George Rochberg, American Composer

Wlodarski, Amy Lynn

Published by University of Rochester Press

Wlodarski, Amy Lynn.
George Rochberg, American Composer: Personal Trauma and Artistic Creativity.
University of Rochester Press, 2019.
Project MUSE. museum.jhu.edu/book/73402.
Notes

Introduction

_Epigraph_: Rochberg, cited in Linton, liner notes to _George Rochberg: Black Sounds, Cantio Sacra, Phaedra_.

1. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, July 16, 1984, in _Eagle Minds_, 143; emphasis added.
3. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, November 27, 1996, in _Eagle Minds_, 314. On January 1, 1984, Rochberg makes the connection between the two explicit in his journal: “With the substitution of the verbal for the real has come too a visible depreciation of how things are taken and judged and explains why non-real things . . . can even be judged and evaluated as better than or higher than the genuine article. The source of this strange and dangerous phenomenon can be traced . . . to the perversions of language practiced by the Nazis and recorded by Orwell in his novel 1984.” See Rochberg, journal entry, January 1, 1984, Tagebuch 29, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
4. Rochberg, journal entry, January 1, 1984, Tagebuch 29, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
5. Reilly, “Recovery of Modern Music,” 8–9. Reilly served as a tank platoon leader in Vietnam and later worked for the Heritage Foundation, the United States Information Agency, the Reagan administration, the United States Embassy in Bern, Switzerland, and the United States Office of Defense during the term of George W. Bush. In many ways, this political background explains his interest in—and inquiry into—Rochberg’s service record and its connection to his musical ideas.
7. In the novel, Orwell describes the memory hole as part of an administrative system designed to suppress historical facts and documents through their disappearance: “In the walls of the cubicle there were three orifices. . . . [The] last was for the disposal of waste paper. Similar slits existed in thousands or tens of thousands throughout the building, not only in every room but at short intervals in every corridor. For some reason they were nicknamed memory holes. When one knew that any document was due for destruction . . . it was an automatic action to lift the flap of the nearest memory hole and drop it in, whereupon it would be whirled away on a current of warm air to the enormous furnaces which were hidden somewhere in the recesses of the building.” See Orwell, _Animal Farm and 1984_, 122.
9. In his journal, Rochberg describes his experience of the foxholes: “Keep ahead of the shells, dive into the foxhole nearest you head first, smell the burning powder like it was in your own head, wait and then crawl out, stand up, and take off again up the hill before the next shell comes.” See Rochberg, January 2, 1966, Tagebuch 7, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

10. Clarkson and Johnson, “George Rochberg,” 480. The MGG follows the same trajectory and is even more condensed.


14. Watkins, Proof through the Night, 235. Berg ultimately incorporated “the emotional strain of that period” into later musical works, such as his play fragment, Night (Nocturne), and his first mature opera, Wozzeck. See Hailey, “Berg’s Worlds,” 15.

15. Ward, “In the Army Now,” 168. As Steve Swayne writes, personal letters from composers such as Aaron Copland and Leonard Bernstein reveal their “near-mortal fear of the prospect of being called up.” See Swayne, Orpheus in Manhattan, 150.

16. Heyman, Samuel Barber, 212.

17. Bernstein was declared ineligible for service because of his asthma, while Schuman was dismissed because of a history of progressive muscular atrophy. See Swayne, Orpheus in Manhattan, 150–51.

18. The statistics noted are culled from scholarly or educational websites devoted to maintaining accurate World War II statistics that were recommended to me by the reference librarians at the US Army Heritage and Education Center (Carlisle, PA). My tally of Rochberg’s active combat time is deliberately conservative, as it discounts time spent recovering from the two physical injuries he sustained.


24. Jeremy Gill notes that Rochberg’s final theoretical project on chromaticism (which was still in progress at the time of his death in 2005) contained a “philosophical speculation” devoted to “the theorist Donald Francis Tovey, whose work Rochberg discovered in 1944” while in Europe. Such an example illustrates the long and rich relationship Rochberg had with these early and influential texts. See Gill, “Introduction,” in Rochberg, Dance of Polar Opposites, 4.

25. For a theoretical discussion of secondary Holocaust witness, see the introduction to Wlodarski, Musical Witness and Holocaust Representation.
Chapter One

Epigraph: Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 79.1

2. In his autobiography, Rochberg incorrectly attributes Weisse’s move to America as an emigration prompted by the rise of the Nazi regime, but David Carson Berry argues that such a characterization is pointedly false: “Although Jewish, Weisse was not a political or war refugee. . . . Instead, he came to the U.S. to teach in the fall of 1931—before Hitler was named German chancellor; by the time his former colleagues were finding their ways from Europe, Weisse had already become an American citizen.” See Berry, “Hans Weisse,” 107.
6. Charry, *George Szell*, 37. Ursula Mamlok, a student of Szell’s at Mannes, remembers “fear-inspired stomachaches before her composition lessons with him.” Rochberg also notes that he “looked forward to his lessons with Szell but . . . was intimidated by his imposing presence” (58).
9. Rochberg would resurrect and slightly revise the work in 1969. As he notes in the preface to the score, “It may seem strange . . . that I should want to rescue this early work of mine from oblivion twenty-eight years later. I do so because the passage of years have [sic] not diminished its energy or profile; and because it no longer matters what ‘style’ a work is (or was) composed in so long as it is music. . . . And if it gives pleasure to the pianist who plays it and to the listener who hears it, what more can I ask?” See Rochberg, “Variations on an Original Theme” (1941, rev. 1969), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.
10. Rochberg would later attest that this had been one of the greatest lessons Szell imparted to him. See Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 9.
12. Rochberg, journal entry, April 1969, Tagebuch 14, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
16. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 3. See also Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 23: “When I was drafted into the army in ‘42 . . . I had to put everything aside. I did not see George Szell again until . . . the winter months of . . . 1959. It was by pure accident.”
17. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 25. Gene also noted that the moment seemed more unjust because many of their friends had found ways to be considered unfit for service. As she noted, “When it was all over, George was the only one who had literally fought.” Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, digital recording, July 26, 2013, Newtown Square, PA.
19. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, November 9, 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1. At the bottom of the letter, Rochberg writes out the first melodic phrase of the “Ode to Joy.”
23. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1. At the bottom of the letter, Rochberg writes out the first melodic phrase of the “Ode to Joy.”
24. Rochberg, journal entry, October 26, 1953, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
29. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, November 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1. Puckett notes that this may have been because of the sizable Jewish population among the servicemen at Fort McClellan. Several transferred divisions from urban New York had inflated the number of Jewish soldiers at the training camp, with the number nearly tripling within a four-month period. See Puckett, *In the Shadow of Hitler*, 134.
38. As Fauser notes, “Individual members of the military in personal possession of classical recordings also put together concerts to educate their fellow servicemen . . . [and] requests for records swamped the desks . . . of [those] perceived as being able to” designate the radio playlists. See Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 122.
42. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.2.
43. Rochberg, letters to Gene Rochberg, December 1942 and December 11, 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1; original emphasis.
44. Downes, “Throng Attracted by Koussevitzky.” Downes’s assessment of the work was indeed biting: “The ideas are too poor in themselves . . . attained with all the fury and frustration of a composer determined to create a mountain out of a molehill. And it doesn’t work.”


47. Moskowitz, In Therapy We Trust, 125, 128. The activities in the morale division were wide-ranging, including conducting psychological research, developing surveys and questionnaires, developing educational and entertainment programs (films, live shows, radio programs), and selecting and distributing reading material to both bases and battlefields.


49. Fauser, Sounds of War, 21. These assignments were not always in the morale division. For example, Marc Blitzstein and Samuel Barber served in the Office of War Information, using their composition skills to develop music for propaganda projects. See Fauser, Sounds of War, 22.


51. All information about Rochberg’s assignments outside the 261st Regiment comes from documents pertaining to his veteran’s file, which includes his military record and his certificates of discharge and reassignment. Supporting copies of these records were destroyed in a fire at the National Archives in 1973, but Rochberg’s set remains in his personal papers at the Paul Sacher Archive. See Rochberg, Veteran’s File, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

52. Rochberg received his discharge papers from Fort Benning on July 13, 1943. I am grateful to Yolanda Mahone at the National Personnel Records Center of the National Archives for tracking down the only surviving paperwork (a payroll form) from his file.

53. The other army divisions stationed at Camp Shelby during World War II were the 31st, 43rd, and 69th.

54. See Prichett and Shea, “Enemy in Mississippi.”

55. POWs were visibly marched through the main yard of the camp, participated in sporting events such as soccer games (with the results published in the camp newspaper, the Mississippi Post), and conducted formal burials for colleagues who had died.

56. Chad E. Daniels, museum director, Mississippi Armed Forces Museum, Camp Shelby, Mississippi, email correspondence with the author, September 1, 2016.


60. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 14. Rochberg had worked with lyricist Sydney Rosenthal during the Great Depression to write several popular songs, including “Birth of the Swing,” which they sold to the New York–based publisher Joe Davis. The two worked under professional pseudonyms—Bob Russell (Rosenthal) and George Richards (Rochberg)—and Russell went on to write lyrics to such standards at Duke Ellington’s “Don’t Get Around Much Anymore,” which ironically was featured as one of the “singalong songs” of the US Army’s *Hit Kit of Popular Songs* in June 1943. See Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 114; Rochberg, “What Has Been, What Is, What Will Be Scrapbook,” GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 2, f. 2.9.


66. Rochberg, “Two-Hundred-and-Sixty-First Infantry Song (1943),” Reinschrift (Fotokopie), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

67. The song’s wide melodic range might also reflect Rochberg’s own vocal range. As he notes in *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, he was a “high baritone, though I could produce solid low Ds, Es and Fs in the ‘basso profundo’ range, as well.” See Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 60.

68. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 209. Rochberg would compose several works throughout his career that featured marches, ranging from the twelve-tone *Twelve Bagatelles* (1952) to the Symphony no. 6 (1987), which features “March of the Halberds” as one of its three marching tunes.

69. Rochberg, “March of the Halberds” (1943), Reinschrift (Fotokopie), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

70. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 209. Rochberg began dedicated studies on orchestration only after the war while a student at Curtis. His orchestration sketchbook (1946) is held at the Paul Sacher Stiftung.


72. Rochberg, “Song of the Doughboy” (1944), Reinschrift (Fotokopie), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

73. As Michael Broyles notes, these traits have long been associated with “heroic” or military music stemming back to the French Revolution and encompassing classical repertoire such as Beethoven’s Symphonies no. 3 and 5. See Broyles, *Beethoven*, 121.

74. There were at least three recorded versions of the foxtrot single “Johnny Doughboy Found a Rose in Ireland” (1942), by Dennis Day, Kay Kyser, and Kenny Gardner. Troops had also enjoyed screenings of *Johnny Doughboy* (1942) at the service clubs, although the plot—about former child movie stars—had little to nothing to do with the war itself.

75. Indeed, Rochberg’s decision to use the term *Doughboy* seems highly intentional. The term originated during the Mexican-American War and was widely
used to refer to infantry soldiers during World War I. By World War II, it had lost its currency and was replaced by more common monikers such as “Yanks” or “GIs.”

76. Rochberg, journal entry, July 18, 1996, Tagebuch 49, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


81. Rochberg, journal entry, July 18, 1998, Tagebuch 49, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. Saint-Lô suffered such devastation during the assault that over 90 percent of the city was reduced to rubble. In a short piece of journalism intended for radio broadcast in 1946, Samuel Beckett later referred to it as “the capital of the ruins.” See Beckett, “Capital of the Ruins.”

82. For a well-researched account of the Third Army’s activities from July 1944 to the close of the Falaise Gap, see McManus, Americans at Normandy.

83. Rochberg, journal entry, July 18, 1996, Tagebuch 49, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

84. Rochberg, “Better Than Cider or Apples” (October 3, 1944), “War-Time Stories,” Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 1–2. Rochberg avers in an accompanying note that the story “is true; it actually happened; I experienced it.”

85. Rochberg, journal entry, July 18, 1996, Tagebuch 49, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

86. As Rochberg would later recall, some days the troops covered “25 miles per day,” noting that this was the “average the Roman foot soldiers were supposed to be able to do, but how many of them dropped out of line out of sheer heat and exhaustion?” See Rochberg, journal entry, July 18, 1996, Tagebuch 49, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

87. Rochberg, “Better Than Cider or Apples,” 2–3. He remembered the scene more negatively in a later journal entry: “The French were crazy, lining the roads, many with brandy, wine when what we needed was water, water, water. No common sense!” See Rochberg, journal entry, July 18, 1996, Tagebuch 49, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


90. Dixon, Bio-Bibliographic Guide, 4. Both Dixon and Gillmor note that Rochberg was wounded in Mons, France, but the geography of the campaign doesn’t support this assertion. Mons (FR) is located in southern France (in the vicinity of Nice), and the 90th Division never diverted to that region. Rochberg was more likely wounded in Mons, Belgium, which is roughly 30 kilometers from Condé-sur-Escaut, a town Rochberg references in his interview with Plush. “I didn’t know it then,” he remarks, “but I’ve learned since that that was the birthplace of the great Renaissance composer, Josquin Des Prez.” See Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 26. As the entry for Josquin in the New Grove Dictionary (2000) notes,
Josquin was actually not born in Condè-sur-Escaut, but Rochberg would have only been familiar with the earlier (incorrect) biographical details. This narrative is further confirmed in Reilly, *Surprised by Beauty*, 274–81. See also Gillmor, “Introduction,” in *Eagle Minds*, xvi; Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 25–26.

93. Rochberg, journal entry, June 18, 1999, Tagebuch 62, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
94. Rochberg, journal entry, June 18, 1999, Tagebuch 62, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. Subsequent evaluation of his injury for the United States Veterans Administration would assess his disability at 30 percent loss of traditional function, which would become the basis for his disability compensation. See A. L. Johnson, letter to Aaron George Rochberg, December 4, 1946, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
96. In US Army nomenclature, a litter is a stretcher used for carrying casualties off the battlefield. In field hospitals, soldiers were not generally transferred to permanent beds; rather, the litters were aligned in rows with the soldiers covered by army blankets.
97. Rochberg, “His Brother,” 2, 5. As Rochberg notes, the work is a piece of fiction, but “the field hospital I describe is the one I was first taken to after being wounded in Mons.”
99. Rochberg, “Lullaby for Paul” (1944, unpublished), Reinschrift, SGR–PSS. Throughout his career, Rochberg would use his compositions as personal tributes to his son. Examples include *Four Songs for a Five-Year-Old* (1949), *Contra mortem et tempus* (1965) [see chapter three], and *The Silver Talons of Piero Kostrov* (1982), the latter of which was based on the last story Paul completed before his death.
100. Rochberg returned to this sketch on August 23, 1945, in New Jersey as part of his unpublished Book of Songs project, retitling it “Vocalise” and adding a vocal line. See Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 4; “Lullaby/Vocalise (1945, unpublished),” Reinschrift, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.
101. Rochberg, “Waltz, Piano Music for Paul” (1944, unpublished), Reinschrift, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS; Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, August 20, 1988, in *Eagle Minds*, 215. Rochberg’s comment here is about the Scherzo Capriccioso of his Violin and Piano Sonata (1988), but as he relays to Anhalt, the work is based “on an old sketch from the war years which I ran across.” The sketch in question is “Cacophony” (1944, unpublished), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, but the spirit of the comment also relates to this small waltz.
102. Rochberg was also sketching movements for a “Little Suite,” including a Fantasy (December 13), Toccata (December 15), and Prelude (December 16). See Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 4. In *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, Rochberg explains that he wrote the piece in January 1945 while “holding a defensive
position in the Saarland region,” but the sketch itself bears a different date and location.

103. See Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, August 20, 1988, in Eagle Minds, 215. As Rochberg explained, the wartime sketch “suggests that . . . a good idea remains a good idea regardless of what may have transpired in the interim.” In his program notes for the sonata, Rochberg suppresses any mention of the original wartime sketch as an inspiration for the work. See Dixon, Bio-Bibliographic Guide, 124.

104. Rochberg, “Song for Paul” (1945, unpublished), Reinschrift, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

105. Rochberg finished the “Pastoral Dance” on January 25, 1945. “Song for Paul” seems to be a parallel compositional exercise in the genre. The scoring of the song in F major also calls to mind Beethoven’s Symphony no. 6 (“Pastoral”), with which Rochberg was undoubtedly familiar. See Rochberg, “Pastoral Dance” (1945, unpublished), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

106. Rochberg, “Air” (1945, unpublished), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

107. It is unclear to which division Rochberg was redeployed. His path from France through Belgium to Germany follows the course of the 90th Division, his original assignment, but the dates on his compositions do not correspond to their timetable. They are generally dated two weeks later.


109. Dixon, Bio-Bibliographic Guide, 4. The suite was ultimately never published or adapted into other works.


111. Rochberg, “Take Every Man His Turn in His Own Time” (1994), Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 3. His student Jeremy Gill recalled one such description of the brutal cold that Rochberg shared with him: “He . . . told me how he and his men had been billeted in a farmhouse in rural France. In the morning the farmer took him to his barn and gave him a shot of his homemade liquor. It was winter, and George remembered how that shot had warmed him up from the inside out.” Gill, email correspondence with the author, May 15, 2017.

112. Dixon, Bio-Bibliographic Guide, 4. Rochberg dates these two movements January 25 and 27, but he does not specify his location in Belgium.

113. Rochberg, journal entry, October 12, 1996, Tagebuch 50, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

114. Tovey, Beethoven, 33, 40, annotated copy owned by George Rochberg, SGR–PSS, PSS GR B 1007.

115. Tovey, Beethoven, 33–35. The passage under discussion is the opening eight measures of the Bagatelles, op. 33, no. 3 (1802).

116. Rochberg, “Song without Words” (1945, unpublished), Reinschrift and Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS. In his reading of Tovey, the composer had also underscored those sections that discuss Beethoven’s own compositional development, including the following recommendation:
“We do know that when [Beethoven] arranged his Pianoforte Sonata, op. 14, no. 1 as a string quartet, he transposed it from E major to F major for reasons solely concerning the technique of the instruments.” Tovey, *Beethoven*, 8–9.

117. Rochberg, “Dance” (1945, unpublished), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

118. Rochberg notes in the autograph score that the first movement was composed in February 1945 at Habay-La-Neuve, the second movement completed on July 25, 1945, in Long Branch (NJ), and the third movement composed on July 18, 1945, also in Long Branch.


120. Rochberg later credited Tovey with inspiring one of his early theoretical essays on chromaticism, “The Sharp and the Flat,” which was later interpolated into his broader *Chromaticism* treatise. As Jeremy Gill notes, Rochberg included a section on Tovey’s analyses in his original manuscript of *Chromaticism* as a means of signaling his debt to the British theorist. See Gill, “Introduction,” in *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 2. Rochberg also briefly discusses enharmonic spelling in the published version of *Chromaticism*. See Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 18–19.

121. Rochberg, “Sonatina” (1945, unpublished), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

122. Tovey, *Beethoven*, 48–49, annotated copy owned by George Rochberg: “But this discord is not yet the most important feature of Beethoven’s return to his main theme. When he comes to the C sharp which cast a cloud over the tonality, this note resolves downwards instead of upwards. In other words, it has become D flat.” [Rochberg underlined “C sharp” and “D flat.”]


125. Rochberg also received an oak leaf cluster for further injuries he sustained on the front.

126. Rochberg, “Scherzo” (1945, unpublished), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

127. Dufallo, *Trackings*, 63. Rochberg was awarded the Bronze Oak Leaf Cluster to the Purple Heart for his second injury on April 2, 1945. See Rochberg, Veteran’s File, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

128. Rochberg, “Scherzando” (1945, unpublished), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS. The location of the hospital is given on the manuscript.

129. Gene Rochberg, letter to Rochberg, May 1, 1945, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.

130. Gene Rochberg, letter to Rochberg, May 2, 1945, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.


133. Rochberg was officially discharged from US Army service on July 30, 1945, at the Separation Center, Fort Dix, New Jersey. See Rochberg, Veteran’s File, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

134. According to notes at the end of each movement, Rochberg completed the third movement on July 18, 1945, and the second movement on July 25, 1945.


139. The specific passages cited are Lamentations 1.1 and Lamentations 3.46–47.

140. See Rochberg, Kanonbeispiele mit Text (194?, Reinschrift); Kanonbeispiele ohne Text (194?, Reinschrift); Kanon Studien (1946–47); Kanonstudien zu Mozart, W. F. Bach, und J. S. Bach (1946); Kanon- und Kontrapunktstudien zu J. S. Bach, di Lasso, und Palestrina (194?); and Sixty-Nine Chorale Melodies with Figured Bass by J. S. Bach (194?, Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.


143. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 27.

144. Dufallo, Trackings, 65. Rochberg’s characterization of Schoenberg’s development of the twelve-tone technique as “purely intellectual” has certainly been refuted by musicological studies—too many to note in a single footnote. Scholars have situated the composer’s writings on the “musical idea” and dodecaphony in a variety of contexts, including the poetic (John Covach and Richard Kurth), religious (David Schiller, Alexander Ringer, Amy Lynn Wlodarski), aesthetic (Patricia Carpenter, Severine Neff, Charlotte Cross, Jack Boss), and modernist (Walter Frisch, Ethan Haimo).

145. Rochberg, “Reflections on Composition” (June 5, 1996), unpublished manuscript, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

146. Dufallo, Trackings, 65.


Chapter Two


5. This assertion is made by Lochhead in “Refiguring the Modernist Program for Hearing,” 341n9. Labyrinths was the 1962 English edition of Borges’s work, drawn from the following original publications in Spanish: Ficciones (1956), El Aleph (1957), Discusión (1957), Otras Inquisiciones (1960), El Hacedor (1960).

Rochberg, journal entry, November 6, 1966, Tagebuch 8, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


8. Rochberg, journal entry, November 6, 1966, Tagebuch 8, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. This final sentence would become one of the best-known quotes from “No Center,” thus demonstrating how crucial Rochberg’s journaling was to his expository writing process.


18. Rochberg, “Personal Views: Wagner” (1944), GRP–NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12. The language here echoes some of Nietzsche’s more strident assessments of Wagner, namely that in The Case against Wagner (1888) the composer had become a “neurosis.” There is, however, no evidence that Rochberg was familiar with this essay in 1944. It is conceivable that he may have had access to the second volume of Ernst Newman’s biography of Wagner, which was written in English and covered the period during which Wagner wrote “Judaism in Music,” but no current evidence exists to support this hypothesis.

19. For a discussion of Tovey’s writings on Beethoven, see Kerman, “Tovey’s Beethoven,” 804.

20. Tovey, Beethoven, annotated copy, SGR–PSS, PSS GR B 1007, 1. Notably, Rochberg underscores these lines in his personal copy of the book from 1944.

21. Tovey, Beethoven, 2.

22. Kerman, “Tovey’s Beethoven,” 795.

23. This phenomenon is well documented for the German context in Potter’s excellent Most German of the Arts.

24. Kenyon, The BBC Symphony Orchestra, 192. As Kenyon notes, the broadcast of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony was justified by the directors on the grounds that the work was less associated with Germany and more “with victory in the minds of far more people than [just] classical music-lovers.” For a discussion of the relationship among listener preference, wartime occupation, and class/geographic background, see Baade, Victory through Harmony, 46–54.

26. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013: “When George came back . . . that was the time when the government decided they would do something for the soldiers who had given up their lives. . . . And they had the GI Bill, so there were ways that young people whose careers had been interrupted [could] get back on their feet.”

27. Rochberg, Skizzenbuch 1, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 43. Original underscoring.


29. Rochberg discusses his attitudes toward the composers mentioned in several early journal entries dating from 1948 to 1952; he returns to the topic in an entry of June 6, 1998. See Rochberg, Tagebücher 1, 2, 57, SGR–PSS. Other critical moments surface in his memoirs, in which he describes his “total lack of sympathy for the Stravinsky-Copland ethos that dominated Tanglewood in the 1940s and 50s.” During that period, Rochberg does single out three composers he felt “stood out from the rest,” noting that all of them had studied in Germany: John Knowles Paine, Horatio Parker, and Charles Tomlinson Griffes. See Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 55, 265.

30. Rochberg, journal entry, May 19, 1948, Tagebuch 1, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

31. Rochberg, journal entry, May 19, 1948, Tagebuch 1, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. Very little is known of Fiorillo’s life after 1950, but the Grove Dictionary notes that he is thought to have died in the 1970s, having fully withdrawn from musical life twenty years earlier. In 1999, Rochberg inquired at the New York Public Library for information about Fiorillo but was presented only with short press clippings and the realization that his former mentor had been accused of plagiarism. In his diary, Rochberg credits Fiorillo with first stimulating his ideas about symmetry and chromaticism, which would become the subject of his posthumous Dance of Polar Opposites: “He gave me a lengthy manuscript on, of all things, symmetry to read. . . . I recall copying out some examples. . . . This may have been the original impetus which ultimately flowed in my own researches into symmetry in music.” See Rochberg, journal entry, January 17, 1999, Tagebuch 61, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


33. Rochberg, journal entry, May 19, 1948, Tagebuch 1, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

34. Schoenberg, “Problems in Teaching Art,” in Style and Idea, 365, 369. Rochberg notes in his interview with Vincent Plush that he had been reading Schoenberg’s essays from Style and Idea around this time, but it is unlikely that he would have been familiar with this particular essay. The first edition of Style and Idea, edited by Dika Newlin, was published in 1950 and did not contain “Problems in Teaching Art.” It did, however, include Schoenberg’s other dichotomous essay, “Heart and Brain in Music,” which had seen wider distribution before the volume’s publication.

35. Rochberg, journal entry, June 8, 1948, Tagebuch 1, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.
38. Rochberg, journal entry, June 5, 1950, Tagebuch 1, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
45. Rochberg’s description of Schoenberg’s expressionism along these lines belongs to a long tradition of associating Schoenberg’s music with Freudian principles of hysteria, sometimes as a derogatory means of critiquing the music. It also, uncomfortably, resurrects some of the rhetoric used by National Socialists to paint Schoenberg’s music as degenerate. See Pedneault-Deslauriers, “Pierrot L.”; Latham, “Listening to the Talking Cure.”
46. Rochberg, journal entry, May 9, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
47. Rochberg, journal entry, June 24, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. Rochberg had similar praise for the Fourth Quartet in his analytical study of it. Throughout the score, passages are marked enthusiastically as “!!!Good!” or complimented for attaining a merger of tonal relationships and twelve-tone writing. See Partitur of Arnold Schoenberg’s Fourth String Quartet, Musikdruck mit hss Eintragungen, Rochberg’s personal copy, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.
51. Dufallo, *Trackings*, 63, 65
53. Reilly, “Recovery of Modern Music,” 9. This rejection of abstraction is curious, given Rochberg’s earlier assertion during the wartime essays that the artist should seek to free himself from worldly or external concerns, but it is not paradoxical. Rochberg admitted that he was left feeling somewhat cold by Webern and other modernists, whom he believed “excite[d] themselves over the means [and] material” rather than the deeper spiritual purpose of art. See Rochberg, journal entry, May 4, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
54. In interviews and his autobiography, Rochberg adamantly corrects the assumption that Dallapiccola was his teacher during his stay in Rome: “We were colleagues; I was never his student.” See Gagne and Caras, *Soundpieces*, 348.
55. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 44. As Rochberg later wrote in his journal, “Meeting Dallapiccola made my own decision [to embrace organized atonality] more real, more human, removed it from being a calculated, rational act.” See Rochberg, journal entry, May 19, 1996, Tagebuch 48, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

56. Dallapiccola, letter to Schoenberg, January 9, 1950, cited in Fearn, Music of Luigi Dallapiccola, 139. Brian Alegant does confirm that Dallapiccola had been reading René Leibowitz’s Schoenberg and His School at the time he met Rochberg in 1950. See Alegant, Twelve-Tone Music of Luigi Dallapiccola, 29.

57. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 63. At the time they met, Dallapiccola had just finished his operas Il prigioniero (1948) and Job (1950), both of which respond allegorically to World War II and fascism. Dallapiccola and his family lived precariously in Italy during the war because his wife, Laura, was Jewish. For his account of the time, see Dallapiccola, “Genesis of the Canti di prigionia and Il Prigioniero.”

58. Fearn, Music of Luigi Dallapiccola, 143. As Rochberg recorded in his journal, “I have been working mainly from the Schoenbergian technique, but I see in Dallapiccola’s work another possibility . . . the purely contrapuntal approach in which . . . the canon, one of my first loves, plays the major role.” See Rochberg, journal entry, August 21, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


60. Rochberg, journal entry, May 12, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


62. Dallapiccola was one of the earliest audiences for the Bagatelles, as Rochberg recalled in his autobiography: “I played [a few of them] on an old, beat-up upright piano in a corner of a barn on the Tanglewood grounds. Luigi’s reaction was immediate and strong. He liked them enormously and expressed great enthusiasm.” See Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 63.

63. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 63.


65. Rochberg analyzes the tonal organization of mm. 65–66 of the first movement, in which Schoenberg uses leading tone preparation (G#) to shift to what Rochberg considers a “dominant relation” (A) right before the onset of the “development.” See Partitur of Arnold Schoenberg’s Fourth String Quartet, Musikdruck mit hss Eintragungen, Rochberg’s personal copy, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

66. See Kim, “Innovative Approach to Serialism,” 54. Schoenberg was also fond of the augmented triad and often used it symbolically in his works. For example, see the discussion of A Survivor from Warsaw in Schiller, Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein, 103–115; Wlodarski, Musical Witness, 24–31.
67. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 61. In the original piano version, Rochberg did not group the bagatelles, but in his 1964 orchestra transcription (retitled *Zodiac*), he designated specific groupings to create small musical scenes between row-related movements. They were divided as such: Group A (Bagatelles nos. 1–3), Group B (Bagatelles nos. 4–6), Group C (Bagatelles nos. 7–9), Group D (Bagatelles 10–11), and Group E (Bagatelle 12). See Rochberg, “Note to Conductor,” 4. I base my reading of Bagatelles 4–6 on this transcription as well as on the common row forms shared among the three movements.

68. Dixon, “*Twelve Bagatelles*,” 66.

69. Hirsch, “About This Recording,” liner notes to *George Rochberg: Piano Music, Volume 2*. “You’re in the Army Now” was written in 1917 but was well ensconced in the popular culture of World War II, including the film *You’re in the Army Now* (1941).

70. Dixon, “*Twelve Bagatelles*,” 66.

71. Dixon, “*Twelve Bagatelles*,” 73: “It is a story. I don’t know what it’s about, but it hurts. . . . It has rhetorical attitudes (as though one were speaking), but the mood is poetic, much more so than [Bagatelle] one.”

72. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 172. Beethoven’s “explosive violence,” in particular his more transformative recapitulations in the first movements of his heroic symphonies, has been well noted in recent musicological literature. For a well-known example, see McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 127–30. Rochberg also wrote about Beethoven’s use of increasing rhythmic subdivision to create intensity in his works. See Rochberg, “Intensification through Metric Subdivision in Beethoven’s Music” (1984), unpublished manuscript, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

73. Shumway, “Comparative Study of Representative Bagatelles,” 76. Additional evidence comes from Ringer’s report that the *Twelve Bagatelles* were directly inspired by the example of Beethoven, a fact confirmed by the composer in their correspondence. See Ringer, “Music of George Rochberg,” 412.

74. Dixon, “*Twelve Bagatelles*,” 78.


77. Rochberg recognized “certain affinities” between Beethoven and early Schoenberg, explaining that both composers were among those able to create a “precise identity” in their works. In his mind, they were both visionaries who pushed the boundaries of tradition without losing their connection to the past. As such, their challenging works were not for the “Everyman . . . [not] because the means employed in these works are so complex and difficult to comprehend, let alone approach, but rather because what they contain, channel, and embody, the very stuff of which they are projections and manifestations, is quite literally dangerous to the unprepared and unwary human spirit.” See Rochberg, “Reflections on Schoenberg,” in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 39, 57.

78. Rochberg, journal entry, August 21, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

79. Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 63–64. Dallapiccola used the “fratello” motive in several works, but Rochberg clearly associates the motive with this specific
opera in his memoirs as well as in a 1967 lecture given at the University of Texas, Austin. “This was the first time I consciously quoted another composer’s music,” he writes. See Rochberg, “Ars Combinatoria: A New Approach to History and Composition” (1967), unpublished talk given at the University of Texas, Austin, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 1–2.

80. Dixon, “Twelve Bagatelles,” 13–14: “I wrote a letter to [Hansen] asking for permission to include these quotes in the score. They responded with a letter denying me permission to print selections. . . . I [replied that] I would just bar out blank measures where I wanted the Schoenberg quotes and inscribe directions for the performer to play the prescribed measures. . . . Soon after that, I received another letter saying that I should go ahead and publish . . . the quotes in the score.”

83. Rochberg, letter to the editors of Music Survey, January 24, 1954, filed under George Perle, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
84. Rochberg, Hexachord, vii.
86. Dufallo, Trackings, 67.
87. Rochberg, Hexachord, viii.
88. Rochberg, letter to George Perle, January 11, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
89. Schoenberg discusses combinatoriality briefly in the essay “Composition with Twelve Tones,” in Style and Idea, edited by Dika Newlin, 116, 131.
90. Rochberg, Hexachord, 40.
92. Milton Babbitt, letter to George Rochberg, December 18, 1955, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
93. Milton Babbitt, letter to George Rochberg, December 18, 1955, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
94. George Perle, letter to Rochberg, January 5, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS; original emphasis. In Rochberg’s defense, many of these sources would have remained outside his grasp given that they are studies in German and French, languages Rochberg did not speak with fluency. Perle is correct, however, in pointing out that some of Leibowitz’s work had appeared in translation, that the Schoenberg was readily available in English, and that Babbitt’s 1950 review of Leibowitz’s Schönberg et son école in the Journal of the American Musicological Society had summarized the cogent points of most of the foreign sources. Gerhard’s essay, “Tonality in Twelve-Tone Music,” had been published in English in The Score (May 1952).
95. Perle, letter to Rochberg, January 5, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
96. Rochberg, letter to Perle, January 11, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
100. Perle, letter to Rochberg, January 16, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
105. Perle would continue to attack Rochberg throughout his career, with a representative example appearing in The Listening Composer. Unwilling to even mention Rochberg by name, he recounts one historian’s “sympathetic” description of Rochberg’s career, from “a common history of post-Schoenbergian and post-Webernian serialism . . . to writ[ing] what amount to recompositions of the past.” Perle’s bitter assessment of Rochberg’s career follows: “Collage ‘composition[s]’ are grotesque parodies of tonality that testify to its demise, not to its revival. . . . Does one choose whether or not to be a ‘tonal’ composer? The very notion that this is a matter of choice is self-destructive—an admission that the tonal system of the past is no longer an authentic, viable, self-contained musical language. One may borrow it, and borrow from it, but one makes an authentic statement in doing so only insofar as that statement does not pretend to constitute a revival.” See Perle, The Listening Composer, 172–74.
106. Rochberg and his wife, Gene, penned three different responses to Perle’s article, all of them accusing Perle of “the excessive irritability of members of the academic profession” and of shunning those who did not “do penance” before their accomplishments. Ultimately, none of the responses were sent. See Rochberg, “Perle’s Ineloquent Letter,” unpublished drafts, n.d., Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.
107. Rochberg, journal entry, May 20, 1956, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. In his entry, Rochberg uses his mot du jour “plasticity” to refer to the flexibility and lyricism of the melodic line in modern music. As this word has different associations now, I have chosen to substitute the word lyricism in its place. Rochberg was very taken with the work of Wolpe, especially his Violin Sonata; in a letter to Alexander Ringer, he declared him a “unique artistic voice” with “ideas [in his music] above all.” See Rochberg, letter to Alexander Ringer, May 27, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
108. Rochberg, journal entry, May 20, 1956, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
111. Rochberg, letter to Schuman, October 26, 1959, WSP–NYPL, JPB 87–33, b. 178, f. 6.
112. Schuman, letter to Rochberg, February 17, 1960, WSP–NYPL, JPB 87–33, b. 179, f. 1; original emphasis.
114. Rochberg, letter to Ringer, April 12, 1958, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. This same idea reappears in Rochberg’s interview with Vincent Plush, in which he
describes his reaction to Stockhausen: “The space of Stockhausen . . . comes from the same impulses . . . [to alter] the whole nature of the musical experience by suppressing beat, pulsation, periodicity. So that the music now became literally . . . soundings in air, and the illusion of things hanging there for a kind of [aural] contemplation.” See Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 54.


117. Gagne and Caras, Soundpieces, 339.


119. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 76.

120. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 76; Rochberg, unabbreviated version of Five Lines, Four Spaces, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 138.


123. Dufallo, Trackings, 69.

124. Rochberg, letter to Ringer, April 6, 1959, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.

125. Ringer, letter to Rochberg, April 9, 1959, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.

126. Rochberg, letter to Ringer, April 11, 1959, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.

127. Rochberg, letter to Ringer, May 12, 1959, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.


129. Rochberg’s interest in musical tense can be traced back as early as 1952, in an unpublished paper, “The Problem with Texture in Music”: “Time is an illusion; we only know the present; we remember the past; we anticipate the future (with what feelings of hope and dread!). Because I feel this to be true, I also feel it necessary to see music in the same light.” See Rochberg, “The Problem with Texture in Music,” GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-04, b. 16, f. 2.

130. Poulet, “Timelessness and Romanticism,” 3–4, 6; original emphasis.


132. Rochberg, letter to Ringer, February 20, 1960, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.

133. Rochberg, letter to Ringer, December 17, 1960, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.

134. “Duration in Music” was first published in Beckwith and Kasemets, The Modern Composer and His World.


141. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 46–47. Rochberg also recalls this moment in his autobiography; see Five Lines, Four Spaces, 63–64.
Chapter Three


1. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 14. Rochberg’s comment here was in reference to the period surrounding the composition of the Second Symphony.

2. Rochberg’s concern with the Suez region was less about defending colonialism (although some of his comments suggest a view of the Middle East as an exotic and sometimes violent Other) and more about what he perceived as an inherent threat to the new state of Israel if the British and French withdrew from the region. See George Rochberg, journal entries, November 6, 1956, and June 5, 1967, Tagebücher 2 and 9, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

3. Rochberg, journal entry, November 6, 1956, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


5. Rochberg, journal entry, July 21, 1959, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


8. Rochberg, journal entry, January 24, 1960, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


15. Rochberg read the second edition of Wiener’s study between 1954 and 1959. The original was published in 1950.

16. Letzler, “Crossed-Up Disciplinarity,” 24. Bailey asserts that entropy lacks the “comforting intuitive understandability and . . . notion of balance” that social equilibrium implies, which made it a ripe apocalyptic metaphor with which to address post-Holocaust anxieties about the atomic age and the technological destruction of human lives. See Bailey, Social Entropy Theory, 73.

17. Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, 64.

18. Both Gellner and political scientist Daniel Woodley describe the “transition from traditional cultural anti-Semitism to modern political anti-Semitism” as a process that “draws on entropy-resistant cultural markers which . . . acquire a political relevance in industrial societies as a means for sustaining homogeneity and order in the face of atomization and dedifferentiation.” See Woodley, Fascism and Political Theory, 195. Gellner describes this shift in an imaginary scenario of a blue-pigmented population living in an ideological “Megalomanian” nation-state. To make the historical connection with 1930s Germany explicit, I replace “blue” with “Jewish” in the following example: “The association of
[Jewishness] with [a] low [or inferior] position will have created a prejudice against [Jews]. . . . So the condition of the [socially] ascending [Jews] will be painful and fraught with tension. Whatever their individual merits, to their random [non-Jewish or Aryan] acquaintances and encounters . . . they will still be the dirty, lazy, poor, ignorant [Jews]; for these traits, or similar ones, are associated with the occupancy of positions low down on the social scale. . . . Their give-away [Jewishness] stays with them, do what they will. Moreover, Megalomanian [or fascist] culture is old and has a well-established self-image, and [Jewishness] is excluded from it.” See Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, 68–69.

25. Hammer, Adorno and the Political, 57.
27. Adorno, “Modern Music Is Growing Old,” 23. This is the translation Rochberg read and cited in his own work; for historiographical reasons, I use this version of the essay (and its title) rather than newer translations available.
29. Koestler, Ghost in the Machine, 199.
31. Wiener, Human Uses of Human Beings (1954), 12. This is the edition Rochberg read.
32. Rochberg, “Indeterminacy,” in Aesthetics of Survival, 7–8; original emphasis.
37. Luigi Russolo’s involvement in fascist politics is a contested question. Luciano Chessa argues that his “documented involvement with fascism has until now been erased from Russolo scholarship” and refers to such omissions as a “fable of his antifascism.” Others, such as Benjamin Thorn, have defended Russolo against his detractors, noting that “due to his lack of sympathy with fascism, atypical for the futurists, Russolo spent most of the 1920s in Paris.” See Chessa, Luigi Russolo, Futurist, 8; Thorn, “Luigi Russolo,” 416.
38. Rochberg, journal entry, October 15, 1959, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
41. Rochberg, journal entry, April 20, 1963, Tagebuch 4, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
42. Rochberg, journal entry, July 31, 1963, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.
43. Rochberg, journal entry, July 31, 1963, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. Other potential titles Rochberg suggested for the work were “The Devil’s Den” and “A Lair.”
44. Rochberg, journal entry, August 1, 1963, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
47. Eliade, Myth of the Eternal Return, 151. Published in English in 1954.
49. Rilke’s Duino Elegies also describe entropy in poetic terms, which may explain their appeal to Rochberg for this project. As Charles Hohmann notes, “The entropical dissolution of Nature as well as of the human psyche is a Leitmotiv in Rilke’s poetry.” See Hohmann, Angel and Rocket, 34.
51. Straus, Twelve-Tone Music in America, 77, 79.
52. Chase, “George Rochberg,” 124. Julian Johnson also notes Schoenberg’s trajectory from a more tonal harmonic basis to the atonality of the final movements: “Schoenberg’s Second String Quartet (1908) traces out . . . the unfolding history of tonality itself. Its tonal beginning shows a dynamism and clarity of gesture suggestive of a quartet by Brahms . . . but the first movement’s attempt to produce the forward moving trajectory of classical form in the face of harmonic entropy is wholly ambivalent.” See Johnson, Out of Time, 66.
53. The poetic lines are quotes from Stefan George’s “Entrückung,” cited in the Schoenberg quartet, and Rainer Maria Rilke’s Ninth Duino Elegy, cited in the Rochberg.
54. Rochberg, journal entry, August 27, 1961, Tagebuch 4, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. This notion of the second quartet as a model for the “Passions” also appears in a letter from Gene Rochberg to her husband: “I know this is your search, darling, and that you have been getting closer and closer to it—the quartet was IT.” See Gene Rochberg, letter to Rochberg, February 24, 1964, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.
55. Rochberg, journal entry, October 15, 1961, Tagebuch 4, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


62. Rochberg, “Passions According to the Twentieth Century,” Skizzen und Fotokopien, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS. Rochberg may also have intended a reference to the 1947 volume of poetry by Salvatore Quasimodo, Giorno dopo giorno, which reflected the anti-fascist poet’s impressions of postwar Italy. Lines from other poems by Quasimodo appear throughout the third movement of the “Passions.”

63. The full libretto of the “Passions” is reprinted in Dixon, Bio-Bibliographic Guide, 312–34.

64. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, April 4, 1964, GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1–9. The question of Herod’s Jewishness is controversial, with scholars arguing across the spectrum of the intellectual and historical debate. For an excellent treatment of the subject, see Cohen, “Was Herod Jewish?”


66. Rochberg was also concurrently reading William Shirer’s The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. See letter to Gene Rochberg, April 8, 1964, GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1–9.

67. Rochberg, journal entry, July 31, 1963, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. A second model for the “Passions” was Peter Weiss’s The Investigation: An Oratorio in Eleven Cantos, which the composer saw at Tanglewood in 1965. In a letter to Istvan Anhalt, Rochberg specifically praised Weiss’s “condemnation of man’s inability to rise above limitations, in fact to rationalize those limitations as truth.” See Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, January 4, 1966, in Eagle Minds, 38.

68. Rochberg, journal entry, November 15, 1965, Tagebuch 7, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


70. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, March 28, 1964, GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1–9; original emphasis.


72. See Paul Rochberg, Poems and Stories.

73. Rochberg, journal entry, May 27, 1964, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
74. Rochberg, journal entry, Thanksgiving (November 26) 1964, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
75. Rochberg, journal entry, September 6, 1965, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
76. Rochberg, journal entry, March 9, 1965, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
77. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 51.
79. Rochberg, journal entry, August 3, 1965, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
81. Rochberg, journal entries, June 28 and January 20, 1966, Tagebücher 8 and 7, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
82. Rochberg, journal entry, October 26, 1966, Tagebuch 8, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
83. Rochberg, journal entry, October 31, 1966, Tagebuch 8, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
85. For a complete transcription of the libretto, see Dixon, Bio-Bibliographic Guide, 334.
87. Rochberg, journal entry, April 7, 1969, Tagebuch 12, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. In the same passage, Rochberg compared the problems of his “Passions” to another post-Holocaust work, Penderecki’s Passion According to Luke, which he criticized as “pretentious” and lacking in harmony, melody, and heartbreak. This suggests an alternative reason for abandoning the project, namely that Penderecki had already premiered a postwar Passion that obliquely addressed the Holocaust.
88. Rochberg, journal entry, November 12, 1967, Tagebuch 10, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
89. Rochberg, journal entry, December 25, 1967, Tagebuch 10, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
92. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 175; original emphasis.
93. Rochberg, unabridged manuscript of Five Lines, Four Spaces, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 321.
94. Metzer, Quotation and Cultural Meaning, 126–27.
95. Rochberg, unabridged manuscript of Five Lines, Four Spaces, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 327. In a letter to Anhalt, Rochberg also confirmed that he was striving for something called “metatonality,” in which the “great tonal nodes are enclosed within” a symmetrical matrix, such as that derived from the
augmented triad. Tellingly, he relates this goal of symmetry not to modernist practitioners such as Schoenberg but to the great Romantic “tonal spans of Schubert’s B-flat major piano sonata” or “Beethoven’s 9th, Mahler’s 9th.” See Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, April 11, 1968, in Eagle Minds, 60.

96. Rochberg, journal entry, January 26, 1968, Tagebuch 11, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

97. Rochberg, “Passions According to the Twentieth Century,” Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

98. Rochberg, “Humanism versus Science,” in Aesthetics of Survival, 137–38. Shapey had presented the Incantations to Rochberg’s composition seminar in 1962. Rochberg later described the work as “abstract in the extreme and therefore tiresome . . . no sense of shape, no direction, a sort of mill-treading [that] Ralph calls ‘ritualistic reiteration.’” See Rochberg, journal entry, April 18, 1962, Tagebuch 4, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. Rochberg may also be alluding to the “echo songs” of Philomel in these passages, but no explicit reference appears in his writings.

99. García Lorca, Collected Poems, 671, 673. This English translation is by Greg Simon and Steven F. White.


101. Rochberg, journal entry, April 30, 1966, Tagebuch 8, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

102. The opening also recalls the moment in the Passion where the crowd cries out against Christ in unison.

103. Rochberg, unabridged manuscript of Five Lines, Four Spaces, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 309.

104. Rochberg, unabridged manuscript of Five Lines, Four Spaces, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 315.

105. Rochberg, journal entry, February 25, 1962, Tagebuch 4, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

106. Rochberg, journal entry, April 23, 1963, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.


108. Rochberg, “Passions According to the Twentieth Century,” Skizzenbücher, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS. The German text is drawn from Schiller’s “Ode to Joy.” It translates as “Joy, beautiful divine spark, daughter of Elysium.”

109. Rochberg draws the text “you are the one with the stone and the sling” from the poem “Man of My Time” (Uomo Del Mio Tempo) by the anti-fascist Italian poet Salvatore Quasimodo. The opening address to the “Black Angel of Auschwitz” is a direct reference to Dr. Josef Mengele, the sadistic scientist assigned to Auschwitz.

110. This line is also from Quasimodo, “Man of My Time.”

111. Rochberg, Symphony no. 3, Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

112. Magic Theater includes a quotation from Rochberg’s String Quartet no. 2 as well as excerpts from Beethoven’s String Quartet op. 130; Miles Davis; Mahler’s Symphony no. 9; Mozart’s Divertimento, K. 287; Stockhausen’s No. 5 Zeitmasse,
Varèse’s *Déserts*; and Webern’s *Concerto for Nine Instruments*, op. 24. The inclusion of Miles Davis might strike one as an anomaly within the list. Rochberg intended it as a quiet memorial to Paul, as Davis was one of his favorite composers and performers. See Rochberg, letter to Ringer, January 12, 1965, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.

113. Hesse, *Steppenwolf*, 302. Rochberg would later refer to modernist music in “Hessean” terms to his friends, describing it as the “bim-bim” (superficial noise) of the contemporary scene. See Rochberg, letter to Ringer, November 22, 1966, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.


115. I am grateful to Jeremy Gill for lending me a recording of the premiere.


120. Hughes, “Juilliard Offers Rochberg’s no. 3.”

121. Webster, “Rochberg Symphony.” While Webster notes that Ives was a model for Rochberg’s borrowings, Maynard Solomon has argued that Beethoven’s late works—many of which appear in Rochberg’s Third Symphony—also contained conscious references to ancient music and were meant to assert humanistic values during a period of social and political unrest in Europe. See Solomon, *Late Beethoven*, 102–34.

122. Webster, “Rochberg Symphony.”


124. Felton, “At Lincoln Center.”


127. The length of the canonical references, especially the Schütz and the funeral march from the Eroica, was also disconcerting to reviewers. Irving Kolodin noted curtly that “the playing of Rochberg could have stopped at any point and the performance [been] devoted to either the *Missa Solemnis* or [Beethoven’s] Ninth Symphony” (“Music to My Ears,” 46). Cox sensed a similar problem: “The music he quotes goes on so long that its own life takes over; it no longer works on Rochberg’s terms” (“Juilliard Theater,” 83).


130. This citation is from the coda of the first movement, not the choral finale as in the “Passions.”


Chapter Four


2. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, July 14, 1969, in *Eagle Minds*, 74; original emphasis.
10. The Jewish population in Uman reached its height in the early twentieth century, with 30 percent of its residents identifying as Jewish in a 1939 census.
14. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 4. Rochberg drew this information from an encyclopedia entry on Uman that had been forwarded to him by a Jewish friend. The short history is summarized on the online website jewua.org/uman.
15. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 4–5. One of the most famous klezmer musicians from Uman was the grandfather of violinist Mischa Elmer.
18. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 3. His father was an upholsterer, a trade he had worked in since he was twelve years old; his mother oversaw the household duties.
19. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 5. Rochberg rarely used Yiddish in public, but at times he employed it strategically. In a letter to Anhalt, Rochberg shares his delight in “revealing” himself to be Jewish through the use of Yiddish with one unsuspecting bystander: “Once at a party I met a French-Jewish couple recently emigrated to the States. The wife looked at me with amazement as I dropped a Yiddish word to salt a phrase: ‘What, you’re one of us??!’ And I thought in my usual ironic/sardonic way about such things: you mean, lady, I don’t ‘look’ Jewish?” See Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, January 31, 1988, in *Eagle Minds*, 206.
21. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 6–7. As Levitt argues, the break from the past was never an easy one, and immigrants would often perform “secular rituals that kept them linked to the Jewish culture of Eastern Europe even as they strove to assimilate into U.S. society.” See Levitt, “Impossible Assimilations,” 816.
22. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 8. Rochberg connected more emotionally with his mother, in part because of her own family history: “My mother’s side
were [sic] the cultured ones, some were pianists who studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatory." Rochberg, journal entry, June 26, 1997, Tagebuch 53, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


25. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 6–7. As Gene shared with me in an interview, “We were never religious Jews, but his parents were first-generation Americans and they still adhered to the customs.” Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.


27. For example, Rochberg’s archive preserves a reprint calendar from the 1955 *New York Times* listing the “16 Jewish Holidays and Fast Days: When They Fall and What They Mean,” suggesting that the family was attuned to the religious cycle of the calendar and may have celebrated certain high holidays. See “Auflistung der jüdischen Feiertage,” Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


29. As with other parts of his corpus that do not fit neatly into his postmodern portrait of himself, the two works have remained virtually overlooked in the literature. Rochberg discusses neither work in *Five Lines, Four Spaces* (despite his dedicated struggle to secure a premiere for *David the Psalmist* over the course of twelve long years), and Joan Dixon’s exhaustive bio-bibliography confirms that the works have played little to no role in our understanding of Rochberg and his music. Their relative obscurity can also be attributed to a lack of material presence. No information exists about the premiere of the *Three Psalms*, and *David the Psalmist* was premiered in 1966 at the University of Pennsylvania, Rochberg’s departmental institution, procuring only a local review in the local *Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia). While there are known recordings of two of the psalm movements—one by the choir at Trinity Church in New York City and another by the Oberlin Choir—no recording of *David the Psalmist* was ever realized.


32. For a more detailed discussion of Rochberg’s concept of mirror inversions, please refer to chapter two of this study.

33. The specific nature of Ringer’s involvement might account for his emphasis on the work’s scansion and rhythmic vitality in his analysis. See Ringer, “Music of George Rochberg,” 414.


35. André, “Returning to a Homeland,” 261. Ringer was aware of this compositional consideration, as noted in their correspondence.
36. In a related tribute essay, Rochberg explained that “Weisgall’s [musical] sense of the tragic” was only heightened by his experience of the war. In relation to Weisgall’s *Soldier Songs* for baritone and orchestra, he notes: “Throughout [them] flickers the picture of youth destroyed by the brutal stupidity of the iron God of War and the opposite image of society proud that its youth is fighting. . . . The Second World War was not different [and] I know of similar musical works to come out of the last war.” See Rochberg, “Hugo Weisgall.”


39. As Ringer notes, the “Schoenbergian aesthetic was remarkably in tune with [Chagall], who often relied on mere variants of closely related symbolic figures and/or objects in scenes that similarly defy distinctions between ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ at the behest of recurring transcendent ideas.” See Ringer, *Arnold Schoenberg: The Composer as Jew*, 186.

40. The Hebrew transliterations for *David the Psalmist* were not provided by Alexander Ringer; they were the work of Ed Beller. See Rochberg, journal entry, June 28, 1996, Tagebuch 48, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

41. Rochberg, Skizzenbuch for *David the Psalmist*, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

42. See Menn and Sandmel, “Psalm 29 in Jewish Psalms Commentary.”

43. For a discussion of Schoenberg’s *Survivor* as a form of secondary testimonial witness, see Wlodarski, *Musical Witness*, 11–35.

44. For an excellent discussion of the *Ode*, see Feisst, *Schoenberg’s New World*, 144–49. As Ethan Haimo notes, Schoenberg’s compositional process was similar to Rochberg’s, in that the “referential idea of the *Ode* [was] not so much a twelve-tone set as it [was] the source hexachord [itself].” See Haimo, “Late Twelve-Tone Compositions,” 161. In his sketches for *David*, Rochberg marks the same high degree of self-referentiality and tonal implications that Haimo notes in his analysis. See Rochberg, *David the Psalmist*, Skizzenbuch, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

45. Feisst, *Schoenberg’s New World*, 146. Feisst argues that the wide-ranging allusions in the *Ode* allowed Schoenberg to express his many, often conflicting, identities in a single piece. See also Brinkmann, “Schoenberg the Contemporary,” 211.

46. Rochberg, *David the Psalmist*, Skizzenbuch, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

47. Rochberg, letter to Schuman, April 21, 1960, WSP–NYPL, JPB 87-33, b. 179, f. 1.

48. Rochberg, Fantasia for Violin and Piano (unfinished), Skizzenbuch, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.

49. Rochberg, journal entry, November 15, 1963, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


51. Anhalt, letter to Rochberg, August 5, 1969, in Eagle Minds, 74. Anhalt was composing his work *Foci* (1969) at the time, a multi-media piece involving a number of taped source recordings, including those of individuals reflecting on spiritual sources such as the *Zohar*. For a more in-depth discussion of *Foci*, see Anhalt, *Pathways and Memory*, 151–53.
52. Idel, “Conceptualizations of Music in Jewish Mysticism,” 188. Idel notes that “it is difficult to find convincing evidence of the existence of musical practices among [the early] kabbalists” but hypothesizes that it is possible that some “envisaged music as a practical part of their Kabbalah” (169).


55. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 132, 134. As Scholem notes, Abulafia found music a particularly apt metaphor for this experience, describing how music could open “the closed doors of the soul” and lead to “pure thought which [was] no longer bound to ‘sense,’ and in the ecstasy of the deepest harmonies which originate in the movement of the letters of the great Name . . . throw open the way to God” (134).


58. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 5, 7–8, 10. As Scholem notes, “Classical Judaism expressed itself: it did not reflect upon itself. By contrast, to the mystics and the philosophers of a later stage of religious development Judaism itself has become problematic. . . . The two movements are interrelated and interdependent” (23).

59. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 15, 18. One of the earliest examples appears in a journal entry from 1952: “When one listens to a piece of music . . . one can say: ‘I stand before the mystery of life. . . . It exists in God and speaks through the composer. . . . All we can learn is that these things are indeed marvelous.” See Rochberg, journal entry, September 19, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


61. Rochberg, journal entry, December 19, 1969, Tagebuch 13, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


67. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, July 14, 1969, in *Eagle Minds*, 74; original emphasis.

69. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, December 11, 1972, in *Eagle Minds*, 102; emphasis added.
74. Imago Mundi refers to “the picture of the world, based on St. Augustine’s idea of an ordered world . . . which is of an order set by God and encompassing all creation. Thus, the idea of the Imago Mundi encompasses the earth and the cosmos. . . . [It] is a mytho-graphic picture of the world, a picture of the world that is more exegesis than geography, more interpretation of the world than description of the earth.” See Becker, “Imago Mundi,” in *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols*, 157.
75. *Gagaku* is generally translated as either “elegant” or “ethereal” music. For a description of the pentatonic scales associated with *gagaku* music, see Sunaga, *Japanese Music*, 32–33. The two modes of *gagaku* music—Ryo-mode and Ritsu-mode—are both septachordal, but in practice they are rendered in pentatonic combinations, with the ascending and descending scales having different pitch content.
76. Rochberg mentions the allusion to *gagaku* in the program notes for the work as well as in his memoirs; while he does not mention any other models for *Imago Mundi*, both Stravinsky and Bartók were cited in early reviews of the premiere. See, for example, Cena, “Beethoven Dwarfs Other BSO Offerings,” B5: “The simultaneous happenings find room for a number of quotations, including some from Varese’s [sic] own *Arcana*. This listener also detected allusions to Stravinsky’s . . . *Sacre du Printemps*, Bartók’s [sic] *Concerto for Orchestra*, and Olivier Messiaen.”
77. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 194. Visions were a common part of the creative process for Rochberg, who described his experience of them in a later journal entry: “The shapes these [musical] forms take in my dreams are never ‘natural’ but always strange, fascinating, unreferrable to what I know visually in my waking state. This leads to . . . questions about the true nature of the hidden forms of human consciousness. . . . Questions about whether, if one could penetrate these layers of consciousness-stuff, would we get back to the beginnings of the evolution of consciousness, to those forms our consciousness passed through from the earliest stage onward?” See Rochberg, journal entry, November 18, 1984, Tagebuch 30, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
80. Rochberg would also later return to what he perceived as mystical associations in Asian music, using the figure of Confucius as his model: “Confucius asks his question ‘does music mean no more than bells and drums?’ because music is far more than mere physical sound: music can be a powerful means for good, for the moral education of the characters of those who govern the state. Music has magical powers to move nature and man as well as the capacity to develop moral virtue in a just and orderly society.” See Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 150.

82. Ringer, “Arnold Schoenberg and the Prophetic Image,” 27, 29, 35. The final quote is a quotation of Schoenberg’s “Criteria for the Evaluation of Music.”

83. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, The Meaning of Things, 24. As the authors note, this view derives from the work of Carl Jung, who also believed that the possibility of transcendence resides in each individual, thus allowing one to “discover new psychic skills” and “achieve a higher form of relatedness with the cosmos” (25). As such, any object-icon possesses three levels of representation: the personal, the social, and the cosmic (38).

84. Rochberg, journal entry, December 4, 1981, Tagebuch 28, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


88. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, January 15, 1985, in Eagle Minds, 155–56; original emphasis.

89. Anhalt, letter to Rochberg, April 13, 1985, in Eagle Minds, 159.


91. Scholem dedicated his book, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, to the memory of Benjamin. The link between the two is well established in the literature, including Adorno’s argument that Benjamin’s interest in the Kabbalah was one of the primary weaknesses of his philosophical outlook. For a more recent study of Kabbalistic tropes in Benjamin’s writing, see Plate, Walter Benjamin, Religion, and Aesthetics, 29–34.

92. Rochberg, journal entry, September 7, 1984, Tagebuch 30, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; Rochberg, journal entry, August 12, 1984, Tagebuch 29, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

93. The same might not be said of Scholem. As Maor observes, Scholem was “a fervent adherent of the dialectics of history” and thus “believed that there was no way back to the old world of Jewish tradition; it had been destroyed irrevocably.” See Maor, “Death or Birth,” 65.


95. Rochberg, journal entry, December 20, 1984, Tagebuch 30, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. As Gillmor notes, Rochberg was also writing to Anhalt at the time from the perspective of a “lapsed Jew” who [could not] accept ‘the narrow, exclusionary doctrines of orthodoxies,’ preferring ‘to acknowledge instead a grander vision of spirit in enveloping man and the world of nature,’” an outlook Gillmor describes as a “kind of pantheistic world-view.” See Gillmor, “Introduction,” Eagle Minds, xxii.
96. Rochberg, journal entry, October 12, 1984, Tagebuch 30, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. In this journal passage, Rochberg also takes issue with materialist theories of the mind, which he saw as limited in their ability to describe or account for the metaphorical gap between subjective consciousness and physical being. In this regard, he is a contemporary of the philosopher Joseph Levine, who coined the related phrase explanatory gap in 1983. See Levine, “Materialism and Qualia.”

97. Barnard, Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy, 98. Rochberg copied these passages into his journal.

98. In formulating this dichotomy, Rochberg was greatly influenced by the French anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, who first posited in his How Natives Think (1910, English translation 1926) that there were two competing minds, primitive and Western. The primitive mind in particular valued “mystical participation” as a means to engage with the world, whereas the Western mind was more focused on analytical and rational modes of thought. Rochberg had encountered these ideas in Lévy-Bruhl, The “Soul” of the Primitive.


100. Rochberg, Iconography of the Mind.” 93, 5, 8, 36–37.


102. This excerpt from Exodus 20:1–5 is Rochberg’s translation found in “The Second Commandment and Idolatry” (1987), unpublished manuscript, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.


104. Rochberg, “Second Commandment,” 26, 36, 24; original emphasis.


112. Other unpublished essays found their way into the revised edition of Aesthetics of Survival in 2004, but none of the iconoclasm essays were included. The circumstances behind this decision are unknown but could range from the practical (space issues) to the theoretical (personal divestment from their opinions).
113. Anhalt, letter to Rochberg, December 5, 1987, in *Eagle Minds*, 201. Here, Anhalt is referring to the noted Kabbalist R. Isaac Luria, who wrote about the *shevirat hakelim* (the breaking of the vessels), during which the final seven *sefirot* were shattered. As Sanford Drob explains, “Not all of the light contained by the *sefirot* was capable of returning to the Infinite God. Shards from the shattered vessels fell through the metaphysical void, trapping within themselves sparks (*netsotsim*) of divine light. . . . It is the divinely appointed task of the Jewish people, through proper religious and ethical conduct, to free the holy light . . . thus permitting this light to return to its source in God. This ‘raising of the sparks’ is the . . . completion of *tikkun haolam* (‘the repair and restoration of the world’).” See Drob, “*Tikkun Haolam*,” 8.


116. Anhalt, letter to Rochberg, February 9, 1988, in *Eagle Minds*, 209; original emphasis. The question was particularly vexing for Anhalt, who had survived as a conscript in a forced labor battalion in fascist Hungary. For a moving account of his return to Hungary after the war, see *Eagle Minds*, 97–99.

117. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, February 17, 1988, in *Eagle Minds*, 212; original emphasis.

118. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, February 17, 1988, in *Eagle Minds*, 212.


124. Anhalt, letter to Rochberg, January 4, 1995, in *Eagle Minds*, 283. Anhalt also identifies two other mirrors, one that reflects the “kind of dialogue we are engaged in” and another that portrays “warmly and authentically a friendship which . . . grew, ever so organically, between, and by, the two of us” (284).

125. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, April 21, 1989, in *Eagle Minds*, 227–28; original emphasis. Afterword

Chapter Five

*Epigraph*: Martin Herman, letter to George Rochberg, December 1, 1988, Fotosammlung, Box D2, SGR–PSS. The excerpt was displayed as part of a 1990 exhibition at the New York Public Library in celebration of Rochberg’s seventy-first birthday.

1. Rochberg, journal entry, April 20, 1999, Tagebuch 62, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.

2. See Rochberg, journal entry, August 13, 1999, Tagebuch 63, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; journal entry, February 8, 2000, Tagebuch 64, Lebensdokumente,
SGR–PSS. Rochberg had contributed an essay to the online journal *New Music Box* in which they referred to him as “one of American Music’s Elder Statespeople,” a label that irritated the composer.

3. Rochberg, journal entry, August 6, 1999, Tagebuch 63, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

4. Rochberg, journal entry, March 31, 1997, Tagebuch 52, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.


13. Rochberg, “Guston and Me,” in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 245; original emphasis. Rochberg refers here to Deuteronomy 31:1–8. The final sentence also references Rilke’s *Letters to a Young Poet*, which the composer often assigned to incoming composition students at the University of Pennsylvania. See Rilke, *Letters to a Young Poet*, 21.


16. Rochberg, OHAM interview (1983), 32. See also Rochberg, OHAM interview (1998), 2–3. Rochberg received his master’s degree from Penn in 1949 and opted against pursuing a PhD: “I looked on the idea of entering the university as the worst possible fate that could befall a composer. . . . It struck me as a completely ludicrous notion.” See Rochberg, OHAM interview (1983), 39.


28. Rochberg, OHAM interview (1998), 4. Rochberg had encountered Cone on a subway ride, during which Cone pressed Rochberg as to why he, along with Roger Sessions, had declined to join the American Society of University Composers (ASUC). Rochberg relays this story in much greater detail in Five Lines, Four Spaces, 137–40.


30. Pinar et al., Understanding Curriculum, 182.


32. Pinar et al., Understanding Curriculum, 182.

33. Huebner, “Curriculum as a Field of Study,” 112.

34. Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, 190–91; Berman, New Priorities in the Curriculum, 190–91.


36. James B. Macdonald, quoted in Robison, Precedents and Promise in the Curriculum Field, 52.

37. Pinar et al., Understanding Curriculum, 183.


40. Jim Primosch, email correspondence with the author, August 1, 2017. Primosch studied at Penn in the 1980s and later became a professor of music at the university.

41. As Primosch notes, Crumb taught what was fondly called the “mazurka class,” a composition course devoted to writing style studies in the manner of Chopin, and Wernick had students analyze Brahms and other nineteenth-century composers in his conducting class.

42. Indeed, Rochberg was so proud of the intellectual ideas developed in the prospectus that he distributed it to several composers, including Vincent Persichetti, to stimulate debate and feedback. See Rochberg, correspondence with Persichetti (ca. 1960), VPP–NYPL, JPB 90-77, b. 14, f. 17.


44. As Crumb noted, at that time the program was not a complete music school but a small department without an applied division for performance majors. The composition program in the mid-1960s was limited to graduate students. See Crumb, OHAM (1983), 40; Crumb, OHAM (1998), 9.
45. Rochberg, “Prospectus for the Music Department of the University of Pennsylvania.”
47. Rochberg, “Proposal for Advanced Study in Music Composition.”
50. Graded student prospectus from Rochberg’s seminar “Harmonic Series”; original emphasis.
52. Rochberg, “Observations on the Ph.D. in Composition,” 65. Rochberg would return to this point in a “Congress for Creative America” panel discussion in which he participated in 1977, arguing that when one assumes a teaching position, one is “immediately handed a killing schedule [while] faced with the question of how to become a real composer, where to find the time for self-development, for that slow process of maturation. . . . I worry constantly about the problem of these young people, who . . . now have tenure. They are associate professors but have written no music to speak of. This I see as the real tragedy . . . [as] creative talent is the most curiously sensitive, precious, killable gifts [sic] that human beings possess.” See Rochberg, cited in Gelles, Congress Transcripts, 66.
57. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 136. As Rochberg writes, “My mini-lectures had their most powerful effect on the dean [who] interrupted and shouted . . . ‘George, if you say “non-verbal” one more time, I am going to scream’” (136–37; original emphasis).
58. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 136; original emphasis.
59. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 136–37; original emphasis.
60. Rochberg, journal entry, July 10, 1996, Tagebuch 45, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
61. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 137.
62. Stephen Albert, OHAM (1986), 64. Bolcom describes a similar form of peer pressure: “When I grew up, there was terrific peer pressure toward serialism, which is much stronger than any kind of teacher pressure. . . . Those [peer] pressures are the ones you have to really think through because you want to be one of the kids, and it’s very hard to stand out.” See Bolcom, OHAM (1999), 74–75.
63. Albert and Duffie, “Composer Stephen Albert.”
64. Albert, OHAM interview (1986), 67, 65.
65. Albert, OHAM interview (1986), 75.
66. By 1963, it had become increasingly clear to Rochberg that his son, Paul, would not recover from his brain tumor. Albert had experienced a particularly painful breakup with a girlfriend.
67. Albert, OHAM interview (1986), 70.
68. Albert, letter to Rochberg, ca. April 21, 1964, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
70. Crumb, OHAM (1998), 9. James Primosch, who studied with both Rochberg and Crumb, recalls that Crumb was irked by Rochberg’s assertion that he had “invented” the specific technique used for piano harmonics in the *Contra*. Although Crumb only joined the faculty in 1965, he had used the same practice in his *Five Pieces for Piano* (1962) and *Night Music* (1963), works Rochberg would ostensibly have known. See Primosch, “Rochberg’s Lines and Spaces.”
71. The music department of Bowdoin College (Maine) proposed a summer concert series in 1964, and the arrangement expanded to include a summer music school in 1965. The inaugural class of musicians was nineteen students.
75. In addition to the Bowdoin Summer Festival, Rochberg premiered *Music for the Magic Theater* at the University of Chicago (1967), *Nach Bach* at the University of Pennsylvania (1967), and Symphony no. 3 at the Juilliard School of Music (1970). The *Caprice Variations for Unaccompanied Violin* was premiered in a live radio broadcast (New York City: WBAI, April 2, 1970) and *Electrikaleidoscope* at Town Hall (New York City, 1972) by the Aeolian Chamber Players, who first performed *Contra Mortem et Tempus*.
76. This technique was common for those working to develop a reputation or an audience. For example, Jack Hiemenz notes that William Bolcom and his wife, the mezzo-soprano Joan Morris, “toured the college circuit, giving programs of turn-of-the-century sentimental American songs” before recording them on the Nonesuch label. “Their fortunes escalated [after that] from college campuses to such prestigious forums as Wolf Trap, Carnegie, Hall, and the Boston Pops.” See Hiemenz, “Musician of the Month,” 5.
77. Rochberg’s manuscript collection at the Paul Sacher Stiftung contains a wide variety of lecture notes and outlines for these university talks, with some of the prose becoming the direct basis of his most influential and controversial intellectual writings. The essays I list above all have a clear lineage from the earlier academic lectures, which often shared the same title and prose.
78. Granted, not all the students Rochberg encountered became avid fans of his work or his approach. One blunt letter he received after a university lecture read simply: “Thank you for your provocative session. I don’t agree with anything you said.” See Rochberg, journal entry, June 24, 1998, Tagebuch 57, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
79. Bolcom, OHAM (1988), 60–61. Bolcom notes that he registered for lessons with Rochberg during a 1966 visit to Tanglewood, but their relationship quickly moved beyond that of teacher-pupil: “I [didn’t look] on them as real lessons. Within a short time it was clear that it was just a matter of getting to know each other. I was pretty old and didn’t want to study with anybody, but you had to study with somebody. So if there was anybody I wanted to meet, it was George.” See his interview in Baldwin, “Analysis of Three Violin Sonatas,” 138.

80. Bolcom directly references his encounters with Rochberg as the catalyst for this work. See Bolcom, OHAM (1988), 60–62.

81. As Lois Burney notes, “While the focus of the Dies Irae melody is on the interval of a minor third, Donne Secours centers around a major third. Deeper analysis, however, shows that although the . . . melodies have different personalities, they derive from the same Dorian mode and are essentially part of one entity. By the end of the work . . . [they] exist side by side.” See Burney, “Exploration and Analysis of William Bolcom’s Black Host,” i.

82. Burney, “Exploration and Analysis of William Bolcom’s Black Host,” 2, 6. As Burney explains, “George Fredrick McKay had a love for American folk music, jazz, and blues. John Verrall . . . encouraged experimentation and exposed him to . . . symmetrical scale systems. Milhaud’s music embodied a free spirit where jazz idioms and Latin American rhythms find a [communal and] comfortable place. . . . Messiaen, Bolcom’s last teacher, enlivened the repertoire of organ music by creating . . . ‘juxtaposing blocks of sound’” (2).

83. As Steven Johnson notes, while in New York, Bolcom “developed a style of playing ragtime that, through concerts and recording, placed him in the forefront of the ragtime revival” (“William Bolcom,” 818). He also composed roughly twenty-six original rags, among them “Graceful Ghost,” “Three Ghost Rags,” and “Seabiscuits Rag.” See Johnson, “William Bolcom.” Bolcom explained in an interview that while Black Host contains a “little ragtime spot,” he wrote it “before [he] actually started getting into ragtime.” See Hiemenz, “Musician of the Month,” 4.

84. Bolcom, cited in Albright, New Music for Organ, liner notes. The original quotation is drawn from a quote by Lord Russell; it has been edited here to maintain the singular tense (one/life), whereas the original uses the plural (they/lives).

85. In American Composers: A Biographical Dictionary, David Ewen confuses Session III with Session IV in his narrative about both its contents and its reception. The information he presents should be attributed to Session IV. See Ewen, “William Bolcom,” 84.

86. Bolcom, OHAM (1988), 60–62. For more information on the festival, see Besancon, Festival international. In another interview with Baldwin, Bolcom provided this evocative description: “It touched off a riot . . . I guess at one point . . . some woman came out of the audience during the piece, went up to the bass drum, picked up the mallet, and whacked the bass drum player over the head . . . This tape sounds like a mad football game with people yelling, screaming, and clapping, and absolutely acting like idiots! . . . They let you know what they think. People here are rather churchy about it and well
89. Bolcom, letter to Rochberg, January 9, 1970, Korrespondence, SGR–PSS.
90. Henahan, “Rare New Work Played by Quartet,” 38.
94. Wierzbicki, “Reflections on Rochberg and ‘Postmodernism,’” 108. Wierzbicki points in particular to Richard Taruskin’s comment that the Third String Quartet was where the “story [of postmodernism] begins (or we can begin effectively to tell it.” See Taruskin, “After Everything,” 414.
95. Walsh, “Follow This Record,” 11-E.
96. Gann, Music Downtown, 2. Gann’s spatial mapping of the various aesthetic movements, while limited in other ways, proves productive when thinking about Rochberg’s impact, in that it offers an alternative to the more genealogical conception of intergenerational relationships and influence. While he does not list Rochberg among the midtown composers (Rochberg does not figure into his study prominently), he does identify Bolcom as representative of the beat.
99. Albert, quoted in Reilly, “Stephen Albert: Aiming at Epiphany,” in Surprised by Beauty, 37. For example, in the fifth movement of Cathedral Music (allegro scherzando), one hears echoes of Stravinsky’s Octet, in part because of the predominance of the wind instruments and the playful imitative writing in the quasi-fugal sections.
100. Albert, OHAM (1986), 93–94. The work is scored for a nontraditional ensemble of two amplified flutes, two amplified cellos, brass quartet, harp, electric guitar, percussion, two grand pianos, electric organ, and synthesizer.
104. Albert, letter to Rochberg, April 1, 1972, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
105. Bolcom, letter to Rochberg, February 7, 1972, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.
106. Turok, “Alice Tully Hall.” Rochberg later asserted that such critiques secretly delighted him, a statement that glosses over the personal frustration he documented in his diaries. See Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 62.


110. Robert Carl, email correspondence with the author, May 1, 2017. At Yale, where he did his undergraduate degree, Carl was an American history major; he only switched to music composition in graduate school and later enjoyed a successful career teaching composition at the Hartt School of Music in Connecticut.

111. Stephen Hartke, email correspondence with the author, April 29, 2017. See also Hartke, OHAM (2005), 24.


117. Carl, email correspondence with the author, May 1, 2017; original emphasis. As Carl shared with me, he received “a lot of ‘nuts and bolts’ from Ralph Shapey (counterpoint and phrasing) and Iannis Xenakis (form)”; without those complements, he thought his training “might have been insufficient. But I think you can say that about any single teacher.”


119. Carl, email correspondence with the author, May 1, 2017.

120. Carl, email correspondence with the author, May 1, 2017. Not every former student I interviewed shared this view. Hartke, for example, noted that “while in his writings George was very given [over] to the philosophical and aesthetic, in lessons he brought the topic up from time to time, but never in a heavy-handed way. I do remember him saying once that if Western Civilization was going to hell in a hand-basket, he wanted to be remembered as someone who fought to keep that from happening.” Hartke, email correspondence with the author, April 29, 2017.


122. Hartke, email correspondence with the author, April 29, 2017. Rochberg’s syllabus for the course also demonstrates how he connected musical practices to a broader range of interdisciplinary concerns, including painting, poetry, psychology (musical perception and listening), and neuroscience. See Rochberg, syllabus for Orchestration course at the University of Pennsylvania, GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-04, b. 16, f. 21.

123. Hartke, transcript of interview, OHAM, 52–53. “I became interested in a variety of Affekt because I think that something was lost in high modernism. . . . I’d become concerned—and I got this from George Rochberg, actually, because he was the one who pointed out to me about [the] variety of Affekt.”

124. Rose, letter to Rochberg, August 6, 1993, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.


127. In Rochberg’s memoir he relays his strong first impression of Crumb’s *Black Angels*: “I remember with absolute clarity that the moment [it] ended, I [left] the hall [and] said to myself, ‘Now I know what not to do.’ That precise formulation of the negative arose, first, from my strong visceral rejection of ‘sound designs’ with intense levels of piercingly painful electrified decibels of volume resulting in sheer noise for a medium . . . [that] I felt was off-limits to senseless, technological, modernist manipulation.” See Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 97; original emphasis. Rochberg’s journals are filled with even less generous commentary. In one passage he suggests that Crumb got the idea for using crystal glasses in the composition from a party trick Rochberg and Gene had performed at a dinner party, the insinuation being that Crumb’s music was all games and no substance. To add further injury to insult, Rochberg insists that Crumb also returned the glasses, which he had borrowed, unwashed. When asked in an interview how he arrived at the idea of using wine glasses, Crumb replied: “I forget just how soon those came into the conception.” See Crumb, OHAM (1983), 51.

128. Carl, email correspondence with the author, May 1, 2017. Rochberg’s comment that Carl’s work was “Feldmanesque” was not to be taken as a compliment. As he shared with Anhalt in one letter, he found Feldman’s aesthetic to consist of “such elaborate posturings and verbalized defenses, such strenuous efforts to support an edifice [that] finally add up to so tiny a voice, so small an object to be underpinned. It is out of embarrassment only . . . that such phenomena as Feldman can emerge.” See Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, April 11, 1965, in *Eagle Minds*, 29.

129. Hartke, email correspondence with the author, April 29, 2017; Martin Herman, email correspondence with the author, June 27, 2017.

130. Carl, letter to Rochberg, April 18, 1981, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. The piece in question was *Sunburst*, a composition Carl created in Xenakis’s UPIC studio and which later became a fixed media part in an eponymous piece for brass quintet (1985). Carl, email correspondence with the author, June 27, 2017.

131. Rochberg’s honorary doctorates during this period were from Montclair State College (NJ), the Philadelphia Musical Academy (PA), and the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He ultimately received six during his lifetime in addition to other distinctions conferred by academic institutions.

132. Crumb received the award for *Echoes of Time and the River* and Wernick for *Visions of Terror and Wonder*.


134. See Rhein, “Premiere Welcome but Disappointing,” 12.
136. Gagne and Caras, Soundpieces, 349.
141. Rochberg, commencement speech for the Mannes School of Music/New School, ca. 1980s, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.
142. Rochberg, commencement speech for the Longy School of Music, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.
143. Rochberg, journal entry, June 20, 1997, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
144. The three-week summer institute was administered by the pianist Steve Swedish and was only offered in 1995.
145. Among Corigliano’s most recent works were his Of Rage and Remembrance (1991), Troubadours (1993), and his opera The Ghosts of Versailles (1987/1991/1995), and he was working on the String Quartet (1996). Harbison had recently completed a full slate of chamber and solo works, including his Oboe, Flute, and Cello Concertos (1991, 1993, 1993), String Quartet no. 3 (1993), Suite for Solo Cello (1993), several choral works, and his series of Trio Sonatas (1994).
146. Rochberg, journal entry, June 29, 1995, Tagebuch 45, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
147. Rochberg was concurrently reworking his manuscript for A Dance of Polar Opposites, in which op. 130 figures in discussions about “filling durational space,” thematic restatement, and the use of “embryonic symmetrical harmonic sets” featuring the median and submedian. He had also cited from its cavatina in his Music for the Magic Theater (1965). See Rochberg, Dance of Polar Opposites, 34–36; Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 150.
148. Jaffe, email correspondence with the author, June 1, 2017; Rose, Audible Signs, 136–38.
149. Greg Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 16, 2017. This sentiment—that Corigliano and Harbison were the big draws on the program—was confirmed by other participants with whom I spoke.
152. Rochberg, “Polarity in Music,” in Aesthetics of Survival, 246. As Rochberg notes, the essay was written in 1995 and was ultimately published under the same title in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 141, no. 2 (June 1997).
154. I use the plural intentionally in this case, not only to assert that different individuals might have varying truths that orient their way when composing but also to reflect the science on the matter. As Anne Casselman reports, the earth actually contains more than one north pole, only one of which is fixed: (1) “geographical north, where man-made lines of longitude converge on a map”; (2) “instantaneous north pole, which is not fixed. Rather, it moves in an
irregular circle caused by the ‘Chandler wobble’”; and (3) “dip poles, which move around—sometimes with daily frequency.” See Casselman, “The Earth Has More Than One North Pole.”

156. Jon Forshee, email correspondence with the author, July 10, 2017; original emphasis.
158. Rochberg, journal entry, June 29, 1995, Tagebuch 45, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
162. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 16, 2017. When I asked Gill about Wilder’s memory, he recalled Rochberg’s commentary slightly differently: “My memory is that Rochberg said, ‘Here you’ve really got something. I don’t care much for this other stuff (gesturing to the rest of the score) but here . . . ’ I can see him circling the passage with his finger, just like Greg remembers.” Gill, email correspondence with the author, June 29, 2017.
165. Forshee, email correspondence with the author, July 10, 2017; original emphasis.
166. See Hartke, “Comparative Aspects of the Treatment of the ‘Harmonic Envelope.’”
170. For more information about the Isomer Project, see www.gregwilder.com/what-is-the-isomer-project. Wilder began his explorations of computational creativity with his software program CLIO, a music analysis platform widely used by the music industry. See also Raines, Composition in the Digital World, 295–304.
171. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 18, 2017.
173. Rilke, Letters to a Young Poet, 21. In one of her many letters written to her husband after his death, Gene Rochberg recalled with fondness how the composer George Rochberg required his new composition students at UPenn to read Rainer Maria Rilke’s Letters to a Young Poet.
175. Rochberg, “Guston and Me,” in Aesthetics of Survival, 244–45.
177. Rochberg, Dance of Polar Opposites, 158.
178. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 30, 2017; emphasis added.
Afterword


2. Dahlhaus, “Neo-Romanticism,” 98, 101 (first quotation); Rochberg, “Preface to the Revised Edition,” in Aesthetics of Survival (2004), xiv (second quotation). As Dahlhaus notes, neo-Romanticism “had to assert itself as the prototype of an alternative world” to the “positivist age,” which was “not merely a contrast, a foil, to the spiritual, intellectual, and cultural trends of the age: it was itself the spirit of a scientific age” (100).


4. Rochberg suffered other traumatic events during his postwar life, and in many cases these additional events would then trigger traumatic memories of the war, thus creating a complicated web of psychological associations.

5. As the most recent version of the approved Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) clarifies: “Re-experiencing covers spontaneous memories of the traumatic event, recurrent dreams related to it, flashbacks, or other intense or prolonged psychological distress. Avoidance refers to distressing memories, thoughts, feelings, or external reminders of the event. Negative cognitions and mood represent myriad feelings, from a persistent and distorted sense of blame of self or others, to estrangement from others or markedly diminished interest in activities, to an inability to remember key aspects of the event. Finally, arousal is marked by . . . sleep disturbances, hyper-vigilance or related problems.” See Ritchie, “Introduction and Overview,” in Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, 7–8; original emphases.


8. My tally is deliberately conservative, as it discounts time spent recovering from the two physical injuries he sustained during his eleven-month tour.

9. Yang, “Invisible Wound,” 451. Rita Nakashima Brock and Gabriella Lettini note that PTSD is a “fear-victim reaction to danger” in which a “sufferer often has difficulty forming a coherent memory of a traumatic event,” whereas moral injury centers on a loss of trust and sense of shame and guilt. See Brock and Lettini, Soul Repair, 2–5.

10. Sherman, Afterwar, 8.


13. See Brock and Lettini, Soul Repair, 2–5.

14. Rochberg, “A Composer’s Notes” (1945), GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-04, b. 17, f. 12. This manuscript was a draft of what Rochberg envisioned as a personal manifesto and potential textbook for young composers. He wrote the chapters from his recovery bed in England, then sent them to Gene in the hopes that she would type them into a manuscript. The project ultimately never came to formal conclusion.
15. Such postwar descriptions of music and art as uplifting, restorative, or morally therapeutic also appear in the scholarly and journalistic literature on moral injury. See, for example, Sherman’s discussion of the “Defiant Requiem” in *Afterwar*, 134; Schjeldahl, “George W. Bush’s Painted Atonements.”


21. Rademacher quoted in Rochberg, “Radiant Violence,” unpublished draft, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS. The following year, Arthur Darack provided a similarly forceful review of the twelve-tone Symphony no. 2, noting that it “reminds one of that ‘cataclysmic music’ that Thomas Mann ascribed to Adrian Leverkuhn. . . . Rochberg’s symphony has an elemental thrust, an overriding, trumpeting attack, such as music has not heard since early Stravinsky. [But] it is darker and more malevolent than early Stravinsky, and it is a tougher nut to crack for everyone concerned.” See Darack, “Cataclysmic Music,” 4D.


32. For example, the figures from the Third Symphony—Schütz, Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Mahler, and Ives—became reflective of “the highest manifestations of musical thought and feeling, of the human spirit translating itself
into sound.” See Rochberg, journal entry, January 13, 1967, Tagebuch 8, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


34. Rochberg, Five Lines, Four Spaces, 232–33. As Rochberg notes, Mozart’s “aesthetic stress on an appealing surface melodic line (il filo) combined with high craft and hidden art underneath [that allow] the natural flow of the line [to] emerge.” It was “as much a psychology as a philosophy of composition” that caused Mozart to adhere to this aesthetic as “a matter of deep conviction.” For an excellent discussion of il filo, see Allanbrook, “Two Threads through the Labyrinth.” For a discussion of allusions in the Third String Quartet, see Reise, “Rochberg the Progressive.”


39. Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading,” 130.

40. Cheng, Just Vibrations, 99. Cheng acknowledges several sources that were crucial to his study, including two that also influenced my thinking: Cusick, “Musicology, Torture, Repair,” and Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading.”

41. Citron, Gender and the Musical Canon, 20–21. In her work, Citron does engage with Rochberg, but she identifies him as a brave interlocutor against canonical elitism and its discontents. She contends that Rochberg was among the first to recognize the destructive effect “historical self-consciousness” and the “tyranny of the canon” had on Schoenberg’s career and posits him as a strong pluralist voice against the “elitist tendencies” of composers such as Elliott Carter and Babbitt (29).

42. Hartke, email correspondence with the author, April 29, 2017.

43. Rochberg, “Contemporary Music and Its Audience, or Is the Repertoire Coming to an End?” (1990), unpublished essay, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 3. For an excellent discussion of how these problematic values impact the power and hegemony of the Western musical canon, see Citron, Gender and the Musical Canon, 15–41.

44. Grimes and Rochberg, “Conversations with American Composers,” 43.


46. Bonds, Absolute Music, 297. See also Chua, “Beethoven Going Blank.”

47. Chua, Absolute Music, 114.

48. Taruskin, letter to Rochberg, May 31, 1996, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. Rochberg delighted in Taruskin’s overall positive response to the project but confided to his journal that he would only be incorporating the musicologist’s astute “musical insights” into any revision. See Rochberg, journal entry, June 19, 1996, Tagebuch 48, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


52. Rochberg, Dance of Polar Opposites, 150.

53. Rochberg, journal entry, November 27, 1995, Tagebuch 46, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

54. Kozinn, “Feminist Look,” C13. The symposium “Reverberations: Women and Music” was held March 9–10, 1995, at the New School for Social Research in New York City and featured not only lectures by but also performances of compositions written by women, many of which were also performed by female performers. It is unclear if Rochberg ever read McClary’s Feminine Endings (1992) or if his only engagement with the topic was through mainstream journalism.


57. Grimes and Rochberg, “Conversations with American Composers,” 43.

58. As Mark Micale writes, hysteria has been used for centuries as “a dramatic medical metaphor for everything . . . mysterious or unmanageable” in women. See Micale, “Hysteria and Its Historiography,” 320. Peter Cryle and Alison Moore do similar critical genealogical work in Frigidity: An Intellectual History.


60. Rochberg, “Reflections on Schoenberg,” in Aesthetics of Survival, 44; Rochberg, journal entry, March 3, 1997 (11:00 PM), Tagebuch 51, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphases. The examples he gives of frigid composers are Elliott Carter, Igor Stravinsky, and Claude Debussy. Beethoven, conversely, possessed a heat “the temperature of the sun.”

61. Hartke, email correspondence with the author, April 29, 2017. As Hartke shared, “I remember thinking at the time, ‘This is 1975 already! Who believes any of this claptrap anymore?’”


63. Rochberg, journal entries, April 18, 1962, and April 23, 1963, Tagebuch 4, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.


65. Gene Rochberg, letter to James Dickson, June 2, 1980, and Pearlman, letter to Gene and George Rochberg, April 23, 1981, both in Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. Dickson was the current director of the Santa Fe Opera.

68. Rochberg, journal entry, August 23, 1982, Tagebuch 28, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. Specifically, Rochberg took issue with the way the setup hampered entrances and exits, Pearlman’s decision to feature children in the production against the wishes of the Rochbergs, and his sense that Pearlman had based his conception on structures present in Melville’s novel rather than those in Gene’s adaptation.
75. The performance took place at the Miller Theater (New York City) on April 28, 2000, and was organized by Harold Meltzer, the founder of Sequitur.
76. Rochberg, journal entry, May 7, 2000, Tagebuch 65, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
86. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 29. Rochberg described his development in similar terms in an interview: “When I was young, I was an elitist, but I gave it up because I thought it was too hard, too unyielding a position, and as a result I became egalitarian in my outlook.” See Gagne and Caras, *Soundpieces*, 341.
90. Rochberg, journal entry, March 3, 1997 (11:00 PM), Tagebuch 51, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphases.
91. Rochberg, journal entry, March 3, 1997 (11:00 PM).
92. Rochberg, journal entry, June 12 1998, Tagebuch 57, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.