>453</sup> These included the reporter from *Brooklyn Times Union*, who would have had to take at least a 20-minute walk to make it to the other concert on Broadway. That person left soon after hearing these “inepts” performing op. 20 “and as much of the rest as I could stand.”<sup>454</sup> Well-known critic Olin Downes in the *New York Times* gave the string quartet a brief verdict: “long, labored and ugly.”<sup>455</sup>

However, a more complex take came from Irving Weil in *Musical America*, the only reviewer that I have found who chose to emphasise the creation process of op. 20. Weil took interest in Krenek’s train rides, labelling him a “prolific person” who went about “passing ideas upon paper wherever he happens to be. Railroad journeys seem particularly to stimulate him.” Whether he had studied the score, which mentioned the train ride, or heard it from someone is unclear. The string quartet itself was also directly linked to the specific rocking of the train:

For a twenty-three-year-old, the quartet has astonishingly good moments; it also has astonishingly bad ones. The good ones can readily be traced to the railroad trip – and the bad ones to Berlin. The rhythmic noise of the train is the quartet’s most interesting thematic material. You hear it at the very beginning of the piece and much is made of it later on. Of course, if you didn’t know it was suggestive of what it is, you might suppose it was Mr. Krenek busily sawing wood. But that would not necessarily matter too much.

The work is in two parts, or so it was played the other evening. Actually, it divides itself into three, the middle one being a solemn slow movement and highly sentimental. Krenek is hardly at his best when he is solemn and it was the beginning and the end of the quartet that were most interesting and effective in a mood of common things, ordinary thoughts. The slow section was both banal and pathetic.<sup>456</sup>



Like other reviewers, Well also pointed out that the programme was too full and uneven, not able to satisfy the “certainly sympathetic audience” that was expecting a ‘modernist’ concert showcasing the best gems in the style. Disappointed, they gradually left the event. The association did not even last the evening, although op. 20 managed to capture some attention both due to its history of origin, its now famous composer, and its enigmatic content. A decade would pass until it appeared in the U.S. again.

### A Deceptive Transcendence

op. 20's movement in performances and new media after the publication in 1924 shows what could happen when a musical work began circulating on a broader scale. UE's freshly edited scores provided fixity *and* enabled movement in which op. 20 could both enter and leave different associations as more of an intermediary, appearing as ‘the same’ wherever it turned up. The (Western) world was now open for the quartet. And, we should admit, it enjoyed quite a ride. It transcended borders, continents, media formats, political systems, and possibly class. It was supported by concepts such as ‘modern,’ ‘contemporary,’ ‘new,’ and the brand and network of UE in a plethora of music press. The performances between 1925 and 1929 conceptualised op. 20 in new associations, some of which would probably not have happened without the piece to begin with. It was simply possible for more people to do more with op. 20 in 1925 than in 1923.

op. 20 was not alone in this regard. Possibilities of expanding New Music beyond the ‘usual suspects’ had increased in general, as had the dissemination of music of all kinds across borders. As a result, there might be more opportunities for conceptualising the quartet as a musical work, perhaps in diverse ways. In practice, however, op. 20 only made brief appearances in these new associations. It is tempting to explain this by saying that the quartet was just never very good or liked, but that is not the whole story. Some critics praised it, not just as an idealised work but one of potentially lasting value. Another possible explanation is that it fell out of fashion in a constantly ‘progressing’

musical life. But, for instance, Schönberg's compositions from before World War I still passed as 'modern' in many circles. There was always room somewhere for a work even if it had lost its immediate contemporaneity. The explanation lies not so much outside *op. 20*'s associations, but within them.

Associations and their actants are usually as prone to action as they are to exhaustion and disintegration. Latour uses as example a group of builders constructing a wall; these actants will probably create an association with relatively strong connections, but it will nevertheless scatter once the wall stands, unless they reform for another wall project.<sup>457</sup>

The same can be said of *op. 20*. Each performance was such a wall, and its construction appropriated time, money, materials, sweat, and emotions. The Hindemiths, Kolischs, and other ensembles were weak associations because they could choose only a few pieces to perform at each event. Meanwhile, in more robust associations, like *UE* and *ISCM*, *op. 20* was one out of a broad collection of works. These associations also worked closely with two powerful actants, not forever to our string quartet's benefit: time and contemporaneity. Remaining 'new' was imperative for any music piece that had not had the epithet of 'classic' or 'masterpiece' bestowed upon it. For *op. 20*, this was nowhere in sight in the 1920s, nor would it be later.

Despite the changes after 1924, *op. 20* was still in many ways a mediator and an object of performative definition. By 1929, the associations in which this definition had been performed seem to have been exhausted. Its only remaining source of stability, then, was *UE*. It was largely back where it had been in 1924, but no longer completely new. This means that, to understand how *op. 20* could remain known after these events, we might need to look in other places than concert halls, journals, editors' offices, the record industry, and radio stations. Movement V explores music classification as another means for fixing a musical work.



## Movement V.

### From Performance to Knowledge

On 14 February 1926, Krenek wrote a letter asking UE to send some of his music, including “both the [published] string quartets,” to H. J. Kalcsik in London so that he could write an entry about Krenek in the upcoming third edition of *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.<sup>458</sup> *Grove’s*, a major encyclopaedic series, had been published and revised since 1879, and the third edition was the first to feature an entry on Krenek. There would not be another edition until 1940, and he must have known that new editions were not published all too often. This was a good chance to reach English-speaking listeners, who did not yet know him well.<sup>459</sup> OP. 20 was about to enter a network of associations beyond contemporary performances and events, translating the ‘contemporary’ piece into a temporal space with which it had not previously been familiar: history.

As soon as a piece of music entered a catalogue, it was, in effect, not that new or contemporary anymore. The whole catalogue and dictionary system worked in hindsight, by default distinguishing between those composers and music pieces that were already known and acknowledged and those that had yet to be documented. As Charles Rosen has pointed out: “The museum conserves the past by suppressing part of it: works of art are divided into those worth seeing and junk, the latter consigned to the reserve cellars when it is not shipped out and sold.”<sup>460</sup> However, nothing entered this knowledge organisation system without actions, associations, and networks.

## Entering the Catalogue

Knowledge organisation of Western art music expanded in the interwar era, reflecting a more general tendency to centralise and standardise knowledge, mostly through printed literature of various kinds. The transformation of a vast number of objects, including music pieces, into retrievable documents gave them what Lisa Gitelman calls a “know-show function.” Documents were reproducible and accountable for the future and could be used as evidence, as claims to universal and eternal truths.<sup>461</sup>

This had implications for the musical work concept. Although music has always been subject to some classification process, the first coherent system for Western music classification was supposedly created in 1897 and is often seen as the starting point of bibliographic control of music in libraries. The 19<sup>th</sup> century in general had seen an expanded knowledge organisation on music and other topics.<sup>462</sup> The interwar period, then, saw the widespread internationalisation of this knowledge regime.<sup>463</sup>

The Western canon of eternal musical works needed to be constantly reproduced to be valid. Music dictionaries, concert programmes, books on music theory, musicology, and listening instructions helped reproduce those musical works that ought to be remembered. What Burkholder calls the ‘historicist mainstream’ of Western art music thrived in this musical print culture. Botstein explains: “Reading about musical works one did not or could not hear, and about concerts one did not attend, not only in one’s home city but in far distant locations, eventually led, as much as did hearing music, to buying sheet music.”<sup>464</sup> This quote highlights how literature, through commerce, formed an important ‘glue’ in the networks of which op. 20 was part.

Musicology and music history are almost by definition disciplining instruments of music, although this section might nuance our view in this regard. Truly, all collecting and classifying operations are imposing some force on the objects in question.<sup>465</sup> Acts of categorisation are characteristic features of ‘modernity,’ imperialism, and colonialism. They are also ridden with conflicts over meaning and boundaries with

the ambition of creating order. As Bowker and Star point out: "Assigning things, people, or their actions to categories is a ubiquitous part of work in the modern, bureaucratic state."<sup>466</sup> However, categorisation is not just an external force, but an inherent capacity of idealised musical works themselves. The idealistic work concept, after all, affords objects fixed as musical works some agency in fixing other entities as well. Musical works held and still hold a central and elevated position in narratives and canons, but they were also essential in constructing and making sense of them. Let us now see how *op. 20* figured in these associations.

The establishment of music catalogues and collections was part of expanding knowledge organisation systems in many spheres of Western societies during the 19<sup>th</sup> century with museums, archives, and libraries. These systems functioned, in short, by collecting what they perceived as relevant but 'raw' information and processing it into 'knowledge.' *op. 20*'s entry into these systems reflected its interaction with a knowledge regime on music exercising the authority on what to preserve and circulate.<sup>467</sup> But this regime was not an external force to the string quartet; like any other social context, it consisted of associations of people and objects moving in different directions and connected through chains of action. Despite not being a famous work, *op. 20* was relatively privileged within these networks.

However, when *op. 20* began appearing in periodicals of notated music, music dictionaries, and libraries, there were no widely accepted standards for how to classify it. Depending on the association in question, the work might be classified differently. Even its score had been published according to two competing standards, tonal and atonal. The 'canon' of New Music had, logically enough, not yet been solidified by the 1920s. This meant that the quartet might be conceptualised in more different and unexpected ways than the 'classics.'

From 1926 onwards, *op. 20* appeared in at least seven editions of German and English music dictionaries in entries on Krenek, who had been referenced since at least 1921. Initially, these were largely confined to the German-speaking world, but towards the end of the 1930s, Krenek featured in most English-speaking encyclopaedias related to

music. In most cases, the piece was simply mentioned with its opus number along Krenek's other pieces. In a few cases, it may have had more influence than that.

In 1926, *Das neue Musiklexikon* introduced the string quartet to encyclopaedic readers with an entry authored by Czech composer Václav Štěpán.<sup>468</sup> Almost the same entry re-appeared in the *Hugo Riemann Musiklexikon* three years later, although it is not stated who rewrote it.<sup>469</sup> Štěpán in *Das neue Musiklexikon* emphasised Krenek's 'linearity,' 'atonality,' and his strong emotional as well as political side:

[Krenek] belongs as a composer to the left wing of the moderns; he produces a firmly 'linear' music which mainly conceives its laws through intensity of emotion; from the realm of atonality he has skilfully crafted a completely independent polyphony. The parodic also plays a big role in his music, as with Hindemith or Schulhoff.<sup>470</sup>

Eventually, the author of the *Grove's* Krenek entry mentioned at the beginning of this movement was eventually Edwin Evans, who was more familiar with op. 20 than perhaps any other in Britain, having witnessed the Salzburg premiere in 1923. op. 20 was only listed without any direct comments in the published third edition, but many of the compositional elements to which Evans referred were indeed reminiscent of op. 20, such as rhythm, occasional tonal features throughout otherwise atonal music, and linear polyphony:

His works, which have led to his recognition as one of the foremost composers of the younger generation in Germany, are remarkable for the austerity of his contrapuntal outlook. ... He takes the 'linear' view of polyphony which prevails in so much recent German music, and is in fact one of its most uncompromising adherents. As with others, this has committed him to atonality, but rather as a corollary to his methods than as an integral feature of them, for he does not wilfully avoid the assertion of tonality where it presents itself in the course of development. His strong feeling for rhythm is possibly a racial trait, but if so it stands alone, for he has nothing in common with the Czech national movement.<sup>471</sup>

Krenek's early style dominated Evans' impression. The composer was still being closely connected to 'Czech' ethnicity, 'race,' and 'rhythm,' just as *OP. 20* had been at its premiere (see Movement II).

On the other hand, since the string quartet was only briefly listed in *Grove's*, it is not entirely clear how much it did influence Evans's entry. What we can be sure of is that Evans himself had knowledge of *OP. 20* as a performance as well as a score. *Grove's* translated Krenek as a composer to the English-speaking world where he was still not well known. Even as *OP. 20* helped serve this larger purpose, it also became documented and catalogued for posterity. It was fixed, but only within a list of works. There, it waited for someone to read it. For someone to discover the work in this reference literature and deciding to perform it would be unlikely unless they had some previous connection to Krenek or New Music. Forming associations including *OP. 20* through this format might take many years, if it ever happened. Advertisements and catalogues of scores from *UE* and *WPV* would be more likely to influence such chains of actions.

What the dictionaries did do was to make *OP. 20* less 'new' and 'contemporary.' By doing that, they enabled it to enter 'history.' But dictionaries were themselves never static, centralised units; they too had histories and movements. Many of these dictionaries formed part of an international network of knowledge circulation, consisting for example of publishers, libraries, music societies, long-distance distribution, musicologists and music critics, some of whom were already connected to *OP. 20*. The ISCM's president Edward Dent was co-editor of *Das neue Musiklexikon*. Arthur Eaglefield Hull, who had been to Salzburg in 1923 (see Movement II), was the editor of its English edition from 1924. Alfred Einstein, who reviewed the GEMA concert in 1927 (see Movement IV), edited the 1929 edition of *Riemann's*. *Riemann's*, in turn, assembled many of its new entries from other recent sources such as *Grove's*, and so on.<sup>472</sup>

Especially *Das neue Musiklexikon* and its English edition reflected an emerging knowledge organisation more specifically targeting the 'New Music' movement. *OP. 20* was an obvious part of this circulation,



and, as long as these associations continued, it had a good chance of being remembered.

However, once op. 20 ventured beyond German-speaking knowledge organisation, there were higher risks of misunderstandings. Misunderstandings, ignorance, and ambiguity had, as we have seen, been steady companions since even before the quartet was first performed. They were often the result of translations and circulations of op. 20 as knowledge across borders. The internationalisation of musical life clearly came at a cost, as with many other historical examples of circulating knowledge.<sup>473</sup>

The American *New Encyclopaedia of Music and Musicians* stated in 1929 that Krenek had written two string quartets, when he had in fact finished four at the time.<sup>474</sup> Indeed, only the first and third quartets, Op. 6 and op. 20, had been published, indicating that some entries drew extensively on lists provided by music publishers and catalogues. However, in the 1940 supplementary edition of *Grove's*, op. 20 was instead presumed “unpublished” along with Krenek’s fourth quartet, Op. 24. Although Edwin Evans was still contributing to this volume, the task of writing the 1940 Krenek entry was transferred to British musicologist Gerald Abraham, who apparently had less knowledge on Krenek’s career. However, the fact that he assumed the quartet to be unpublished suggests that he made at least some effort at researching Krenek’s earlier compositions and publishing history, which, somehow, led him to this incorrect conclusion.<sup>475</sup>

There were also generalisations. For example, the *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians* emphasised “a few string quartets” representing Krenek’s “first experiments with atonality.”<sup>476</sup> While the string quartet constructed narratives of its creator, it lost its individuality. The second sentence in *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* from 1940 also hints at some of the prominent features of op. 20:

His progress as a composer mirrors the development of contemporary music. Starting as an atonalist at a point near Hindemith, predominantly parodistic in mood but possessing a startling sense of rhythm and architectural structure, he later experimented with the application of jazz rhythms to serious forms. . . . He has produced an extraordinary

quantity of works in all forms ... (*Jonny spielt auf* ... *Concerto grosso* ... *Little Symph.* ... chamber-music and pf.-works) ... 6 str.-quartets (op. 6, 1920; op. 8, 1921; OP. 20, 1923; op. 24, op. 65, 1931; op. 78, 1936).<sup>477</sup>

Although Krenek's music became virtually forbidden in the Third Reich, the 1935 edition of *Moser's Musiklexikon* included both him and op. 20, describing him as "a promising musician, who strives to get away from atonal expressionism and the Schlager-grotesque and on to new Romanticism."<sup>478</sup>

OP. 20's movement in knowledge organising associations made it a fixed-abstract work of reference in many more associations that are impossible to overview. Encyclopaedias were available in public and private libraries all over the world to music professionals and amateurs alike. *Riemann's*, for one, was distributed in 33 countries including Japan, Argentina, India, and South Africa.

However, when the piece appeared, it was through the opus number and other 'hard' edition data such as publishing firm and year of composition. Its content was hinted at only in larger narratives, such as Krenek's 'early atonal period,' thus blurring the boundaries of the individual work. In some cases, neither data nor specific content played any significant role. Aspects like form, harmony, rhythm, and structure were never or rarely applied in the dictionary entry format. These were reduced from the conceptualisation of the work. At the same time as it was becoming fixed, it became shallow. Most people opening the dictionary entry on Krenek in Tokyo, Kolkata, London, Cape Town, Buenos Aires, or San Francisco would not be able to listen to his third quartet, but they would know that it existed and be able to group it with other works by him. This standard, as logical as it may have seemed, had not been used in other associations; rather, op. 20 had been grouped with works of other composers, people, events, and places. In knowledge organisation, it depended completely on Krenek's name to attract interest. The individualised composer became an increasingly important actant.

OP. 20 had, as a fixed reference work, become non-sonic. Between 1929 and 1937, it was probably read as score or reference more often

than being heard. Smiraglia states that “every item in a library collection contains the manifestation of a work that must also be controlled for preservation and retrieval ... it is essentially seen as only one of many potential instantiations of the abstract work, or its many potential expressions.”<sup>479</sup> In the dictionary setting, *op. 20* was indeed conceptualised as an eternal, fixed-abstract musical work. But this happened while it was losing out on events involving most of those actants that had spent the most time and energy on performing it. The ‘work’ was now history.

### The Work Writing Music History

Music historiography was another equally important activity for establishing which pieces of music had lasting value. However, though various works of Krenek were mentioned in contemporary German music historiography and theory, *op. 20* was cut off from most of these narratives. This included his music-philosophical correspondence with Adorno, which begun around 1929.<sup>480</sup> There were only a few minor exceptions.

The first example occurred already in 1926, when UE celebrated 25 years. The pamphlet featured an entry on Krenek with *op. 20* among the rest of his music.<sup>481</sup> Then, in 1930, the *Neue Musik Berlin* festival was put on as a direct descendant of the Donaueschingen festivals, the same institution at which *op. 20* had been both inceptioned in 1922 and performed in 1924. The programme contained all works previously performed at the festivals, including *op. 20*, but also a historical hindsight written by Alfred Einstein, who had reviewed the piece back in 1927 (see Figure 26).<sup>482</sup>

By 1924, Donaueschingen had already become an ‘institution.’ It was under threat of becoming an ordinary music festival; the following [pieces] were sent to the working committee, among others: 142 sonatas and trios, 91 quartets, 47 works with larger ensembles, a few hundred songs ... But the purpose of ‘New Music’ was not at all to become an institution, not to repeat itself, not to open any door to the army of imitators.<sup>483</sup>

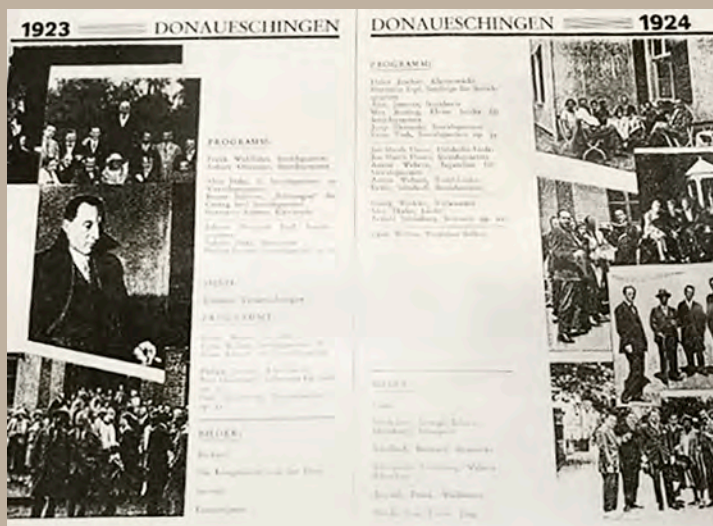


FIGURE 26. OP. 20 in the ‘Neue Musik Berlin 1930’ programme’s historical narrative. Courtesy of the Fondation Hindemith, Blonay (CH). (Photograph by author)

This is probably the earliest example of the quartet being incorporated into the creation of a music-historical narrative. New Music had been around for some time and had experienced several ruptures, crises, and renewals. In Einstein's narrative, op. 20 was performed in the year that constituted Donaueschingen's breaking point, after which the organisers decided to move the festival to Baden-Baden. The performance was one of Donaueschingen's "smaller events" but still counted as a part of the already mythologised history. However, as with the dictionaries, this appearance was meant for reading and not for listening. The work in the festival's narrative was only a distant memory for some and a fixed-abstract reference for the rest.

In 1937 and 1938, Nicolas Slonimsky's *Music Since 1900* was published in the u.s. and uk respectively. This ambitious dictionary took on contemporary music history day by day, emphasising dates of first performances and creations of musical works. It featured op. 20's premiere as "*String Quartet* by the not quite twenty-three-year-old Viennese modernist, Ernst Křenek" at the iscm festival. In this sense, Slonimsky maintained the musical work as both fixed-abstract and spatiotemporally tied to the specific event of its premiere.<sup>484</sup>

The last and rather different example consisted of op. 20 becoming part of a music genre. Genres in contemporary music were often invented by critics and were usually theoretical, meaning that they appeared at least some years after the pieces and styles that were made to represent them had been created and disseminated.<sup>485</sup> In January 1932, op. 20 appeared briefly in "Paul Hindemith and the Neo-Classic Music" by Arthur G. Browne in British journal *Music & Letters*. Browne related Hindemith's music to what he termed the 'neo-classic style' in general and Igor Stravinsky in particular, aiming to clearly define what this style was all about as it had been expressed during the preceding decade. The main points of the article were that Hindemith, unlike Stravinsky, had managed to establish for himself a broad appreciation, even among 'ordinary' listeners, and as a leader of German music. Meanwhile, composers like Arnold Schönberg had instead delved deeper into isolated obscurity and mystic experimentation. Composing in the neo-classic style, according

to Browne, was a key to reconciling the composer and the public.<sup>486</sup>

Towards the end of the article, op. 20 appeared as part of a larger body of works referred to as examples of the neo-classic style, 22 in total by Schönberg, Stravinsky, Casella, Toch, and Hindemith. Browne was a professional collector in service of music historiography, but we do not know exactly how he went about retrieving these works among others to assemble his list. To claim that they all belonged to a specific genre, he would have had to study them or listen to them. Their common denominator was that they were finished around 1923.

The works were probably easy to come by in the UK through conventional sheet music retail, libraries, or possibly contacts at *Music & Letters* or the Royal Music Society. The search would also be dependent on metadata on year of completion or publication. As with its previous journey in the recording industry, op. 20 became a collectable item, this time as an actant in neo-classic music in binary opposition to ‘alienating’ musical innovation, a common idea at the time. Many ‘serious’ composers, including Krenek and Hindemith as well as Hanns Eisler and Kurt Weill, had begun to digress from the Second Viennese School’s style by the mid-1920s to invite larger audiences.<sup>487</sup>

With its atonal features and relatively ambiguous formal structure, however, op. 20 was not a perfectly obvious candidate for this genre. While it could represent Krenek’s move to neo-classicism, as for example Maurer Zenck has clearly stated, its inclusion was not crystal clear. The quartet could also end up on a list of expressionist and atonal works that Browne would have positioned himself against.<sup>488</sup> Browne did clarify that the harmonies of modern works would be expected to variate more differently than in earlier times.<sup>489</sup> His interpretation was, likely, that even if op. 20 was characterised by “chaotic” counterpoint, it nevertheless met the basic requirements of the neo-classic style.

The argument for neo-classicism resembled the point made in some of op. 20’s earliest reviews, for instance Adolf Weißmann and Julius Korngold in 1923, in which the piece was made to embody the polarisation between Schönberg and Stravinsky. Back then, such

authorities had tried to insert it into larger categories through associations including non-present composers and larger groups of works, but these associations had not been very concrete.

Now, years later, its inclusion in a more concretely delimited association shows that it had some relevance for contemporary musicology. Moreover, *op. 20* was again, like at the 1927 GEMA concert (see Movement IV), part of a “German school,” not Czech or Austrian. Browne had decided to offer *op. 20* inclusion in a genre, even a canon. This was an inclusive act, but equally so a violent act. The string quartet was pushed into one association that tried to exclude it from joining other associations, what Bowker and Star would term ‘naturalisation.’<sup>490</sup>

However, Browne seems alone in forcing *op. 20* into an explicit genre category at the time. Therefore, naturalisation was never carried out fully during this period. In 1924, when the score was published and two versions of the work were claimed by tonality and atonality respectively, naturalisation also failed. It had also happened in various ways in *op. 20*’s reviews over the years. In most other cases, the work was merely ‘New Music,’ ‘modern music,’ or ‘atonal.’ It was still characterised more by hybridity than categorical stability. In other words, the quartet was still more mediator than intermediary in the associations that it encountered.

### The Work as Knowledge

Knowledge organising systems in music were all part of a broader ‘musical life’ or music business, which also has never been a ‘domain’ closed off from the rest of the world.<sup>491</sup> Music pieces circulating in one field might well spill over into another. *op. 20*’s appearances as performance and score enabled its entries into broadcasting, recording, historiography, and dictionaries. Its presence in knowledge organisation at least potentially enabled its reappearance in performing associations.

Catalogues, dictionaries, and historiographies offered stability but did not always deliver on their promise. For all its ostensive powers of

fixity, *op. 20*'s movement in knowledge organisation was not necessarily less volatile than in publishing or the concert hall. Its appearances in dictionaries and music historiography were limited and sensitive to generalisations and misinterpretations (see Figure 27). *op. 20* was, in these networks, an object of what Cornel Zwierlein calls 'negative knowledge;' it was part of an "ignorance one could live with."<sup>492</sup> It was simply not a very important object.

However, *op. 20* had some importance in constructing Krenek's early English-speaking biography, as it was among the few published works distributed for this purpose. Krenek thus actively used *op. 20* to influence dictionary descriptions and thus to define his career. *op. 20* was apparently a good example of his creative output, although only in the company of other pieces created by him.

That said, as Krenek's accumulated output grew, *op. 20* became less important. It merged with other works, becoming a possible actant in constructing Krenek's early 'atonal' or 'neo-classic' phases rather than a work standing out on its own merit. Bowker and Star claim that objects that lack ability to stand on their own while moving between different associations are weak. They are dependent on a collective of objects and risk becoming ignored unless they stay with this group.<sup>493</sup> In the Western art music canon, *op. 20* was indeed marginal and dependent, and therefore weak.

Still, the quartet was part of what Goehr has termed the 'imaginary museum of musical works,' an abstract collection of eternal works of musical significance. The museum helped solve the tension between the 'pure' aesthetics of eternal works and their 'impure' history, as it recognised both at the same time. In fact, Goehr holds that people need to see musical works in relation to a living tradition of music, a history, to understand them as works at all. If they are indeed original, which the idealistic work concept claims, then they must have been preceded by other works whom they did not resemble. This by itself necessitates their insertion into a historiography.<sup>494</sup>

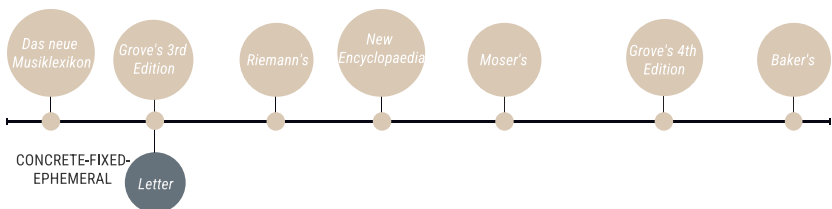
*op. 20* belonged to the peripheries of this historiography during the interwar period. It was probably too less affiliated with any single one of the current stylistic developments or simply overlooked in favour



# Music Knowledge Organisation

Events 1926–1940

FIXED-ABSTRACT



## Associations & actants

Václav Štěpán Typewriter Editor (Alfred Einstein) UE score Opus number <b>"left wing of the moderns"</b> Linearity, atonality, polyphony, parody Paul Hindemith Erwin Schulhoff <b>Publishing Printing</b>	Ernst Krenek Letter <b>Postal services UE</b> Hans Heinsheimer UE score Other works H. J. Kalcsik  Edwin Evans <b>Offices Decision on contributions</b> Typewriter Editor (H. C. Colles) <b>Publishing Printing</b> Opus number Counterpoint, linearity, polyphony, atonal-tonal binary "Race", rhythm, Czechoslovakia	[possibly] Václav Štěpán Typewriter Editor (Alfred Einstein) <b>Publishing Printing</b> Opus number "left wing of the moderns" Parody Paul Hindemith Erwin Schulhoff <i>Das neue Musiklexikon</i>	Editor (Waldo Selden-Pratt) <b>Publishing Printing</b> Other works Publisher's catalogues Contributor (unknown)	Schlager Atonality, expressionism <b>Publishing Printing</b> Contributor (unknown)	Gerald Abraham <b>UE</b> Other dictionaries Krenek's Op. 24 <b>Publishing Printing</b>	<b>UE</b> Other dictionaries Atonality Parody Rhythm Paul Hindemith <b>Publishing Printing</b> Contributor (unknown)
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FIGURE 27. OP. 20's movement in music knowledge organisation.

Bold = associations (may encompass organisations as well as other groups)

Roman = actants (objects, humans, non-humans)

of other pieces. However, canonisation takes time, and perhaps the time for recognition had simply not yet arrived for our musical work. Put in other words, op. 20 was too much of a mediator to become completely fixed. To remain a piece of music that could be conceptualised as a musical work in associations, op. 20 could not rely on books, lists, or articles, at least not at this point. These actants could not do much to reach out to associations and networks outside the already initiated New Music networks. The piece's movement still mainly relied on ephemeral events involving associations consisting of other works, objects, and people. And these associations would soon be moving more than before.



## Movement VI.

### From Ignorance to Reappearance

While op. 20 was moving in music knowledge organisation and historiography, its movement as a performed work slowed down between 1929 and 1937. Throughout this decade, many of the associations that it was part of would dissolve or scatter. Nevertheless, performances of op. 20 eventually returned, and in associations that were in part different from before. Movement of people and things, voluntarily or not, shows both how the understanding of objects can change and how associations are constituted and re-constituted with these objects.<sup>495</sup> This movement illustrates the relative flexibility and resilience of both op. 20 and its associations. Ignorance and idle agency, not complete absence, are key to understanding the quartet between 1929 and 1940.

#### The Difficult 1930s

op. 20 was never a universal musical work. Apart from its temporary appearances in the USSR, Italy, and the U.S., the main associations performing op. 20 in the 1920s were found among German-speaking communities in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia. Moreover, outside of the German-speaking world, from what we have seen in previous movements, it was even more difficult to conceptualise op. 20. This was in part because the piece did not fit standards as easily, even in associations with a similar appreciation of the 'modern' or New Music. As a 'German' work, it enjoyed a relatively favourable movement, but only for a limited number of years and within certain associations.

These associations usually consisted of people schooled in New Music; a performing quartet; instruments and auxiliary tools; equipped and maintained concert halls; transport; concert organisers willing to enrol the piece, (hopefully) an audience informed in advance, to name the essentials. All these actants had to be in place for *op. 20* to happen.

In addition, these actants needed a space of relative cultural openness. This was both a matter of state cultural policy and general tolerance towards German-Austrian culture. The former entered a downward spiral in much of Europe after 1933. The latter was not self-evident in Western Europe or the U.S. in the early 1920s, nor in the mid-late 1930s.<sup>496</sup> In *op. 20*'s second decade of existence, however, conditions grew even worse, as even its most reliable associations dissolved.

By the time of the stock market crash of 1929, *op. 20* was also aging. It was no longer a contemporary work in the literal sense, but neither was it particularly old. The piece's initial caretakers had other things on their mind. The Hindemiths were no longer an active ensemble. Hindemith himself was a professor at the Berlin Conservatory. Krenek was busy composing and writing essays. *op. 20* was neither new nor old in an age in which this distinction could mean everything. As its ability to inspire discussions on novelty and originality in music seemed to decrease, its "forgetting potential" in and outside New Music concert life had most likely increased.<sup>497</sup>

The impact of the Depression inhibited a diverse concert life and led to plummeting sales in the publishing and record industries. Societies and interpreters of New Music, already in a precarious position, saw fewer work opportunities.<sup>498</sup> UE also had to cut expenses and production. As Krenek's music became more difficult to promote, the firm became less interested in supporting him.<sup>499</sup>

Moreover, the relative cultural openness that had previously allowed for *op. 20*'s international movement grew increasingly slim as policies changed. The USSR increased its repression of 'Formalism' in cultural life, making performances of New Music virtually impossible.<sup>500</sup> Although still tolerating initiatives like ISCM until 1939, Italy gradually abandoned the liberal side of its cultural policy.<sup>501</sup> Austria, Krenek's home, was also on a steady path to authoritarianism. However, the

most extreme turn was taken by the country that had been the most familiar and welcoming to op. 20: Germany.

The German Republic's avant-gardes had lost some of their momentum already around 1930, possibly even earlier. Now, with the National Socialist Party's takeover in 1933 through Hitler's inauguration as chancellor in late January and the Enabling Act in March, hope of another wave of New Music died. A purge of cultural life began on 7 April with a decree forbidding 'non-Aryans' to hold positions as civil servants. Many politically and aesthetically undesirable artists and cultural workers were fired, including Franz Schreker and Arnold Schönberg, after which many of them emigrated to other parts of Europe or the U.S.<sup>502</sup>

As the Nazi administration persecuted, murdered, or drove humans into exile, it destroyed or scattered associations. The music of many composers, both Jews and non-Jews, soon became undesirable to perform, print, or disseminate. The standard used to identify these works was 'degenerate music' [*entartete Musik*], borrowed from the medicinal concept of 'degeneracy.' Krenek was hated by the Nazis for several reasons such as the 'jazz' opera *Jonny spielt auf*, atonality, and his anti-Nazi writings. Therefore, all his works were 'degenerate,' which put the scores of op. 20 in direct danger of destruction and censorship.

This turn of events elucidates a very different aspect of the piece's agency, namely its inherent non-productive capacity. In other words, op. 20 possessed some characteristics, such as atonality and its 'mock' waltz, which could lead to its own oblivion and even destruction.

Books and sheet music alike were burned publicly by Nazi mobs, although these acts were more symbolically impactful than materially. Krenek also featured in the 1938 'Degenerate Music' exhibition in Düsseldorf and other cities, which hosted booths with recordings of New Music.

However, I have found no concrete observations of Nazis encountering op. 20. Most likely, the piece was too insignificant and forgotten for them to take notice. It seems to not have featured in the 'Degenerate Music' exhibition, which has been documented by historians like Albrecht Dümmling. Nor was it on any specific list of banned works.<sup>503</sup>

With that in mind, there is no doubt that op. 20 was in danger in Germany after 1933, and, soon enough, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Although explicit music censorship was sometimes enforced by the Gestapo or by music-specific authorities, for example the ‘Confirmation Office’ [*Reichsmusikprüfstelle*] of the Reich Chamber of Music, the bulk of Nazi cultural policy relied on self-censorship. Most artists either tried to conform to the new arbitrary artistic norms or migrated. While ‘desirable’ German music and musicians fared remarkably well under Goebbels’s ‘Coordination Policy’ of cultural life [*Gleichschaltung*], the ‘brain drain’ of German music professionals continued throughout the decade, especially across the Atlantic.<sup>504</sup>

These events introduced a new dimension into op. 20’s movement, as many of its associations were muted, destroyed, relocated, or transformed. Its previously established degree of fixity as a musical work—something that could move whilst remaining ‘the same’—was becoming challenged. For Krenek’s third quartet to stay relevant, performance had to return.

### A Return to Intimacy:

#### The Viennese and Swiss Associations

Although Germany had become a no-go zone, some of the German-speaking avant-gardes would still be found just across the southern border. The Austrian *Ständestaat* dictatorship 1934–1938, with its ideology sometimes labelled ‘Austrofascism,’ tolerated New Music but did not support it. Austria’s self-proclaimed legacy as “bearer of European ideals” and heir to the Holy Roman Empire made many envision it as a viable alternative to extremism in Europe. The ‘problematic’ atonality of contemporary music was, however, to be countered by Austrian ‘tradition.’<sup>505</sup> The ban on all Socialist organisations, paired with a rise in antisemitism (although the regime was outspokenly anti-Nazi), made groups like the Austrian iscm clear targets of persecution since many members were either left-wing, Jews, or both.<sup>506</sup>

The Viennese iscm or Society for New Music was able to carry on until 1938, when Germany annexed Austria. Since the time of op. 20’s

creation, Krenek had kept some distance towards the ISCM because he often found their belief in New Music half-hearted. Now, having moved back to Vienna already in 1928, he decided to collaborate with anyone who still represented musical ‘progressivism,’ and joined the local ISCM section in 1934.<sup>507</sup>

The Viennese journals *Anbruch* and 23: *Eine Wiener Musikzeitung*, the latter co-founded by Krenek, were both issued until 1937. Krenek was for a time also president of the Austrian Society for Authors, Composers, and Publishers (AKM). He participated in both the Austrian and central ISCM, which, until 1939, continued to host festivals in Europe where much of the exiled German-speaking New Music associations met.<sup>508</sup>

Although op. 20 was probably not performed in Vienna during the 1930s, certain parts of the Austrian ISCM-connected associations would ensure its reappearance elsewhere. These networks included Krenek, Kolisch, the upcoming Galimir Quartet, violinist Lotte Hammerschlag-Bamberger, and composer and pianist Eduard Steuermann.<sup>509</sup>

From abroad came, besides some German refugees, American composer Mark Brunswick, who lived in Vienna 1929–1937, and Artur Schnabel, who had migrated to Britain but made frequent visits. The Viennese associations were also influenced by the presence of Alban Berg before and after his premature death in late 1935.<sup>510</sup> Their efforts at keeping New Music relevant in their home country were, however, increasingly futile.

Krenek’s initial support for the authoritarian regime dwindled as he realised that the universalist-Christian ideals or the ‘Austrian cause’ of the regime were being overlooked in favour of appeasing Nazi Germany, as well as maintaining a conservative cultural policy.<sup>511</sup> From 1937 on, he increasingly looked for opportunities elsewhere, such as Switzerland and the U.S.<sup>512</sup> As it happened, it was in those two countries that op. 20 soon reappeared.

On a Tuesday evening in May 1937, Krenek had dinner in Winterthur, Switzerland with his former editor, the German-born Friedrich Gubler and his wife Ella Gubler. In his invitation letter, Friedrich had written that a “piece” by Krenek, from which he had enjoyed an



“unspeakable enjoyment,” might be performed privately by the Winterthur String Quartet in their house after that dinner. Maurer Zenck suggests that the piece was op. 20, but that it was never performed at the Gublers’ house.<sup>513</sup> There were, however, at least two other performances of the quartet that year, both with connections to Krenek.

At the time, Switzerland considered itself something of a haven for Western art music. An exception was, however, the sensitive case of Nazi Germany, whose composers and works were often avoided to maintain what Theo Mäusli has called a ‘dictatorship of neutrality.’<sup>514</sup> Nevertheless, German-speaking Switzerland saw the founding of new societies supporting New Music. For example, the New Swiss Music Society invited Krenek to lecture in 1934. The Zürich section of the ISCM, Pro Musica, was established in 1934 as a “support society” when many other similar societies were struggling financially, or, like in Germany, banned.<sup>515</sup>

The Pro Musica arranged the first performance of op. 20 in more than eight years on 10 March in the Conservatory Hall in Zürich with the well-known Swiss Winterthur String Quartet as performers. Another performance on 25 August at the Music College in Winterthur was made possible by Krenek’s old local patron, Werner Reinhart, the College’s director.<sup>516</sup> In these uncertain times, as after the Great War, New Music had to turn increasingly to private support and goodwill, as with Donaueschingen in the early 1920s (see Movement II). Associations around op. 20 became less stable and in need of more spontaneous contributions. A random influx of money, organising, and action, as with the rich and enthusiastic Reinhart, made the quartet a mediator in active associations again.

Swiss music critic Willi Schuh, also a Pro Musica board member, reviewed the piece in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. He emphasised both op. 20’s distinct historical origin and its “decisive turn to consolidation and concentration of form,” proving its timeless “unimpaired importance.” The piece, being dedicated to Hindemith, showed “that point in its composer’s development in which his confrontation with Hindemith, his supposed antipode, was at its most intensive height” as well

as “some of those revolutionary gestures from the first generation coming out of the post-war era.”

Schuh continued to stress the different parts, conveying a sense of op. 20 as an ‘organic’ whole consisting of parts. The adagio, he stated, “obtains the highest differentiation in melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic relation as well as a spiritualisation of sound, which only permits comparisons with Schönberg and Alban Berg.” The third part was “striving towards compression” whereas the waltz themes contained “the just as playfully challenging as organic connection of simple tonal elements.” The “whole,” he concluded, conveyed a “bold harmonic style.”<sup>517</sup>

Schuh also returned to the issue of key, which Alfred Einstein had commented upon some ten years earlier (see Movement IV):

[OP. 20] does by no means come in E<sup>b</sup> major (as though by an odd mistake printed in the score and programme), rather, while the tonal ties are not completely abandoned, there is also, to a very large extent, a fundamental, powerful performance of expressive *melos* governed by a fundamental, passionate expressive will, a dissonant harmony of tension (whose function most of all is tectonic), and energetic rhythm.<sup>518</sup>

op. 20's performances in Switzerland after eight years of silence are important because they revealed how the musical work was understood when ‘re-discovered’ in the concert hall. In fact, most of Schuh's points were similar to what had been said and written in the 1920s. The quartet was again primarily understood as an abstract, continuously existing object and not an event.

As Schuh's quote suggests, the quartet urged him to determine its ambiguities of form, tonality, and parts. It invited him to set things straight and form a claim to the ‘truth’ of the work, just as the score attempted in its synopsis of form (see Movement III). This again presented the performed piece as corresponding to something well beyond the Zürich concert hall. Moreover, op. 20 ignited discussion around rhythm, Krenek's indebtedness to other composers, the ‘organic’ whole vis-à-vis the distinct parts of a musical work, and the

presence of Hindemith. All of these actants were still part of the association and supported an abstraction of the work.

There were some changes from the 1920s, though. In 1937 it was easier to insert op. 20 into a historical narrative. To make sense of the musical work, historical contexts had become more useful actants. These added not so much to an abstract conceptualisation, but rather a fixed-concrete one. In this sense, the work was slightly less of a mediator than in its first years. It was slowly consolidating. For Schuh, the musical work was at the same time ahistorical *and* forever fixed in a historical setting, its “impure” aspect.<sup>519</sup>

Judging from the poster (see Figure 28), the score obtained by the Zürich ISCM was the Philharmonia (wppv) version, the miniature in ‘E<sup>b</sup> major.’ It is unlikely that the Quartet used copies of this score, as they would have been poorly suited for performance. We must assume they obtained the parts (7530) from UE or directly from Krenek or some of the other actants above. The poster clearly exposed a reading of the piece’s formal structure as one single movement in six different tempi. op. 20 appeared simultaneously as a spatiotemporal performance and as a piece of contested knowledge on the ‘right’ nature of the work. As in the 1920s, the fixed-abstract and the ephemeral-concrete converged to perpetuate the work once more. Moreover, together with the other people, objects, and musical works, Krenek’s quartet produced specific temporary associations in these parts of Switzerland.

These temporary associations were, however, inherently unstable and under more pressure than during the 1920s. By the end of 1937, many of the involved actants were on the move. Less than a year after op. 20 had resurfaced in Switzerland, the last remnants of its space for movement in Europe became virtually eradicated. The performances in Switzerland, then, signalled op. 20’s transition from a relatively fixed and stable (albeit ignored) work to being in increasingly precarious motion. Put differently, the quartet was becoming a ‘work-in-exile.’ Soon enough, its creator would enter exile too.

C 142.055  
INV 195.862



## 5. Konzert

Mittwoch, den 10. März 1937, abends 8.15 Uhr, im

**KONSERVATORIUM**

### PROGRAMM

#### 1. Ernst Krěnek

**Streichquartett Nr. 3** in Es-dur op. 20 in einem Satz

Allegro molto vivace, Adagio, Allegro moderato ma deciso, Adagio, gemächliches Walzertempo, Allegro molto vivace

#### 2. Rudolf Wittelsbach

„Kantate der Vorgängigkeit“, für Alt und Klavier

Die Zärtlichkeiten (Stefan Zweig) — In der Stadt (Keller) — Wetterleuchten (Hesse) —  
Abend (Rilke) — Dichtung und Wahrheit (Keller) — Erinnerung (Rilke) — Auf die Erde  
voller kaltem Wind (Brecht) — Der Tod ist gross (Rilke) — Im Abendrot (Eichendorff)

#### 3. Darius Milhaud

**Streichquartett Nr. 8**

Vif et souple — Lent et grave — Très animé

#### 4. Bohuslav Martinů

**Quintett** für zwei Violinen, zwei Bratschen und Violoncello

Allegro con brío — Largo — Allegretto

### AUSFÜHRENDE:

Helene Suter-Moser (Alt), Joachim Röntgen, Rudolf Brenner (Violine),  
Oskar Kromer, Georg Kertész (Bratsche), Antonio Tusa (Violoncello),  
Rudolf Wittelsbach (Klavier)

Konzertflügel Pleyel, Paris, aus dem Pianohaus Jackie, Pfauen, Zürich 1 (Alleinvertretung)

Karten zu Fr. 3.— (zuzügl. Steuer) Studierende Ermässigung

D. Knecht, Zürich 1

FIGURE 28. Poster for the Zürich ISCM 'Pro Musica' concert on 10 March 1937. Source: vcl.

### When Associations Scatter: *Anschluss* and Emigration

Following an extensive campaign of political pressure, military threats, and extortion from Germany, Austria was no longer an independent state after 12 March 1938. After being subjected to a ‘unification’ or *Anschluss*, it was soon renamed the *Ostmark* province of the Third Reich. News of the imminent Nazi annexation of his home country reached Krenek on the 11<sup>th</sup> while in Brussels, shortly after he had returned from his first American journey. Returning to Vienna was not an option. As he had already for some time been planning to move to the u.s., Krenek now quickly decided to go back again and boarded the American Express line on 19 August after a last long tour across Europe while resolving his visa issues.<sup>520</sup>

Many other Austrian music professionals, especially those of Jewish origin, saw little alternative but to migrate to, mostly, the u.s., Palestine, or the uk. Some of them would converge on the American east coast, where opportunities for New Music would prove to be favourable.

As the Viennese New Music associations were scattered, the Nazi regime, which had accelerated its attacks on ‘degenerate’ artists and works in 1937, prepared to apply its definitions of undesirable music to Austrian music publishing firms. Many of these firms were already weakened by the recession of the 1930s. Sophie Fetthauer, who has provided the most in-depth studies of Nazi music publishing policies, writes that UE, with some 20% of its sales coming from Germany, had seen half of its enrolled composers unable to obtain performances of their music in Germany after 1933, facing significant cuts in royalty income.<sup>521</sup>

UE’s managers then abandoned the firm one by one in the mid-1930s. Alfred Kalmus eventually founded a new UE branch in London in 1936 operating under British firm Boosey & Hawkes. Hans Heinsheimer, one of Krenek’s closest associates, moved to New York in 1938, followed by Hugo Winter in 1939, with Betty Rothe remaining in Vienna throughout the war. Copyrights, manuscripts, and stocks were

often not transferred properly into their new host countries, leaving many scores at UE's central office in Vienna.<sup>522</sup>

Already in spring 1938, Joseph Goebbels's Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda initiated a large-scale process of 'aryanisation' of Austrian music publishers, buying them at low costs, excluding Jewish shareholders and staff, and ransacking offices to get rid of scores of 'Jewish' and 'degenerate' works. UE was of particular importance in this process. To the Nazis, it was not just any firm but *the* 'Jewish' music publisher in Austria.<sup>523</sup>

After having been supervised by various SS and other Nazi officials from mid-1938, ownership of UE was competed for and finally sold to the German publishing house Peters in 1940, with censorship issues delegated by Goebbels's Ministry. However, due to rescue attempts by UE employees Alfred Schlee and Gottfried von Einem already in 1938, most of UE's targeted publications were safely hidden throughout Vienna for the duration of the German occupation.<sup>524</sup> An additional amount of 'exiled' scores were sent to the Associated Music Publishers (AMP), UE's agent in the U.S.<sup>525</sup> It was probably through the AMP that OP. 20 had reached American sheet music retail already in the 1920s.

By 1940, the Austrian UE had been completely absorbed by the Nazi administration. Although they still assisted Krenek, the 'aryanised' firm would not reprint any works by him during the Nazi period.<sup>526</sup> OP. 20 had therefore, in effect, become bereft of its caretaker, though it was still officially owned by the firm. However, confiscation of UE scores by the Gestapo took place in 1940 at the earliest, and by that time OP. 20's scores had had some time to be sent abroad.<sup>527</sup>

It is possible that some copies of the score were targeted, but there is no easy answer given the lack of sources and the arbitrariness of Nazi censorship enforcement. Although the entirety of Krenek's catalogue was virtually impossible to perform within the Reich, UE was still allowed to export some censored works to other countries. The logic behind this was supposedly to gain profit while 'corrupting' enemy audiences. However, some Americans went as far as claiming that exiled New Music composers were not fleeing persecution but were, in fact, secret agents of Nazi Germany (!).<sup>528</sup>

OP. 20 may or may not have been among those scores that Krenek carried with him or that were shipped to him in the U.S. at a later point. The point is that it did not matter much. The Nazi regime could mainly target objects and people within its immediate reach, such as offices, ownership of companies, remaining staff, and logistics. What-ever might remain in movement outside its power, such as individual scores and people, still exerted musical agency.

Although we can never downplay the violent character of Nazi policies, OP. 20 was never ‘erased’ from German-speaking musical life. Its chains of associations were spread out too far for any censorship apparatus to do so. Pamela M. Potter has shown that the Third Reich struggled with eradicating even the most obvious forms of ‘degenerate’ music, at least before the war.<sup>529</sup>

Thus, despite the Nazi’s persecution of objects and people alike, OP. 20 was still moving in the world in the last turbulent years of the 1930s. UE’s and WPV’s editions from 1924 had evidently not run out. The offices of the AMP in the U.S., with little doubt, hosted some copies of the score, as did an unknown number of individuals in several countries, many of them now living in the U.S. Encyclopaedias distributed on every continent contained its metadata. The work was out there, performed or not. Such was what we may call the ‘idle agency’ of OP. 20 after the ostensibly more active 1920s that it might be picked up when- and wherever enough specific actants converged. This was unlikely in Europe after the concerts of 1937, even in Switzerland, where cultural censorship increased as war drew closer.<sup>530</sup> Now with the *Anschluß*, all remaining opportunities for its reappearance pointed to the U.S.

### Work-in-Exile?

#### Old and New on the American East Coast

From 1933 on, the Americas provided some of the main destinations for refugees fleeing Fascism in Europe. Out of the roughly 130 000 German and Austrian refugees coming to the U.S. between 1933 and 1940, 10 000 were artistic and intellectual professionals, including some 1 500 musicians.



FIGURE 29. Kreněk's suitcase upon migrating to the U.S. in 1938.  
Source: EKI.



The only things uniting these refugees was their hatred towards the regime that had exiled them and the emotional strain of being bereft of one's home. Therefore, many smaller associations were soon created based on specific interests and professions. Many refugees chose to join migrant societies to find work and community support, such as the German-American Culture Union, the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, and the National Committee for Refugee Musicians, as well as specific German-Jewish associations.<sup>531</sup>

Although newcomers had different individual career opportunities, the old usually struggled more than the young.<sup>532</sup> There were divides between professions as well. As a composer or author, you could live almost anywhere, like Thomas Mann, Schönberg, or Stravinsky in Hollywood. For a musician, the east coast was the only realistic option.<sup>533</sup>

The east coast, especially New York, had for a long time developed a patron-based cultural life that in some regards could be described as a 'mini-Europe,' aspiring to celebrate, emulate, and develop European artistic influences. For these high society networks, the idea of 'European' art, often synonymous with 'fine' art, was at least as important as the idea of an 'American' art.<sup>534</sup> The exile community of the 1930s was able to cater to this craving for all things European. This would also be op. 20's entry point, as it had back in 1928; not as 'German,' 'Czech,' or 'Austrian,' but as 'European' and, let us not forget, 'contemporary.' The new dynamic between 'old' and 'new' in exile would provide a framework for the piece's reappearance.

According to Lydia Goehr, exile should not be seen merely as a set of material and formal constraints, such as loss of property, livelihood, the struggles for obtaining visas, and so on, but also as a state of mind. The exiled condition necessitates a reimagining of existential concepts such as 'home' and 'space.'<sup>535</sup> It might be conceptualised in spatial, temporal, or less concrete ways. Indeed, home might be found in things and people rather than places.

Krenek migrated with only one medium-sized suitcase, in which he carried with him as much of his life as he could (see Figure 29).<sup>536</sup> Other documents and objects were shipped to him from Vienna by his

parents from time to time. We do not know if any of op. 20's scores were contained in this suitcase, and neither did Krenek, as we shall see below. Already a minor celebrity thanks to his success in the 1920s, he secured scholarships through migrant NGOs and eventually managed to secure a teaching position at Vassar College in Boston in 1939. Even so, Krenek's American diaries between 1937 and 1942 show a deep-felt anxiety and despair over his own situation, his parents remaining in Vienna, and the state of the world.<sup>537</sup>

Although he could still obtain some copies of scores and even royalties from UE, Krenek did not enjoy the same income anymore since his pieces were barely performed in Europe and the Nazi collecting society, STAGMA, stopped remunerating undesirable composers after 1936.<sup>538</sup> While Rothe and her colleagues at UE still claimed to do their best to provide Krenek with what he was owed from them, their U.S. agent AMP claimed a significant additional portion of his royalties and often disappointed him by not providing the scores he requested.<sup>539</sup>

On the other hand, we may assume that Krenek was now free to do what he wanted with those UE-published scores that he had access to. No one else seems to have had any real sense of care for pieces like op. 20 at this point. Eva Moreda Rodriguez objects to using 'exile' to explain just about anything a composer does while in exile. For people like Krenek, a break had definitely occurred, but that does not mean that everything connected to him was disjointed or that his life was made a *tabula rasa*. With all the above obstacles in mind, Krenek still had a broad supporting context, as did his music. Many of his acquaintances during his first months in the U.S. consisted of known faces from the German-speaking world and beyond such as Adorno, Heinsheimer, Kolisch, and Schnabel.<sup>540</sup> Exile could encompass both continuity and discontinuity.

One particularly important example of the presence of continuity in Krenek's new life was New York-based composer Roger Sessions, who had gone to Europe in 1924 and stayed in Berlin 1926–1933. Sessions is believed to have had a closer relation to European composers than most of his contemporary American peers. Krenek often

turned to him for help during his first months and years in the U.S. and they also vacationed together with their spouses in 1939.<sup>541</sup>

It was at this early stage of creating his new home that Krenek made a short and slightly confusing remark in his diary on 21 November 1938:

Worked. Evn. at Mazzeo's, they played my good old Serenade op. 4, not a bad piece at all. III. String Quartet, good, but too much lacking in weight and substance. Sad. Is it anywhere among my things? Should I catch up with it again? Otherwise performed: Castera Quartet, mediocre, Kaminski weak and narrow-minded. Nice evening.<sup>542</sup>

Private societies and individual patronage for home concerts were a central part of American musical life. These actors enabled many refugee composers to establish themselves somewhat in the U.S., as well as produce new music.<sup>543</sup> Rosario Mazzeo, then clarinetist at the Boston Symphony Orchestra (BSO), often hosted private concerts at his house, and Krenek was invited to one of these. He had been in contact with the BSO already in 1937 and had a work performed there a few weeks before Mazzeo's private concert.<sup>544</sup> Whoever performed his *Serenade* and op. 20 on the 21<sup>st</sup> remains to be discovered, but it was probably some of the string musicians from the BSO or a visiting ensemble such as the Coolidge Quartet, if not the also recently migrated Kolisch Quartet (see Movement IV).<sup>545</sup> Maurer Zenck states that Krenek's parents supplied the score for the *Serenade* from Vienna, but whoever provided op. 20 remains unknown.<sup>546</sup>

Krenek's remark was the first event in at least a decade, that I have found, in which he expressed a direct interest in op. 20 in his own writing. Although the initiator for this performance was probably Mazzeo, Krenek seems to have suddenly become aware of his agency in op. 20's future movement. From his note, we can gather that the quartet could and should be given another performance. This suggests that the performance he had just heard did not match his idea of the 'true' work.

Goehr writes that the philosophical issue of music as transcendent or situated became increasingly important to migrant composers. The artistic *doubleness* of coming from somewhere else while creating in a

new environment provided further edge to these considerations, illustrated by exiled artists such as Bertolt Brecht and Thomas Mann claiming that they were the ‘true’ bearers of a transcendent German culture that had ceased to exist in geographical Germany.<sup>547</sup>

Perhaps Krenek also felt that his music needed to be maintained in this new place, one of the few in which they could still enjoy public performances. Thus op. 20 again became an object of more personal care, as it had been with the Hindemiths after the premiere in 1923 (see Movement III).

Krenek’s note on ‘catching up again’ with op. 20 had both spatiotemporal and material-logistic implications. Many works, exile historian Horst Weber claims, would not ‘survive’ exile precisely because of the loss of what Walter Benjamin called “testimonies [*Zeugnisse*],” that is, the synchronic and immediate instances that testified to the diachronic existence of the work. Composers in exile often lacked any tangible references to testimonies of their works, leading to many works becoming forgotten. This also affected composers returning to Germany after 1945.<sup>548</sup>

op. 20 in Boston was somewhere in between, we might say. It was both an immediate experience in a new time and place—detached from its associations and therefore also its history—and an entity that could be inserted back into said history with help from new or old associations. This presented Krenek with questions of fixity and concreteness but guided by the idea that op. 20 was always ‘out there’ beyond the performance. What music had travelled with him to the u.s. in tangible form? What was readily available to him? Should he “catch up” with it? What was “it,” and where?

There is no definite answer as to the where. One option is Vienna. Before Krenek’s first u.s. journey in 1937, he and Berta Krenek had terminated their apartment contract in the city and packed most of their belongings into a “grim storage house.”<sup>549</sup> These belongings would be somewhat safe from Nazi authorities, at least for a time, and Krenek’s parents could retrieve op. 20 if it was indeed stored there.

After the “sad” performance of op. 20 in Boston, it seems like Krenek did decide to “catch up” with the string quartet, although this would

take some time. The visible chains of action were connected through Krenek, *OP. 20*, and organisations on the east coast. Whatever else happened in between has been impossible to trace.

On 7 March 1939, Krenek wrote to Sessions: "I heard from Mark [Brunswick] with great pleasure of the success of your first concert. I hope very much this organization will keep going on and may later be able to pay some attention also to what I tried in this field."<sup>550</sup> The organisation in question was probably the local American ISCM and the "Contemporary Concerts" series, which had begun recently. Krenek became involved in the American ISCM like many other European exiles, many of whom loudly called for the U.S. to step up its commitment to an increasingly 'homeless' New Music. However, the organisation, which was planning its next festival for 1941 in New York, did not give him much hope for the future.<sup>551</sup> On the other hand, a year after Krenek's explicit request to be performed at Sessions' concerts, his visions for *OP. 20* seem to have materialised. And, thus, we finally arrive back at the opening of this dissertation.

On Friday 29 March 1940, *OP. 20* was performed in the Chamber Music Hall of the Carnegie Hall on Manhattan by a new constellation of the Galimir Quartet. The concert series has not been studied much, but it appears that the format was based on the Steuermann-Kolisch concerts back in Vienna during the 1930s. Indeed, each event had at least one contemporary Austrian composer represented and many of the performers were Austrians. They also seem to have been part of the local ISCM. Sessions declared in a 1939 letter to David Diamond that "[the ISCM concerts] are something quite new in the way of contemporary music programs in N.Y. + we plan, as a result of the success we have already had, to continue with the same sort of program next year."<sup>552</sup>

The scores could have come from a range of different sources: Heinsheimer, Winter, Kolisch, Krenek or his parents, *UE* through *AMP* or directly from *AMP*. Hindemith is an unlikely candidate because he was only to a limited extent involved in the exile communities. Since *AMP* was *UE*'s and Krenek's go-to distributor of scores, they remain the most likely option.<sup>553</sup>

As with most other concerts involving *op. 20*, the details of how the piece appeared on the stage cannot be traced, but we can see how some of the participants ended up there. Having disbanded the original Quartet already in 1936, Félix Galimir first went to Palestine but eventually settled in New York where he in 1939 was employed as first violinist at the NBC Symphony Orchestra under Arturo Toscanini. He soon reformed his quartet with new members.<sup>554</sup>

One of these members was violinist and violist Lotte Hammer-schlag-Bamberger. Like Galimir, she had briefly been part of the then Palestine Symphony Orchestra in Tel Aviv after fleeing Vienna, before moving to the U.S. in 1938.<sup>555</sup> The Carnegie concert was perhaps the first time that *op. 20*, created within male-dominated associations, was publicly performed by a woman musician.

The organisers seem to have had their work cut out for them in Manhattan's busy concert life, reflected by the fact that very few papers mentioned the concert. New York was still the unrivalled beacon of American art music, as in the 1920s, and there were several other announced concerts involving the musicians and organisers around the same time. Some of them had a distinct 'migrant' theme. Others were simply New Music concerts involving many German-speaking exiles, organised by, for example, the New Friends of Music and the League of Composers.<sup>556</sup> Many of those who showed up on 29 March probably belonged to associations of exiled Europeans. However, Maurer Zenck writes that the performance was also recorded and later broadcast on 24 April 1940, bringing the work to many more.<sup>557</sup>

The 29 March performance, and the broader network of New Music in which it occurred, reassembled associations who mainly originated in Vienna in the 1920s and 1930s, but it also included some American connections both old and new. Sessions was perhaps the focal point of this gathering of people and objects. Most actants had crossed an ocean in large enough numbers and encountered enough supporting actants to realise new performances of the work *op. 20*. However, the mind and body very much belong to the repertoires of fixity used to conceptualise musical works. Without the presence of these specific people and their subjective experiences, *op. 20* would

not have happened in 1938 and 1940 the way it did. In 1928, New York had seen *op. 20* performed largely because of the movement patterns of the score. A decade later, what remained of these patterns merged with the influx of new bodies with musical experience, most notably Krenek. Supported by the east coast's urban musical life, the string quartet managed to enter the concert hall once again.

The programme, containing both recently composed pieces and some from the Baroque and late Renaissance eras, appears as something of a compromise, perhaps among the organisers, perhaps between organisers and audience. Indeed, the organisers would later split up because of their competing visions.<sup>558</sup> *op. 20* was, just like at its New York performance in 1928, in new company compared to its appearances in European concert halls. It became a mediator between the works of two American 'contemporaries' and 'old' Europe, performing a micro-historiography of Western music history.<sup>559</sup>

Another potential agency of the performance, at least for the refugees listening and performing that night, was the mediation of emotions of loss, grief, anxiety, and despair, perhaps also nostalgia, familiarity, and reassurance. Many first-hand and second-hand accounts from the German-speaking exile bear witness to the potential of music, like other arts, for providing a new sense of 'home' in their place of refuge.<sup>560</sup> Members of the exile community may have taken the opportunity of letting *op. 20* help them travel back in time. Perhaps they reminisced their lost lives back in Germany, Austria, or elsewhere, revisiting one or more of *op. 20*'s old concert venues, some of which would not be there anymore once they eventually would have a chance to return.<sup>561</sup>

I have found little media coverage of *op. 20* from the last event, which was mentioned briefly in the *Times* and *Musical America*. One review appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune*. Critic Jerome D. Bohm described the piece as a fixed set of 'portions' making up one "movement:"

There are moments in the adagio section which just escape being poignant, and the closing page is truly exhilarating. Much ingenuity

is expended on the contrapuntal portions of the work, and a certain amount of charm is apparent in the brief 'Tempo di Valse [sic] Comodo' episode; but for a work which requires twenty-five minutes of uninterrupted attention the reward is meager. The performance by the Galimir Quartet was admirable.<sup>562</sup>

The use of "page" was either a literary metaphor or a reference to the score; yet another event in which the performance was read and listened to in tandem. In fact, Bohm would not even have needed to attend the performance to write this review. *OP. 20* remained, even at this point, well-connected to its printed manifestations.

Apart from Bohm, the New York journals conceptualised the work *OP. 20* in a fixed-abstract sense without really expressing its aesthetics or the ephemeral-concrete performance. They were also, like all paper media announcements, quickly forgotten by most.

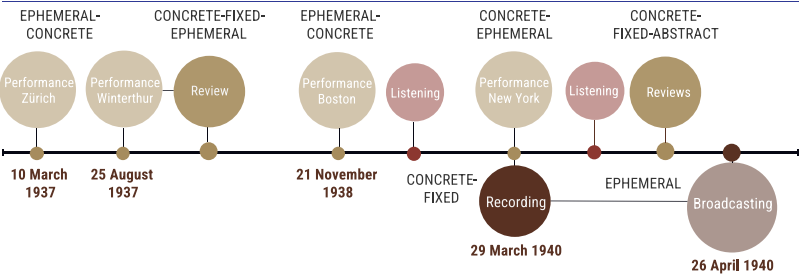
However, there was at least one person who took the performance to heart and recapitulated it, if only to himself: Ernst Krenek. His notes from 31 March show, as Maurer Zenck has also noted, a very different impression from his disappointing encounter in Boston in 1938. In a happy state, Krenek declared *OP. 20* a timeless work, largely detached from its history unlike so many others from the time of its composition. The creator had, perhaps for the first time, seriously considered the aesthetic properties of his hastily, in part train-composed third quartet, once a gift to his 'rival' Hindemith. New York may have been too busy to take proper notice of the piece, but Krenek had not. This quote, conveniently, marks the chronological end of my empirical work:

In New York. Heard my 3. String Quartet again and with great pleasure, especially since it has none of this paleness that you often hear from compositions from [the early 1920s], which makes you wonder what was so special about that time. It is still 'new' and has nothing of those Hindemith-ish joker-characteristics or neo-classic bad habits. Even the parts of purely tonal material in the waltz episode appear completely organic and not at all agonising or forced. It makes you think, in the sense that in those days, I believe, I used to work very unfettered and with instinct. Although of course some parts might



# Movement in Exile

## Events 1937–1940



### Associations & actants

[possibly] Hermann Scherchen	<b>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</b>	[possibly] Associated Music Publishers	Ernst Krenek Suitecase "Things" Diary	[possibly] The National Committee for Refugee Musicians	Ernst Krenek Diary	<b>Musical America</b>
[possibly] Volkmar Andrae	Willi Schuh WPV miniature score Editor	Rosario Mazzeo	[possibly] Storage in Vienna	[possibly] Associated Music Publishers	Paul Hindemith Exile	<b>Musical Courier New York Times</b>
Werner Reinhart, money	<b>Office</b> Printers	Private home	Krenek's parents	The American ISCM	Contemporaneity	<b>New York Times</b>
Friedrich Gubler	Distribution Typewriter	Guests	Associated Music Publishers	The 'Contemporary Concerts' Series	Neo-Classicism	<b>Herald Tribune</b>
Ella Gubler	Ink	Chamber ensemble	Transatlantic shipping	The Carnegie Hall	Historiography	Editors Journalists
Ernst Krenek	Paper	Scores	Sheet music retail	The Galimir Quartet		Other works
<b>The Winterthur Quartet</b>	Paul Hindemith	Associated Music Publishers	Other works	Scores		<b>Recording Radio station</b>
Scores	<b>Historiography</b>	Sheet music retail		Roger Sessions		Radio waves, frequencies
<b>Sheet music retail UE</b>	<b>Atonal-tonal binary, form, rhythm</b>			Eduard Steuermann		<b>Radio reporting</b>
<b>Pro Musica Zürich</b>	Arnold Schönberg			Mark Brunswick		
Walter Frey	Alban Berg			Ernst Krenek Letters		
<b>Winterthur Music College</b>				<b>Recording crew</b>		
<b>Zürich Conservatory</b>				<b>Recording equipment</b>		
Other works				Other works		
				<b>Busy New York concert life</b>		

FIGURE 30. OP. 20 in Swiss and American exile.  
Bold = associations (may encompass organisations as well as other groups)  
Roman = actants (objects, humans, non-humans)

have been more concentrated, the Adagio part is, despite some inconsistency with regards to firmly atonal considerations, so much so that I might even have written it today. It also feels good to think that the substance appears strong enough to be brought forward with the help of any kind of method, and that these respective methods might not even be necessary vehicles with which to do so. I do not presume to make any precedents as to the historical meaning of methods as pedagogic means. In any case, the relative timelessness of this music was very calming for me. It leaves me with the hope that its worth will really be acknowledgeable at some point in the future.<sup>563</sup>

Krenek's self-review suggests that the idealistic work concept became more urgent in exile. Refusing to leave it in the past, Krenek abstracted op. 20 from time, space, and context while maintaining its 'essential' parts and characteristics. However, he also revealed some alternative histories in which the quartet might have been composed differently. The piece had a given place in his own historiography, a place that he hoped that future audiences and critics would yet recognise.

After the many misfortunes of the 1930s, past, present, future, and place were out of joint to say the least. Yet, op. 20 might somehow remain 'the same.' Conceptualising the quartet as a lasting, fixed object provided stability to Krenek. But it only did so in the specific context of these mentioned historical events; for all its ostensive non-historicity, the notion of the eternal 'work' op. 20 was dependent on ephemeral events set in a certain time and space.

op. 20's reappearances show that it occupied at least some space within Goehr's 'imaginary museum.' As such, it could still enter certain chains of actions that formed temporary associations, such as the Austrian exile community, but also the increasingly important American-based ISCM. Thus, op. 20 had travelled from a German-based network of associations, through some 'Czech' affiliation, back to becoming 'German,' then 'Austrian' while in Switzerland, and finally Austrian-in-exile, perhaps even with the prospect of becoming 'American.'

Something happened when Krenek and others in the New Music network migrated beyond Germany or Austria. Exile afforded pieces

like op. 20 with certain qualities, for instance the concept of ‘contemporary,’ that it had not enjoyed for some time in its ‘old’ locations, triggering aspects of its agency that had been dormant for years (see Figure 30).

Last, but not least, the New York concert testifies to the resilience of the early ISCM and its long-term commitment to a repertoire that it regarded with a sense of ownership, perhaps even responsibility, as has been suggested many times throughout this study. op. 20’s first main caretakers, Hindemith and his Quartet, had long since ceased to perform the work. The same can be said of the now Nazi-owned UE. The international New Music networks, however, were not done with the quartet. Associations and actants within these networks, such as people, music tools, instruments, and sheet music, were still in motion.

Networks such as the ISCM and its local societies were less widespread but still operating, connecting people and things in new and old places. Now these associations were reassembling in New York, in which the ISCM’s next international music festival would be held in 1941.<sup>564</sup> The U.S. was well on its way to becoming a future major player in this network. This created tension, as many of the European members were still present. With almost 20 years to its name and determined to carry on, the ISCM revisited its own dislocated history through op. 20, one of its earliest exhibited pieces.

Across stretches of time and space, the ISCM network managed to rediscover musical pieces that it had helped produce almost two decades earlier. op. 20 was never forgotten. During its whole movement up to this point it had remained an object with an idle agency. It had been a potential candidate for performances within the ISCM the whole time.

## Conclusion in Motion

Having let the actors speak, hopefully in a just way, it is now time to go back to the beginning before concluding the work I have done. This cannot, however, be a definite conclusion. Although it is indeed a fixed statement on op. 20's history, the quartet is still 'out there' and in movement, and this book does not stabilise it any more than the previous attempts.

Starting from the research problem of the early history of the music piece known as "op. 20" *vis-à-vis* the musical work concept as a historical daily practice, I intended to answer the following research questions in this dissertation:

*From its creation until its appearance in American exile, in what ways did Ernst Krenek's Third String Quartet come to be conceptualised as a musical work?*

*In what ways and in which circumstances did this conceptualisation move?*

These questions were broad and did not by themselves stipulate anything specific about the theoretical-methodological framework that I eventually assembled. The chosen framework was a combination of various critiques of the artwork concept, Actor-Network Theory, and micro-history. It has emphasised the role of associations, actants, events, and the interplay between conceptualising the 'work' as a concrete, ephemeral, fixed, and abstract entity. Last but not least, the framework viewed the piece of music itself, op. 20, as an agentic object contributing to its own conceptualisation. The results are, unsurprisingly, the fruits of this specific focus. While it could have looked very different, my approach has highlighted aspects of the 'work' op. 20 that would otherwise not have been observed.

The six ‘movements’ of this dissertation have shown how OP. 20 went through several main phases during its movement before 1940. The first following section reviews these phases. Then, the second section discusses some important reoccurring themes that I have identified. I also discuss some implications for further research and the role of methodology in the final section.

### OP. 20's Phases

In 1922–1923, OP. 20 went through the *creation* phase. It was an unstable actant within a few associations, destined to remain an ephemeral mediator in urgent need of performance to be conceptualised as anything. In 1924, the *publication* phase encompassed the edition of the manuscript into three different scores. The publication fixed and rendered the piece a more reproducible and stable object, a possible intermediary. However, the scores themselves, more than a thousand, were not necessarily intermediaries.

OP. 20 then underwent a phase of *extended movement* during which it transcended associations on a broader level. However, while on this ‘world tour,’ the piece gained little stability. It was still up to each critic, musician, and other actors to conceptualise the performed piece as they saw fit.

With that said, there were some changes. At the time of the premiere, critics mobilised Krenek, Hindemith, nations, and deities, to mention a few, to conceptualise he performed quartet. Following the publication, critics always had the possibility of referring to the material, textual actants relating to that performance: the scores. The years 1923–1927 were nevertheless the high point of the piece's movement in the sense that events took place in many different countries, including through new media, and entered the most diverse range of associations.

Parallel to this, yet another process emerged, namely the cataloguing and *categorisation* phase in music knowledge organisation, which was initiated already by the time of publication in 1924 but went on throughout the rest of the interwar period. This phase is still ongoing,

as we may still find mentions on the string quartet in several dictionaries and other pieces of music literature. Nevertheless, as I have observed, the knowledge organisation of op. 20 mattered relatively little to the piece's continued movement in associations.

The categorisation occurred parallel to yet another process: the *ignorance* phase between 1928 and 1937. Although these years marked almost complete silence on op. 20, let us not forget that the piece in general moved very little when compared to the greater networks of music existing at the time. It was not a 'masterpiece' by Krenek, nor was it even close to becoming a metonymic representative of any musical genre or paradigm shift. When appearing in the press, it occupied a trivial part of it. Even during its most eventful years around 1923–1927, it was far from a work on everybody's mind. op. 20 remained a cherished but small actant within limited networks. It is in these networks we find something of an answer to the question. They were dependent on continuous action, vulnerable to changes, and so were the objects populating them. With movement of associations to the u.s., opportunities emerged anew for the quartet to become an active object of music practice.

In many ways, by the time of Krenek's American *exile* phase and the reappearance of op. 20 on the u.s. east coast, the quartet was still very much a mediator in need of re-conceptualisation and re-performance. The *force majeure* of the Nazi administration pushing out all remaining hopes of op. 20 being performed on continental Europe also shows the limits of the horizontal outlook of ANT. To be sure, Nazi Germany also consisted of networks and associations of actants. However, these were so much more powerful than those connected to op. 20 that it, at least in this case, becomes almost pointless to talk of studying associations. What mattered for our music piece was, nevertheless, the destruction and relocation of those weaker associations.

Throughout these six phases, there was no risk of op. 20 becoming completely forgotten; the networks of fixity of which it was part were simply too robust and wide.

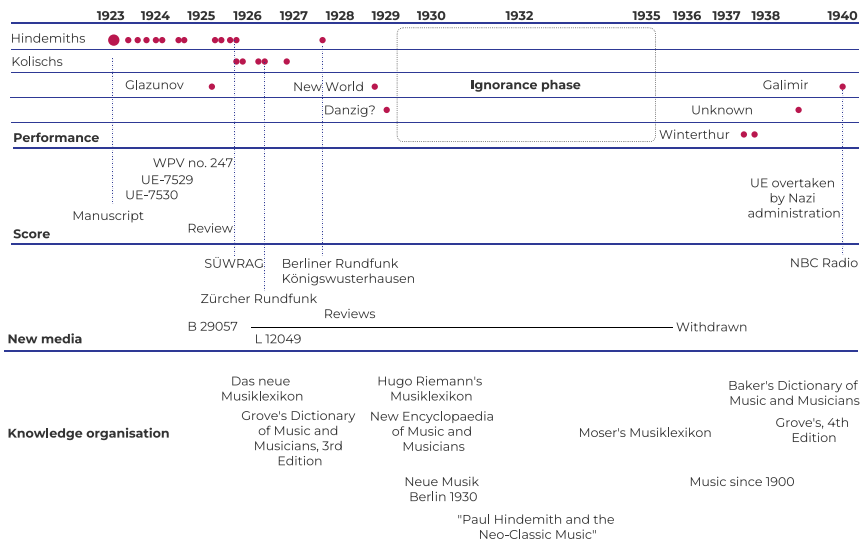


FIGURE 3I. OP. 20's main events 1923–1940.

## Networks of Agency, Fixity, and Affinity

Of all the analytical concepts that I have discussed, I would like to highlight three that had a continuous importance in op. 20's movement: the modalities of *agency*, *fixity*, and *affinity*.

op. 20's *agency* lay in its ambiguity of form, or, rather, the ambiguity with which it was presented to listeners, critics, and then readers. The ruptures and interruptions of individual themes, yet with a hint of an overarching 'unity,' often modified the listening and interpreting experience into an emphasis on form. Another impactful property written into the manuscript of op. 20 in 1923 was its temporally imbued sonic properties, mainly its atonality and 'distorted' waltz theme. Critics and other listeners were compelled to classify the music piece according to these agentic mediators within the manuscript. op. 20 resisted many of the explanations that actants tried to impose upon it. It was not completely enigmatic, but difficult. To conceptualise what they had just listened to into one solidified musical work that existed beyond space and time, these listeners would invite a diverse range of actants, concrete and metaphysical, new and old.

As part of early 20<sup>th</sup> century print culture, the piece also had a strong textual agency. More people had access to the quartet as an object of criticism rather than as sound experience. This extended beyond the music critic's writings as well. God, counterpoint, Czechoslovakia, trains, stamps, and many others were all part of op. 20's movement as a read work. Not so much as a sounding object, but rather as a printed one, did op. 20 impact thoughts and debates on formal problems, atonality, and of New Music.

There was also a limit to agency and a limit to impact. op. 20 could influence discussions and ideas, produce activities and create movement among various associations. However, it did not have that power on its own. It acted because other actants *enacted* it. Once the quartet had begun moving around the world as scores, recordings, or references, the possibility of these actants enacting it increased. The



same goes for how much I can truly claim that other forces moved on op. 20. The Nazi regime had a strong impact on music, but we may not necessarily say that it had a direct impact on op. 20. Rather, it impacted associations in which op. 20 was a potential actant, an idle object (see Movement VI).

Second, the most elaborate repertoires of *fixity* applied to op. 20 were results of the loosely yet continuously reproduced connections between Vienna/UE, the Berlin Group, the German New Music concert scene, and the ISCM functioning as an umbrella. We might call this the *continental network*. In this network, op. 20 could be easily conceptualised, recognised, and performed repeatedly. Outside of this network, we encounter op. 20 as a more ephemeral event, an ambiguous outsider, which made it more difficult to conceptualise.

Nevertheless, *fixity*, also interpreted as the degree to which op. 20 became an intermediary, was assembled into the published scores through a large group of fluid mediators. These different and ambiguous elements, making up the key E<sup>b</sup> major, the synopsis of form, cover, et cetera, all created a degree of stability that could indeed follow with the ‘work’ op. 20 anywhere, to some point guaranteeing that it would be conceptualised as ‘the same’ musical work, even beyond space and time.

*Fixity* combined with concretisation made op. 20 into a relatively impactful object, for example when it was performed as part of a political event in support of GEMA and BDK in 1927. On the other hand, *fixity* combined with abstraction decreased the work’s agency. When appearing as a recording or in dictionaries published in the U.S. and the UK, the piece was largely abstracted and detached.

Third, and although not fully introduced until now, the importance of *affinity* has come forward in several phases of op. 20’s movement. This means the degree of networks, associations, or individuals showing a sense of care or ownership towards the quartet. While Krenek’s ownership was never in doubt, he was not self-evident as an active caretaker throughout the period. Instead, the Hindemiths, especially Paul Hindemith himself, were the first who showed genuine affinity towards the piece, a relationship reflected in the type of venues chosen

for performances. This period coincided with *op. 20*'s pre-edition phase, when only a few manuscripts existed.

Then, however, *UE* managed to secure legal rights to the score and its interpretations by editing the one existing manuscript into three scores with the same content but different format. Thus, *op. 20*'s ownership became dispersed across these multiple formats and associations. From then on, caretaking was de-individualised, multiplied, and temporary, reflecting *op. 20*'s partial move from mediator to intermediary. Most events of *op. 20* from 1925 on were dependent on *UE*'s distribution networks.

I have also claimed that the Kolischs and Hindemiths, being competitors in the mid- to late 1920s, both used *op. 20* as a point of contested caretaking. Although this may have contributed to the Hindemiths' Polydor recording in 1925 and its last broadcast performance of the piece in late 1927, this was a short-lived contestation. Hindemith left the Amar Quartet in 1929 and neither member seems to have mentioned *op. 20* after 1927. Licco Amar, who went into exile in Turkey in 1933, may have attempted to perform some New Music pieces in Istanbul or Ankara, but *op. 20* was never mentioned.<sup>565</sup> Krenek, *UE*, and the *ISCM* were the sole sources of affinity with the piece thereafter.

It was never inevitable that the *ISCM* would turn out to have the most profound continuity in taking care of *op. 20*, but it was nevertheless less likely that any ensemble of musicians would hold on to it for decades. After all, musicians like Licco Amar and Rudolf Kolisch made a living out of performing and had to adapt to the tastes of audiences and the general state of concert life. The *ISCM*, however, was more than a professional enterprise; it was an organisation based on immaterial ideals.

Music ensembles and music associations may differ in their understanding of temporality. An entity like the *ISCM*, however much an advocate of musical 'progress' and 'modernity,' would at times be compelled to gaze backwards to understand itself. A key to this understanding lay in the music that the organisation could call its own. *op. 20*, having enjoyed its first performance at the first official

ism festival, occupied a special position within the historical self-assessment of that international society. They would always have Salzburg.

### On Methodology, Reflexivity, and Musical Works

Although my dissertation has committed to the history of an object, it was after all humans who performed and still occasionally perform the ‘work’ OP. 20. A number of individuals transferred it across borders, languages, networks, and knowledge organising systems. More than 140 of them are listed below (see Appendix), though there were without doubt many others that I did not find.

Some people spent hundreds of hours with the piece, if not more, especially if we count travelling hours (which we certainly should). Despite all the repertoires of fixity available to them, it was people who devoted their time, minds, and bodies to performing and conceptualising OP. 20. Some of those with a closer affinity to the piece would carry on these activities on many occasions. In this narrative, the most consistent actant turned out to be Krenek, which may hardly come as a shock to anyone.

A rather absentee creator during much of the 1920s and 1930s, Krenek became essential in OP. 20’s reappearance in the U.S. Although this might be self-evident to some readers, I still want to make it clear that no abundance of things could ever match what individuals like Krenek, the Hindemiths, the Kolischs, and the other interpreters played, heard, thought, and felt. Without these people, no OP. 20.

Celia Lury points out that practicing a method means studying it simultaneously.<sup>566</sup> In this dissertation, both on its own and in combination with micro-history, ANT has provided important contributions to studying music and musical works. It has invited me to consider findings, traces, and actors that would not otherwise have been relevant. As they have become enrolled into my narrative, OP. 20’s history has also been allowed to encompass more than a study of reception, media history, music industry, and aesthetics. It has also become more than

a 'social' contextualisation of music. I can safely claim that the dissertation has included all these aspects and more.

However, ANT's limitations have also become clear. One important lesson is that ANT's adaptation to historical environments is at times insufficient. When first-hand observation of environments is not possible, speculation and contextualisation become important in enhancing vision. I have pointed to a direction in which ANT could be even further sharpened as a theoretical-methodological tool in historical research. To this end, micro-history has proved to be an excellent companion to both ANT and music history.

And what about me? I have inserted and studied many, probably most of the available traces and connections of OP. 20 before 1940 into this academic piece. These connections have been linked together through my research and assembled into this dissertation, which most likely mentions OP. 20 more than any other document so far, published or otherwise. By doing this, I am yet another of the many actants involved in conceptualising OP. 20. Although I view the musical work concept critically, I may nevertheless have contributed to viewing pieces such as OP. 20 as something beyond their history, as 'eternal' works and thus as something of potentially 'lasting' value.

Nevertheless, my dissertation challenges the either-or notions of music pieces as either a priori eternal 'abstracta' or as events, 'concreta.' OP. 20 was not only conceptualised through 'pure' live experiences or ephemerally performed associations, nor was it ever a purely abstract phenomenon. It was also found in less tangible discussions and ideas, as well as in non-sonic objects such as books, lists, catalogues, record collections and other 'dead' media, bureaucracies, and archives.

OP. 20's early movement also indicates that entities known as musical 'works' are less free than other musical objects. At least if we define freedom as the potential of enjoying conceptual and ontological fluidity, OP. 20 would undoubtedly end up on the unfree side of the spectrum, ultimately becoming tethered to large networks of actants who mainly valued the music piece insofar as it succeeded in being idealised as 'the same' intangible work of music. Most music traditions do not

pose and have never posed these criteria upon their creations. *OP. 20*'s case is extreme when compared to global music history in general, even if the quartet, as we have seen, defied many if not most attempts at conceptualising it as an organic entity or 'whole.' Even in its immanent defiance of categorisation and idealisation, *OP. 20* was conceptualised through deploying exactly those same standards.

I am not advocating a reform of the work concept or a 'new canon.' This has all been attempted during the last century. A significant contribution of this dissertation, rather, is a detailed study of *OP. 20* as a gateway to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century networks in which the idealistic work concept and related concepts operated. Most importantly, the dissertation has shown what the movement of a specific musical 'work' looked like. By focusing on how one specific piece of music moved as a 'work,' it has also potentially shown how many other musical pieces could be 'made' into coherent works that would remain 'the same.' The work concept has been shown in detail for what it is: a historical concept with historical consequences.

Finally, this dissertation has not only shown what the 'work-making' process of *OP. 20* looked like, but what it *might* look like. In the end, the way we choose to interpret music's tensions between abstract, concrete, fixed, and ephemeral, comes down to what we would like music to be in our individual lives and in society. Having followed *OP. 20*, I want to afford music pieces like it an expanded imaginative freedom.

I would certainly like to invite readers to imagine less coercive and less excluding ways of organising music. There are and have always been contexts out there in which there are no eternal 'works.' While Western art music has experimented with loosening the idealistic work concept, the main tenets of that concept are still in effect, while technologies like AI are accelerating the need for renegotiating the source of creativity. In this respect, Western art music has something to learn from the early movement of *OP. 20*.

Instead of searching for correspondences between text and performance or exploring the relative 'openness' of a particular work, we may view idealised musical works as historical peculiarities. As such,

the work concept might still be used to define certain music pieces, but not treated as an elevated concept. There is no teleological inevitability of idealistic artworks, just as idealised artists are not self-evident. We might conceptualise musical pieces as moving objects that do not need to be numbered, registered, fixed, remain 'the same,' or be tied to one person. We can simply allow them to appear, be forgotten, and disappear.



# Notes

## Movement I. op. 20 and the Musical Work Concept

1. “Contemporary Concerts Heard,” *NYT* 30.3.1940. Among the European exiles who were present on this date or at some point during the concert series were: Lotte Hammerschlag-Bamberger, Félix Galimir, Artur Schnabel, Rudolf Kolisch, Ernst Krenek, and Eduard Steuermann. Among the Americans were Theodor Chanler, Roger Sessions and Mark Brunswick, of which the latter two organised the event together with Steuermann. See also: “Concerts of Our Time,” *NYT* 7.1.1940.

2. Sophie Fetthauer, 2004. 241–242. The A-side of the recording by Deutsche Grammophon, Stravinsky’s *Concertino*, was listed as withdrawn in: “Stravinsky,” *GSERM*. 463. See also: Kim H. Kowalke, 2003. Michael H. Kater, 1997. Michael H. Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller, 2003.

3. N.B. The name Ernst Krenek is used consistently in the dissertation without the diacritic “ř,” except when found in quotes. Křenek was in fact the correct spelling used by himself and others until 1945, when he became a U.S. citizen.

4. Alex van Venrooij, 2018. 410. Antoine Hennion, 2015. 245.

5. Lydia Goehr, 1989. 55: “a musical work is held to be a composer’s unique, objectified expression, a public and permanently existing artifact made up of musical elements ... A work is fixed with respect, at least, to the properties indicated in the score and it is repeatable in performances. Performances themselves are transitory sound events intended to present a work by complying as closely as possible with the given notational specifications.” See also: Carys J. Craig, 2007. 212. John Butt, 2015. 4. Martin Parker Dixon, 2015. 50–51.

6. Goehr, quoted in Gavin Steingo, 2014. 95.

7. Rita Felski, 2011. 582.

8. Tia DeNora, 2017. 49.

9. DeNora, 2017. 50. Mads Krogh, 2018. 532–533. See also Ulrik Volgsten, 2018. 58.

10. Bruno Latour, 2004. 229–230. Sam de Boise, 2016. 183–184. Nick Prior, 2011. 123.



11. Christopher Small, 1998. 9–10. See also: Carl Dahlhaus, 1974. 12: “The work concept remains a stranger to traditionally interpreted [*usuellen*] music until this day.”

12. Ulrik Volgsten, 2017. 1. Lydia Goehr [1], 1992. For example, on copyright cases in Flamenco music, see: José Bellido, 2014. On the abuses of copyright towards African-American music artists, see: Kevin J. Greene, 1998. 353ff. See also: Olufunmilayo B. Arewa, 2014. 470ff. Tobias Schonwetter and Caroline Ncube, 2011. Caroline Ncube and Eliamani Laltaika, 2013.

13. Latour, 2004. 231–232.

14. On scientific discoveries, see: Mattis Karlsson, 2022. On the ontology of legal objects, see: Hyo Yoon Kang, 2018. On the ontology of digital records, see: Sebastian Rozenberg, 2021.

15. On the circulation of knowledge, see: Johan Östling et al., 2018.

16. Morris Weitz, 1956. Roland Barthes, 1977. 142–149. Ulrik Volgsten, 2013. Michel Foucault, Paul Rabinow, and Nikolas S. Rose, 2003. Craig, 2007. Mario Biagioli, 2006. Eva Hemmungs Wirtén, 2019.

17. See for instance previous publications of Mediehistoriskt Arkiv: Solveig Jülich, Patrik Lundell, and Pelle Snickars, 2008. Alf Björnberg, 2020. Ulrik Volgsten, 2019.

18. Kenneth Golog, 2011. 288.

19. Stephen Hinton, 1993. 90.

20. Martin Zenck, 1984. 106ff. Rudolf Stephan, 1982. 95ff. Claudia Maurer Zenck, 1998 [1]. 31. Claudia Maurer Zenck, 1982. Claudia Maurer Zenck, 1995. See also: David Hier, 2015. 4. Clare Carrasco, 2018.

21. ISCM, “1923, Salzburg” <https://iscm.org/wnmd/1923-salzburg/>. The other works were Paul Hindemith’s *Quintet for Clarinet*, op. 30, and William Walton’s *First String Quartet*. Chris Walton, 2009. 119–120.

22. Peter Burkholder, 1983. 121.

23. Carrasco, 2018. 383.

24. Nanette Nielsen, 2017. 77–78.

25. Maurer Zenck, 1982. 424: “Das 3. und das 4. Quartett wurden 1923 geschrieben und markieren Kreneks Auseinandersetzung mit dem Neoklassizismus. Sie geschah mit Ironie wie im dritten, darin der Haltung Hindemiths ähnlich, dessen Ensemble das Werk in Salzburg uraufführte (Symptome dafür sind ein Fugato am Ende des ersten Satzes, das ‘scherzando’ daherkommt, und der in-trikate Walzersatz) ...” Lothar Knessl places op. 20 within Krenek’s “free tonality” period. Lothar Knessl, 1967. 94.

26. Charles Rosen, 1988. James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, 2006. Charles Rosen, 2012. 121.

27. Maurer Zenck, 1995. 222. Maurer Zenck points out Krenek’s “Überbetonung der Formzäsuren.”

28. Ulrik Volgsten, 2015. 222–223.
29. John W Barker, 2017. 29, 276. Joseph Willimann, 1988. 13.
30. *Krenek on the Thouvenel Quartet concert series 1982*, vcl. *Krenek Festival 1979 programme*, vcl. Maurer Zenck, 1982. Stephan, 1982. Zenck, 1984.
31. <http://giocosostringquartet.com/concert/recital-in-musikverein/>  
Accessed 3 November 2023. TalkClassical, “Game (prelim 11/15): String quartets 1920+” May 2020 <https://www.talkclassical.com/threads/game-prelim-11-15-string-quartets-1920.65864/page-3>.
32. A full interpretation of op. 20 by the Petersen Quartet from 2007 is available on Spotify. This, and the other full interpretation by the Sonare Quartet from the late 1980s, have also appeared on YouTube and Apple Music, as has the first recording of the waltz from the 1920s. The score has also appeared on the internet.
33. Jonathan O. Wipplinger, 2012.
34. The most thorough biography of Krenek’s life to date is provided by John Lincoln Stewart, 1991. For recent receptions of Krenek’s operas, see for instance: Nyblom, *SvD*, 4.11.2019. Leipold, *BR Klassik* (2019).
35. Theodor W Adorno and Ernst Krenek, 1974. Rebecca Unterberger, 2018.
36. See Ernst Krenek, 1939. 226ff.
37. A selection of this bibliography includes: Ernst Krenek, 1948. Ernst Krenek, 1966. Ernst Krenek, Will Ogdon, and John Lincoln Stewart, 1974.
38. Susan C. Cook, 1988. Meret Forster, 2004. Claire Taylor-Jay, 2017. Peter Tregear, 2013. Nanette Nielsen, 2013. Martin Zenck, 1982.
39. <https://www.krenek.at/> Accessed 3 November 2023.
40. Marshall Berman, 1983. Henrik Rosengren, 2007. 62–63. Andrew Timms, 2017.
41. Max Paddison, 1997. 23.
42. Albrecht Dümling, 2003. 77–78. Jiří David, 2003. 43.
43. Lydia Goehr has consistently used ‘New Music.’ Lydia Goehr, 2011. 38–39. On musical ‘modernism,’ see for instance: Robert P Morgan, 1993. Geoffrey Chew, 2007. Bruno Strobl, Ivan Šiller, and Doris Weberberger, 2013. Michael von der Linn, 1998. Walter Frisch, 2005.
44. “Contemporary” in <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>  
Accessed 3 November 2023.
45. Burkholder, 1983. 116, 130.
46. Aleida Assmann, 2013. 5off. See also: Ryan Nolan, Year. 1–2, 5.
47. Burkholder, 1983. 129–130. William Weber, 1989. On national canon, see for instance: Celia Applegate, 2017.
48. Olufunmilayo B Arewa, 2005. 550–551. Bruno Nettl, 2010. 30–33.

49. Burkholder, 1983.

50. On Nazi Germany, see for instance: Michael H. Kater, 1992. *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933–1945*. Fetthauer, 2004. On the USSR, see: Kiril Tomoff, 2001. On Fascist Italy, see: Luca Levi Sala, 2014. See also: Benjamin George Martin, 2016.

51. Thomas Y. Levin, 1990. 30–35. Nils Grosch, 2018. 116.

52. Burkholder, 1983. 130–132. Leon Botstein, 1999. 483: “The early modernist conception of music has only fueled the isolation of classical music from the larger audience. ... Given the endemic insecurity among educated people about their capacity to ‘understand’ music, it is no wonder that they are reluctant to display their sense of ignorance in public.” See also: Timothy J. Dowd et al., 2002.

53. Burkholder, 1983. 133. William Weber, 1999. 340–341.

54. Carrasco, 2018. Sarah Elaine Neill, 2014. Jana Hřebíková, 2012. Joan Evans, 1998.

55. Arne Jähner, 2019. Ethan Haimo, 1990.

56. Astrid Kvalbein, 2013. Walton, 2009. Laura Basini, 2012. Emily Morin, 2015. Jack Boss, 2014. Petra Garberding, 2007. Rosengren, 2007. Alexander L Ringer, 2016. Eva Öhrström, 1999.

57. Paddison, 1997. Franz Baumgartner, 2008. Luitgard Schader, 2016.

58. See for instance: Björn Heile, 2019. Harry Harootunian, 2010.

59. On avant-gardes and the consecration process, see: Pierre Bourdieu, 1996. 317–318. For more recent studies on avant-gardes, see for instance: Gisèle Sapiro, 2014. Sascha Bru et al., 2022. Peter Bürger, Bettina Brandt, and Daniel Purdy, 2010.

60. Georgina Born, 2005. 24. Peter Bürger and Jochen Schulte-Sasse, 2006. Georgina Born, 1995. Larry Sitsky, 2002. Erling E Guldbrandsen and Julian Johnson, 2015.

61. Leon Botstein, 1992. 132–134. Burkholder, 1983. 123, 129.

62. “Opus,” *Oxford English Dictionary*; Goehr, 1992 [1]. Volgstén, 2015. 217–218. Volgstén, 2017.

63. Nettl, 2010. 17–19, 23.

64. Steingo, 2014. 95–100. Volgstén, 2017. 6: “Not until Aristotelianism gives way to a modernized Platonism can an idealistic work, along the lines described by Goehr, be fully conceived.”

65. James E. Perone, 2022. Carl Dahlhaus, 1991. 10. Goehr, 2011. 11–12. Jacques Attali, 1985. 6.

66. Botstein, 1992. 130–131. Weber, 1999. 340–345.

67. Arewa, 2005. Craig, 2007. 213, 222.

68. Amie Thomasson, 2004. Leo Treitler, 1993. Ian Hacking, 2004.

69. Volgsten, 2015. 212. Rasmus Fleischer, 2012. 49–51. Carl Dahlhaus, 1983. 4.
70. Roman Ingarden, 1989. 25, 27ff.
71. Julian Dodd, 2007. 10–11. See also: Ben Caplan and Carl Matheson, 2004. 115ff.
72. Saam Trivedi, 2002. Dodd, 2007. Lee Walters, 2013.
73. Dodd, 2007. 18–19.
74. Jerrold Levinson, 2015. 52–53.
75. P. D. Magnus, 2012. 109. Guy Rohrbaugh, 2012. 35–36, 44–45. Joseph G. Moore, 2012. 285. For a summary on the philosophical discussion for and against the ‘creation criterion’ of musical works, see Caplan and Matheson, 2004. 111–120.
76. Levinson, 2015. 46.
77. Thomasson, 2004. 11: “We are now in a position to explain why an adequate ontology of art has proven so elusive: There has been a conflict between the demands of the problem and the materials available for the solution. For the central criterion of success for theories about the ontology of art is their coherence with the ordinary beliefs and practices that determine the kinds of entities works of art are.”
78. Rosen, 2012. 398.
79. Roger Scruton, 1999. 114.
80. Goehr, 1992 [1]. 50–56.
81. Volgsten, 2017. 6.
82. Steingo, 2014. 86, 102.
83. Carla Hesse, 2002. 26–27. Christoph Wolff, 1998. 263. Dörte Schmidt, 2019. 280.
84. Goehr, 1992 [1]. 207–218. On the role of composers as public ‘intellectuals,’ see for instance: Jane F. Fulcher, 2005.
85. Hesse, 2002. 33. See also Martin Fredriksson, 2010.
86. Hesse, 2002. 39: “[T]he modern laws regulating intellectual property rest on a largely unexamined set of contradictory philosophical assumptions, these laws have been uniquely vulnerable to challenge – not least by the continuing rise of new methods of distributing ideas and information across national boundaries.” See also: Eva Hemmungs Wirtén, 2011. Rasmus Fleischer, 2015. Stina Teilmann-Lock, 2015. 2, 32. James Boyle, 2009. 25ff., 52. Catherine Seville, 2006. Alex Sayf Cummings, 2017. Hesse, 2002. 42–43. Arewa, 2005. 551. Brad Sherman, 2011. 104–105.
87. Michael W. Carroll, 2005. 929–930. Boyle, 2009. 41. Performing rights, like copyright, followed different paths in different countries. Staffan Albinsson, 2012. 9ff.

88. Erinn Elizabeth Knyt, 2010. 1–5. Arewa, 2005. 594–595. Arewa, 2014. 481, 484.
89. Kavita Philip, 2005. 201, 208. Greene, 1998. 375ff. Steven Feld, 1996. Steven Feld, 2000.
90. Volgsten, 2017. 17–18. Dahlhaus, 1983. 6.
91. Nettle, 2010. 40–41. Volgsten, 2013. 23. Peter Baldwin, 2016. 5.
92. Jack Andersen and Laura Skouvig, 2006. 302.
93. Richard P. Smiraglia, 2003. 556–557.
94. Anya Bernstein, 2019. 676.
95. Fabienne H. Baider, 2007. 68.
96. Smiraglia, 2003. 556.
97. Smiraglia, 2003. 557.
98. Philip V. Bohlman, 2004. 174. Christiane Sibille, 2016.
99. Knyt, 2010. Iv–v, 5. Toivo Burlin, 2008. 122. Lee B. Brown, 2000. 363–364. Fleischer, 2012. 180–185. See also: Patrick Warfield, 2009. Mieko Kanno, 2012. 171–173.
100. See for example some of Karlheinz Stockhausen’s compositions from the 1960s. Umberto Eco, 1989. 1–3. See also: Heinrich Tetzner, 1975.
101. Bourdieu, 1996. 3–4. Howard S. Becker, 2008. Hans Van Maanen, 2009. Vera L. Zolberg, 1990. 8off.
102. de Boise, 2016. 183, 189. Georgina Born, 2010. 174ff. Tia DeNora, 2003. 9. Dahlhaus, 1974. 13. Janet Wolff, 2021.
103. Hennion, 2015. 35–36. See also: DeNora, 2003. 3. Zolberg, 1990. David L. Swartz and Vera L. Zolberg, 2006.
104. Bruno Latour, 2005. 165, 179–180.
105. Krogh, 2018. 535. Van Maanen, 2009. 84–87. For the theoretical potential of ‘rhizome’ as opposed to a ‘network’ or ‘association’ framework, see discussion in: Patricia Pisters and Catherine M. Lord, 2001. See also: Victoria Van Orden Martinez, 2024 [forthcoming].
106. Bruno Latour, 1999. 20. See also: Webb Keane, 2009.
107. See for example: Igor Kopytoff, 1988. 77: “Thus, even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context. No social analysis of things ... can avoid a minimum level of what might be called methodological fetishism.” See also Latour, 2005. 147: “if the actors already assembled do not have enough energy to act, then they are not ‘actors’ but mere intermediaries, dopes, puppets. They do nothing, so they should not be in the description anyhow.”
108. Wai Chee Dimock, 2013. 736–737.
109. Annemarie Mol, 2010. 258. Latour, 1999. 17–19. Edwin Sayes, 2014.

110. Mol, 2010. 255.
111. Jane Bennett, 2010. 47–48. Jane Bennett, 2004. 348, 361–362. Rosi Braiddotti, 1999. 89.
112. Alfred Gell, 1998. 13. Norman Long, 2013. Georgina Born, 2013.
113. Fredrik Engelstad, 2013. On the use of ANT in cultural sociology, see for instance: Felix Lang, 2019.
114. Georgina Born, 2011. 377–378.
115. Benjamin Piekut, 2014. Kelly Michael Fox, “Actor-Network Music: A Paradigm for Distributed, Networked Music Composition” (Master’s thesis, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 2015). Emilie Gomart and Antoine Hennion, 1999. Jonathan Yu, 2013. Oliver Bown, Alice Eldridge, and Jon McCormack, 2009. 193. Nick Prior, 2008. Steingo, 2014.
116. Nick Prior, 2008. 315.
117. Steingo, 2014. 102.
118. Dick Pels, Kevin Hetherington, and Frédéric Vandenberghe, 2002. 8.
119. Latour, 2005. 39.
120. Latour, 2005. 37–40. Bruno Latour, 2000. 19–21. Sayes, 2014. 137–138.
121. Latour, 2005. 39.
122. Chee Dimock, 2013. 736.
123. Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, 1999. 13–14.
124. Bowker and Star, 1999. 15–16.
125. Bowker and Star, 1999. 6.
126. Bruno Latour, 2013. 30–32.
127. Botstein, 1992. Walter J. Ong, 2013. 55ff. Smiraglia, 2003.
128. Notable exceptions include: Martin Fitzenreiter, 2023. Piekut, 2014.
129. George R. Stewart, 1959. Carlo Ginzburg, 2013. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, 2013. Soraya de Chadarevian, 2009. 14. Carlo Ginzburg, John Tedeschi, and Anne C Tedeschi, 1993. 11, 19.
130. AnnaSara Hammar and Linn Holmberg, 2017. 442: “Mikrohistoriker fördjupar sig inte i enskilda detaljer för dess egen skull, utan för att kunna säga något väl underbyggt om ett större kulturellt och samhälleligt fenomen.”
131. Giovanni Levi, cited in de Chadarevian, 2009. 16.
132. Bo Fritzboeger, 2012. 113–119.
133. Donald Sassoon, 2001. Lydia Goehr, 2021. Suzanne Preston Blier, 2019. Ted Anthony, 2007. Luke Dickens, 2008. Adam Bisno, 2023. Isabelle Strömstedt, 2023. Olga Zabalueva, 2023.
134. See for example Robert Darnton, 1982. Robert Darnton, 2007.
135. Felski, 2011. 582.
136. Philipp Sarasin, 2020. 1.
137. Latour, 2005. 147. 163ff.

138. Walter Benjamin, 1935.

139. Bruno Latour and Adam Lowe, 2011. 12. See also: Mol, 2010. 258. Jude Hill, 2006.

140. Latour and Lowe, 2011. 278ff.

141. Thomasson, 2004. 8–10. DeNora, 2017. 49, 53. Scruton, 1999. 114. Piekut, 2014. 199. On tactile, bodily acquisitions of music, see: Christopher Driver and Andy Bennett, 2015. 108.

142. Born, 2005. 23.

143. Goehr, 2011. 4–5. DeNora, 2017. 54–55.

144. Levinson, 2015. 52–53.

145. Robin Wagner-Pacifici, 2017. 5, 9, 11–12. Goehr, 2011. 89.

146. Born, 2005. 16.

147. Wolfgang Kemp, 1998. 188.

148. On the increasing importance of literature in music after 1800, see Botstein, 1992.

149. Michael Kube has exhaustively documented the Amar Quartet's concerts, some 500 altogether, 1921–1933. Michael Kube, 1991. Michael Kube, 1992. Michael Kube, 1993. See also: Christoph Wolff, 2001. Claudia Maurer Zenck, 1998 [2].

150. Larry Sitsky, 1994. 5. 25–26. Carol J. Oja, 2000. 386. Inna Barsova, 2017. 107.

151. Philipp Ther, 2003. Astrid Erll, 2011. 11: “In fact, the very fundamentals of what we assume to be Western cultural memory are the product of trans-cultural movements.” Heile, 2019.

152. Luke Tredinnick, 2010. 178.

153. Examples include Max Butting, 1955. Hermann Scherchen and Joachim Lucchesi (ed.), 1991. Hermann Scherchen, A.M. Jansen-Scherchen, and E. Klemm, 1976. Bryan R Simms, 2014.

154. Krenek only mentions op. 20 briefly in his nearly 1000-page memoirs *Im Atem der Zeit*; his only lengthy comment on this piece that I have found, apart from the preface to the 1924 score, is found in his accompanying comments on the 1982 performances of all his quartets by the Thouvenel Quartet in Vienna. Ernst Krenek, 1998. 352, 369. *Krenek on the Thouvenel Quartet concert series 1982*, VCL.

155. Krenek, 1998. Paul Hindemith, 1995. Paul Hindemith and Geoffrey Skelton (ed.), 1995. See also: Geoffrey Skelton, 1975. Paul Hindemith, 1961.

156. I sincerely thank Katja Kaiser at Universal-Edition Vienna for kindly sending photographs of pages from Universal-Edition, *Producing Files* 1924. See also: Stéphane Buchon, 2005.

157. Claudia Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Ernst Krenek, 2010.

158. Ansgar Diller, 1975. Elmar Lindemann, 1978. 2. August Soppe, 1993. Maurer Zenck, 1998 [1]. Solveig Ottmann, 2013.

159. Sophie Fetthauer, 2000. Fetthauer, 2004.

160. Germany had *Die Musik*, *Melos*, *Neue Musikzeitung*, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, and *Signale für die musikalische Welt*. Austria had for instance *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, the official journal of UE, and 23: *eine Wiener Musikzeitung*. Czechoslovakia had the German-speaking *Der Auftakt*. In Britain, the main journals in the field were *The Sackbut*, *Music & Letters*, *Musical Times*, and *The Musical Quarterly*. France's main journal on New Music was *La Revue Musicale*. USA had *Modern Music*, *Musical America*, and the *Musical Courier*. Other journals dealt specifically with recorded music and radio, such as the American *Phonograph Monthly Review* and the German *Stimme seines Herrn*, *Phonographische Zeitschrift*, *Radio-Umschau*, *Funk-Stunde*, and *Südwestdeutsche Rundfunk-Zeitung*.

161. Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/> last visited 3 November 2023.

162. <https://www.newspapers.com/> last visited 3 November 2023.

163. ANNO: <https://anno.onb.ac.at/> last visited 3 November 2023. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: <https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/> last visited 3 November 2023.

164. <https://www.fes.de/bibliothek/vorwaerts-blog> last visited 3 November 2023, <https://www.ub.uni-freiburg.de/?id=117> last visited 3 November 2023.

165. Felski, 2011. 575: "How do texts that are inert in one historical moment become newly revealing, eye-opening, even life-transforming, in another? And how do such moments of transtemporal connection call into question the progress narratives that drive conventional political histories and the rhetoric of artistic innovation?"

## Movement II.

### Ex nihilo? Idea, Creation, and Performance

166. Grosch, 2018. 113, 119. Werner Zintgraf, 1987. 16.

167. Einstein: "die Feste fielen immer in die heißesten und durstigsten Tage des Jahres." Quoted in Grosch, 2018. 119.

168. Scherchen and Lucchesi (ed.), 1991. 191: "Donaueschingen WAR ein Aufbruch – hier geschah zum ersten Mal, daß junge AUSFÜHRENDE Musiker unter sich unternahmen, die Kunstprobleme in praktischer Erhebung selbst anzutragen."

169. Butting, 1955. 122. Michael Wackerbauer, 2013. Simon Obert and Matthias Schmidt, 2021. Josef Häusler, 1996.

170. Butting, 1955. 121: "Damit trafen die Jünger völlig verschiedener Schu-



len zusammen, verständigten sich und glichen sich aus. Ich habe einmal, um nur ein Beispiel anzuführen, 1922 mit Křenek und Hindemith zusammengesessen, und jeder von beiden gestand mir in einem Augenblick des Alleinseins, wie er den anderen gerade um dessen spezielle Begabung und Erziehung beneidete.”

171. Wolfgang Rathert, Dietmar Schenk, and Franz Gerhard Bullman, 1997. 68.

172. Křenek, 1998. 352: “Meine Beziehung mit Hindemith hatte sich nicht wesentlich geändert, aber nach außen hin standen wir auf sehr freundschaftlichen Füße, wie es von zwei führenden Repräsentanten der neuen Musik erwartet wurde.”

Giselher Schubert and Claudia Maurer Zenck have both discussed whether Křenek and Hindemith were in fact rivals or friends, Maurer Zenck arguing more for the former and Schubert more for the latter. Giselher Schubert, 1982. 278. Claudia Maurer Zenck, 1980. See the documentation of Křenek’s works in Garrett H. Bowles, 1989.

173. Skelton, 1975. 61. Andres Briner, Dieter Rexroth, and Giselher Schubert, 1988. 60ff. Giselher Schubert, 2017. 46ff. Martin Thrun, 1995. 519.

174. Křenek, 1998. 285–286. Skelton, 1975. 64.

175. Kube, 1992. 168–183.

176. Kube, 1993. 212.

177. Stewart, 1991. 29–30. Křenek, 1998. 365ff., 378: “ich [erfüllte] meine Pflicht, ein Streichquartett für Paul Hindemith zu schreiben.”

178. Dietmar Schenk, 2015. 31 (footnote 10).

179. Pamela Maxine Potter, 2003. 90–91. Thrun claims that there were altogether 14 different concert initiatives focussing on New Music in Berlin alone between 1918–1933, of which at least a handful were ongoing around 1923. Thrun, 1995. 495–496. Dietmar Schenk, 2004. 85ff.

180. Křenek, Ogdon, and Stewart, 1974. 21.

181. Ernst Kurth, 1917. Philipp Weber, 2015. 2. Tregear, 2013. 25. Stewart, 1991. 39–40. Schader, 2016. 2ff., 76ff., 205–206.

182. Schader, 2016. 233ff.

183. Anton Haefeli, 2005. 103: “Am Anfang ein improvisiertes Unternehmen, war sie vor allem als Selbsthilfeprojekt der damals jungen, wenig aufgeführten und damit unbekannten Komponistinnen und Komponisten gedacht und sollte deren ‘neuer’, ‘junger’ oder ‘moderner’ Musik über egoistische und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg besonders enge nationalistische Grenzen hinweg endlich einen Durchbruch zur Öffentlichkeit verschaffen.”

184. See for instance: Christiane Sibille, 2016. 258ff. Sibille, 2016. 206ff. Sam Ricketson, 1986. Paul Op de Coup, 1994. 58–60. 64: “The internationalism and

its closely related ideal of cultural brotherhood find their pendant in the ideals that led to the founding of the ISCM. These ideals are further unmistakably rooted in the League of Nations concept that was also circulating among artists and intellectuals after the First World War.”

185. Thrun, 1995. 499–500, 510ff.

186. See for instance: Wackerbauer, 2013. Michael Wackerbauer, 2017. Hanspeter Bennwitz, 1962. Peter Andraschke, 1993. Thrun, 1995. 370, 385–386.

187. Stewart, 1991. 44. Krenek, 1998. 378, 386. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 60, footnote 4. Letter from Krenek to Krenek Sr. 5.5.1923. *Krenek letters*, vcl.

188. Ong, 2013. 118ff.

189. Hindemith and Skelton (ed.), 1995. 41. *Krenek on the Thouvenel Quartet concert series 1982*, vcl. “(Zu jener Zeit pflegten Komponisten wie Hindemith und ich selbst damit zu renommieren, daß wir Musik auf der Eisenbahn schreiben, um die eingebildete Würde der Kunst zu demaskieren.)”

190. Marcel Dick, 1990. 227.

191. Anton Haefeli, 1982. 88.

192. Drittes Streichquartett, op. 20 [hand-written manuscript with autograph].

193. *Krenek on the Thouvenel Quartet concert series 1982*, vcl. “Geschrieben 1923 und Paul Hindemith gewidmet, deutet das Stück auf meine allmähliche Abwendung von dem Rücksichtslos dissonanten Stil früherer Jahre und führt ironische Elemente ein, die in meinem späteren Schaffen eine bedeutende Rolle spielen sollten. Ähnlich wie das erste Quartett ist auch dieses eine pausenlose Folge verschiedener Abschnitte. Das Allegro des Anfangs mit seinen scharfen kleinen Sekunden erinnert noch an frühere Schreibweisen, aber plötzlich erscheint eine leichtsinnig-fröhliche Viertakt-Phrase, die, als gelehrtes Fugato verkleidet, den Abschnitt beschließt. Ein nachdenkliches Adagio ist wieder mehr rückblickend. Es wird von einem kräftigen Scherzo unterbrochen, dessen zweites Thema einen sich behaglich ausbreitenden Wiener Walzer vorbereitet. Das fröhliche Fugato bricht ein und die scharfen Dissonanzen des Anfangs beenden das Stück.”

194. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 60. “Ich habe in der letzten Zeit ein Klavierkonzert und ein drittes Streichquartett vollendet.”

195. Letter from Krenek to his parents on 25.5.1923. *Krenek letters*, vcl.

196. Krenek, 1998. 381–382. Krenek wrote to his father from Frankfurt on 20 June. *Krenek letters*, vcl.

197. Christopher Hailey in *Music and Performance in Weimar Germany*. 15. By November 1923, the RM was 4 200 000 000 000 to 1 USD. After that, currency stabilised.

198. Krenek, 1998. 382. Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, 2009. See also Betzler, “Erin-

nerungen an Paul Hindemith,” PHI. Cerny, “Erinnerungen,” PHI. A picture of a mock military exercise appears for example in Heinrich Strobel, 1955.

199. Krenek, 1998. 381ff.

200. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 66: “Op. 20 Drittes Streichquartett Aufführung in Salzburg bevorstehend (Amar-Hindemith).” See for example: *Concert announcement for 15.3.1925*, PHI. *Letter from Arthur Bernstein to Fritz Brandt* 20.7.1923, PHI.

201. Haefeli, 1982. 63.

202. Sibille, 2016. 191–192. Haefeli, 1982. 480.

203. On the turbulent early history of ISCM, see for instance (besides Haefeli): Anne C. Shreffler, 2015. Daniel Laqua, 2014. Martin Thrun, 2004. Annegret Fauser, 2014. Giles Masters, 2022. 564–565. On nationalism in transnational culture, see: Harry Liebersohn, 2019. 23. Elisabeth Marie Piller, 2021. Ryan Weber, 2017. 88ff.

204. Haefeli, 1982. 59ff.

205. Haefeli, 1982. 478–480.

206. See Dennis C. Hutchison, 2003. 38. Stewart, 1991. 43–44. Hindemith and Skelton (ed.), 1995. 37. Skelton, 1975. 73.

207. Clement Jewitt, 2000. 8. Scherchen, Jansen-Scherchen, and Klemm, 1976. 48–49.

208. Scherchen, Jansen-Scherchen, and Klemm, 1976. 59–60: “Dr. Steinhard warnt vor [N] [...] Vor allem beschuldigt er [N] der *Falschheit*: er, der unter uns, in Deutschland seinen Weg gemacht hat, der uns seine Kraft dankt, mache sich über uns lustig, verlache die ‚deutsche Kunst‘. Was aber das tollste ist: er u. Křenek sollen ihre Stücke zuerst der Tschechischen Sektion eingereicht haben; doch seien sie abgelehnt worden – dann erst wurden sie Berlin vorgelegt u. dort natürlich akzeptiert.“

209. See for instance: Paul Hindemith et al., 2020. 141: “Kommen Sie nach Donaueschingen oder Salzburg? Ich hätte gerne einmal mit Ihnen über die Herausgabe der neuen Sachen gesprochen, solche Dinge sind besser mündlich zu erledigen.”

210. See for instance: *YPLI*, 1.6.1923. (It mentioned a good portion of the selected works.)

211. *Le Ménestrel*, 29.6.1923. 293. *British ISCM programme 1923*, VCL. This seems to be an earlier version; Roland-Manuel’s *‘Délie’ for Voice and Piano* and N. Miaskovsky’s *Third Pianoforte Sonata* are scheduled on 3 August, while Erdmann’s piece is scheduled on the 4<sup>th</sup>.

212. Aaron Copland, 2006. 39–40.

213. Thrun, 1995. 317–318. Rudolf Stephan, 1973. 12.

214. Gerhard Walterskirchen, 2005. 466.

215. *British ISCM programme 1923*, vcl. “Concert tickets from 15,000 to 60,000 Kronen (approximately 1s. to 4s.). Serial tickets for the six Concerts at the price of five single seats. The American Express Company, 6, Haymarket, S.W.1, will make *all* arrangements, including journey, accommodation and Concert tickets. Concert tickets *only* may [be] ordered from Konzert-Direktion Hugo Heller, Bauernmarkt 3, Vienna 1, and must be taken up at the Box Office at the Mozarteum, Salzburg.” See also Hindemith et al., 2020. 144: “Die Verhältnisse sind so unübersehbar, dass wir noch nicht mit Sicherheit sagen können, wer von uns nach Donaueschingen oder Salzburg gehen wird. Vorläufig ist die Ausreise nahezu unmöglich gemacht.”

Dent, *ILN*, 23.6.1923.

216. Hermann. Danuser, 1992. 83. David Waterman, 2003. 102.

217. Haefeli, 1982. 63ff. Krenek, 1998. 371ff. Letter from Krenek to Krenek Sr. 6.8.1923. *Krenek letters*, vcl. Krenek and Anna Mahler were staying in Langballigau, northern Germany, by early-mid August. They spent a longer period in Breitenstein, Austria, during the latter part of August and most of the autumn of 1923, socialising with his parents and Anna’s mother Alma.

218. Darryl Mark Cressman, 2012. 5–6.

219. Arewa, 2005. 594. Cressman, 2012. 6–8. Danuser, 1992. 77. One of Hindemith’s contributions to 1920s German music was the idea of *Gebrauchsmusik* or ‘music for use,’ intended to be performed in the home by amateurs.

220. Haefeli, 1982. 66, 480.

221. Stephan, 1982. 110.

222. Graf, *DT*, 7.8.1923. “Wenn das Streichquartett beginnt mit dem hin- und herwerfen scheinbar willkürlich zusammengeraffter Dissonanzen, die Viola mit einem eigensinnigen rhythmischen Wirbelmotiv dazwischen fährt, ist man zuerst verblüfft, es gab auch Lacher im Saal, aber bald verging das Lachen, als man vom Musiktemperament Kreneks mitgerissen wurde, als Tongestalt nach Tongestalt aus den Saiten fuhr und auch die gewagtesten und bizarrsten Akkorde als natürlicher Ausdruck einer lebendigen Musikerseele erschienen.”

223. Thrun, 1995. 585.

224. Robert Philip, 2004. 22–23.

225. Alban Berg, cited in Haefeli, 1982. 66: “Man fühlte die Langweile im weniger als gestern besuchten Saal. Kreneks Quartett rüttelte wider die Gemüter auf, und ich muss sagen, das ist ein famoser Kerl. Vom ersten bis zum letzten Ton fesselnd, voller Einfälle – und guter bedeutender Einfälle; ein grosses Vergnügen, das anzuhören. Auch alle anderen, Zemlinsky z.B., waren begeistert. Hindemith, dem ich zu dem fabelhaften Spiel gratulierte, war bittersüß.”

226. Krenek, 1998. 363.

227. Botstein, 1992. 130.

228. A collection of the reviews assembled through the Schustermann Agency can be found at the Krenek archive: *Krenek Programmes and Pamphlets*, vcl.

229. Benjamin M Korstvedt, 2011. 171, 182. Carrasco, 2018. 373ff., 379ff.

230. Brendan Fay, 2017. 143–145.

231. Korstvedt, 2011. 174. Patricia Herzog, 1995.

232. Dahlhaus, 1974. 14.

233. Peter Szendy, 2009. 15.

234. Haefeli, 1982. 69. *SVB*, 4.8.1923. “Die Sensation des Abends war Ernst Kreneks Streichquartett.” Graf, *DT*, 7.8.1923. “Der zweite Abend versparte seinen Triumph aus den Schluß: das dritte Streichquartett von Ernst Krenek.”

235. *SW*, 4.8.1923. “Als das bedeutendste Werk des Abends möchten wir Ernst Krenek’s Streichquartett bezeichnen, Äußerung eines jugendlichen, sprühenden Talents, einfallsreich, kühn, vielleicht nicht selten bizarr und doch mitreizend und gewinnend in seiner wagemutigen Bedenkenlosigkeit – übrigens zeugend von souveräner Beherrschung der kompositorischen Technik. Mit der Wiedergabe dieses Werkes hat sich das Amar-Hindemith-Quartett wieder auf jener einzigdastehenden Stufe technischer und musikalischer Vollendung gezeigt, auf der wir es bereits im Vorjahre bewundert haben.”

236. *SCH*, 7.8.1923. “Um desto greulichger gings dann wieder bei dem vom Amar-Quartett aus Frankfurt vorgebrachten Streichquartett Ernst Kreneks zu. Ein Sturz in die ‚musikalische Hölle‘. Solche Attacken sollen beitragen, die entzweiten Völker Europas einander näher zu bringen und zur Versöhnung führen?!” [N.B.: ‘Hölle’ translates as ‘hell’ and the phrase could also be interpreted as “a fall into a musical hell” or “a downfall into the hell of music.”]

237. Ansermet, *LRM* 5:1 (1923). 71. “Ernest [sic] Krenek a des ressources harmoniques d’une liberté qui le dispense de recourir aux quarts-de-ton. Telle qu’elle apparaît dans son *Troisième quatuor à cordes*, sa verve constructive dénote un tempérament créateur incontestable. Mais il y a quelque arbitraire et aussi quelque laisser-aller dans son style: si l’on veut inventer dans l’ordre harmonique, pourquoi use toujours de l’imitation à la quarte, et pourquoi conserver ces entrées de voix périodiques? La spéculation abstraite n’est-elle pas ici un piège et une solution trop facile? Si ce fécond compositeur de vingt ans ne se contentait pas de ses constructions satisfaisantes dans l’abstrait (séduisantes à la lecture, par exemple), et s’obligeait à les faire [sic] aboutir et tenir dans la sonorité, sans doute écrirait-il moins vite, mais son œuvre ne serait-elle pas plus convaincante?”

238. Kramer, *TS* 4 (1923). 65. *OP*. 20 was “positively terrifying.” “Die internationalen Kammermusikonzerte in Salzburg,” *NWT* 12.8.1923. “Habas Streichquartett im Viertelton vermittelte im zweiten Satz recht angenehme Eindrücke ... Krenek wieder schläft in seinem dritten Streichquartett zu Beginn blinden Feueralarm, lacht sich aber gleich darauf über die erschreckten Bürger ordentlich

ins Fäustchen, wenn er in der Folge wirkliche und gute, wenn auch polytonale Musik macht.”

Werner, *ZMFW* 5:12 (1923). 668: “Alois Hába's Verlangen nach Vierteltönen wurde vom Amar-Quartett aus Frankfurt ohne Bedenklichkeit erfüllt ... Igor Stravinsky sucht in drei Stücken und einem ‘Concertino’, die vom Pro-Arte-Quartett aus Brüssel gespielt wurden, neue Wege unter Verzicht auf Thematik im bisher giltigen Sinne und unter stärkerer Herausstellung eigenartiger rhythmischer Verhältnisse. Abseits von der Problematik dieser beiden steht Ernst Krenek mit dem stark gefühlten, musikantischen dritten Streichquartett (Amar).”

Ullrich, *DAZ* 22.8.1923. “Den Beschluß bilden einige ganz extreme Umstürzler, wie Krenek und Haba, die in ihren Werken weitab vor allen genetisch gewordenen Seiten ihnen selbst unbekannten Zielen zustreben.”

See also Werner in *RWZ* 13.9.1923. Werner, *HAM* 14.8.1923.

239. Pamela Maxine Potter, 1991. 4. Ruth A. Solie, 1980. 149–150.

240. *Reichspost*, 8.8.1923. “Das III. Streichquartett von Ernst Krenek verrät vielleicht bei allen Ungeheuerlichen starke schöpferische Kraft, die scheinbar noch die Form sucht, in welche sie den Reichtum musikalischer Gedanken, die allerdings nicht immer edel zu nennen sind, kleiden könnte. Wie das Amarquartett (Frankfurt), die unerhörten Schwierigkeiten des Werkes überwindet, ist wohl einzig dastehend.”

241. “Zur internationalen Kammermusik in Salzburg,” *NZB* 14.8.1923. “Das dritte Streichquartett von Ernst Krenek (Berlin) brachte gutes Musikwetter. Ein Kerl, der etwas zu sagen hat, der ein Allegro, einen Variationensatz, ein Scherzo, ein Finale mit Leben trinkt, der slawischen Volksweisen seine Reverenz macht, sich absurd gebärdet ... Und der sich das Fugato wegoperieren lassen sollte.”

242. See Goehr, 1992 [1]. 208.

243. An article on Rolland appeared in *WG*, 20.8.1923. Sibille, 2016. 254. Haefeli, 1982. 78: “Die IGNM, die jeden politischen Anstrich immer ängstlich vermeiden wollte, war damit von ihren Voraussetzungen her schon ein hochpolitischer Faktor.” Fauser, 2014. 239–240. Shreffler, 2015. 64–65. Thrun, 2004. 461–464. On the Paneuropean movement and its connections to the vision of ‘Eurafrica,’ see Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson, 2014.

244. Brendan Fay, 2013. 81–84.

245. Evans, *TMT* 64:967 (1923). 633. See also Evans, *PMG*, 19.8.1923.

246. *SVB*, 4.8.1923. “die Melodien seiner slawischen Heimat erinnernde Scherzo, dessen seltsame Melodik den Zuhörer wider Willen in ihren Bann zieht.”

247. Graf, *DT*, 7.8.1923. “auch steckt ein Stück slawischen Musikertums in ihm, in seinem Musizieren ist die dithyrambische Freiheit der Gedichte Otto Brezinas.” See also Graf's continuation of this ISCM essay on the 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> in *Der Tag*. For example, on the 8<sup>th</sup>, he wrote about “Krenek, der mährische

Generalssohn.” On the 11<sup>th</sup>, he wrote, “Technisch sind im allgemeinen die Franzosen (Florent Schmitt, Albert Roussel, Darius Milhaud) am geschmackvollsten, am musikalischer Kraft sind ihnen die Deutschen (Hindemith) und Slaven (Krenek, Haba) überlegen. Das Schönste an dem Fest war der Wettbewerb der Nationen, die allgemeine Bewegung der Geister, die freie Atmosphäre, in der man geatmet hat, die ehrliche Kameradschaft der modernen Musiker aller Nationen.”

248. Eaglefield Hull, *YPLI*, 23.8.1923.

249. Ansermet, *LRM* 5:1 (1923). 70.

250. Craig, 2007. 246.

251. Graf, *DT*, 7.8.1923. Březina was a pseudonym of Václav Jebavý (1868–1929). See Petr Holman, 2014. 50–51. On Herder and Kant, see for instance Volgsten, 2013. 23.

252. Haefeli, 1982. 60–61. Fauser, 2014. 241.

253. Volgsten, 2015. 224. On the use of artworks as ‘documentations’ of the artist, see for instance: Rosen, 2012. 412.

254. Aber, *BT*, 14.8.1923. “Auf Strawinsky weist auch das neue (dritte) Streichquartett Ernst Kreneks mit seiner wilden Energie, seinen aufregenden Trillern und seinem üppigen Passagenwerk.” See also: Aber, *HFB* 18.9.1923; Aber, *KAZ* 14.8.1923.

255. Weißmann, *DM* 16:2 (1923). 55: “dieser junge Krenek, der mit klassischer Tradition viel mehr verwachsen ist, als man gemeinhin annimmt, hat den Rhythmus als Retter in sich entdeckt: Rhythmus, wie er durch Strawinskij wiederum kreditfähig geworden ist, wie er in Hindemith als Urmacht wirkt: man spürt, bei aller Rücksichtslosigkeit gegen den Klang, doch die Rückkehr zum Urboden; und das ist gut.”

256. Korngold, *NFP*, 6.8.1923. “Wir für unseren Teil möchten uns erlauben, den Partien mit Strawinskyscher Rhythmik dahingejagter Falschklänge vor den langsamen in Schönbergischen Kläglichkeitsintervallen melodisierenden Takten den Vorzug zu geben.”

257. Weißmann, *DM* 16:2 (1923). 55: “Bei Ernst Krenek, und zwar in seinem III. Streichquartett, ist das immerhin Erfreuliche wahrzunehmen, daß er sich doch nicht endgültig vom linearen Kontrapunkt, d.h. von einem die schöpferische Freiheit lähmenden Dogmatismus fesseln läßt. Noch immer tritt ein schematisches Fugato auf.”

258. Craig, 2007. 212, 222. Butt, 2015. 4. Dixon, 2015. 50–51.

259. Ansermet, *LRM* 5:1 (1923). “Quant à Paul Hindemith, c’est de beaucoup la personnalité la plus mûre et la plus intéressante de la jeune musique allemande. S’il s’était agi de définir celle-ci d’après lui, je n’aurais même pas tenté de le faire, car, jeune, vivant, sensible, il récuse toute étiquette. Comme Krenek,

il jouit d'une facilité prodigieuse ... mais il y a en lui une générosité plus réelle, une nature plus tangible ..."

260. Graf, *DT*, 7.8.1923. "Krenek ähnelt in der Art seiner Begabung Hindemith. Gleich diesem ist er Vollblutmusiker, der Quartette geigt, nicht komponiert, vom Musikteufel besessen, mit improvisatorischer Frische. Nur ist Krenek harmonisch noch kühner als Hindemith ... Er ist zweifellos eine große Erscheinung, ein ‚Musikant Gottes‘, als den sich mittelalterliche Spielleute oft bezeichnet haben."

261. Aber, *BT*, 14.8.1923. "Wie in Hindemiths Quintett ist es auch in diesem Werk Kreneks der langsame Satz, der die musikalische Ehre rettet."

262. Bekker in *FZ*, 25.8.1923. "Die intensive Erfassung der Tonbewegung, des klangorganischen Geschehens ist ein drittes Gestaltungsmittel, wie es in zwei anderen Werken von Ernst Krenek und Paul Hindemith wirksam ist. Krenek schreibt ein Streichquartett, äußerlich einfäsig, der Innengliederung nach dreiteilig gebaut, der Abschluß auf den Anfang zurückweisend. Es zeigt scharfgefaßte thematische Profilierung, aber diese Themen sind nicht mehr Ausdruckskonturierungen. Sie sind zu musikalischer Plastik geformte tonliche Bewegungsimpulse, in deren Ausspinnung sich ein rein klanglich empfundenen Geschehen vollzieht. Mit einer hämmernden, in scharfen chromatischen Reibungen laufenden Bewegung beginnt das Stück, die Stimmen lösen sich allmählich in freies, fugiertes Spiel, sinken in ein Adagio, aus dem ein Fugen-Scherzo, in ein Walzertempo umwechselnd, zur Aufnahme der gesteigerten Anfangsbewegung bis zum Unisono-Schluß führt. Mit Ausnahme des etwas zerfallenden, die Intensität nicht durchweg wahren Adagio-Teiles ist es in der thematischen Prägnanz der Grundgedanken, der inneren Einheitlichkeit der Gestaltung und der spontanen Kraft des organischen Aufbaues das schärft konzentrierte Stück Kreneks, das die tongedanklich formende Phantasie dieser großen Begabung in neuer Steigerung zeigt. Gleiches gilt von Paul Hindemiths Klarinettenquintett, obwohl hier der äußere Erfolg zunächst nicht dem sonst gewohnten Ausmaß entsprach."

263. Nielsen, 2017. 88–90.

264. Szendy, 2009. 15.

265. Gabriel Solis, 2004. 332.

266. Philip Auslander, 2008. 45.

267. Bowker and Star, 1999. 294–297.

268. Thrun, 1995. 58ff.

269. Latour, 2005. 37.



### Movement III. Fixing the Work

270. "Score," *Grove Music Online* (2001).

271. Steingo, 2014. 87.

272. Krenek complained that music critics made it into a habit to play on expectations, resulting in each new music piece having to live up to high hopes of 'the New,' often leading to most works only being performed a few times. The public and readers of their articles were supposedly in a state of constant itching for the next big thing. Krenek, 1998. 313–314.

273. Ernst Roth, 1969. 100.

274. These works were: Alban Berg, *String Quartet*, op. 3; Igor Stravinsky, *Three Pieces for String Quartet*; *Concertino for String Quartet*; and Alois Hába, *String Quartet No. 2 in the Quarter-Tone System*, op. 12. Stravinsky's *Concertino* would be recorded and released along with the waltz part of op. 20 in 1925.

275. ISCM Folder, 1928.

276. Alfred Einstein, quoted in Sibille, 2016. 197.

277. Scherchen, Jansen-Scherchen, and Klemm, 1976. 63: "Nach dem Umzug ging ich mit Hába zum Festplatz. Unterwegs trafen wir Paul [Hindemith]. Sein erstes Wort: scheiß' auf alle internationalen Musikfeste; so schreiben, so Musik machen, daß alle diese *Menschen es verstehen*, sich daran freuen!"

278. Bowker and Star, 1999. 310.

279. Dümmling, 2003. 104ff. *Hindemith concert programmes*, PHI.

280. Hindemith in a letter to his friend Emmy Ronnefeldt, 1922. Hindemith and Skelton (ed.), 1995. 29: "We play modern music at Zinglers ... before an invited audience of about 80: a purely musical gathering without any financial complications. The audience pays nothing, the players get nothing, and the very small expenses we settle among ourselves. So here at last we have got music for music's sake! Personal ambition has no say in the matter, and there are no newspaper reviews. And the best thing of all: none of the Frankfurters is allowed in!!" See also Schubert, 2017. 32.

281. Kube, 1992. 176. See Thrun, 1995. 387. Soppe, 1993. 161. Peter Cahn, 1976. 31–32. The Society came to a quick end, not just due to inflation but because of its exclusivity.

282. Kube, 1992. 178. The *Ruhrgebiet* in west Germany, including cities Cologne, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, Dortmund, Essen, Bonn, and Mainz, was occupied and partly isolated by French troops between January 1923 and Summer 1925 because Germany had failed to pay its reparations to the allies in accordance with the Versailles Treaty.

283. A brief announcement appeared in *DAZ*, 3.11.1923. This could have meant another concert because it appeared the day before.

284. Westermayer, *SFMW*, 46/47 (1923). 1612. "Nur Unmündige und Perückenköpfe fallen in den gemeinsamen Irrtum, der Tonsprache primäre Bedeutung beizumessen; beide Gruppen sind scheinbar schärfste Antipoden und tragen doch die gemeinsame Kappe ihrer Abhängigkeit von der Materie. Zum Teufel mit Harmonie und Kontrapunkt, wenn ich daran ausschliesslich künstlerische Erkenntnis messen soll, wenn man die säuberliche Ordnung der Buchstaben mit Gedankenwurf und Gedankenlogik gleich setzt! ... Wie schade, dass ein Talent wie Krenek nachgerade ganz in eine Bahn der materialistischen Schaumschlägerei geraten ist. Damit erringt man höchstens den kurzlebigen, zweifelhaften Ruhm eines Jongleurs."

285. *DZ*, 9.11.1923. "Eine reine Erquickung war Bachs so recht tiefsten Ausdruck mit höchstem Können verbindende Tonsprache nach einem Streichquartett op. 20 Nr. 3 von Ernst Krenek, das die ‚Melos‘-Vereinigung durch das Frankfurter Amar-Quartett an und für sich ganz vorzüglich vorgetragen bekam. Diese kramphafte, erfindungslose Art zu musizieren wird auf die Dauer unerträglich. Kleine Gedanken leuchten auf, das meiste aber ist gefluchtes, möglichst mißtönend gesetztes Zeug. Es ist halt nicht so einfach, etwas Schönes zu erfinden."

286. On the Vienna concert see: *DS*, 28.11.1923. Stefan, *DS*, 30.11.1923. *DT*, 27.11.1923. *NFP*, 25.11.1923. *NW7*, 25.11.1923. *NW7*, 27.11.1923. Hoffmann, *MDA* 6:1 (1924). 41. *NWT*, 25.11.1923. A review on 3 December only mentioned the other performed work: Bienenfeld, *NW7*, 3.12.1923.

287. Alban Berg and Helene Berg, 1965. 531: "Gestern abend war das Quartett Hindemith Kreneks Werk, das ich von Salzburg her kenne, hat viel Schönes, aber auch noch viel Unreifes. Es hatte schönen Erfolg, Krenek war zum Verbeugen erschienen."

288. See for instance Carrasco, 2018. 425. Carrasco focusses on the other performed work of that evening, Zemlinsky's op. 15. The Society had previously existed under the administration of Arnold Schönberg in Vienna but faded out in 1921, initially fostering an exclusive approach similar to Zingler's in Frankfurt but had now opened its doors to the public and press. Ernst Hilmar, 1976. 69–70.

289. Rychnovsky, *PT*, 30.11.1923. "Man muß diese Musik horizontal hören, jedes Instrument unabhängig vom andern, einklingend und nicht im Zusammenhang, melodisch also und nicht harmonisch. Die Entwicklung der musikalischen Gedanken ist beim erstmaligen Hören nicht gleich zu erfassen. Man vernimmt Motivfelzen, die verschwinden wie Bächlein im Karst und dort wieder austauschen, wo man sie nicht erwartet hat, man gewahrt Anläufe zu fugierten Perioden und auf einmal ist alles aus. Wer unvorbereitet einen solchen Werk

sich nahen muß, geht enttäuscht nach Hause. ... Der Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen, der mit diesem Abend nun schon zum zweitenmal den faßungsmäßigen Ausschluß der Öffentlichkeit, beziehungsweise der Kritik aufhebt, sollte nicht zwei so schwierige Werke, wie die Zemlinskys und Kreneks, auf dasselbe Programm feßen, da diese unmittelbar nacheinander gehört, der Aufnahmefähigkeit des Hörers zuviel zumuten. Es wäre besser, nur eines dieser Quartette zu bieten, dafür es aber zweimal spielen zu lassen."

290. Janetschek, *NZFM* 91:4 (1924). 202–203: "Zemlinskys Streichquartett ist eine Erzählung in Tönen ... Ganz anders gibt sich der Tscheche Krenek in seinem Quartett, einer in gewagten Dissonanzen den rücksichtslosen Neutönen verratenden programm-musikalischen Arbeit. Kreneks Streichquartett ist gedrängter in der Form und derber, wirkt darum auch frischer und ursprünglicher als Zemlinskys überall den auf Schönheit bedachten Ästheteten offenbarendes Opus."

291. Adorno, *NZFM*, 91:12 (1924). 728–729: "Křeneks op. 20 zeigt Spuren hastiger Arbeit, macht es sich innerlich gar zu leicht ... daß seine komponiermaschinelle Leere aus objektiv gerichteter, voll bewußter Tendenz kommt. Es wäre an der Zeit, daß die gefährvolle Leichtigkeit von Křeneks Begabung ihm unter den Händen zerbräche. Immerhin bezeugen der wühlend intensive langsame Teil und der lodernde Schluß seine außerordentliche Anlage ... Der mechanistischen Pseudoobjektivität von Křeneks kontrapunktischen Bauten radikal entgegengesetzt sind Anton Weberns fünf Sätze für Streichquartett Op. 5, die Schönbergs Subjektivismus zu Ende denken und damit gerade entwerten. Denn die Ichbezogenheit von Schönbergs Werken deutet in lebendiger Spannung über das bloße Ich hinaus und hält sich mit zögernder Ironie an der Grenze der Formen. Webern aber durchschneidet jene Bindung und verabsolutiert das Ich, das damit seine personhafte Geltung verliert und sich atomisiert, ohne um solches Opfer mehr Realität einzutauschen, als Křeneks leer ablaufendes Bewegungsspiel hat."

292. Stephan, 1982. 111ff. Baumgartner, 2008. 47ff., 224.

293. *WMZ*, 27.5.1924. Steinhard, *AUF* 5 (1924). 167: "Das Amar-Quartett nahm sich der schwierigen Werke in hervorragender Weise an und sicherte ihnen einen durchschlagenden Erfolg." Skelton, 1975. 78.

294. The event formed part of the local, but internationally celebrated chamber concert series of the Society of Friends of Music in Donaueschingen, led by Heinrich Burkard. Holle, *NMZ* 45:8 (1924). 148: "*Ernst Kreneks* Streichquartett No. 3 war ... eine starke Enttäuschung. Die vielen glücklich erfundenen, oft überraschend starken Episoden können nicht über das gewollte, äußerlich Konstruktive dieser Musik hinweghelfen. Was aber unangenehmer berührt (weil es an die Wurzeln dieses zweifellos großen Talentes rührt) ist eine manchmal

unversehens zum Durchbruch kommende flache Sentimentalität, die in einem den Verdacht erweckt, als ob Krenek Paprika nur verwende, um den faden Saccharingeschmack zu übertäuben; als ob er die ihm natürlich gegebene Ton-sprache künstlich umbiege, um originell zu erscheinen. [Ich hatte] ... den Ein-druck, ... als ob diese Sprache mehr anerzogen als angeboren sei.”

See also 129, 189–190.

295. *Krenek on the Thouvenel Quartet concert series 1982*, vcl. Willimann, 1988.
13. ISCM, “1924 Prague, Salzburg” <https://iscm.org/wnmd/1924-prague-salzburg/>.
296. Adrian Johns, 2010. 330. Christina Bashford, 2011. 5–9.
297. Johns, 2010. 328–330.
298. Kowalke, 2003. 3.
299. Johns, 2010. 331–332.
300. Krenek, 1998. 190–191. Robert R. Holzer, 2018. 95–97, 101ff. Bisno, 2023. 106–107, 146.
301. Kowalke, 2003. 171–172.
302. Fetthauer, 2004. 186. Hans Lenneberg, 1988. 258.
303. Claudia Maurer Zenck, 2010. 13–14.
304. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 23–24.
305. Krenek, 1998. 191. “Zu den wichtigsten Mitarbeitern Hertzkas gehörte damals Fräulein Rothe, eine der freundlichsten und liebenswertesten alten Jungfern, die ich je kennengelernt habe. Sie war ein Muster an Tüchtigkeit und Zuverlässigkeit, stets mit Arbeit überhäuft und dennoch stets bereit, über die komplizierten oder auch nur lächerlichen und hochgespielten Problem nach-zudenken, die ihr die eigenartigen oder gar verrückten Kunden eines Verlag-shauses in den Schoß warfen.” See also: Lys Symonette (ed.) et al., 1996. 71. *Letter from Barbara Rothe (UE) to Heinrich Schenker*; 23.12.1908, SCP.
306. Krenek, 1998. 521–522.
307. Solie, 1980. 151.
308. Mol, 2010. 258–259. Gavin Steingo, 2018. Marcus O’Dair and Andrew Fry, 2020.
309. Bernhard Siegert, 1999. 5–7, 228.
310. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 82: “Liebe Frl. Rothe, ... Drei Dinge erwarte ich in nächster Zeit: Korrekturen des Quartetts und des Klavier-konzerts, sowie einen Textentwurf von Herrn [Julius] Wilhelm. Bitte berichten Sie mir über die Aussichten dieser drei Sachen. Meine Adresse ist in den nächsten 4 Wochen Winterthur, Hotel zum Löwen, wohin ich auch das Honorar für März zu senden bitte. Es geht mir hier unberufen ausgezeichnet.”
311. Universal-Edition, *Producing Files* 1924. 7530: “1.II. Umschlag bei uns.”
312. Ernst Roth had introduced the miniature score format to Kalmus. Fetthau-er, 2004. 342.

313. Universal-Edition, *Producing Files* 1924. 7529. “3–4. VI. 24 I. u. II. Korrektur 1–46 an Hr. Pisk wegen italienische Uebersetzungen.”

314. Andrzej Mielcarek, 2018. 210. Bernd Kreuzer, 2012. 3–5.

315. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 82–83: “Drittens: Die Partitur bitte ich, mir hierherzusenden, so daß ich sie spätestens am 21. Februar habe. Ich reiche sie bei der Internat. Kommission, welche in Zürich von 24.–26. Febr. Tagt, für Prag ein. Ich bin nicht ganz glücklich zu hören, daß die Korrekturen von Quartett und Klavierkonzert in den ‘nächsten Wochen’ kommen. Ich dachte einen bestimmteren Zeitpunkt zu erfahren. Das Quartett wird für Aufführungen gebraucht!”

316. Goehr, 1992 [1]. 224.

317. Roth, 1969. 72.

318. Steingo, 2018. 560.

319. Buchon, 2005. 384. No other sources mention this date.

320. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010.

86: “Bitte beachten Sie, daß ich II. in III. Streichquartett abgeändert habe und korrigieren Sie analog.” 88: “Wie steht’s mit a-capella Chören, Quartett u. Konzert?!!”

95–96: “Die Korrekturen des Streichquartetts werde ich erst lesen, wenn ich auch die Partitur bekomme, um einen übereinstimmenden Text zu erhalten.”

98–99: “die Gesamtkorrekturen des Streichquartetts und die Partitur der a-capella-Chöre sind gestern abgegangen. Zum Streichquartett bitte ich zu beachten, daß ich die Stimmen nach der Partitur korrigiert und mit ihr in Übereinstimmung gebracht habe. Sie dürfen daher nicht etwa nach den Stimmenmanuskripten nachkorrigiert werden. ... Übrigens – zum Quartett, möchte ich Sie noch bitten: Rufen Sie doch bitte beim Philharm. Verlag an und fragen Sie, warum ich vom Titelblatt und Vorw[or]t keinen Korrekturabzug bekommen habe und ob ich noch welchen bekomme.”

Universal-Edition, *Producing Files* 1924. 7530. “12. III. 24 Aus dem Stich an Krenek I. Violine

1–14 II. Violine 1–14 [komplettes] Manuskript der I. u. II. Violine samt Umschlag.

22. III. 24 aus dem Stich an Krenek Viola 1–14 / samt komplettes Manuskript. ...

28. III. 24 aus dem Stich an Krenek Violoncello 1–16 samt Manuskript.”

321. Foucault, Rabinow, and Rose, 2003. 380.

322. Universal-Edition, *Producing Files* 1924. 7530. “8. IV. 24 an Wien [?] Umschlag I. Violonie (1–14) II. Violine (1–14) Viola (1–14) Violoncello 1–16 samt den Manuskriptstimmen

12. IV. 24 komplette Vorlagestimmen zu Fr. Rothe.

12. IV. 24 an Waldheim [stamped: ‘ZUM DRUCK!’] Umschlag I. Violine

1–14, II. Violine 1–14, Viola 1–14, Violoncello 1–16.”

323. Steingo, 2014. 83–84.

324. Fetthauer, 2004. 23. See also: Murray G. Hall, 1985. 7ff. The firm’s operations were advertised in their 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary pamphlet in 1932. Waldheim-Eberle A.G., 1932.

325. Printing and Publishing of Music. 31ff. Waldheim-Eberle A.G., 1932. “Der Anzahl der im letzten Jahre bei uns gestochenen, lochtgedruckten und autographierten Musiknotenseiten geht in die vielen Tausende.”

326. Universal-Edition, *Producing Files* 1924. 7530. “erschieden 21. V. 24.”

327. Legal deposit was part of Austrian law since 1808, with the most recent revision in 1922. *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich*, 20.4.1922, ÖNB. *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich*, 30.9.1922, §2, ÖNB.

328. Universal-Edition, *Producing Files* 1924. 7529: “erschieden 9. IX.1924.” 7529 was the only edition that was eventually reprinted before 1952, with another 490 copies being delivered on 3 July 1926. These copies may however have been ordered from the beginning and were simply delayed. See also Buchon, 2005. 384.

329. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 121: “Sehr möchte ich Sie bitten, sich gelegentlich beim Philharm. Verlag nach meinem III. Quartett zu erkundigen. Ich finde es nachgerade lächerlich, wie lang das dauert – und ich bin nicht verwöhnt, im allgemeinen.”

330. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. See Maurer Zenck’s footnote 1 on page 125. “Der Verlag hatte am 3. Juli 200 Partituren (UE 7529) und 800 ‘Philharmonia’-Taschenpartituren bei der Druckerei Waldheim bestellt. Die 200 Exemplaren waren am 10. September geliefert worden.”

This is not mentioned in UE’s archive, nor by Buchon’s historical catalogue, who in total only mention the deliveries of 196 copies of the parts and 998 copies of the full score in two separate deliveries, one on 11 August 1924 and one on 3 July 1926.

331. *Op. 20 WPV Edition*.

332. *Op. 20 UE-7529*.

333. *Op. 20 UE-7529*. 14, 27, 37.

334. For instance, Krenek’s well received Second Symphony, op. 12 was only printed in 98 copies and his Piano Concerto, op. 18 in 297. His Toccata and Chaconne, op. 13 was printed in 1099 copies over a period of two years and the Concerto Grosso, op. 25 would yield 1934 copies in 1925–1926. For further comparisons, see Buchon, 2005. 379–384.

335. Kate Van Orden, 2018. ix–xiii. Roger Chartier, 2018. 330. Schmidt, 2019. 290.

336. Botstein, 1992. 138ff. Szendy, 2009. 36ff.

337. *DS* 11.2.1925. Olyesa Bobrik, 2019. "Prospects for Foreign Trade for German Music Sellers," *MHVWZ Sondernummer* 4 (1924). 82–84.

338. Buchon, 2005. 248. See also *UE*, *MHVWZ* 38:1 (1925). 10–11.

339. "Leipziger Mustermesse," *ZFM* 92:1 (1925). 60. "Leipziger Mustermesse," *MHVWZ* 28 (1924). 684.

340. *MLM* 96:7 (1924). 105: "Krenek, Ernst. op. 20. Streichquart. No. 3. Wien, Universal-Edition. St. M 6." See also p. 114. *MLM* 96:10 (1924). 159, 173. *MLM* 96:11 (1924). 187, 197. *SFMW* 82:23 (1924). 941. *DM* 17:1 (1924). 80. See also "Krenek," Hofmeister, *Lager-Katalog*. 170.

341. See "Erschienene Neuigkeiten," *MHVWZ* 27 (1924). 671. See also no. 37 (1924). 998. *UE*, *MHVWZ* 46 (1924). 1260–1261. See also Hofmeister Verlag, *Verzeichnis* (1924). 183.

342. *WPV* ad, *The Gramophone* 3:6 (1925). 269.

343. Stürmer, *DM* 17:5 (1924). 369: "Immer wieder fällt die maßlose Überschätzung dieses jungen Musikers auf, wenn man ein Werk von ihm genauer unter die Lupe nimmt. ... Prinzipienreiterei, 'Entseelung' der Musik, zerrissene Phrase, Ersticken des Gefühls. Wenn Krenek dann wirklich einmal loskommt von den selbst auferlegten Fesseln, schreibt er frisch-fröhlich darauf los und man hat Freude am Temperament, Achtung vor dem Können. Aber das ist selten. Denn die um ihn haben ihm zum Führer gemacht, die um ihn, denen die schöpferischpotente Unbekümmertheit ein Greuel ist, weil sie in ihrer zerebralen Akrobatik ihr Letztes an Leidenschaft, an musikantischer Ursprünglichkeit weggeworfen oder es nie besessen haben. Und diese Führerschaft hat Krenek verdorben. Die Clique hat ihn ausgesogen. ... Die Widmung des Quartetts an Paul Hindemith ist grotesk. Was hat dieser unliterarischste aller modernen Musiker mit diesem Experiment zu tun? Nur um so schärfer spürt man die Leere, die peinliche Länge, die grauenhafte Verödung, wenn man dabei an Hindemiths Frische und Kraft denkt. ... Schade um einen, der hätte ein 'Kerl' werden können. Hoffen wir, daß er kein Opfer unserer Zeit bleibt, daß er sie einmal besiegt, wie er ihr heute unterlegen ist."

344. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 115: "[Krenek to Hugo Winter at *UE*] 2) Aus Post 3 des 1. Blattes ('Verlagsabrechnung') ergibt sich als Preis für 1 Part. Streichquart. etwa 21.740 K. Dies scheint mir eigenartig. ... 6) Warum sind die neu erschienenen Stimmen des III. Streichqu. nicht unter der Aufлагentantieme verrechnet? Gehören sie vielleicht nicht hin? Ich kann es auswendig nicht feststellen, weil ich den Vertrag nicht hier habe."

345. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 124–125.

346. Stewart, 1991. 51. Krenek, 1998. 340–341. See also: Alma Mahler, 1965. Gregory Hurworth, 2004. 33ff. Op. 20 in Alban Berg's possession, *ÖNB*.

347. Krenek, 1998. 240, 434–435.

348. Krenek, 1998. 236, 251–252.

349. Schenk, 2004. 32, 301. Germany at the time was divided into three main administrative units; the German government or *Staat*, the local regions or *Länder*, and *Preußen*, the Free State of Prussia. The latter was a separate body encompassing roughly 2/3 of the country's population, i. e. the old state of Prussia, with its own administration.

350. Schenk, 2004. 12ff. Christopher Hailey, 1993. 119–122. 121: “Virtually overnight Berlin's tradition-bound Musikhochschule had been transformed into a lively, creative workshop fully responsive to Germany's contemporary culture.” See also: Dietmar Schenk, Markus Böggemann, and Rainer Cadenbach, 2005.

351. Letter from UE to Kirst 20.9.1924. “Soeben ist die Partitur von Kreneks III. Streichquartett erschienen und geht Ihnen ein Ehrenexemplar gleichzeitig zu.”

352. *HFM Jahresbericht 1924–1925*. 10–11.

353. Krenek, 1998. 285–286, 367. Krenek and Erdmann also shared several friends, including Artur Schnabel and violinist Alma Moodie.

354. Eduard Erdmann, 1968. 26off.

355. Stewart, 1991. 27–31.

356. Krenek, 1998. 344. The ‘Berlin Group’ has also been used by Luitgard Schader to denote the circle of people devoted to linear counterpoint composition; it included Schnabel, Erdmann, and Krenek, as well as Heinz Tiessen (1887–1971). Schader, 2016. 205ff. Thrun writes that the Berlin Group and the German ISCM were basically the same. Thrun, 1995. 433.

357. Weber, 2015. 3–4; Krenek, 1998. 488–490. Stewart, 1991. 54.

358. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 129; Footnote 1. On 23 September, UE received a postcard from Ernst Krenek Senior thanking his son for the score.

359. Latour, 2005. 37–38.

360. Dixon, 2015. 51.

361. Steingo, 2018. 563–564.

362. Siegert, 1999. 1–2.

363. Bowker and Star, 1999. 299.

## Movement IV. A World Tour of the Work

364. Dümmling 118–119. Geoffrey S. Cahn, 1985. 186–187.

365. Barsova, 2017. 107. Sitsky, 1994. 5. *Kwartet Glazunowa* (Booklet). Jack Miller, 1984. 76: “One of the most famous and long-standing quartets in the Soviet Union was the A. Glaznuov Quartet, which was founded in 1919.”



366. Bobrik, 2019. 262ff. A possible promoter of op. 20's performance was Vladimir Derzhanovsky, UE's representative in the USSR.

367. Tomoff, 2001. 16–17.

368. Artur Schnabel, 1988. 93, 111.

369. Fetthauer, 2004. 371. Bobrik, 2019. 266ff. UE had a direct connection to the USSR through Abram Dzimitrowsky, an employee hailing from Lithuania who had contacts with Soviet diplomats such as Adolf Joffa (Vienna deputy 1924–1925). He regularly informed the Polpredstvo, the Soviet representation in Vienna, on what was going on at UE. Kalmus also had some influence in this, as he spoke Russian and had spent time in the USSR after WWI.

370. Fetthauer, 2004. 186.

371. Derek C. Hulme, 2010. 193. Evgeniya Lianskaya, 2003. 158. Laurel E. Fay, 1993. 150. Natalia O. Vlasova, 2018.

372. Schmidt, 2019. 285.

373. Hindemith mentioned plans for the tour already in August 1924 in a letter to Willy Strecker. Hindemith and Skelton (ed.), 1995. 38. Kube, 1992. 209. Alfredo Casella wrote to Krenek on 8 April 1926, pleased to mention that op. 20 had been performed in Rome last year. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 205–206.

See also:

CDNM, *Programmi* 1925. “Ernst Krenek, cecoslovacco ... Cotesta enorme produzione non è tutta d'uguale valore: ... questo terzo quartetto, scritto nel 1923. Si avverta che i vari tempi di questa composizione si susseguono senza soluzione di continuità.”

*Musica d'oggi* 7:3 (1925). 94–95. “La ‘Corporazione delle nuove musiche’ ha iniziato i suoi concerti alla Sala Sgambati: Il Quartetto Amar Hindemith prima, e poi il Quartetto veneziano hanno fatto conoscere per la prima volta a Roma importanti lavori di Bloch, Bartok, Kodaly, Honegger, Hindemith, Krenek ...”

“Aus aller Welt,” *MDA* 7:2 (1925). 99. “Aus den interessanten heurigen Programmen der ‘Corporazione delle nuove musiche’ in Rom entnehmen wir u. a. ... Streichquartette von Bartók, Block, Fauré, Jarnach, Křenek ... Die Gesellschaft versucht mit Erfolg eine Übersicht über die zeitgenössische Produktion zu geben.”

Rieti, *MDA* 7:5 (1925).

374. John C. G. Waterhouse, 1993. 114, 118ff.

375. Leichtentritt, *DM* 17:5 (1925). 627: “Křeneks drittes Streichquartett ist energievoll, aber blutlos; eine nicht uninteressante Studie in merkwürdigen Rhythmen und absonderlichen Zusammenklängen, aber als Ausdruck seelischer Werte fragwürdig und kümmerlich.”

The *Kammermusiksaal*, mentioned in Kube [II] was probably a hall in the 1945 destroyed *Alte Philharmonie*, though it is not certain. See also: *VZ*, 14.3.1925.

376. Kube, 1992. 213. The Hotel Metropole was located on Mannheimer Straße 11 but reportedly had a restaurant section on Kaiserstraße 62, which hosted daily concerts. <http://www.graf-von-katzenelnbogen.de/zeittafeldemandt.html>. Accessed 18 December 2023.

377. Ottmann, 2013. 161–163.

378. Karl Christian Führer, 1997. 728–729, 743. Grosch, 2018. 114–116. Benedict Atkinson and Brian Fitzgerald, 2014. 72–73. For a comparison with French interwar broadcasting, see: Christophe Bennet, 2015. 1.

379. Ottmann, 2013. 114–115.

380. Ottmann, 2013. 111, 152–154. Führer, 1997. 731–732. Soppe, 1993. 385.

381. *R-U* 21 (1925). 219: “Das Amar-Quartett will Ihnen ab 27. in regelmäßiger Folge die gesamte Streicher-Kammermusik vorführen, die in den letzten Jahren in ganz Europa entstanden ist. Wir wissen von den Hörern, die immer wieder gerne einmal, wie Herr Dr. Flesch seinerzeit feststellte, sich mitfühlend telefonisch erkundigen, ob das ein Rückkoppler war, worauf sie die Antwort erhalten, daß das Strawinsky war, wir wissen aber auch von jenen anderen Hörern, die nicht glauben, daß eine musikalische Vereinigung, wie das Amar-Quartett, sich mit immer neuer Regelmäßigkeit in den Schwitzkasten von Besprechungsraum setzt und spielt, weil es sich selbst kein höheres Vergnügen wüßte, oder weil, es etwelche perverse Gelüste an den Rundfunkhörer auslassen wollte, die es ja nicht einmal sieht. (Wie schade!) ... Ein Ungar, ein Deutsch-Tscheche, ein Russe, Kodaly, Krenek, Strawinsky. – Gelegentlich erhebt sich ein kleines Geschrei nach ‘klassischer Musik.’ Da kann man nur begeistert ‘hm, hm’ schreien. Weil die Zeit, in der Sie leben, doch nur vom Teufel geholt ist? Weil Ihnen die ‘alten Meister’ so lieb und vertraut sind? Schon recht, man wird ja da sehen.” See also *R-U* 21 (1925). 801.

382. Ottmann, 2013. 180–182. Schoen’s German concept was *Kulturdampfmaschine*.

383. Führer, 1997. 733–735, 739.

384. Führer, 1997. 750.

385. Christopher Hailey, 1994. 23–25.

386. The *Südwestdeutsche Rundfunkzeitung* showed performances of the Quartet well into late 1926.

387. The recording was later listed in, for instance, Oliver Knussen, 1977. 42. See also Krenek, 1953. 56.

388. Volgsten, 2015. 224. Christopher Hailey, 1994. 22.

389. Levin, 1990. 32–33. Friedrich A Kittler, 1999. 24–25.

390. Johanna Frymoyer, 2017. 102.

391. Levin, 1990. 35.

392. Philip, 2004. 36–37, 39–41. Mark Katz, 2010. 95ff.

393. Philip, 2004. 39–42.

394. Szendy, 2009. 8.

395. Fetthauer, 2000. 13.

396. “Amar-Quartett,” *SSH* 11:2 (1926); “Auszug aus dem Künstlerverzeichnis,” *SSH* 11:3 (1926); *SSH Sonderheft* (1929). 4.

397. Stuckenschmidt, *MDA* 8:6 (1926). 290–291: “Hier liegt zunächst der plausibelste Wert mechanischer Instrumente für das breitere Publikum. Die komplizierteste Musik wird zugänglich, wenn man sie oft genug hören kann. Die einmalige Aufführung im Konzert ist nicht imstande, eine wirkliche Deutung des Wertes zu ermöglichen. Die Platte aber nimmt man nach Haus. Sie kann (bei genügender Pflege natürlich; stets eine neue Nadel einsetzen!!) tausendmal gespielt werden. So wird das Werk vertraut; das Befremden schwindet und damit die Abneigung gegen die ganze ‘moderne Musik.’”

398. Mentions of the Amar Quartet appeared in *The Gramophone* vol. 4 nos. 3, 8, and 9 and vol. 5 nos. 2 and 4.

399. “Important European-American Deals,” *TMW* 22:12 (1926).

400. Hartmut Rübner and Lars U. Scholl, 2009. 28–29, 37.

401. “Phonograph Recordings,” *PMR* 1:9 (1927). 408. See also “Record Buyers’ Guide,” *PMR* 1:11 (1927). 465; “The International Directory of Music Trades,” *PMR* 1:8 (1927). 354; “Mart and Exchange Column,” *PMR* 1:3 (1927). 145.

402. Donaldson Darrell, “Recorded Symphony Programs,” *PMR* 2:7 (1928); “Phonograph Recordings,” *PMR* 1:9 (1927). 256.

403. Donaldson Darrell, “Record Budgets,” *PMR* 1:5 (1927). 214–215.

404. “Correspondence Column,” *PMR* 1:6 (1927). 260.

405. “A re-review by all members of the staff,” *PMR* 2:5 (1928). 166: “Here again the omission of acoustical versions makes it necessary to pass over works like the Columbia and Victor Franck Sonatas and the Polydor Hindemith, Bartok, and Strawinski works by the Hindemith Quartet.”

406. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 403–405, 454, 477–479, 539–540.

407. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 246–248: “Es existiert eine, wenn auch sehr schlechte [Platte], mit einem Teil meines Streichquartetts op. 20, vom Amar-Quartett gespielt. Sie wurde mir in Köln in einem Privathaus vorgespielt. Sind dafür irgend welche Rechte erworben worden, und wie steht es überhaupt mit mechanischen Aufführungsrechten? Ich habe hier seit endlosen Zeiten eine Sache von der Amme hier, deren Mitglied ich zu sein scheine. Oder ist die ganze Geschichte schon verrechnet und ich habe es nur vergessen?”

I gave a paper presentation on the topic of Krenek as ‘mechanical composer’ in June 2022. Johan Larson Lindal, 2022. See also: Kathy Bowrey, 2020. 147. Atkinson and Fitzgerald, 2014. 72–74.

408. Krenek, 1939. 226ff., 235–240. See also Maurer Zenck, 1998 [1].

409. “Stravinsky,” *GSERM*. 436. See also “Preface,” vii. “The few acoustic records of unusual historical worth or artistic significance, easily obtainable in the H.M.V. [*His Master’s Voice*] or other historical catalogues, that are mentioned are invariably designated by an asterisk (\*) and an occasional out-of-print disc—mentioned only when the musical work itself is of considerable worth and no other version is available—is specified as WITHDRAWN.”

410. “Wiener Streichquartett,” *MDA* 7:1 (1925). Unnumbered page after p. 52.

See also: “Krenek,” *MDA* 7:4 (1925). *OP.* 20 was, according to the announcement, part of three quartet ensembles: the Hindemiths, the Kolischs, and the famous Havemann Quartet (!). “Im Repertoire des Amar-Quartetts, Havemann-Quartetts und Wiener Streichquartetts.” However, the Havemann Quartet had performed Krenek’s second string quartet, suggesting that this was a misunderstanding.

411. Maurer Zenck, 1998 [2]. 11–12. Elisabeth Hilscher, “Dick, Marcel,” *ÖNL*.

412. Maurer Zenck, 1998 [2]. 47ff.

413. Ringer, 2016. 233–237.

414. Alexander L. Ringer, 1984. 307.

415. Maurer Zenck, 1998 [2]. 14–15. Simms, 2014. 387. “Konzertierende Künstler und Neue Musik,” *MDA* 8:1 (1926). “Das Wiener Streichquartett spielt auf seiner Tournee durch Italien, Schweiz, Deutschland, Frankreich, Spanien und Rumänien insgesamt 30 Quartette, darunter moderne Werke von Krenek, *OP.* 20 ...”

416. Claudia Maurer Zenck, who has studied Rudolf Kolisch’s archive, mentions some of these events briefly. Maurer Zenck, 1998 [2]. 15.

See also: Bopp, *DM* 18:4 (1926). 317: “Neue Musik gab das *Wiener Streichquartett* zu hören, das mit Křenek, Berg und Toch aufwartete, von denen uns an diesem Abend der letztere als der sympathischste erscheinen wollte.”

417. *WZ*, 8.12.1925. “Morgen, Mittwoch, halb 8 Uhr abends veranstaltet das österreichische Komitee im Kleinen Konzerthausaal seinen 2. Kammermusikabend, an welchem das Wiener Streichquartett Werke von Milhaud, Strawinsky, Toch und Křenek spielt. Karten an der Konzerthauskasse.”

‘wa,’ *N8U*, 10.12.1925. “Opus 20 von Ernst Křenek Sechs Teile verbinden sich zu einem Satz, Anfang und Ende bildet dasselbe Thema. Fortwährende thematische Reminiszenzen schaffen Einheit. Bunt bleibt das Ganze noch immer fast mehr als genug. Evident die Freude an polyphonen Křnsten. Themen verästeln sich zur Fuge, zum Kanon. Unleugbar der Schwung des Werkes, eine Kraft, der es gar nicht genug Bravourstücke geben kann.”

Hoffmann, *MDA* 8:1 (1926). “Als fast neu mag das selten gehörte Quartett *OP.* 20 von Křenek gelten, wie auch das prächtige in C dur von Szymanowski, für welches die Meister des Böhmisches Streichquartetts sich ebenso warm eingesetzt haben ...”

418. Tobler, *DM* 18:4 (1924). 937: “*Křenek* (Streichquartett op. 20) ... eröffnen kammermusikalisches Neuland.” See also: Roner, *NMZ* 47:12 (1926). 265. Tobler, *NZFM* 93:9 (1926). 514–515.

419. See for instance: Chris Walton and Antonio Baldassarre, 2005. Norbert Graf, 2004.

420. ‘K.P.’, *NZN*, 30.1.1926. “Und wo bleibt die Phantasie, die Mutter alles künstlerischen Schaffens? Die müssen wir bei unsern Modernen oft lange suchen und finden sie erst nicht. Aber wenn wir noch Spuren davon finden, wenn noch irgendwo eine musikalische Idee durchblickt, so geschieht es mit dem gräßlichsten, wirrsten Gesicht und im unkünstlerischsten Gewande. Der ganze Abend machte mir den Eindruck einer Wüstenwanderung, monoton, langweilig, bei der wir riskieren, einmal auf eine Dase zu stoßen – einen Durakkord. Die Ausführenden ... spielten mit sehr viel Wucht und Temperament. Man merkt bald, daß ihnen die moderne Musik sehr heimisch ist. Immerhin konnte selbst die sehr gute Wiedergabe über den Eindruck reinster Verfallsmusik nicht hinwegtäuschen.”

421. Odermatt, *NZN*, 30.1.1926. “Wir geben obenstehender temperamentvoller Auslassung, die entschieden vieles für sich hat, strichlos Raum, ohne uns in allem mit dem Verfasser zu einigen. Wir erblicken in der modernen Musik, wie sie gerade in dem besprochenen Abend geboten wurde, gewiß keine abgeklärte, reife Frucht einer Musikepoche. Doch ist zu bedenken, daß jede Zeit ihre Vorläufer und Nachläufer hat, ihre Märzwinde und ihr novemberliches Einnachten. Wenn diese Musik der Märzwind oder auch erst der Februarföhn eines kommenden Frühlings sein kann, dann wollen wir sie in bequemem Winterschlaf doch nicht so ganz ausweisen. Immerhin bleibt das Fragezeichen, ob ihr diese Pionierrolle zugedacht ist.”

422. Schönberg, the Quartet’s patron, reportedly attended the concert. Ringer, 1984. 308. Grosch, 2018. 115–119. Křenek himself was aware of a *Novembergruppe* performance but seems to have believed that another work of his, the *Wind Symphony*, was on the programme. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Křenek, 2010. 191–192: “Ich war dieser Tage in Berlin und es ergab sich, daß die Novembergruppe Anfang Februar in einem eigenen Konzert meine Bläuersymphonie aufführen will. Die Leute werden sich selbst an Sie wenden in der Sache.”

423. “NOVEMBERGRUPPE E.V., BERLIN,” *MDA* 8:2 (1926). “ERNST KRENEK, III. Streichquartett, op. 20

Allegro molto vivace – Adagio – Tempo I – Adagio – Allegro moderato, ma deciso – Adagio – Adagio molto moderato – Walzertempo – Tempo I.”

424. Letter from Kolisch to Berg 20.2.1926: “Unser Konzert hier hat darunter zu leiden gehabt, dass am selben Tag eine Vierteltonproduktion von Haba stattfand, die natürlich das für uns in Betracht kommende Publikum zum Teil abgezogen hat.” *Alban Berg letters*, ÖNB.

425. Marschalk, *VZ*, 27.2.1926. "Sein drittes Streichquartett, op. 20, ist eine reichlich unerquickliche Angelegenheit. Wennschon es in der Erfindung weder eigenartige noch starke Züge aufweist, so könnte es doch wenigstens eine Ohrenweide sein. Aber der Wohlklang, sei es in altem, sei es in neuem Sinne, ist ihm, wie so vielen, die heute Musik schaffen, ein Horror und am Ende wohl gar ein Beweis der Schwäche."

See also: Westermeyer, *SFMW* 84:8 (1926). 259. *BT*, 19.2.1926. Schrenk, *DAZ*, 19.2.1926.

426. Maurer Zenck, 1998 [2]. 18. Ringer, 1984. 308–310.

427. Sexauer, *DM* 19:2 (1926). 142: "Das *Wiener Streichquartett* (R. Kolisch) spielte mit gleicher Gewandtheit Alban Bergs problematisches op. 3, Křeneks Nr. 3 op. 30 [sic], ein anziehendes Werk, und Tochs gehaltvolles op. 34." Sexauer, *NMZ* 47:16 (1926). 352: "Das Wiener Streichquartett trat mit bedeutendem Können ein für die Problematik Alban Bergs in dessen Nummer op. 20 [sic] und Křeneks in Op. 3 [sic] wie für Tochs gehaltvolles Op. 34."

Doflein, *MDA* 8:8 (1926). "Der Höhepunkt der letzten Konzertzeit war unbedingt ein Konzert des Wiener Streichquartetts mit Alban Bergs Opus 3, Křeneks Opus 20 und Tochs Opus 34. Die Vollendung der Ausführung zwang zu größtem Beifall, der besonders durch Toch geweckt wurde, während das Verständnis für Berg und Křenek mehr den Vorbereiteten vorbehalten blieb."

See also: *FBZ*, 7–11.11.1926. The newspaper reported on two public performances of the "Viennese String Quartet" on the 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of November respectively. The Berg, Toch, and Křenek concert featuring op. 20 was neither reported nor reviewed, suggesting that this was a more private occasion that may have taken place in between the public concerts on 9 November. On the Working Society for New Music in Freiburg, see for example Peter Andraschke, 2017. 311ff.

428. Ringer, 1984. 310–311.

429. See *Melos* 8 (1929). 148.

430. Thrun, 1995. 572.

431. Tregear, 2013. 42–43. See also Cook, 1988. Schader, 2016. 234.

432. See letter to Maurits Frank from Paul Hindemith on 12 April 1927. Hindemith and Skelton (ed.), 1995. 49–50. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Křenek, 2010. 313–315.

433. Weißmann, *DM* 20:4 (1928). 308, 316. Warschauer, *MDA* 8:8 (1926). 379: "In Berlin wird sie vor allem in der 'Stunde der Lebenden' an Sonntagsmatineen gepflegt, deren Leitung neuerdings Adolf Weißmann übernommen hat." "Funkstunde," *VZ* 26.11.1927. "Komponisten und Interpreten," *BVZ* 29.11.1927. "I. Gema-Konzert," *DAZ* 26.11.1927. "30. November," *DAZ* 28.11.1927. "Konzerte," *DAZ* 30.11.1927. "Musik," *VZ* 26.11.1927.

The BDK was founded only six weeks before the concert, on 12 October 1927. Leo Kestenbergs, 1931. 79.

434. "Kleinere Mitteilungen," *SEMW* 85:49 (1927). 1708: "Der Bund Deutscher Komponisten vereinigt die der Genossenschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Aufführungsrechte (verkürzt: Gema) angeschlossenen Komponisten aller Richtungen zum gemeinsamen Ziel. Nebst kulturellen Aufgaben allgemeiner Natur soll die deutsche Eigenart, die deutsche Kunst propagiert werden. Die Ungunst der Verhältnisse, verbinden mit den vielen rein materialistisch eingestellten Unternehmern behindern den schaffenden Künstler an seiner Entfaltung. Der 'Bund Deutscher Komponisten', unterstützt durch die Gema, will in hochqualifizierten Aufführungen selten gehörte, wertvolle Werke lebender Komponisten und insbesondere Werke noch unbekannter Autoren zum Vortrag bringen." The same message appeared in: "Tageschronik," *DM* 20:4 (1928). 316.

435. H-r, *VW*, 1.12.1927. "Unter Führung von Eduard Künneke, Josef Königberger, Otto Lindemann ist der Bund deutscher Komponisten gegründet worden, der die in der Genossenschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Aufführungsrechte (Gema) zusammengeschlossenen Komponisten aller Richtungen zum gemeinsamen Ziel vereinigt. Es bleibt abzuwarten, in welchem Umfange diese neue Organisation ihrem Programm Deutsche Eigenart, deutsche Kunst aller Richtungen zu propagieren gerecht werden wird.

Der Eröffnungskonzert jedenfalls stützte sich auf Ramen, die einer ziemlich einheitlichen Richtung angehören, so verschieden sonst die Individualität der Hindemith, Jarnach und Krenek ist. Man hörte auch bis auf die Rhapsodien von Jarnach nur bereits bekannte und teilweise alte Werke der aufgeführten Komponisten."

436. Dümmling, 2003. 65.

437. "Vermischte Nachrichten," *NMZ* 48:7 (1927). "Gesellschaften und Vereine," *NZFM* 47:1 (1927). 47. Kestenbergs, 1931. 76–79. Dümmling, 2003. 149–152.

438. Führer, 1997. 724. The *Welle* was, until 1930, a complementary to the regional stations, transmitting their music broadcasts and mainly hosting lectures during the day.

439. "Mittwoch 30 November," *RW* 28.11.1927. 42. "Courrier de la T.S.F.," *LPJ* 30.11.1927. "Mercredi 30 Novembre," *L'Intransigeant* 28.11.1927. "Europäisches Radio-Programm," *SVB* 29.11.1927.

440. Hirschberg, *SEMW* 85:49 (1927). 1698.

441. Band, *BVZ*, 8.12.1927. "Vom Kammerkonzert der 'Gema' hörte ich den Anfang im Saal der Singakademie und nur die letzte Programnummer, das Streichquartett von Krenek als Uebertragung.

Bei allem Interesse für moderne Musik und bei der Wichtigkeit, die Hörer mit dem modernen Kunstschaffen vertraut zu machen, fragt es sich doch sehr,

ob es richtig ist, ein Abendprogramm in dieser Weise zu füllen. Die Einfühlung in die Probleme Der neuen Kunst kann nicht gewaltsam gefördert, kann vor allem durch so umfangreiche Darbietungen nicht erzielt werden. Richtiger wäre es, wenn der modernen Kunst zu verschiedenen Tageszeiten im Programm der Funkstunde ein kleinerer Raum zur Verfügung gestellt würde. Und es fehlt uns hier eins: die Pflege der vorbereitenden Zwischenstufen zwischen dem, was heute schon als ‚alt‘ gilt, und dem ganz Neuen. Der Rundfunk würde sich ein besonderes Verdienst erwerben, wenn er die Brücke baute, auf der die Hörer zu dem Erlebnis der modernen Musik geführt werden können.

In der Uebertragung klang Kreneks Quartett unklar, die organische Struktur verwischte sich vollkommen, weil die Klangfarben der Instrumente nicht mehr zu unterscheiden waren, die allerdings in diesem Werk auch zu extremer Leistung, in der Charakteristisches verloren geht, genötigt sind.”

See also: Warschauer, *VZ* 3.12.1927. “‘Die Stunde der Lebenden’ brachte zum ersten Male die gut gelungene Uebertragung aus einem Saale, nämlich des ersten ‘Gema-Konzertes’ aus der Singakademie; womit in jener hier oft als wünschenswert bezeichneten Verbindung des Rundfunks mit dem Konzertleben ein weiterer Fortschritt getan ist.”

442. H-r, *VW*, 1.12.1927. “[Kreneks Klaviersuiten] sind pianistisch undankbar, kompakt in der Klangkombination und thematisch von einer nicht immer mit Glück verborgenen Banalität. Höher im Niveau und vor allem viel gekonnter erweist sich das Streichquartett op. 20. Hier erinnert der Komponist in der neckheit und Unbekümmertheit der Erfindung an Hindemith, wenngleich ihn von diesem der Hang zu blutleerer Spekulation trennt. Bewundernswert war auch hier wieder die alle enormen Schwierigkeiten spielend meisternde Kunst des Amar-Quartetts.”

443. Schrenk, *DAZ* 2.12.1927. “Erheblich komplizierter in Aufbau und Durcharbeitung ist das ‘Dritte Streichquartett’ op. 20 von Ernst Krenek. Es verläuft pausenlos in sechs Teilen, die thematisch stark miteinander verkoppelt sind. Im Gegensatz zu Hindemiths Werk erscheint es viel konstruierter, es ist härter und ungeschmeidiger im Klang, Konzessionslos in der zuweilen brutalen Führung der Stimmen. Aber es ist dabei doch voll von lebendiger Erfindung, besonders in dem sehr schönen ersten Adagio. Man spürt eine Persönlichkeit dahinter, die Atmosphäre eines schöpferischen Menschen, allerdings auch den Krampf einer Gestaltung, dessen Lösung wir in den zeitlich späteren Werken Kreneks inzwischen erlebt haben.”

444. Einstein, *BT*, 2.12.1927. “Die Gegenüberstellung [Jarnachs] und Ernst Kreneks war für Krenek besonders gefährlich. Dieses Streichquartett op. 20, auf der Partitur scherzhafterweise als Quartett Es-dur bezeichnet. 1923 komponiert, diese zwei Klaviersuiten op. 26 ... sind ja heute in alle ihren Ausdruckelement-



en kontrollierbar, und ein Anlaß zu Staunen, Verblüffung, Entrüstung nur mehr für Neulinge, sie sind genau für den Tag geschrieben, für den Krenek noch damit rechnen konnte, daß die eulenspiegelhafte Mischung aus Parodistik, Abstraktiven (im Anfangsfaß des Quartetts), aus dem *épater le bourgeois*, aus Ernst (denn auch das ist da) und begabter Frechheit sich noch nicht in ihre Bestandteile auflösen werde. Heute tut sie das, und das einzig Wunderbare ist, daß das Amar-Quartett und dergleichen noch vorsetzt, statt lieber einen Bartók oder zwei Quartette von Hindemith zu spielen...”

445. Bowker and Star, 1999. 15.

446. “Konzertierende Künstler und neue Musik,” *Anbruch* 11:1 (1929). 50. “Das Danziger Streichquartett wird die Quartette von Kaminski, fis moll, Krenek III und Hába I in diesem Winter—auch im Rundfunk—aufführen.” Prins, his Quartet, and his efforts were mentioned by, among others: Socnik, *NZFM* 95:9 (1928). 521.

447. In 1925, Krenek had the score delivered to the Pro Arte Quartet in Brussels, one of the most long-lived performing groups of Western art music, who eventually went on to perform the *Fourth String Quartet*, op. 24, which had been delivered at the same time, instead. Barker, 2017. 29. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 189. “bitte lassen Sie an den Sekretär des Pro Arte Quartetts, 57, rue de la Meuse, Bruxelles meine beiden Q[u]artette, die Symph. Musik, das 2. Concerto grosso und das Violinkonzert senden (auf Empfehlung von Scherchen).” Jennifer Doctor, 1999. 341. See also *CET*, 27.9.1926. A “String Quartet, op. 12” by Krenek featured in the original BBC programme. This opus number, however, was his Second Symphony, which suggests a misunderstanding. The piece was replaced by a string trio by Max Reger.

448. Oja, 2000. 386. The Quartet was not a very known ensemble, not at the time nor after. Except for its leader, Hungarian-born violinist Ivor Kármán, it changed members regularly.

449. Paula Elliot, 1997. 1, 12. Vivian Perlis, 1978. 9–11. Oja, 2000. 178. Ronald V. Wiecki, 1992.

450. Fetthauer, 2004. 24, 42 iff. The AMP was founded by Paul Heinicke in 1927 and represented eight of the largest European publishers of music.

451. Cahn, 1985. 188–189. Oja, 2000. 290ff. Gayle Murchison, 2012. 124–127. Kate Bowan, 2022. 620ff.

452. Oja, 2000. 74, 91.

453. “New York Concert Announcements,” *MC* 1.11.1928. “Programs of the Week,” *NYT* 11.11.1928. Some announcements mentioned Schönberg instead of Krenek or neither of them; *BSU*, 10.11.1928. “Pro Musica,” *NYT* 28.10.1928. See also *BDE*, 11.11.1928.

454. See *NYT*, 28.8.1927. Downes, *NYT*, 15.11.1928. “Unfortunately the program

was much too long, so that the songs of Maurice Delage, for example, ...were heard only by the faithful whom suburban trains and early editions of newspapers did not take away from the concert.”

455. Downes, *NYT*, 15.11.1928. See also *BTU*, 15.11.1928. 89: “Fortunately I missed most of the program because [sic] of my enthusiasm for the Elshuco [trio performing on Broadway that night] and its really worthwhile offering. I heard the Krenek and as much of the rest as I could stand. This is Schubert year and when one reads of the [sic] trials of this sincere composer and then sees how this group of inepts is received with acclaim one wonders at the increase (?) in the appreciation of music among concert followers.”

456. Well, *MA* 48:32 (1928).

457. Latour, 2005. 75.

## Movement V. From Performance to Knowledge

458. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 203: “Dann senden Sie bitte an Mr. H. J. Kalcisk, London, S.W. 1., 22, Regent Street etwas von meinen Werken. Er schreibt mir, daß er für das Grove’s Dictionary for Music einen längeren Artikel über mich zu schreiben hat. Vielleicht schicken Sie ihm vor allem die 3 Opern-Auszüge, die beiden Streichquartette, das II. Concerto grosso und etwas von den Klaviersachen.”

459. The list of works in *Grove’s* 1927 edition ended at op. 35, whereas *Jonny spielt auf* was op. 45.

460. Rosen, 2012. 39–40.

461. Sibille, 2016. 257, 265. Toni Weller, 2010. 3–4. Lisa Gitelman, 2014. 1–3. W. Boyd Rayward, 2008. Annelise Riles, 2006.

462. Deborah Lee, 2017. 45–46. Smiraglia, 2003. 556. Robert P Morgan, 1992. 47–49. Botstein, 1992. 14off.

463. Sibille, 2016. 257, 265.

464. Botstein, 1992. 138. Burkholder, 1983. 116.

465. Katherine Bergeron, 1992. 2. Don Michael Randel, 1992. 11. Jean Baudrillard, 1994. 8.

466. Bowker and Star, 1999. 285.

467. Andersen and Skouvig, 2006. 302, 304: “the claim of universality detaches knowledge organization from society and assigns the discipline to the margins of society as ahistorical and transcendent.” On gender power structures in collecting, see for instance also Sophia Maalsen and Jessica McLean, 2018. 40. Laura Skouvig, 2020. 111.

468. Štěpán, "KRENEK," *DNM*. 352: "op. 20 III. Streichquartett (1923), gedr. kl. Part. (auch Wiener Philh. Verl.) u. St. ... (sämtlich, soweit gedr., Un.-Ed.)"

469. "KRENEK", *HRML*. "K. gehörte als Komponist erst zum linken Flügel der Moderne, in dessen Musik, wie bei Hindemith oder Schulhoff, das Parodistische eine starke Rolle spielt; auch später hat sein Schaffen den eulenspiegelhaften Charakter, das Schillern zwischen Ernstem und Buffoneskem nicht verloren."

470. Štěpán, "KRENEK," *DNM*. 351: "K. gehört als Komponist zum linken Flügel der Moderne; er pflegt eine streng 'lineare' Musik, die mehr durch Intensität des Gefühls ihre Gesetze empfängt; die völlig freie Polyphonie hat ihn praktisch auf das Gebiet der Atonalität gedrängt. Auch in seiner Musik spielt, wie bei Hindemith oder Schulhoff, das Parodistische eine starke Rolle."

471. Evans, "KRENEK," *GDMM Ed.* 3. 52–53.

472. Einstein, "Vorwort," *HRML*.

473. On histories of ignorance, see: Cornel Zwierlein, 2016. Lukas M Verburgt and Peter Burke, 2021.

474. "KRENEK, Ernst" *NEMM*. 508: "Austrian composer, pupil of Schreker, writing 2 symphonies (the first in one movement), a concerto grosso, a nonet, 2 string-quartets, a serenade for clarinet and string-trio, sonatas for violin and for piano, etc."

475. Abraham, "Křenek," *GDMM Ed.* 4. 333–335.

476. "Krenek," *MMEMM*. 984.

477. "KRENEK," *BDDM*. 609.

478. "KRENEK," *MML*. 426–427.

479. Richard P. Smiraglia, 2002. 5.

480. See for instance: Hans Mersmann, 1928. Arthur Seidl, 1926. Heinz Tieszen, 1928. H. Grues, E. Kruttge, and E. Thalheimer, 1925. Adorno and Krenek, 1974.

481. Hans W. Heinsheimer and Paul Stefan, 1926.

482. Einstein, *Neue Musik Berlin* 1930. See also Thrun, 1995. 308.

483. Einstein, *Neue Musik Berlin* 1930. "Um 1924 war Donaueschingen schon eine 'Institution' geworden. Es drohte zum üblichen Musikfest zu werden; beim Arbeitsauschuß liefen damals u.a. ein: 142 Sonaten und Trios, 91 Quartette und Quintette, 47 Werke größerer Besetzung, einige Hundert Lieder...Aber das Wesen der 'Neuen Musik' war, gerade nicht Institution zu werden, sich nicht zu wiederholen, dem Heer der Nachläufer keine Tür zu öffnen."

484. Nicolas Slonimsky, 1938. 237.

485. Carrasco, 2018. 373.

486. Browne, *MCL* 13:1 (1932). 42–44.

487. Hinton, 1993. 94ff.

488. op. 20 has sometimes been included in Krenek's 'free-atonal' phase, mean-

- ing it preceded rather than represented neo-classicism. See Knessl, 1967. Weber, 2015. 2–3. Maurer Zenck, 1982. 424.
489. Browne, *M&L* 13:1 (1932). 45.
490. Bowker and Star, 1999. 299.
491. On the impossibility of maintaining separate societal domains, see: Latour, 2013.
492. Zwierlein, 2016. 3–4.
493. Bowker and Star, 1999. 297.
494. Goehr, 1992 [1]. 47ff. Goehr, 1992 [2]. 192.

## Movement VI.

### From Ignorance to Reappearance.

495. Hill, 2006. Annemarie Mol, 1999.
496. See for instance Cahn, 1985. 186–188.
497. Aleida Assmann, 2020. 194. On ‘forgetting potential’ [*Vergessenspotential*], see: Han Lamers, Toon Van Hal, and Sebastiaan G Clercx, 2020. 17. ‘Forgetting potential’ can be summed up as “the specific historical circumstances of [an object’s] falling (or being discarded) from memory.” See also: Liedeke Plate, 2016.
498. Fetthauer, 2004. 23. Alan E. Steinweis, 1993. Fetthauer, 2000. 18–19.
499. Maurer Zenck, 2010. 16.
500. Sitsky, 1994. 6–7. Tomoff, 2001. 16–17. Fay, 1993. 149–150.
501. Waterhouse, 1993. 120–123. Anton Haefeli, 1994. 142.
502. Steinweis, 1993. 34–35. Kater, 1992. 300. Thrun, 1995. 481, 632–633. Karen Painter, 2007. 128–132.
503. Fetthauer states that works of Schönberg, Krenek, Schreker, Berg, and others were probably burned as early as June 1933 in Karlsruhe. Fetthauer, 2004. 241. See also: von der Linn, 1998. Dirk Blasius, 2000. Albrecht Dümmling, 2007. Martin, 2016. 123. Erik Levi, 1991. 17ff.
504. Hinton, 1993. 101–102. Wolfgang Benz, 2016. 5–6. Alexander Stephan, 2016. 31ff. Potter, 2003. 93. See also: Michael Custodis and Albrecht Riethmüller, 2015.
505. Anita Mayer-Hirzberger, 2013. 128. Hartmut Krones, 2013. 18–20.
506. Mayer-Hirzberger, 2013. 119ff.
507. Stewart, 1991. 44, 65. Thrun, 1995. 629–630.
508. 1937 *Revisions of ISCM Statutes*, vcl. Krenek, 1998. 906.
509. Milton Babbitt, 1999. 38. Martin Zenck and Volker Rülke, 2022. 62.
510. The Galimir ‘sibling’ Quartet (1927–1936) was led by violinist Félix Galimir with his sisters Adrienne, Renée, and Marguerite. The Galimir Quartet and Steuermann were mentioned as part of the Verein’s activities in 1935 or 1936

following the death of Alban Berg. *Krenek membership card, Verein für Neue Musik, vcl. Annual Report, Verein für Neue Musik, vcl.*

511. Claudia Maurer Zenck, 1999. Page. Krenek, 1998. 913: “Die Situation Österreichs war eigentlich hoffnungslos, den wir konnten keinen dauerhaften Frieden erwarten, solange die Krake [Hitler] in Berlin am Leben war.”

512. Matthias Schmidt, 2013. 135–136, 138–141. Krenek, 1998. 946ff. Ernst and Berta Krenek left Vienna on 11 October 1937, never to return before the post-war period.

513. Ernst Krenek, Friedrich T. Gubler, and Claudia Maurer Zenck (ed.), 1989. 296: “Für alle definitiven Vereinbarungen ist darum das Beste, Sie rufen uns Sonntag-Abend in W'thur an, um mir zu sagen ob Ihnen der Vorschlag, dass Sie zum Nachtessen am Dienstag zu uns kommen, passt. Eventuell würde das Quartett dann nachher auftauchen u. uns Ihr Stück spielen. Was mir ein unsagbares Vergnügen bereitere.”

514. Theo Mäusli, 2003. 260–261.

515. *Invitation from New Swiss Music Society*, Zürich, 1934, vcl. The Swiss Pro Musica should not be mistaken for the American Pro Musica, Inc., which hosted op. 20's performance in New York in 1928. Leeb, 1959. 1. Paul Sacher, 1939. 393–394. Willmann, 1988. 15.

516. Peter Sulzer, 1980. 169. Briefwechsel Krenek-Gubler. 296. See also Julia Beier, 2015.

517. Schuh, NZZ 19.3.1937. Quoted in: Willi Schuh, 1947. 112–113.

518. Schuh, 1947. 112–113: “Dieses dritte Quartett steht keineswegs in Es-Dur (wie es infolge eines merkwürdigen Irrtums in der gedruckten Partitur und im Programm steht), vielmehr sind die tonalen Bindungen wenn auch nicht völlig aufgegeben, so doch in sehr weitgehendem Maße gelockert zugunsten eines elementaren, von leidenschaftlichem Ausdruckswillen beherrschten Kräftespiel von expressivem Melos, dissonanter Spannungsharmonik (deren Funktion vor allem eine tektonische ist) und energiegeladenem Rhythmus.”

519. Goehr has discussed the tension between aesthetics and history in musical works (see Movement V). Levinson has used the term “impure” to describe the historical origin of a musical work. Levinson, 2015. 46.

520. Claudia Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Ernst Krenek, 1992. Maurer Zenck, 1999. 174.

521. Fetthauer, 2004. 184–185, 248.

522. Kowalke, 2003. 178. Fetthauer, 2004. 241–243.

523. Fetthauer, 2004. 215–216.

524. Hinton, 1993. 101ff. Fetthauer, 2004. 183ff. 200–203. Kowalke, 2003. 188–190. Unfortunately, von Einem does not mention much about this in his memoirs. Manfred A. Schmid (ed.) and Gottfried von Einem, 1995.

525. Fetthauer, 2004. 242–243.
526. Fetthauer, 2004. 369–370. Maurer Zenck, 2010. 934ff.
527. Kowalke, 2003. 188–189. Fetthauer, 2004. 242.
528. Kowalke, 2003. 185: “Internal documents also confirm that UE was allowed, even encouraged, to export ‘degenerate’ music to enemy territories, thereby benefiting from both the influx of foreign currency and the material’s potential for moral corruption abroad.” Fetthauer, 2004. 216.
529. Potter, 2003. 99.
530. Mäusli, 2003. 261ff. Willimann, 1988. 43.
531. Stephan, 2016. 41–42. Reinhold Brinkmann, 1999. 7. Claus-Dieter Krohn, 2016. 461. Dieter Schiller, 2016. 999–1000.
532. Stephan, 2016. 31. Hanns-Werner Heister, 2016. 1041–1042. On young migrants in the U.S. as knowledge actors, see: Simone Lässig and Swen Steinberg, 2017. Simone Lässig and Swen Steinberg, 2019.
533. Zenck and Rülke, 2022. 59. On the cluster settlements of exiled artists in California, see: Ehrhard Bahr, 2007.
534. Zolberg, 1990. 140. Murchison, 2012. 124ff.
535. Lydia Goehr, 1999. 67–69.
536. The suitcase is today displayed at Salon Krenek in Krems-an-der-Donau.
537. Brinkmann, 1999. 8–9. Ernst Krenek, 1949. 63. Krenek, *Correspondence GEA*, 1939. See Krenek’s diary entry in early September 1939: Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 1992. 122. “Gebe Gott, daß sie die Kraft haben, das glückliche Ende herbeizuführen! Aber welches Grauen liegt dazwischen! Wenn alles schief geht, sind wir verloren, und es gibt keinen Fleck mehr auf der Erde, wo man sich verstecken kann. Habe Angst, daß die Währinger Selbstmord verüben. Sie waren schon nahe dran, als Österreich zusammenbrach.” See also Habakuk Traber and Elmar Weingarten, 1987.
538. Krenek still corresponded with UE while in the U.S., although less frequently, using the AMP as his c/o address. The fact that Krenek lived abroad, and that Austria’s AKM was now liquidated, made securing royalties more difficult. See Maurer Zenck, 1999. 175. Martin, 2016. 23. Fetthauer, 2004. 51–52. STAGMA stood for *Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Urheberrechte* and was founded in 1933 as a centralised, state-controlled authority for collecting German music royalties. See also: Malte Zill, 2023.
539. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 2010. 927–928, 932–935. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 1992. 91. Footnote 517 by Maurer Zenck: “[Krenek] beklagte sich häufig darüber, daß die amerikanische Vertretung der UE, die AMP, sich nicht genügend für ihn einsetzte.”
540. Eva Moreda Rodríguez, 2019. 199–201.
- Other people that Krenek met were musicologist Ernst Bloch, French com-

poser Nadia Boulanger, artist Salvador Dalí, Alfred Einstein (see Movement IV), singer Lotte Lenya, author Thomas Mann, Paul Pisk (see Movement III), fellow Schreker student Karol Rathaus, musicologist Nicolas Slonimsky, Steuermann, Fritz Stiedry, composer Kurt Weill, UE's Hugo Winter, and more. He also met with American composers, including Brunswick, Edgard Varèse, and George Antheil. See Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 1992. 90ff. See also: *Krenek-Schnabel Correspondence 1939–1951*, EKI.

541. Milton Babbitt, 1999. 39, 48. Multiple letters between Krenek and Sessions from 1938 and well into the post-war period are archived at Ernst Krenek Institut.

542. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 1992. 91: "Gearbeitet. Abds. bei Mazzeo, sie haben meine gute alte Serenade op. 4 gespielt, gar nicht schlechtes Stück. III. Streichquartett, gut, aber das Letzte an Gewicht und Gehalt fehlt diesen Sachen. Traurig. Ob es irgendwo in meinen Sachen ist? Ob ich es noch einhole? Sonst gespielt: Castera Quartett, mäßig, Kaminski schwach und borniert. Netter Abend."

543. Walter Levin, 1999. 323–326.

544. Maurer Zenck, 1999. 174.

545. *BSO programme 1938–1939*, <https://cdm15982.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/PROG/id/148531>. Accessed 18 December 2023.

546. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 1992. 91, footnote 517 by Maurer Zenck.

547. Goehr, 1999. 76–77.

548. Horst Weber, 2022. 11–12.

549. Krenek, 1998. 946–947: "Der Prozeß der Zerstörung all dessen, was wir aufgebaut hatten, war unglaublich bedrückend, und ich mußte mir beständig ein Gefühl höllischer Erleichterung einreden, als ein Stück nach dem anderen in Kartons, Schrankkoffern und Kisten verschwand und auf Lastwagen in das fürchterliche Chaos eines düsteren Lagerhauses befördert wurde."

550. Letter from Krenek to Roger Sessions, 7 March 1939. R. Sessions and A. Olmstead, 1992. 312.

551. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 1992. 114–116 (see also footnote 668).

552. "Contemporary Concerts Heard," *NYT* 30.3.1940.

See also: "Concerts of Our Time," *NYT* 7.1.1940.

Sessions and Olmstead, 1992. 313–314.

See also Zenck and Rülke, 2022. 62.

553. Fetthauer, 2004. 258, 406ff. See letter from Paul Hindemith's letter to Gertrud Hindemith on 31 March 1940 mentions him being at Yale lecturing. Hindemith and Skelton (ed.), 1995. 158–160. See Babbitt, 1999. 49.

554. Bowles, 1989. 22. Leon Botstein, 1999. 299–300.

555. *The Palestine Post* 22.1.1937. 8. Management of the Palestine Orchestra

was then assumed by none other than Krenek's old Berlin mentor, Leo Kestenberg, who migrated to Tel Aviv in late 1938.

556. All 1940 and late 1939 issues of the U.S. *Musical Courier* neglected to cover the event at all. See also: John Rockwell, 1987. 35. C., *MA* 60:4 (1940); S., *MA* 60:1 (1940); "Carnegie Hall," *MA* 60:3 (1940); S., *MA* 58:17 (1938).

557. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 1992. 148. The EKI may have or have had the recording as well, but it has not been found: Galimir Quartet, unpublished, EKI.

558. Zenck and Rülke, 2022. 62.

559. Americans at this time generally viewed their music as 'ahistorical' or 'now' whereas European music was always somewhat less contemporary and more historical. Maurer Zenck, 1999. 177–180.

560. Goehr, 1999. 66ff.

561. Frankfurt's Saalbau and Berlin's Chamber Music House and Grottrian-Steinweg Hall were bombed during the war. The Sgambati Hall had been demolished in 1936.

562. Bohm, *NYHT* 30.3.1940. See also Bowles, 1989. 22.

563. Maurer Zenck (ed.) and Krenek, 1992. 146–147: "In New York. Habe mein 3. Streichquartett wider gehört und habe große Freude daran gehabt, besonders weil es nichts von jener Blässe hat, die man oft an Kompositionen aus dieser Zeit entdeckt, wenn man sich wundern muß, was daran eigentlich einmal besonders war. Es ist immer noch 'neu' und hat nichts von Hindemith'schem Jux-Charakter und neoklassizistischen Untugenden an sich. Sogar die Einschlüsse von rein tonalem Material in der Walzer-Episode wirken durchaus organisch und gar nicht gequält oder forciert. Das gibt sehr zu denken, insofern als ich damals doch wohl ganz unbefangen und mit dem Instinkt gearbeitet habe. Natürlich könnte manches konzentrierter sein, aber der Adagio-Teil etwa ist, trotz gewisser Inkonsistenz von streng atonalen Gesichtspunkten aus, so, daß ich ihn ebensogern heute geschrieben haben möchte. Gut ist daran zu denken, daß eben die Substanz scheinbar stark genug ist, um sich bei jeder Methode durchzusetzen, und daß die Methoden vielleicht nur jeweils notwendige Vehikel sind, um die Substanz an den Tag zu bringen. Das würde nichts über die historische Bedeutung der Methoden als pädagogische Vehikel präjudizieren. Jedenfalls war die relative Alterslosigkeit dieser Musik sehr beruhigend für mich. Das läßt mich hoffen, daß ihr Wert viel später einmal wirklich erkennbar sein wird."

564. Bowan, 2022. 626.



## Conclusion in Motion

565. Angelika Rieber, 2009. Winkler, 2009.

566. Celia Lury, 2020. 205: “all methodology is—unavoidably—methods research, the study *and* practice ... of methods, a recursively purposeful way of doing, taking methods themselves as objects as well as means of research ...”

## Summary in English

This dissertation is a detailed micro-historical study of the *musical work concept* with regards to one single piece of music, the *Third String Quartet* (OP. 20) by Austrian composer Ernst Krenek (1900–1991), composed in 1923. Starting chronologically with the creation of the piece, it ends in 1940, the year in which Krenek was in American exile and the quartet attracted new attention from both American and German-speaking exile audiences. Throughout the study, I explore how this piece was *conceptualised* as an idealised musical *work*, meaning the ways in which the piece was conceived to be a coherent, completed artistic object with an eternal, indisputable existence beyond time and space.

This perspective positions the dissertation within musicology, history, media history, history of ideas, and the history of knowledge, as well as the history of modernism and, not least, cultural sociology. My theoretical and methodological framework draws on, mainly, Actor-Network Theory (ANT), a sociological field emphasising the importance of horizontal and detailed investigations of both human and non-human actors (*actants*) forming more or less temporary *associations* over theory-driven, structuralist, and post-structuralist studies. I also employ micro-history, which, like ANT, emphasises empirical width and unpredictable leads, but, as opposed to ANT, allows for a certain degree of contextualisation to understand historical events which not always allow for deeper observations, because the source material, as a rule, is fragmentary.

By also drawing on critical historicisations of the musical work concept, by for instance Lydia Goehr, my analytical framework focuses on modalities of conceptualising OP. 20 as a *concrete, abstract, ephem-*

*eral*, and *fixed* musical work. I identify these conceptualising acts as taking place within specific associations being formed through specific *events*. Together, these events form a *movement* of op. 20 as a musical work. The emphasis is, at the same time, on op. 20 being 'made' to fit the categorising *standards* of the musical work concept by other actants *and* op. 20 exerting agency in conceptualising itself as such by either adhering to or defying these standards.

My perspective regards anything and everyone who had anything to do with op. 20 as important empirical traces. Hence, the source material has not been fully determined beforehand. First and foremost, I have studied op. 20's various performances, both in concert halls and on radio, and as a gramophone recording (1925). However, I do not limit my study to op. 20 as performed sound sequences, but I also include the publication process of the piece in 1924, as well as its insertion into musical knowledge organisation, such as dictionaries.

The dissertation concludes that op. 20 experienced six main phases until 1940:

1) The *creation* or premiere phase before publication by Universal-Edition 1922–1924, during which op. 20 became exposed to audiences, criticism, and also became especially attached to Paul Hindemith, who was given the quartet as a personal gift from Ernst Krenek.

2) The *publication* phase ca. January–September 1924 which fixed op. 20 as a more stabilised work, meaning fixed and concrete but with abstract aspirations.

3) The *extended movement* phase 1924–1928 during which op. 20 had limited attachment to any specific association but moved between many different associations, countries, and media formats, constantly oscillating between concrete and abstract, fixed and ephemeral.

4) The *categorising* phase, continuing throughout the period and parallel to the other phases, in which op. 20 was made to fit into music historiography, dictionaries, and moved as a 'non-sonic' object of music knowledge which moved the temporal conceptualisation of the 'work' from 'contemporary' to 'historical,' meaning a higher degree of fixity and abstraction.

5) The *ignorance* phase, ca. 1929–1937, during which op. 20 was

barely mentioned and presumably not performed publicly by anyone. Though not forgotten, the ‘work’ was made into an idle object that was viewed as irrelevant.

6) The *reappearance* phase of 1937–1940, in which op. 20 again enjoyed public performances in Switzerland (twice in 1937) and the u.s. (1938 and 1940) as a ‘work-in-exile,’ meaning that it regained concrete-ephemeral conceptualisations with more direct affinity to Ernst Krenek and associations of exile musicians. During this last phase, op. 20 was conceptualised as a musical work of both historical, ‘contemporary,’ and ‘eternal’ qualities.

op. 20’s different ways of becoming conceptualised as a musical work reflected its relative *agency*, *fixity*, and *affinity* towards the associations in which it moved. The quartet’s agency was characterised by a reoccurring resistance towards music-conventional standards and categories. Although this did not necessarily make op. 20 difficult to conceptualise as a musical work, conceptualisations tended to focus on its ambiguous form, contested key, varying ‘national origin,’ and its relations to Krenek and Hindemith.

Whereas fixity allowed for the piece to move more freely between associations, especially between 1924 and 1928, it detached the quartet from closer affinity with actants such as Paul Hindemith and associations such as the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). However, following the ignorance phase, op. 20 reappeared as an object of affinity, now with Krenek and other actants in Switzerland and the u.s. Thereby, it regained some of its lost modalities of being conceptualised as a musical work.

The dissertation, through its almost complete focus on one musical ‘work,’ highlights the everyday practices, beliefs, and actions which together have historically informed the long-lived musical work concept in Western art music. It also shows the benefits and limits of applying ANT and micro-history to music history and suggests that variations of this combined perspective could be used more extensively in future interdisciplinary music research.



## Summary in Swedish

Avhandlingen genomför en detaljerad mikrohistorisk studie av det *musikaliska verkbegreppet* i relation till ett enskilt musikstycke, österrikaren Ernst Kreneks (1900–1991) *Tredje stråkkvartett* (op. 20), komponerad 1923. Den börjar kronologiskt med styckets skapande och slutar 1940, då Krenek befann sig i amerikansk exil och kvartetten fick ny uppmärksamhet hos både den amerikanska och den exiltyskspråkiga publiken. Genom studien utforskar jag hur stycket *konceptualiserades* som ett idealiserat musikaliskt *verk*, det vill säga de sätt på vilka stycket framställdes som ett enhetligt, fullbordat konstnärligt objekt med en evig, ovedersäglig existens bortom tid och rum.

Detta perspektiv placerar avhandlingen inom såväl musikvetenskap, historia, mediehistoria, idéhistoria och kunskapshistoria som historisk forskning om modernism, samt inte minst kultursociologi. Mitt teoretiska och metodologiska ramverk hämtas framför allt från Actor-Network Theory (ANT), ett sociologiskt fält som framhåller betydelsen av horisontella och detaljerade undersökningar av både människor och objekt (*aktanter*) som bildar mer eller mindre tillfälliga *associationer* framför teoridrivna, strukturalistiska och post-strukturalistiska studier. Jag använder mig även av mikrohistoria, som liksom ANT framhåller empirisk bredd och oförutsägbara ledtrådar, men till skillnad från ANT tillåter en viss grad av historisk kontextualisering för att förstå historiska skeenden som inte alltid möjliggör djupare insyn, eftersom källmaterialet som regel är fragmentariskt.

Jag grundar även mitt analytiska ramverk på kritiska historiseringar av det musikaliska verkbegreppet, exempelvis av Lydia Goehr. Det innebär att jag fokuserar på olika sätt att konceptualisera op. 20 som ett *konkret*, *abstrakt*, *flyktigt* och *fast* musikaliskt verk. Jag identifierar

dess conceptualiserande handlingar som något som äger rum inom specifika associationer som skapas genom specifika *händelser*. Dessa händelser bildar tillsammans en *rörelse* för op. 20 som musikaliskt verk. Fokus ligger dels på hur op. 20 av andra aktanter "gjordes" till ett objekt som svarade mot det musikaliska verkbegreppets kategoriska *kriterier* ("standards"), dels på hur op. 20 utövade agens i att conceptualisera sig själv som ett verk, antingen genom att bekräfta eller genom att trotsa dessa kriterier.

I mitt fall betyder perspektivet som jag valt att allt och alla som hade med op. 20 att göra blir viktiga empiriska ledtrådar och att källmaterialet inte har kunnat bestämmas på förhand. Jag har framför allt tittat på op. 20:s olika framträdanden, både som konsert, på scen eller på radio, och som inspelning på grammofonskiva (1925). Jag begränsar emellertid inte empirin till op. 20 som framförda ljudstycken, utan inkluderar också styckets publiceringsprocess 1924 och dess införande i musikens kunskapsorganisering i t.ex. uppslagsverk.

Avhandlingen drar slutsatserna att op. 20 upplevde sex stycken huvudsakliga faser fram till 1940:

1. *Skapandefasen* eller premiärfasen 1922–1924, vilken ägde rum innan förlaget Universal-Edition gav ut op. 20 som partitur. Kvartetten blev under denna fas föremål för publik, kritik, samtidigt som den blev särskilt nära kopplad till Paul Hindemith, som fick kvartetten som gåva av Ernst Krenek.

2. *Publiceringsfasen*, cirka januari till september 1924, i vilken op. 20 blev fixerad som ett mer stabiliserat verk. Detta verk var fast och konkret men hade abstrakta ambitioner.

3. *Den utökade rörelsefasen* 1924–1928, i vilken op. 20 var mindre direkt kopplad till någon särskild association men istället rörde sig mellan flera olika associationer med större frihet, liksom olika länder och medieformat. Kvartetten pendlade mellan konkret och abstrakt, fasthet och flyktighet.

4. *Kategoriseringsfasen*, som fortsatte under hela den undersökta perioden parallellt med övriga faser, gjorde att op. 20 passade in i musikalisk historieskrivning, uppslagsverk och rörde sig som ett "icke-ljudande" och musikaliskt kunskapsobjekt. Denna rörelse förde "ver-

ket” bort från en ”nutida” tidslig konceptualisering och närmare en ”historisk” sådan, vilket innebar en högre grad av fasthet och abstraktion.

5. *Ignoransfasen* cirka 1929–1937 innebar att op. 20 knappt blev omnämnt och troligtvis aldrig framfört av någon. Även om det inte glömdes bort blev ”verket” till ett passivt objekt som sågs som irrelevant.

6. *Återuppträdandefasen* 1937–1940, i vilken op. 20 återigen upplevde offentliga framföranden i Schweiz (två gånger under 1937) samt USA (1938 och 1940) som ett ”verk i exil”. Detta innebar att det återvann sin konkret-flyktiga konceptualisering genom en mer direkt närhet till Ernst Krenek och associationer bestående av exilmusiker. Under denna sista fas konceptualiserades op. 20 på samma gång som ett historiskt, ”nutida” och ”evigt” musikaliskt verk.

Op. 20:s olika möjligheter att konceptualiseras som musikaliskt verk motsvarade dess relativa *agens*, *fasthet* och *närhet* till de associationer inom vilka det rörde sig. Kvartettens agens kännetecknades av ett återkommande motstånd mot musikkonventionella kriterier och kategorier. Även om detta inte nödvändigtvis gjorde op. 20 svårt att konceptualisera såsom ett musikaliskt verk tenderade de konceptualiseringar som ägde rum att fokusera på dess tvetydiga form, omtvistade tonart eller brist därpå, varierande ”nationella hemvist” och dess relation till Krenek och Hindemith.

Fastheten möjliggjorde visserligen för stycket att röra sig mer fritt mellan associationer, särskilt mellan 1924 och 1928, men den avskärade även kvartetten från närmare samhörighet med aktanter som Paul Hindemith och associationer som International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). Efter ignoransfasen återvände dock op. 20 till denna samhörighet, nu istället omhändertaget av Krenek och andra aktanter i Schweiz och USA. Genom denna samhörighet återfick stycket några av dess tidigare förlorade möjligheter att bli konceptualiserat som ett musikaliskt verk.

Genom att nästan uteslutande fokusera på ett enda musikaliskt ”verk” understryker avhandlingen de vardagliga praktiker, föreställningar och handlingar som tillsammans och historiskt sett har upprätthållit det långlivade musikaliska verkbegreppet inom västerländsk



konstmusik. Avhandlingen visar också fördelarna och begränsningarna med att använda ANT och mikrohistoria på musikhistoria, vilket tyder på att olika varianter av detta kombinerade perspektiv kan användas mer frekvent inom framtida tvärvetenskaplig musikforskning.

## Appendix:

### Overview of op. 20 1923–1940

#### List of Concerts 1923–1940

\* = not confirmed.

##### *Known performances of op. 20 by the Amar Quartet*

3.8.1923 Mozarteum, Salzburg, Austria (premiere)

Other works (on 3 August): Eduard Erdmann, *Sonata for Unaccompanied Violin*, op. 12; Yrjö Kilpinen, *Lieder for Voice and Piano* (exact songs unknown); Florent Schmitt, *Sonate Libre en deux Parties Enchaînées (ad Modum Clementis Aquae)*, op. 68; Othmar Schoeck, 5 of the 12 *Hafis-Lieder*, op. 33

Organiser: *International Society for Contemporary Music* (ISCM)

27.9.1923 Zingler's Cabinet, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Other work: Igor Stravinsky, *Three Pieces for String Quartet*

Organiser: *Music Association* (GfM)

16.10.1923 Elberfeld, Germany

Other works: Alois Hába, *String Quartet*, op. 12; Paul Hindemith, *String Quartet*, op. 22

Organiser: \**Barmen-Elberfeld Concert Society*

4.11.1923 Grotrian-Steinweg Hall, Berlin, Germany

Other work: Paul Hindemith, *String Quartet no. 5*, op. 32

Organiser: *Melos Society*

26.11.1923 Hofburg, Vienna, Austria

Other work: Arnold Schönberg, *String Quartet no. 1*, op. 7

Organiser: *Society for New Music* (Austrian ISCM)

28.11.1923 Mozarteum, Prague, Czechoslovakia

Other work: Alexander von Zemlinsky, *String Quartet*, op. 15

Organiser: *Society for Musical Private Performances* (Prague)

7.5.1924 Small Hall, The Saalbau, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Other works: Paul Hindemith, *String Quartet no. 5*, op. 32; Anton von Webern, *Pieces for Quartet*, op. 5 or op. 9

Organiser: *Frankfurt Symphony Orchestra*

18.5.1924, 11.15 AM, Festhalle, Donaueschingen, Germany

Other works: Zoltán Kodály, *Serenade*, op. 12; Paul Hindemith, *Sonata for Viola*, op. 31/4

Organiser: *Donaueschingen Society for Friends of Music*

28.2.1925 Sgambati Hall, Rome, Italy

Other works: Béla Bartók, *String Quartet*, op. 17; Paul Hindemith, *String Trio*, op. 34

Organiser: *Filarmonica Romana* and *Corporation of New Music* (Italian ISCM)

6.3.1925 Milan, Italy

Other works: Paul Hindemith, *String Trio*, op. 34; Wolfgang A. Mozart, *String Quartet in C Major*, KV 465

Organiser: unknown

15.3.1925 Chamber Music House, \*Alte Philharmonie, Berlin, Germany

Other works: Ernest Bloch, *String Quartet no. 1*; Max Reger, *String Trio*, op. 77b

Organiser: unknown

10.5.1925 Hotel Metropole, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Organiser: unknown

**Live broadcast:** 27.5.1925 Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Other works: Zoltán Kodály, *Serenade*, op. 12; Igor Stravinsky, *Concertino*

Organiser: *South-West German Broadcasting Company* (SÜWRAG)

**Live broadcast:** 30.11.1927 Singakademie, Berlin, Germany

Other works: Paul Hindemith, *String Quartet*, op. 32; Philipp Jarnach, *Sonatina (Romancero I) for Piano*, op. 18; *Three Rhapsodies for Violin and Piano*;

Ernst Krenek, *Two Piano Suites*, op. 26

Organiser: *Union of German Composers and Society for the Collecting of Musical Performing Rights (GEMA)*

*Known performances of OP. 20  
by the New Viennese String Quartet/Kolisch Quartet*

23.10.1925, Mannheim, Germany

Other works: Alban Berg, *unknown work*; Ernst Toch, *unknown work*

Organiser: *Society for New Music* (Mannheim)

9.12.1925, 7:30 PM, Schubert Hall, the Vienna Concert House, Vienna, Austria

Other works: Darius Milhaud, *String Quartet no. 6*; Igor Stravinsky, *Concertino*; Ernst Toch, *String Quartet no. 4*, op. 4

Organiser: *Society for New Music* (Austrian ISCM)

**Live broadcast:** 26.1.1926 Conservatory Concert Hall, Zürich, Switzerland

Other work: Arnold Schönberg, *String Quartet no. 1*, op. 7

Organiser: unknown

16.2.1926 Grottrian-Steinweg Hall, Berlin, Germany

Other works: Alban Berg, *String Quartet*, op. 3; Karl Horwitz, *String Quartet*, op. 6; Egon Wellesz, *String Quartet*, op. 28

Organiser: *The November Group*

\*Probably November 1926, unknown location, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany

Other works: Alban Berg, *String Quartet*, op. 3; Ernst Toch, *String Quartet no. 11*, op. 34

Organiser: *Working Society for New Music*

*Other known performances of OP. 20*

5.2.1925 Small Hall, Philharmonia, Leningrad, Soviet Union – the *Glazunov Quartet*

Organiser: *\*Society for New Music* (Leningrad ASM)

14.11.1928 Town Hall, New York, United States – the *New World String Quartet*

Other works: Maurice Delage, *Ragamalika*; Filippo Gragnani, *Trio for Violin, Clarinet, and Clavicembalo*; Charles Ives, *From Hawthorne*; Willem Pijper, *Sonatine no. 2*; Carlos Salzedo, *Pentacle (Five Pieces for Harp)*; Alexander

Steinert, *Sonata for Piano and Violin*; Karol Szymanowski, *Songs of the Love-lorn Muezzin*

Organiser: *Pro Musica, Inc.*

**\*Broadcast:** Early 1929, unknown location, probably Free City of Danzig – the *Danzig String Quartet*

Other works: Alois Hába, *First String Quartet*; Heinrich Kaminski, *Quartet in F Sharp Minor*

Organiser: unknown

10.3.1937 Music Conservatory, Zürich, Switzerland – the *Winterthur String Quartet*

Other works: Rudolf Wittelsbach, *Kantate der Vergänglichkeit*; Darius Milhaud, *String Quartet no. 8*; Bohuslav Martinů, *Quintet for Two Violins, Two Violas, and Cello*

Organiser: *Pro Musica* (Zürich ISCM)

25.8.1937 Music College, Winterthur, Switzerland – the *Winterthur String Quartet*

Other works: unknown

Organiser: *Winterthur Music College*

21.11.1938 Rosario Mazzeo's house, Boston, United States – *unknown performers*

Other works: Ernst Krenek, *Serenade*, op. 4; René d'Avezac de Castera, *Concerto for Piano, Cello, Flute, and Clarinet*; Heinrich Kaminski, *unknown work*

Organiser: Rosario Mazzeo (private)

**Broadcast:** 29.3.1940 Carnegie Chamber Music Hall, New York, United States – the *Galimir String Quartet*

Other works: François Couperin, *Troisième Leçon de Tenébres*; Theodor Chanler, *8 Epitaphs*; Heinrich Schütz, *Song*; Roger Sessions, *Four Pieces for Children*

Organiser: *Contemporary Concerts* (local ISCM) (Broadcast 24.4.1940)

## List of People Involved

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 \**Anstalt für musikalische Aufführungsrechte* (Institution for Musical Performing Rights), Germany  
*Anstalt für Musik-Mechanischer Rechte* (Institution for Musical-Mechanical Rights), Germany  
*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Neue Musik* (Working Society for New Music), Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany  
*Associated Music Publishers*, New York, USA  
 \**Asotsiyatsy Sovremennoy Muzyka* (Association for Contemporary Music), Leningrad, USSR  
*Berliner Rundfunk A.-G.* (Berlin Broadcasting Company), Germany  
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*Corporazione delle nuove musiche* (Society for New Music), Italy  
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*Donaueschinger Gesellschaft für Freunde der Musik* (Donaueschingen Society of Friends of Music), Donaueschingen, Germany  
*Barmen-Elberfeld Concert Society*, Wuppertal, Germany  
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 \**Gesellschaft der Autoren, Komponisten und Musikverleger* (Society for Authors, Composers, and Music Publishers), Austria  
*Gesellschaft für Musikalische Aufführungsrechte* (Society for the Collecting of Musical Performing Rights), Germany  
*Gesellschaft für Musik* (Society for Music), Frankfurt am Main, Germany

- Gesellschaft für neue Musik* (Society for New Music), Mannheim, Germany  
*\*Gestapo*, Nazi Germany  
*Hochschule für Musik* (Conservatory of Music), Berlin, Germany  
*International Society for Contemporary Music*, International organisation  
*\*Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga* (Soviet International Publishing Agency), USSR  
*Melos Society*, Berlin, Germany  
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*Novembergruppe* (The November Group), Berlin, Germany  
*Pro Musica, Inc.*, New York, USA  
*Pro Musica* (Zürich ISCM Section), Zürich, Switzerland  
*\*Reichsmusikkammer* (Reich Chamber of Music), Germany  
*Kola-Konzern* (Richard Kola's Publishing Concern), Germany  
*Südwestdeutsche Rundfunkdienst A.-G.* (South-West German Broadcasting Service.), Frankfurt am Main, Germany  
*Universal-Edition*, Vienna, Austria (Britain, Germany, USA)  
*Verein für neue Musik* (Society for New Music), Vienna, Austria  
*Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen* (Society for Private Musical Performances), Prague, Czechoslovakia  
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