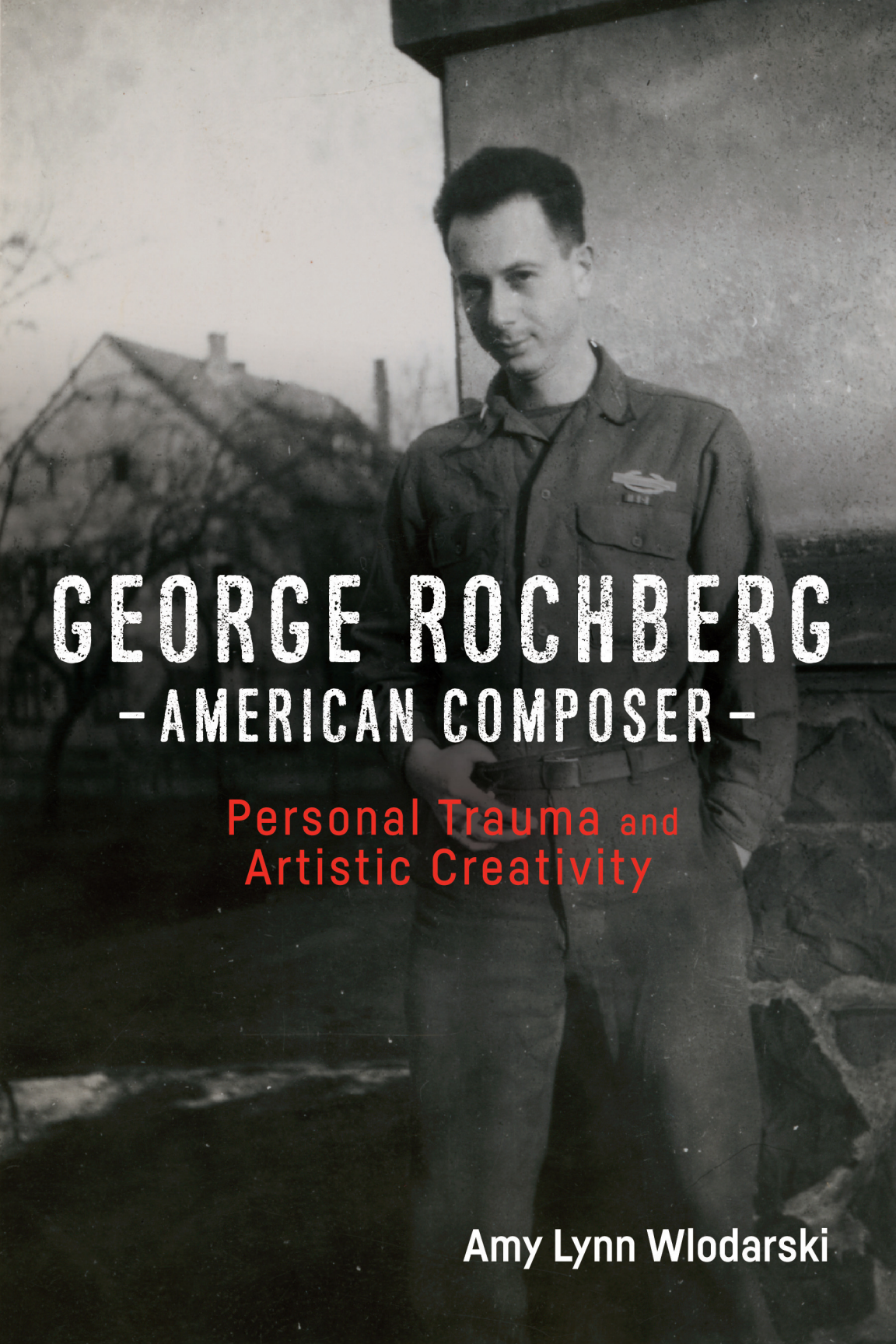

GEORGE ROCHBERG

– AMERICAN COMPOSER –

Personal Trauma and Artistic Creativity

Amy Lynn Wlodarski

George Rochberg, American Composer

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Amy Lynn Wlodarski

University of Rochester Press

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For Tina Kilvio Tüscher
who opened doors
taught me the ropes
and in the process
became a trusted friend

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Abbreviations

ABSIE	American Broadcasting Station in Europe
AI	artificial intelligence
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ASCAP	American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers
ASUC	American Society of University Composers
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BWV	Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis (Bach Works Index)
D-Day	initial Allied invasion of Northern France (June 6, 1944)
DMA	Doctor of Musical Arts degree
GI	"Government Issue"; shorthand for an enlisted soldier in the United States Army
GRP-NYPL	George Rochberg Papers, New York Public Library, New York, NY
GRPA-NYPL	George Rochberg Papers—Additions, New York Public Library, New York, NY
LGBTQ	individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer
MGG	Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart
OCS	Officer Candidate School, United States Army
OHAM	Oral History of American Music, Yale University, New Haven, CT
OWI	Office of War Information, United States Military
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy degree
POW	prisoner of war
PTSD	post-traumatic stress disorder
SGR-PSS	Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland
UPenn	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
V-E Day	Victory Europe Day (May 8, 1945)
VPP-NYPL	Vincent Persichetti Papers, New York Public Library, New York, NY
WSP-NYPL	William Schuman Papers, New York Public Library, New York, NY
WWII	World War II

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Introduction

> The war years were much more than an interruption in my musical studies. They taught me what art really meant because I learned what life really meant. The war shaped my psyche. . . . I came to grips with my own time.
>
> —George Rochberg (2003)

In 1984, George Rochberg dashed off an irritated letter to his friend, the Canadian composer Istvan Anhalt, about the Ronald Reagan presidency ("so many small people, *luft menschen*") and a film he had recently viewed: "I saw an 1½ hour documentary of World War I . . . which stunned me with the utter stupidity of what we so euphemistically always refer to as 'mankind.' Such pride, arrogance, wrong-headedness, lack of understanding, brutality; such unwillingness on all sides to let go of all the falsities that govern men's behavior when they are in positions of power and authority." As he wrote to Anhalt with some vigor, "Stick a uniform on someone, give him a high-sounding title, tell him the fate of the country . . . depends on him—and suddenly everything that is possible to imagine that is *against* humanity emerges."[1] Rochberg's commentary was not unusual for the time; ruminations about totalitarianism and the uncritical participation of Americans in their government were common, in part because the year of George Orwell's dystopian novel *1984* had finally come. Published in 1949, the book had posed serious postwar questions about how governmental control over messaging could "invade and destroy . . . relationships: children's belief in their parents; close friendships; the love between a man and a woman."[2] Indeed, Rochberg had always seen a connection between the memory holes of "Orwell's monsters" and the Nazi propaganda machine run by Joseph Goebbels.[3] "When language no longer reflects reality," he wrote in his journal on New Year's Day, "it becomes a tool of propagandists . . . and a means not only for deluding others but oneself as well."[4]

Rochberg was speaking not only as a cultural critic but also as someone whose life experiences and human relationships had been impacted by the political implications of mid-century nationalist rhetoric—whether Hitler's fascist decrees or Roosevelt's description of the attack on Pearl Harbor as a

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"day that will live in infamy." In response to these global events, Rochberg was drafted into the United States Army and fought in the European theater as a second lieutenant in the infantry. The experience was life-changing, as he candidly shared with an unlikely confident, the conservative political theorist and Reagan staffer Robert R. Reilly: "Somewhere around the late 1940s [or] early 50s, I began to realize that this confrontation with death had been probably the most potent experience in my life up to that point. I had been severely wounded at one stage. I recovered and was sent back to the front. As the years passed, I began to realize that this was really an incredible thing."[5] Only these most basic details of his service surface in the literature, primarily because Rochberg was famously tight-lipped about his war narrative; as he cautioned Reilly at the onset of the interview, "I rarely talk about my experiences in the war."[6]

Rochberg's reticence to share his World War II experience has created an Orwellian "memory hole" in the composer's accounts of his career, although it is unclear if the narrative gap is the result of deliberate autobiographical revision or avoidance of a traumatic period of his life.[7] In interviews, he often glosses over the war (unless asked pointedly about his experience) or briefly touches on his service before pivoting to what he considered his greater legacy: the recovery of music from the threat of modernism. Even in the composer's posthumous autobiography, *Five Lines, Four Spaces* (2009), his time in the army becomes reduced to a shadowy graphic on the page, an extended gray field that could be interpreted along myriad lines: a foggy blackout, a visual scar, a dividing wall, a self-imposed silence.[8] On one side stands the young student Rochberg ("I was drafted into the army in 1942") and on the other side, the veteran composer reemerges from the foxhole ("In July 1945, after three long years in the army, I returned home").[9]

External agents have also facilitated the war's narratological sidelining by interpreting Rochberg's war service as tangential to his postwar creative life. For example, the 2001 edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* relays basic information about Rochberg's early studies and primary teachers at the Mannes School of Music (1939–42) and the Curtis Institute of Music (1945–47), separating the two formative periods with a brief transitional phrase: "War service interrupted his studies."[10] Alexander Ringer's detailed evaluation of Rochberg's early career—to date, the most extensive treatment of his pre-1965 compositional corpus—provides a small measure of additional information based on personal correspondence with the composer. Ringer notes that the "deep emotional scars left by the war had by no means healed when the former infantry lieutenant returned to Europe [in 1950–51] to take stock of himself in relative peace and quiet" during a residency at the American Academy of Rome.[11] Most musicological accounts since Ringer's have followed suit by either ignoring his wartime experience altogether or mentioning it only

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as a curious piece of trivia. Instead, authors generally move quickly through his serial period (1952–63) to emphasize another tragic moment in the composer's life—the premature death of his twenty-year-old son, Paul, in 1964—which is almost unanimously interpreted as the event that "prompted the composer to discard serialism" and embrace postmodern citation as a valid compositional technique.[12] This touching narrative remains one of the cornerstones of the composer's humanistic legacy, a story that is both deeply heartbreaking and emotionally relatable.

After his death, this compassionate portrait of Rochberg's work was maintained by one of the few people with firsthand knowledge of his inner emotional life: his wife, Gene, who passed away in 2016. Throughout her life, Gene was a dedicated champion of her husband's music and intellectual work, a devotion that continued well after the composer's death in 2005. In the time that followed, she spearheaded the posthumous publication of *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, including sending the manuscript to academic presses for consideration, overseeing the editorial process, and writing the introduction. She also pursued the publication of Rochberg's final intellectual project—a thousand-page scholarly treatise on chromaticism, published in an abridged version as *A Dance of Polar Opposites* (2012)—a venture to which she contributed her opinion on everything from content to title. In rare moments, she gave interviews about her husband's life, and I was privileged to have met with her in 2013. During our first visit, she freely answered questions about Rochberg's wartime service, but the letter I received the following week suggested that perhaps it was a fruitless line of inquiry: "'The war' is quite *another* story *quite by itself*," she asserted.[13]

This book represents my attempt to tell that "other" story and to integrate it meaningfully into Rochberg's artistic biography. It also represents the first critical study devoted to contextualizing and tracing the broader arc of Rochberg's career, including his work as a leading American composer, public intellectual, and college educator. The past few decades have witnessed renewed attention to Rochberg's music—in part as a result of the arrival of his centenary in 2018—but musicological focus has generally remained limited to a ten-year period (1964–74) that corresponds with his "postmodern turn" to *ars combinatoria*, a compositional philosophy that encourages overt references to "music of the past" as a means of reconnecting with a premodern, humanistic basis for musical expression. This study significantly expands that scope of inquiry by examining the earliest roots of his aesthetic thinking—hatched while serving as an infantryman in Patton's Third Army—and following their threads through his mature compositional period into the final stages of his long career. In doing so, I assert that Rochberg's military service was a transformative life experience for the young humanist, one that crucially shaped his worldview and impacted his aesthetic thinking for the next sixty years of his life.

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Drafted into the war in 1942, Rochberg was forced to interrupt his compositional studies to begin basic training. He found its exhaustive and at times dehumanizing conditions antithetical to the creation of music, noting in several letters to Gene that he was afraid of the emotional consequences military service would have on his development and success. Rochberg was not the first young composer to have suffered such fears; in 1918, the Austrian composer Alban Berg wrote to his teacher, Arnold Schoenberg, with similar dismay that World War I had resulted in "three years stolen from the best years of my life, totally, irretrievably lost."[14] Nor was his anxiety singular in the specific context of World War II. Illustrative of the concerns of the time was a 1942 essay in the journal *Modern Music*, which advised enlisted composers to "make their abilities known as early as possible in their Army careers and, during training, to be as good soldiers as possible."[15] The impact of such advice was mixed, even for composers with well-established reputations in the 1940s. Barbara Heyman explains that Samuel Barber's "low appetite for military duty" was influenced not by a "lack of patriotism but rather out of a desire to continue writing music," a pursuit he found nearly impossible during his active administrative service with the Second Service Command of Special Services.[16] Others parlayed their established careers into fruitful creative work for the armed forces. During his active duty with the US Army Eighth Air Force Division, Marc Blitzstein scored documentaries for the Office of War Information (OWI) and served as music director of the American Broadcasting Station in Europe (ABSIE). In some cases, documented medical conditions exempted individuals from active duty, allowing contemporaries of Rochberg such as Leonard Bernstein and William Schuman to remain musically active on the home front.[17]

As these limited examples remind us, the personal experiences of modern warfare were as diverse as the musicians who encountered it; but for those who experienced active combat on the battlefield, its effects had direct physical and psychological consequences that stayed with them for a lifetime. Unlike the composers profiled above, Rochberg was among these directly impacted veterans, and yet most scholarly treatments of his life provide only a skeletal account of his tour of duty: that he was deployed shortly after D-Day, wounded, redeployed, wounded again, and then honorably discharged at the close of the war. But such vague details tell us little about the significance of the war on Rochberg's creative work. They only situate his activities within a general sea of statistical knowledge: that he was one of nearly eight million soldiers serving in the army in 1944, that he was among the nearly 325,000 US troops who landed on the beaches of Normandy by June 11 (D+5), that his injuries were attended to by field doctors who treated over 380,000 casualties in the European theater alone, that he served less than the average time a typical recruit spent overseas (sixteen months versus Rochberg's twelve), and that his approximately 250

days in the operational field suggests he was at risk for developing severe post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).[18]

The fleshing out of Rochberg's unique experiences and their significance to his musical career required me to locate specific details and personal reflections from a variety of sources and integrate them into broader historical and cultural contexts for his thoughts, actions, and compositions. The tale that unfolds was therefore stitched together from bits and pieces—a quality the collagist composer might have found amusing—drawn from published interviews, oral histories, unpublished correspondence, love letters, military documents and maps, music sketchbooks, marginalia, and scraps of papers strewn throughout two continents. Bound together, they form the first coherent narration of Rochberg's war story and provide a biographical prelude to his first two significant style periods—his embrace of serialism in the 1950s and his later turn to *ars combinatoria* in the mid-1960s—that lends insight into the traumatic backdrop from which his deep and abiding ideas about art, love, and humanity ultimately emerged. Connecting the war to Rochberg's emerging ideas about musical humanism also provides an unexplored context for the significance and impact of his son's death in his biography. As he noted in one interview, Paul's death—generally recognized as the personal catalyst for *ars combinatoria*—had ultimately taught him something he had already experienced "during the war, but not that deeply yet": "[It] confirmed in me all kinds of tendencies that had been there, and I could only give expression to them in my music."[19]

Rochberg's combinatorial method earned him a host of critical detractors who characterized him as a plagiarist and a neo-conservative, but others saw in his music a courageous attempt to confront the consequences of modernism. Such heroic language appears in the *Oxford History of Western Music*, in which Richard Taruskin characterizes the composer as facing a noble but impossible mission: "Rochberg's quest to regain the full range of sincere emotional expression that had been available to artists (and other humans) before the horrors of the twentieth century is thus doomed to failure; but the failure is noble, because it faces the unhappy truth of contemporary life rather than retreating, as modernism had done, into a self-satisfied, self-induced (and socially isolating) delusion."[20] Rochberg also portrayed his artistic struggle in intrepid terms, contending that the restoration of the postwar musical landscape would only be achieved by composers with moral fortitude and self-reliance who "depend entirely on their own taste, their own range of musical experience" and thereby allow "sensory order [to take] precedence over external logic and methodology."[21] As he argued in 1944, an artist "needs a special and unique courage—not the courage of the battlefield, but a longer-lasting courage with which to overcome indifference, lack of understanding, and the very problem of physical existence itself. . . . [His] victory [is] proof that man is capable of forgetting himself in service to the [human] race."[22]

Rochberg once famously described his *ars combinatoria* as "standing in a circle of time, not a line," noting that such a perspective allowed for "movement in any direction" so long as one could "keep your balance."[23] Similarly, each chapter of this book traces the course of a thematic radius—sometimes with overlapping chronology but representing independent strands of thought—to evaluate the impact of World War II on various aspects of Rochberg's creative and intellectual work. Chapter one begins with a reconstructed account of Rochberg's war experiences, with specific attention to the impact of the war on his musical education and earliest compositional efforts. Music served many roles for the aspiring composer during this time, providing him with a way to cope with the trauma around him and remain emotionally connected to his family and his craft. He also encountered a rich array of musical materials that stimulated his imagination and intellect in ways that would last throughout his lifetime.[24] The chapter ends with his return to the home front and his struggle to find a musical voice capable of reflecting the trauma he had just experienced.

After the war, 1969 emerges as a crucial year in terms of his creative and intellectual output, and the internal chapters circle around it to contextualize works from his corpus that reflect his postwar humanistic thinking. Chapter two begins with an exploration of the essay "No Center" (1969)—Rochberg's most explicit and poetic description of *ars combinatoria*—and then moves back in time to trace the seeds of its anti-modernist leanings from the personal discontent of his serialist period (1952–63). In chapter three I detail the composition of his first large-scale combinatorial work, the Symphony no. 3 (1969), and argue that Rochberg intended it as a pointed postwar commentary on the destructive consequences of the war and the lingering impact of fascism on postwar aesthetics. The symphony contains several stylistic references to an unpublished Holocaust lament Rochberg completed in 1967, the "Passions According to the Twentieth Century," and thus might be read itself as a piece of secondary musical witness that portrays the war's Jewish victims through musical symbols.[25] Rochberg's musical response to the Holocaust moves the narrative forward to chapter four, in which I consider his shifting and complex postwar relationship to Judaism and identify his evolving interest in Kabbalah as a possible mystical foundation for both *ars combinatoria* and his essay "The Avant-Garde and the Aesthetics of Survival" (1969).

The final section of the book is concerned with moral aspects of Rochberg's career, reflecting both affirming and dissenting portraits of the composer's vision of an aesthetic recovery for twentieth-century culture. Chapter five examines his long teaching career and draws heavily from interviews and firsthand accounts provided by his former students, many of them well-known figures in American art music. Through their memories, a complex portrait of Rochberg emerges that testifies to the moral and aesthetic impact of his work on nearly

three generations of postwar American composers while also recognizing his human faults and weaknesses. An afterword looks broadly at the concept of aesthetic recovery in Rochberg's discourse and hermeneutically connects it to recent revelations about moral injury and trauma in the field of war psychology. This final section also contends directly with humanistic complications to his legacy and places such discussions within recent interpretive frameworks of paranoid readings and reparative scholarship.

Chapter One

Second Lieutenant Aaron G. Rochberg: 1938–48

> The long years before 1948–49 when I wrote the original five-movement version of my Symphony No. 1 were the dark years out of which came the gigantic catastrophe we call the Second World War. . . . All of it soaked into our still-unformed minds, still-awakening souls.
>
> —George Rochberg (2005)

Rochberg began his formal musical studies in 1938 as a twenty-year-old student at Montclair State Teachers College in New Jersey. The courses he took stressed the canonical repertory, specifically the Austro-German symphonists and the large-scale works of Johann Sebastian Bach, and provided him with his first intellectual engagement with music. "It was a level of school," he described, "where only the most 'popular' pieces of those masters were played, and I knew little of music then except that I liked it tremendously. . . . The grandeur and solidity of [these] names—Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms—caught my fancy."[1] He auditioned for and was accepted to the Mannes School of Music in New York City and began his first compositional studies with Hans Weisse, a Viennese theorist widely recognized as one of the fathers of American Schenkerism.[2] As a teacher, Weisse rarely discussed Schenkerian analysis with Rochberg. Rather, he immersed his student in detailed studies of counterpoint and the German masters. "I studied Bach in a way I'd never dreamed possible," Rochberg wrote about his earliest mentor.[3] "He was tied more to traditional models than other people of his generation . . . [but he taught] me what I hungered to know about the mysteries of writing music."[4]

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In 1941, Weisse passed away from a brain tumor, after which Rochberg studied briefly with Leopold Mannes before being transferred to the compositional guidance of the Hungarian conductor George Szell. According to Rochberg, World War II had played a role in bringing the two together. Szell had held positions at premiere institutions throughout central Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, but the outbreak of war had occurred during a series of guest appearances in South America. Like many artists of stature, he chose to relocate his activities to the United States, where he initially conducted the NBC Symphony Orchestra and taught at Mannes. Throughout their early time together, Rochberg continually found Szell—who had a reputation for exacting standards and a short temper—emotionally cold, as if there was "a bridge ten miles long between us that I could not get across."[5] But Szell was an inherently methodical teacher—once described by a colleague as "irritatingly pedagogical"—who emphasized analytical study of the symphonic repertory and technical mastery of the basic genres.[6]

In addition to being a lauded conductor and pianist, Szell had also achieved some acclaim as a composer in his early career. Among his earliest orchestral works was the *Variations on an Original Theme*, op. 4 (1916), written at age seventeen after his studies with Richard Strauss in Vienna. Szell crafted his approach on canonical models he had studied or performed, but reviewers seized on the young composer's ability to forge a "distinctive voice" in the work.[7] The opening theme is a dance-like gavotte structured along binary phrases, a simple melody made more interesting by its use of late Romantic harmonic modulations, including chromatic explorations of the parallel modes (I/i) and flat supertonic (♭II). The variations showed his technical grasp, supplying interest through shifting figurations, styles, orchestrations, and tempos. For the young Rochberg, such techniques held endless fascination and provided a rich template for his own ideas. "I saw that sameness could be disguised, altered, reshaped in as many ways as one . . . could invent," he wrote, taking delight in the genre's "organic wholeness."[8] He therefore set out to write his own original theme—with a set of twelve variations and a culminating finale—under Szell's watchful and experienced eye.[9]

Later self-described as a "youthful view of the old tonal world," Rochberg's similarly titled *Variations on an Original Theme* (1941, rev. 1969) begins with a rounded binary movement that recalls the character pieces of Robert Schumann and early American hymnody. It presents a memorable melody made sweet by harmonization in major sixths in the A section, while the B section develops greater depth through an enharmonic shift (D♭ to C#) that opens up new voice-leading opportunities as well as access to the sharp side of the spectrum—not unlike some of the devices used in Szell's *Variations*. The ensuing variations read like a textbook of generic styles and dance forms—scherzo, etude, capriccio, toccata, arabesque, rhapsody, ballade, gigue,

nocturne, chorale, ricercare, and intermezzo—followed by a virtuosic finale certainly designed to satisfy one of Szell's basic compositional teachings: "Always save something for the end."[10] After a performance in which Rochberg played the collection for his fellow students, Szell expressed a rare measure of praise, noting that he was "quite pleased" with "certain places" in the score.[11] Overall, the *Variations* demonstrated Rochberg's early mastery of idiomatic writing and his youthful reverence for Classical and Romantic piano literature. As he would later record in his diary, the *Variations* "speak in their own gentle way and are right for what they are. . . . Music [should be] of the soul. And if the soul rings out, sings, speaks, that's good. . . . [It's] as simple as that."[12]

A similar assessment might have been made about his personal life at the time. In 1939, while at Montclair, Rochberg met Gene Rosenfeld, an encounter he described as "magical, a sense of heightened super-reality." The two were instantly drawn to one another on a spiritual-aesthetic level: "We shared powerful ideas about what existence should be. She had the same demand of herself and of life that I had put on myself in life; and that was to convert it into something that could be beautiful, into something in which beauty would be a daily part of existence—a kind of ultimate transformation."[13] They waited two years for Gene to finish her degree and were married in 1941 in a small civil ceremony attended by only their close friends Herb and Mitzi McClosky and the justice of the peace. At that point, Gene joined Rochberg in New York City, where she worked at Macy's to bring in additional income. Her presence, coupled with the onset of his professional career, imbued this period of his life with a halcyon glow. New York City at that time was a place where "you could dream big dreams. . . . Life was serious, full of purpose to create art."[14] The war seemed a world away, with daily life concerned only with "the anxieties and fear . . . of being young and all that goes with being young."[15]

The invasion of Pearl Harbor in December 1941 changed that world measurably, but in interviews and his autobiography Rochberg rarely discussed his reaction to these larger world events. Rather, the US entry into the war functions as a literary prelude to a more romantic postwar story—his accidental reunion with Szell after sixteen years: "I was walking on Chestnut Street [in Philadelphia] . . . [and] remember hearing my name repeated several times over . . . in a distinctly Mitteleuropa accent. . . . He had picked me out of the crowd and obviously remembered me clearly . . . after so many years."[16] In reality, the military draft was one of the most devastating events in Rochberg's early personal and professional life, representing an involuntary separation from those he loved most and a deferment of what he considered his true calling. In 1942 he received a tellingly large, oblong letter from the government, informing him that he had been called up for service. The moment was one of dread and disappointment: "The draft [had been] plaguing me [and] finally, I was pulled in. . . . Even if you had patriotic feelings, it was a very difficult

Figure 1.1. Rochberg in his United States Army infantry uniform (ca. 1943). In the lower corner, the inscription to Gene reads: "Yours forever, Darling. Georgie." Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.

experience in every sense."[17] Gene recalled how devastated her husband felt, especially because he had been gaining traction as a composer in his own right. "Suddenly you're a young man starting out on your career . . . and then away you go," she mused in a conversation before falling silently into a private memory.[18] The day before he left, Rochberg traveled to bid his parents farewell. From their house, he sent Gene his first wartime request: "Millions of kisses, sweetheart . . . Play the last movement of Beethoven's Ninth for me."[19]

Rochberg's initial processing was at Fort Dix in New Jersey, where he underwent his first round of training (fig. 1.1). As Gene would later describe it, this earliest phase of service was in many ways the most unsettling in that it developed both the physical stamina and the psychological mentality soldiers would need on the battlefield.[20] Infantry solders anticipated a thirteen-week

program; at Fort Dix, Rochberg underwent a grueling routine consisting of drills, physical exercises, firearms, and marches. A daily schedule would likely have started with reveille at daybreak, followed by a lengthy march to the official training site. There, soldiers would pursue "scheduled training activities from [morning] until [evening], the nine and a half hours broken only for the midday meal."[21] In addition to learning how to roll their packs and pitch tents, the infantry soldiers underwent bayonet practice, grenade training, and instruction in how to use rifles, machine guns, mortars, and heavy artillery. At its most extreme, a training day could last nearly sixteen hours before the call for "lights out." Some nights, recruits were awakened to conduct "field problems," an additional effort to provide realistic training conditions and enforce military discipline, cooperation, and protocol.[22] All of these activities sought to strengthen the battalion by erasing individuality and assuring loyalty to the command structure and the tactical goal.

The severity of the experience was not lost on Rochberg, who wrote to Gene about its paradoxical aims. "On the one hand, you are supposed to be a great human, considerate of others, [and] courteous," he shared. "On the other hand, you are told to . . . 'stick that Jap before he sticks you.' [To] not mind killing." In several of these earliest letters he worried about the impact of basic training on his psyche, reaching the conclusion that mankind was "not civilized, not in the least."[23] As he once recalled, "I awoke [every day] with a sense of horror and physical sickness. How again would I live through a day of physical effort, straining every muscle? How to live through a day of preparing for fighting, for killing? . . . [These things] make their mark on the soul."[24] More disconcerting to the young composer, however, was the fact that physical and mental exhaustion had begun to hinder his ability to compose. "I find it impossible to think in terms of music any longer," he wrote to Gene. "I [used to think] constantly in terms of sounds—singing tunes or just listening to them as they went through my head. I have no time now for such reflection. The creative process, I realize now, must have leisure in which to function and develop."[25] At Fort Dix, music only surfaced during the rhythmic drills and marches designed to create unit cohesion and coordination. In those moments, he shared, "my music is not dead. I know because I find myself singing [to the rhythm] when bad things run through my mind. . . . It is something that will not be put out easily."[26]

Around Thanksgiving 1942, Rochberg was transferred to Fort McClellan in Alabama for a more specialized round of replacement training that would allow him to be inserted into infantry divisions that had sustained great casualties. As historian Dan Puckett describes, McClellan brought together a wide array of soldiers from throughout the eastern seaboard, including a significant Jewish population from New York.[27] For some, the transfer added a secondary layer of cultural shock, a phenomenon Rochberg detailed in his letters: "You

wouldn't believe it, dear, but there are some men in my barrack . . . who can neither read nor write! I am now half a secretary [for them]."[28] He was also surprised by the overt prejudices among some of the men from his barracks, specifically toward black American soldiers. Anti-Semitism, however, was a quieter affair. "I don't know how they feel [about Jews]," he wrote nervously about the officers overseeing the servicemen, noting that among his fellow soldiers he had failed to perceive any sense of social ostracism.[29]

Most disconcerting, however, was the sustained negative impact of further training on his identity as a composer. "I now feel so far away from music [that] it depresses me. It almost seems as though I never wrote any music," he lamented to Gene: "I have to conjure up tunes I've written and the feeling of pieces . . . in order to convince myself I [had ever] composed. Nothing sings in me anymore. The flow has stopped. Either it's dried up or has been pushed below the surface of my consciousness. . . . If only I could study and play a little, I'd feel better." Rochberg had, in fact, attempted to create recreational musical opportunities for the soldiers at Fort McClellan—a glee club, a string quartet—but most of his inquiries were either denied or ignored by his superiors. The experience left him feeling "unclean, undignified, and unenthusiastic," more like an automaton than a man.[30] He described the scenario to Gene with some resignation: "Your mind is completely occupied with military matters—marching, drilling, rifle and bayonet practice, map-reading, airplanes, and everything else that we do. There is no time or energy for anything else."[31]

Shortly after this letter, Rochberg wrote to Gene with renewed enthusiasm: "Darling, I found, to my delight, a wonderfully equipped music room [with] a good record collection, a piano, comfortable leather chairs, and . . . a fine atmosphere."[32] The music listening room was part of the Army Library Service, a section of the morale branch of the War Department charged with "supplying reading material to military personnel" and establishing "cultural centers for soldiers."[33] Libraries were generally housed in the service club, and at Fort McClellan an entire two-story wing was devoted to its materials and gathering spaces. The librarian in charge was Mary Frances Slinger of the fourth service command, who oversaw 174 library collections during her service tenure. At Fort McClellan she assembled a wide collection of phonographs and records that soldiers could enjoy at smaller listening stations, as well as fostering radio broadcasts for group "concert" settings.[34] As Rochberg described, the listening room was open until 11:00p.m. and provided a needed sanctuary for the composer most evenings: "It's the one room in this camp . . . that has the air of ease and relax[ation]. It has become a symbol for me of all good and artistic values."[35]

As Annegret Fauser notes, the morale division "considered music a strong antidote to the more nefarious leisure activities" of the soldiers and found that classical music was requested to "an unexpectedly large degree" in the

communal listening rooms.[36] The repertory spanned myriad style periods and was often played in full, an aspect of the system that astounded Rochberg at first: "I came in while they were playing [Mussorgsky's] *Pictures at an Exhibition.* They followed with Beethoven's Seventh [Symphony], which I enjoyed tremendously. . . . I left when they began Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto, not because I did not like it . . . but because I was tired and had [to] walk back to my barrack."[37] He returned eagerly the next day, armed with his own requests for the broadcast:[38] "I've already heard the end of . . . Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony [and] they're now playing some very beautiful Handel. . . . [Repertory] to follow include[s] Shostakovich's First [Symphony], Mozart's G minor [Symphony], and one I picked out—the Brahms First Piano Concerto, [which] I am dedicating to you, my darling."[39] The exposure to classical music created a rich inner world for Rochberg, one in which he reclaimed his sense of self and reconnected with his loved ones, if only through memories. Listening to his requested Brahms, he wrote to Gene, "bring[s] me back to the beautiful concert. Remember how we were together there and hung on every note? Today I feel so close to you darling, because I am relaxed and can really think and reflect."[40]

The listening rooms at Fort McClellan also became a site for specialized musical training of another sort, a process in which Gene played a crucial supportive role. To engage with the broadcasts more actively, Rochberg asked Gene if she might purchase orchestral scores of the works contained in the record library. "I can hear it better with the score," he explained, and "really see what the music [is] all about."[41] His list was rather extensive, perhaps betraying his initial excitement about the prospect: Shostakovich's Symphonies nos. 1 and 5, Brahms's Symphonies nos. 2–4, Beethoven's Symphony no. 3, all twelve of Haydn's London Symphonies, Prokofiev's Classical Symphony, and the violin concertos of Beethoven, Prokofiev, Tchaikovsky, and Brahms.[42] Understanding their importance to her husband's morale, Gene saved her earnings meticulously but could only afford to purchase and ship just two scores: Prokofiev's Violin Concertos in G minor and D major. Rochberg was touched by her gesture and recognized the self-sacrifice she had made. "It felt so good to get the score, to look at it and to know that *you* bought it for me," he wrote appreciatively. "It will be a fine addition to our music library, my sweet librarian. As for the next scores, perhaps we'd better wait. Use whatever money you have for [yourself]."[43]

Gene also became Rochberg's conduit to the contemporary music scene, often sending him newspaper reviews of concerts held in New York. For example, in fall of 1942 Shostakovich's newest work—the Seventh Symphony—was given at least three separate performances at Carnegie Hall, under the batons of Serge Koussevitzky (Boston Symphony Orchestra), Artur Rodzinski (New York Philharmonic), and Leopold Stokowski (Philadelphia Orchestra). Writing

for the *New York Times*, critic Olin Downes noted that the work had become a "must" among the so-called musical elite, despite the fact that he believed its popularity was based on "its qualities as a war document and [not] as a work of art."[44] Gene clipped various assessments of the work and sent the articles to Rochberg, who immediately requested the only Shostakovich recording in McClellan's collection, the Fifth Symphony. After listening to the first movement, Rochberg penned his own Downesian critique from his bunk: "It has seriousness and sincerity and intense conviction, but . . . there is always something missing in Shostakovich. . . . His work doesn't grow with force and logic. . . . As for the quality of the music—its melodic and harmonic shape and mass—there seems to me to be nothing of [an] unusual nature. Sometimes it is even commonplace and old-fashioned."[45] Gene responded with her usual unconditional support, exclaiming that what the world needed was less Shostakovich and more Rochberg. To that end, she contacted the virtuoso Jascha Heifetz to ask if he might premiere one of her husband's prewar compositions, a violin sonata. Heifetz ultimately never responded, whether because of his recent bout with the flu, his upcoming performance for servicewomen at the Vassar club, or Rochberg's relative obscurity as a composer.[46]

After six weeks at Fort McClellan, Rochberg waited to learn whether he would be deployed or accepted to the Officer Candidate School (OCS). Based on his prewar training, he had applied for a position in the morale division, which sought to "enhance motivation and cultivate positive feelings about the war" by keeping the soldiers "busy with entertainment, reading, and education."[47] As he jokingly wrote to Gene, "You see, dear, training for the infantry doesn't necessarily mean you go into combat."[48] But the odds were stacked against him; as Fauser notes, "more seasoned and better-known composers such as Barber, Blitzstein, [and] Copland negotiated more prominent [noncombat] roles for themselves within the institutional context of the armed forces."[49] In December 1942 Rochberg learned that he had been accepted to the OCS, but as a field specialist.[50] He remained at McClellan for another month before transferring to Fort Benning in Georgia for a new round of advanced training with the 6th Company, 2nd Student Training Regiment.[51] In mid-July 1943 he received a commission to join the 261st Regiment of the 65th Infantry Division at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, which would come under the command of Major General Stanley Reinhart in August.[52] His basic training, as well as his informal score studies, had come to an end.

Camp Shelby was located near Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and was the advanced training site for four full army divisions, including the 65th.[53] Similar to Forts McClellan and Benning, it also boasted an Officers' Service Club with library facilities; Rochberg even procured musical staff paper, although the rigorous training schedule hindered any sustained compositional projects. The base also gave Rochberg his first glimpse of the enemy, as it was a holding

location for German and Italian prisoners of war (POWs) who had been captured during the current campaign in North Africa.[54] In 1944 the POW population reached nearly 5,300 and would have been visible to any officers stationed there.[55] Under the terms of the Geneva Convention, POWs were not to be subjected to forced labor, but some requested paid jobs—such as picking cotton in the nearby Delta—and used their earnings to purchase musical instruments and provide concerts. In addition to offerings by the POW orchestra and band, US soldiers enjoyed an eclectic musical offering that reflected the diversity of the camp's population, including standard military band performances, swing and jazz music, traditional Hawaiian music and ceremonial dancing, and a five-act soldier show, "T. S. Buddy," produced and performed by members of Rochberg's 65th Division in August 1944.[56]

Life in the Officer Candidate School was "terrifically intensive," to use Rochberg's words, but he did compose three morale-boosting pieces in honor of his fellow soldiers at Camp Shelby. While in later life he often presented himself as hostile to popular entertainment music, Rochberg was actually no stranger to writing popular and commercial music.[57] He had played piano in several honky-tonk bands during the Great Depression and was hired by dance ensembles to create big band arrangements.[58] Such music, he argued, had allowed Americans to survive the collective hardship of World War I and the Depression in that popular songs "produced a kind of romantic aura around a dark center which made life bearable."[59] During the Depression Rochberg "wrote tons of pop tunes," one of which attained publication but, as he jokingly admitted, "never made a dime."[60] These early compositional activities were no easy endeavor; on the contrary, as Rochberg explained, writing an effective popular tune required strategy, talent, and attention to a host of musical parameters and social mores.[61] In particular, Rochberg stressed the importance of creating a sense of "melodic infectiousness," or what cultural historian Regina Sweeney describes as a song's "power, order, motion, and even predictability—all things the army needed."[62]

Sweeney was writing about French patriotic hymns during World War I, but as Fauser notes, many of the same aesthetic qualities remained in the later American repertory. In general, the songs had to retain basic functionality, allowing for the widest level of participation so that soldiers might self-consciously re-present themselves through the ritualized practice of communal singing.[63] A successful mobilization song would ultimately stress "the need to do one's duty for [his or her country], [assert] that a war could be justified, and [acclaim] the . . . soldier's impetuous power and effectiveness."[64] Lyrics invoked freedom and "liberty as a shared value of the Allied nations," while the music remained strictly diatonic (often with a narrow scalar range) and infused with rhythms drawn from military topoi (marches; fanfares).[65] The soldiers' songs were to be memorable and portable tools for building cohesion and courage among the civilians turned combatants.

Funding Body: The National Endowment for the Humanities

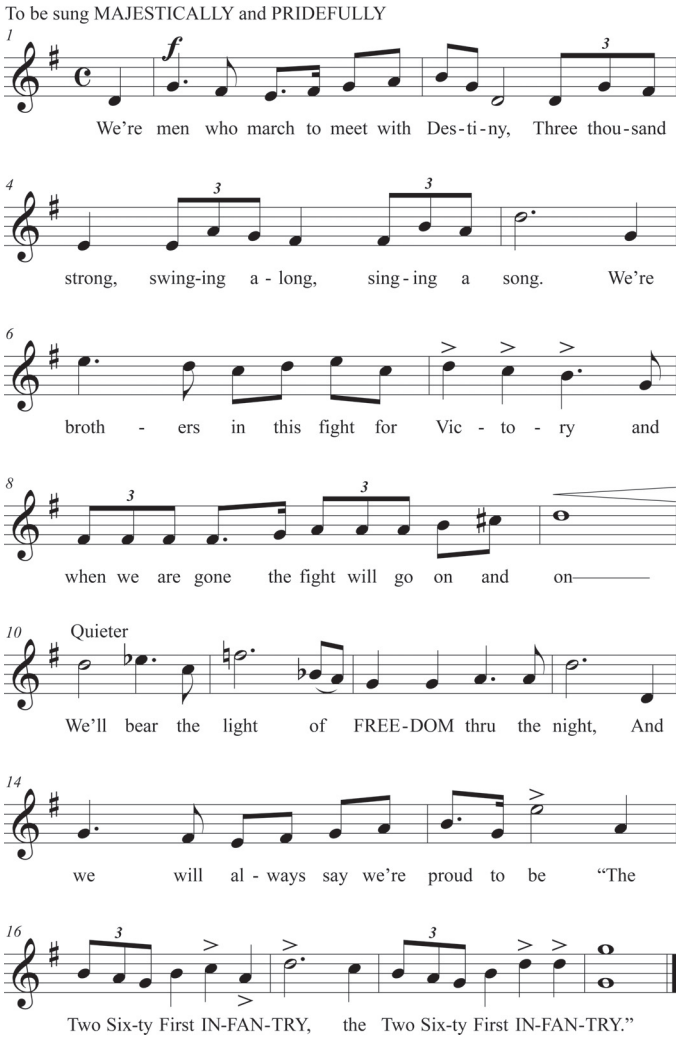
Rochberg's OCS compositions for the 261st Infantry all bear these hallmarks, demonstrating his skill as a songwriter within the patriotic genre. He composed the "261st Infantry Song" on November 19, 1943, in collaboration with his colleague Corporal T. G. Keegan, a twenty-three-year-old who had previously worked as an optician in New York City.[66] At the head of the score, the two provided performance directions for their collective expression of brotherhood: "to be sung majestically and pridefully" (ex. 1.1). The stanzas, as crafted by Rochberg and Keegan, furthered the sentiment in explicit terms:

> We're men who march to meet with Destiny,
> Three thousand strong, swinging along, singing a song.
> We're brothers in this fight for Victory
> And when we are gone the fight will go on and on.
> We'll bear the light of FREEDOM thru the night.
> And we will always say we're proud
> To be "The Two Sixty First INFANTRY,
> the Two-Sixty-First Infantry!

Rochberg's music underscores the textual imagery and heroism of the stanzas, with their emphasis on strength, perseverance, and victory. Opening unambiguously in G major, the melody unfolds in a broad march tempo with jovial triplets that lead the singer in a triumphant full octave ascent to the dominant. Dynamic and articulation markings create the sense of determined progress to the end of the first stanza, which increases in musical strength because of a sustained crescendo. This dynamic apex abruptly ends with a call for the next line—"We'll bear the light of FREEDOM thru the night"—to be sung quietly. At this point, Rochberg shifts harmonically to B-flat major (♭III), lending the short passage a sense of tonal remove that aligns well with the imagery of nocturnal maneuvers in the dead of night. A variation on the opening material recalls the opening's bold confidence, now augmented by a slower rhythmic pace that builds to the final unison cadence. The chosen tessitura—including the fact that the highest notes in the piece should be sung quietly, which would allow for falsetto singing—suggests that Rochberg had practical matters in mind, but the song's harmonic path would no doubt prove challenging for the untrained (and unrehearsed) chorus of marching basses, baritones, and tenors.[67]

A month later Rochberg composed the "March of the Halberds (the 261st Infantry March)" for use during training marches at Camp Shelby, but his account in his autobiography reveals a long-standing emotional connection to the genre: "Marches have always appealed to me since childhood. My earliest vivid, 'live' memory is of flags flying, bands playing, and soldiers marching in what looked like endless ranks [down] Main Avenue in downtown Passaic, New Jersey [when I was four]. The crowd went wild. . . . It remains one of the most vivid scenes in a long life—alive, unforgettable."[68] Rochberg

Example 1.1. Rochberg, "261st Infantry Song" (1943). Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



followed the traditional conventions for a military march in his own version (ex. 1.2).[69] Written in E-flat major and opening with a "call to arms" introduction, the march is organized according to ternary form (ABA), with the middle section firmly in the related key of A-flat major. Filled with fanfares and triadic gestures, it trades in many recognizable military topoi—dotted rhythms, a chromatic assent to the melodic apex, marcato markings to designate crisp

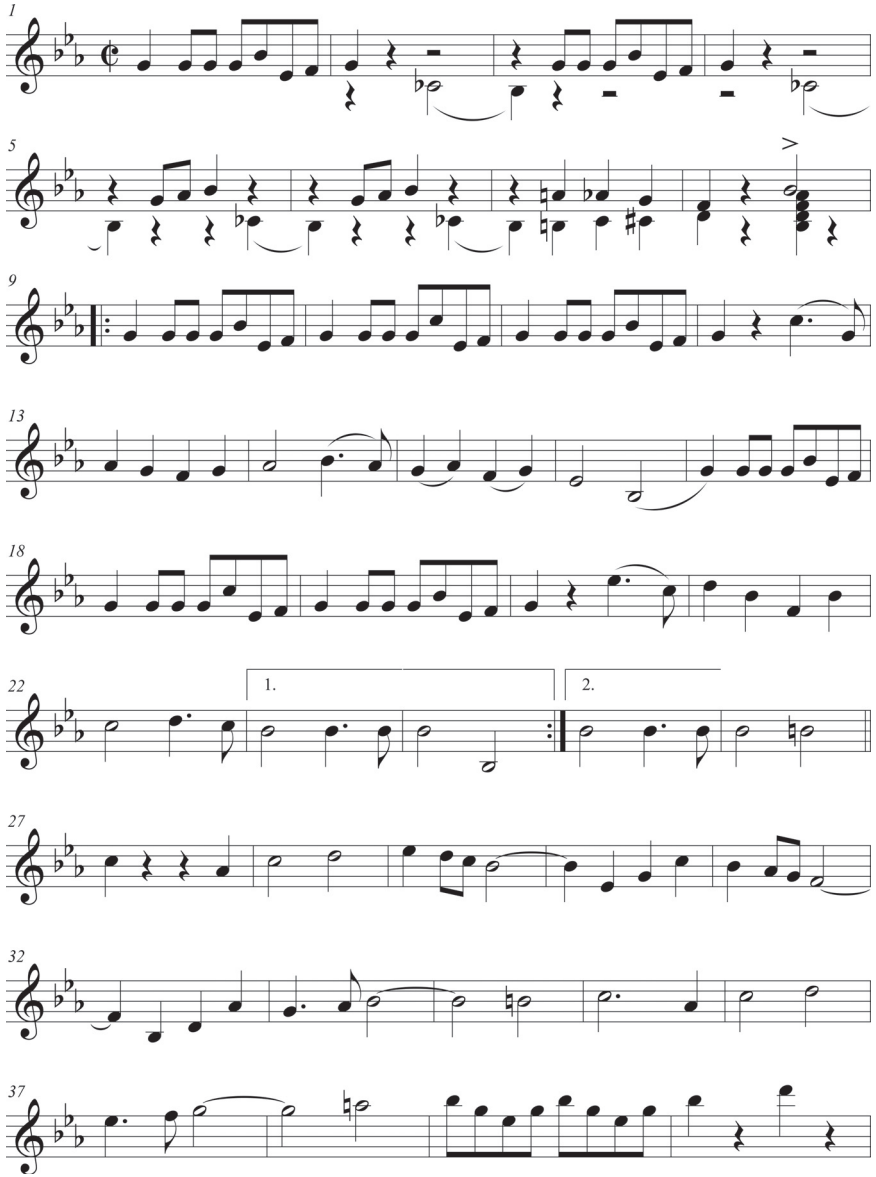
motions—all of which results in a piece that is heroic, triumphant, and confident in its character. Rochberg included no harmonic indications or scoring instructions, in part because at this point in his training he "knew little about scoring for a military band."[70] Instead, he wrote it out as a piano score and then converted it into a "short-score [with] amplifications to indicate other parts to be played." He presented the work to the band director, who agreed to orchestrate it for Rochberg. After its first performance during training exercises, Rochberg recalled that he was pleased with the effort: "It sounded fine, in the grand tradition of John Philip Sousa. In short, it was the real thing, authentic."[71]

In April 1944 Rochberg wrote his final song for the 261st Infantry—"Song of the Doughboy"—and the score suggests he had learned some lessons from his earlier attempts.[72] Written in $\frac{6}{8}$ meter, the music maintains a steady marching beat, at times even leaving gaps in the melody to allow for the pleasurable percussive effect of marching boots (ex. 1.3). The strophic song bears the hallmark of classic military music; it consists of highly repetitive gestures and phrases in the key of F major that occasionally modulate chromatically to the supertonic, uses the common rhythmic topoi of a triplet leading from the upbeat to the tonic, and is written in a tessitura an untrained mixed men's chorus could easily cover.[73] The lyrics take a less noble tone, portraying the 261st in the more slap-happy vein of "Johnny Doughboy," a popular figure in both wartime film and song.[74]

Look at 'em go, Johnny and Joe,
Slogging along the road that leads to Victory.
To hell with the rain and lousy terrain,
They're the men who'll beat Japan if there's anyone who can!
Whatever the cost, no battle is lost.
They'll never stop until this job is done
They'll go marching into Germany,
The good ol' US infantry,
A Fighting million strong,
Singing a lusty Doughboy song.

They're in to win, on to Berlin,
Nothing can match the courage of the Infantry.
Tho' tired and sore, they're ready for more.
They're the boys who use their guts and their trusty rifle butts!
No matter how few, they always get thru.
They have the spirit of the fighting free,
And they'll give the Axis all they've got.
And you can bet it's a helluva lot!
So hear their Doughboy Song!
As they go marching along!!!!!!

Example 1.2. Rochberg, “March of the Halberds (the 261st Infantry March)” (1943). Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



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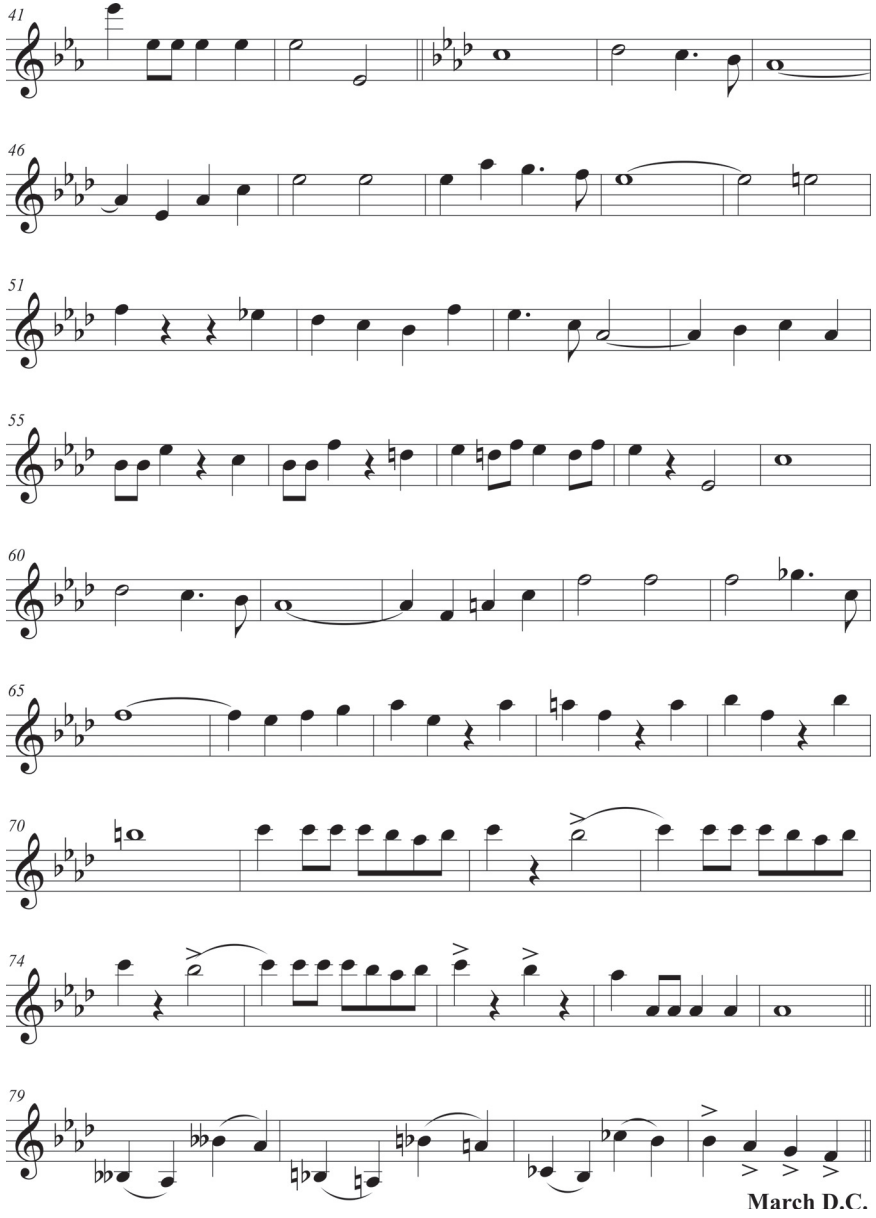
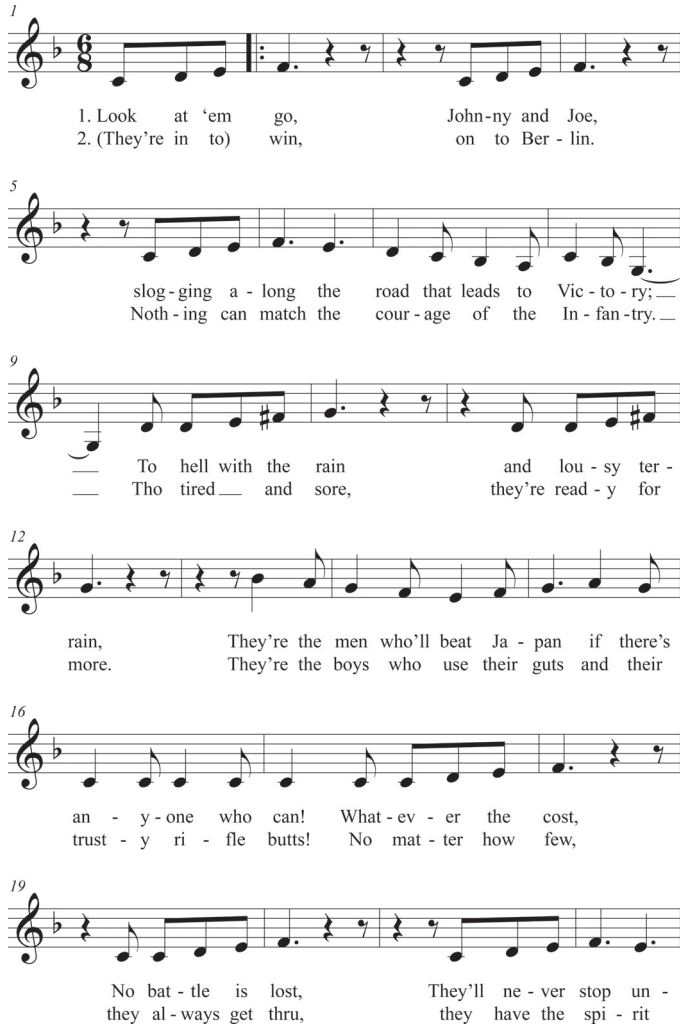
Example 1.2. *Continued.*

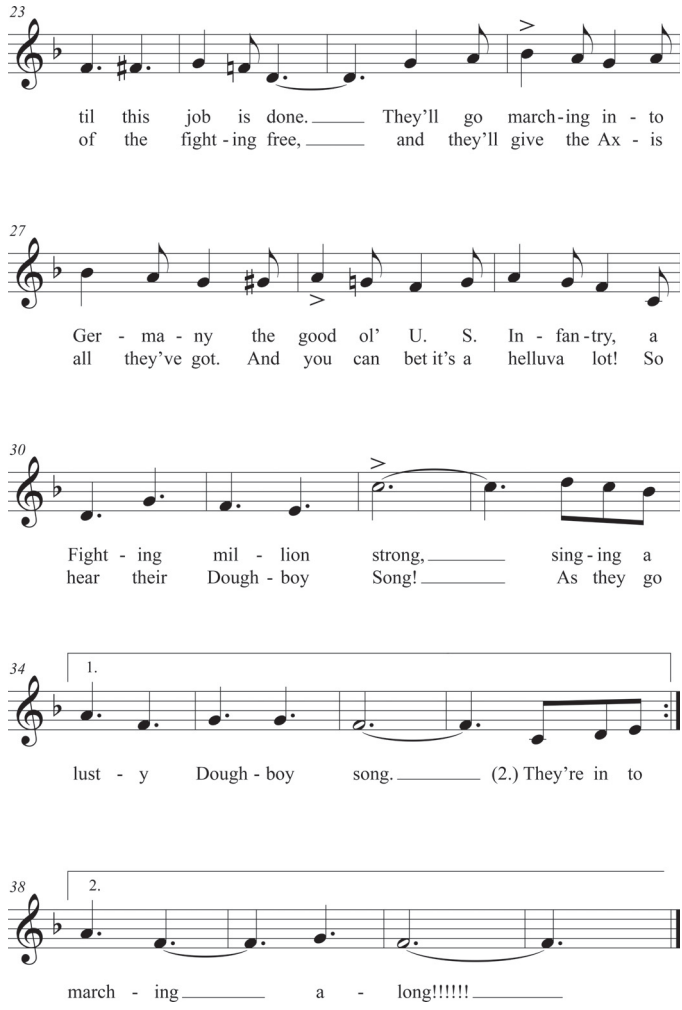


Example 1.3. Rochberg, "Song of the Doughboy" (1944). Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



The redundancy of the music and its colloquial banter would have provided the men with some entertainment during their marches, no doubt also causing a few winks and chuckles at the mention of a "lusty doughboy song"—a clever triple-entendre that recalled spirited singing among the troops, the seductive lyrics of "Johnny Doughboy Found a Rose in Ireland," and the standard overseas issue of preventative prophylactic creams familiarly called "Doughboy Kits."[75]

Example 1.3. *Continued.*



Unlike other members of the 261st Infantry, Rochberg was deployed to the European theater as a replacement in Company "C" of the 357th Infantry regiment, assigned to the 90th Division of Patton's Third Army after the Allied invasion at Normandy (D-Day). As a result, he was separated from his original battalion and subjected to renewed feelings of isolation and loneliness: "I knew no one in my outfit and there was no chance to get to know anyone. We just slogged along."[76] After a brief touchdown in England, he and his battalion took

a second flight to the recently captured but still volatile French coastline. Nearly fifty years later, he could still vividly recall the "look of fear" on the faces of the soldiers who had been wounded in the initial onslaught: "Walking away from the plane that had just landed on an airstrip on Omaha Beach . . . and seeing the wounded, walking and on stretchers, going to the same plane that had just taken us from England. The look in their eyes, a look I'd never seen before that day. Almost an animal look; glistening fear, anxiety, uncertainty radiating from their eyes."[77] Upon arrival, his division was immediately dispatched to help with the second stage of the invasion, which involved breaking through the hedgerows in northern France, a deafening assault that required explosive charges to dislodge the thick, thorny bushes of the French countryside.[78] The fatigue from constant marching and physical work was overwhelming despite nearly a full year of basic training: "I remember being dog-tired [at] night. Apparently I [once] slept through some minor bombing by German reconnaissance planes."[79]

The heaviest fighting of this campaign took place around the town of Saint-Lô, where the Allies met with the Second SS Panzer Division of the German Army; Rochberg vividly remembered marching into the "absolutely destroyed" city after its successful capture:[80] "[We] passed through St. Lô [*sic*] [which] had been chewed up something ferocious. Giant eggbeaters had been applied to the town and environs. Nothing but ruination and destruction all around."[81] His first intensive battlefield experiences were during the Falaise Gap, a tactical maneuver in which the British and American forces hoped to trap the German Seventh Army in a "pocket" created by the closing forces.[82] The days, which Rochberg described as "hot [and] heavy [with] dust from tanks, trucks, and human feet on the move," consisted of an endless and exhausting alternation of constant marching, reconnaissance, and direct combat.[83] The impact on his psyche and body was debilitating at times, as he described in a testimonial story written in 1944:

> The dust seeks out the most open and vulnerable parts of one's face to attack. And it is an insidious, slow, subtle infiltration that one is hardly conscious of until overcome and nearly defeated by it. The eyes become irritated, burning and tearing, hot and smarting. The nasal passages dry up; and the inside of the mouth is full of cotton. Thirst becomes real and agonizing. The whole muscular system aches and complains and the brain becomes dull with fatigue. . . . Endless and monotonous was the long column [of troops] ahead—brown against the green fields and blue skies.[84]

As a platoon leader, Rochberg felt a sense of responsibility to "keep going" in an effort to motivate the troops under his command. But despite nineteen months of rigorous physical training, his body could not keep up under the demands of the march:

> At the end of the third day we came to a river. . . . I took off my clothes [and] found both feet a bloody mess. Went in the river anyway. Glorious it was to feel the water, the cool and wet of it. When I came out I got over to a medic station somehow. They taped my feet. I must have put my taped bloody feet back into my boots. . . . After that I completely lose track of my feet.[85]

Wounds such as these were considered minor, often treated by giving the limping officer a ride to the next encampment and thus time to heal as he waited for his platoon to catch up. Overall, the pace was grueling, as divisional records attest. By the close of August, Rochberg had marched well over 550 kilometers in just two months.[86]

Amid these conditions, the troops sought "some diversion, some refreshment for the senses" to encourage them further, and the impact of these spiritual oases on Rochberg's mentality cannot be overstated. Joyful encounters with grateful French citizens along the route provided him with a sense of humanity and encouragement: "I found relief in our passage through the multitude of small towns and villages that lay in our route of march. . . . I welcomed the new, eager, and excited faces, the shrill pitch of children's voices. Men and women and young children ran about frantically passing out cognac, cider, apples, and plums. It was a simple demonstration . . . and helped you forget your aching feet and sore eyes."[87] But as Rochberg recalled, more meaningful than these generous handouts were those experiences that reinforced his moral pride in his mission: "My tiredness was forgotten [in those] moments. [I remember] a woman leaning out of her window, [saying] in a voice barely audible, looking into my face as though she meant it for me alone: *Merci, merci beaucoup*. Better than cider or apples . . . were those three words."[88] Ultimately, the Allied forces prevailed, bringing Rochberg once again into close contact with German POWs: "I remember we took a lot of prisoners [from the German Seventh Army]. I'll never forget one day. . . . It seemed to me like thousands of them just kept streaming through our position all day long."[89] Shortly thereafter, Rochberg's battalion was relocated to the north of Verdun and pushed forward to the French-Belgium border.

On September 23, 1944, Rochberg sustained his first grave injury during an assault near Mons, Belgium.[90] As he relayed to Vincent Plush: "We immediately bivouacked out on the outskirts. . . . Every army has to have someone at the head of it when you move into a situation. . . . That day my company was designated as the lead company of the battalion of the regiment. My platoon was designated as the lead platoon of the company. So I was out front with my two sergeants, and within an hour we ran into resistance."[91] Rochberg was shot in the left leg, "dragged off the field," and brought to triage.[92] Half a century later, he would re-experience the moment in a visceral flashback:

> The other day I saw and felt again how it was. . . . The sergeant said, "Hook your hand on my belt, lieutenant, and pull yourself up with your good leg. I'll move up a little every time." And that's how he helped me cover the ground under the sheet of bullets [until] the ground dropped off and the medics gave me sulfur drugs and put me on a stretcher and got me to an ambulance and then to a field hospital outside Verdun.[93]

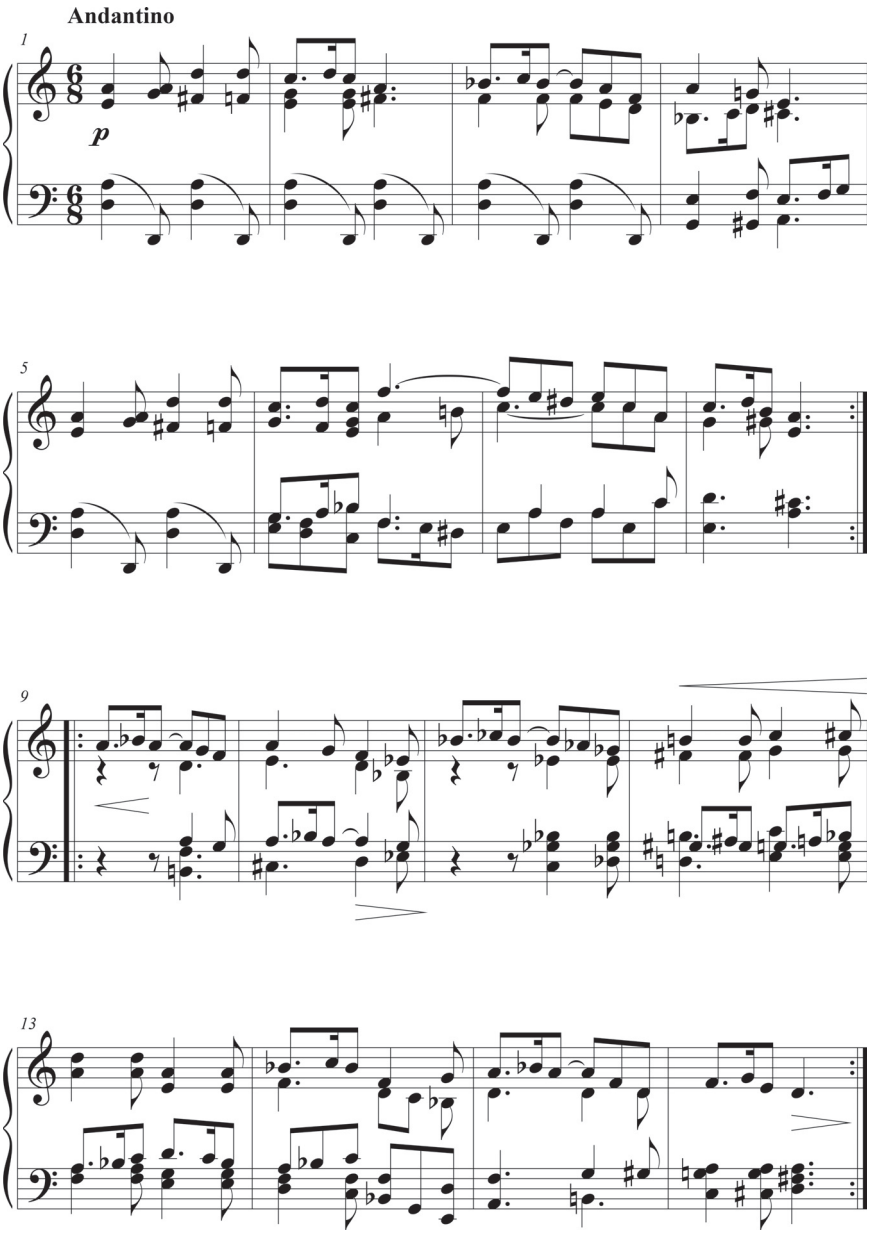
The next morning, the field surgeons operated successfully, but they were candid about how grave the situation had been. "If this was the First World War, Lieutenant," they told Rochberg, "we would have had to amputate."[94]

Rochberg initially recovered in the field hospital, a scene he described as an "atmosphere of calm, assured efficiency" that "augured well for the men and boys who came there begrimed and hurt."[95] Ever the composer, he captured the soundscape of the installation in a piece of historical fiction he wrote from his place among the litters:[96] "Overhead occasionally roared a transport plane going back toward the front for more wounded, or coming in circling slowly to make a landing at the airstrip. . . . [In the tents] there was a mingled sound of human voices. Sometimes a short staccato laugh pierced through the undertone. Sometimes a low moan rose from the earth floor of the tent."[97] Once stabilized, Rochberg was ferried out of the tactical situation to England, where he convalesced for the next two-and-a-half months. At nearly the same time, Gene was also under medical care in New Jersey. She gave birth to the couple's son, Paul, five days later, on September 28. As she wistfully recalled, "We were each in the hospital an ocean apart at that time."[98]

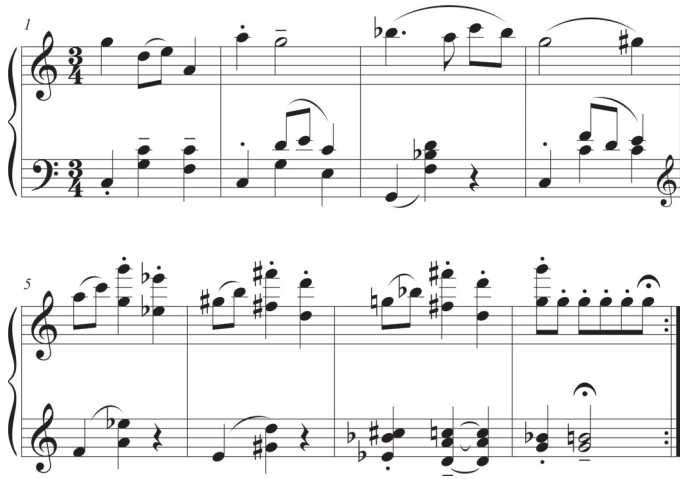
While in recovery, Rochberg was able to return to his composing, but the works he produced at this time were less musical exercises than love letters to his newborn son. In late October 1944, Rochberg wrote his first musical tribute to his son, "Lullaby for Paul," from his hospital bed in England (ex. 1.4).[99] An *andantino* in binary form, Rochberg invented an opening melody that sounds akin to a folk song in $\frac{6}{8}$ meter, but modal mixture (D minor/D major) and open fifths in the left hand muddle the tonal anchoring of the piece. Isolated dissonances paired with awkward transitions disrupt the gentle flow of the melody—arguably the most important feature in a lullaby—and the increase in harmonic density and intensity in mm. 11–14 sounds more like an emotional outpouring than a cradle song. The final cadence to D major cannot sweeten the overall temperament. The song is less a functional lullaby and more a communication from the heart of an estranged father.[100]

A similar play with tone occurs in a piano waltz written for Paul a month later, but this time the mood is more ironic and playful (ex. 1.5). The jovial waltz, having just attained a short measure (literally) of harmonic depth, evaporates into a carnivalesque twitter reminiscent of a hurdy-gurdy or carousel—a wry joke shared between father and son. Rochberg's self-described "*spass* and

Example 1.4. Rochberg, “Lullaby for Paul” (1944). Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



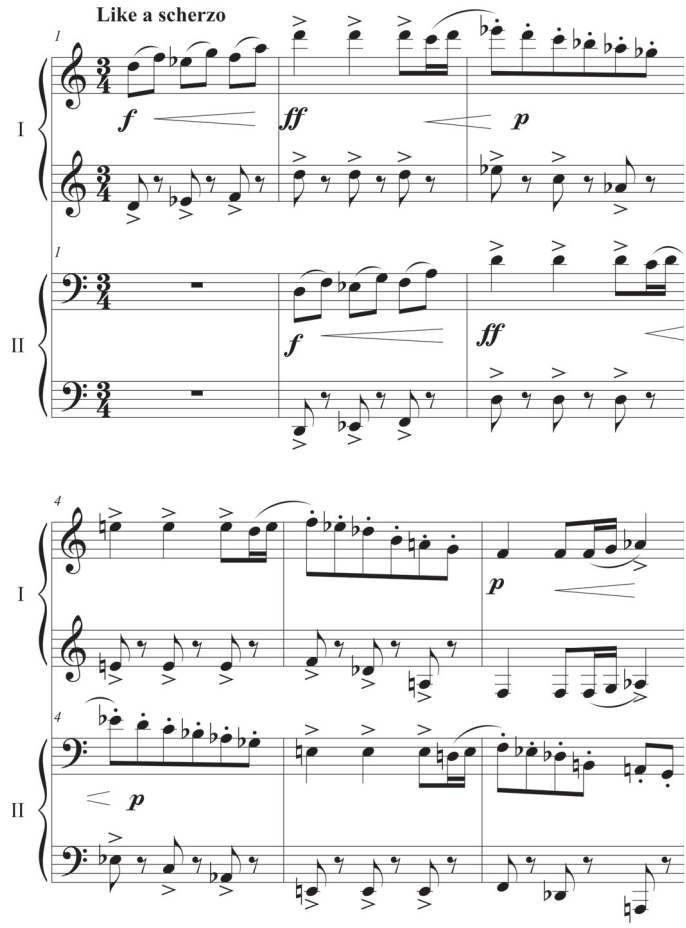
Example 1.5. Rochberg, "Waltz/Piano Music for Paul" (1944). Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



maybe *schtick*" would appear in other compositions written during his transition back to the battlefield.[101] On December 16, having been redeployed to an encampment near Fontainbleau, he sketched an idea for a piano piece titled "Cacophony for Four Hands" (ex. 1.6).[102] The piece, to be played "like a scherzo," plays like an off-kilter march awkwardly set in triple meter, with irregular accents on certain upbeats (>) throwing off the balance of the rhythm. Its two-voice fugue generates frequent harmonic dissonances between the lines—hence the title of the sketch—but the mood is neither dark nor intense; rather, its rough humor translates more as an ironic commentary on life in the army, a satirical counterpart to his earlier "Song of the Doughboy." It is a lighthearted farce with an ironic quality that he would expand upon four decades later when he transformed the sketch into the *scherzo capriccioso* of his Violin and Piano Sonata (1988).[103]

On January 21, 1945—coincidently, the date the 261st Infantry set foot on the continent in preparation for the arduous campaign from the Saar to Regensburg—Rochberg penned his last wartime offering for his son. "Song for Paul" is a tender duet "to be sung slowly and tenderly" by Gene and Mitzi McClosky, a close friend from Minneapolis with whom Gene was staying while Rochberg was stationed abroad.[104] Unlike his earlier lullaby, the vocal duet communicates nothing but diatonic sweetness through its swaying thirds and sixths, even phrases, and rhythmic homophony. Rochberg had been working on a pastoral dance for flute, oboe, and string quartet directly before redeployment, and the two works share the same peaceful regularity.[105] But such

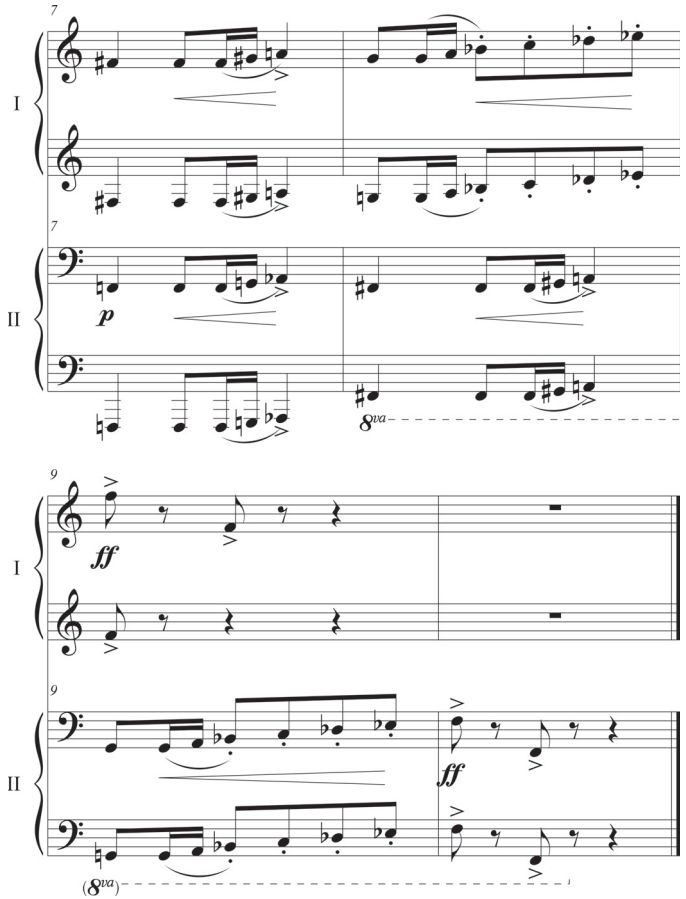
Example 1.6. Rochberg, "Cacophony" (1944). Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



bucolic settings betrayed the composer's more serious emotions as he faced a second round of brutal warfare. Only days before, the composer had sketched a short "Air" in E minor for oboe and cello.[106] The melancholy *cantabile* transmits a resignation that Rochberg captured in his revision of the title to "Pensive Air." Tellingly, the idyllic "Song for Paul" and the lamenting "Pensive Air" share the same piece of manuscript paper, representing the recto and verso of his emotional world.

Rochberg was redeployed to the Third Army and arrived with his battalion at Fontainbleau in mid-January.[107] At this point, sustaining his

Example 1.6. *Continued.*



compositional activity became a struggle for Rochberg, who was "more preoccupied with just trying to stay alive" than with advancing his technique.[108] The physical and emotional demands of the final campaign left little leisure time for the troops, and those serving on the frontlines often used so-called down time to rest or to write letters to loved ones at home. When opportunities to compose did present themselves, Rochberg's sketches took a more formal turn toward short compositional exercises within traditional generic forms. At Fontainbleau, he began work on a "Little Suite"—the outgrowth of a short prelude he had composed in the hospital—and created sketches for a free fantasia, an internal prelude, and a closing toccata.[109]

But as with his earlier service, musical work was always curtailed by the demands of warfare, with clusters of compositional activity taking place only during calmer moments in the campaign. As he described in his autobiography, life on the front was an oscillation between two extremes: "Except for the heavy artillery shells that passed overhead at random times during the day . . . an ominous, unsettling quiet hung over [us]. The biting cold of winter and the occasional patrols on which we were sent kept us from lapsing into somnolence."[110] Again, he marched with his division from France toward the German border, but this time with the added difficulties brought about by the depths of winter: "Snow up to my thighs, brutally cold, nothing hot to eat. Just chocolate K-ration and snow."[111] Such tactical movements interrupted further progress on his suite until late January, when the composer crafted the final two movements: a fughetta and a humoresque.[112]

In mid-February 1945, Rochberg and his battalion arrived at Habay-La-Neuve, Belgium, an army rest and rehabilitation center where soldiers could refresh their minds and bodies while their units reorganized for the anticipated mission ahead. For Rochberg, the break from physical combat allowed him the necessary leisure time for composing and considering new insights he had discerned from Donald Francis Tovey's *Beethoven* (1944), a biography the composer had studied in the hospital. As Rochberg explained, Tovey had "dropped the seeds" of extended musical harmony into his mind at a crucial moment—both the midpoint of his tour of duty and a recovery period during which he had the leisure to read and absorb his ideas. Now, two months later, he began to incorporate some of its most exciting ideas into his harmonic explorations, even if only in miniature form. "Tovey stimulated me," he would later write, "in as much as I was already [inclined] that way."[113] For the remainder of the war, Rochberg carried the book with him in his army-issued rucksack; it essentially became his musical textbook for the year.

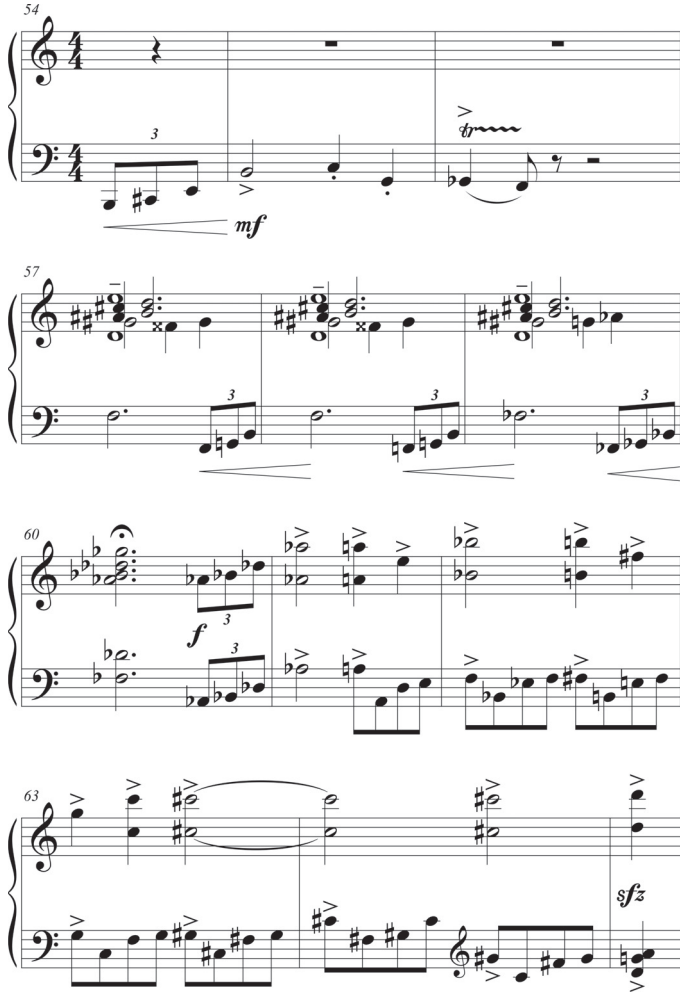
Tovey's discussion of chromatic key relations was a revelation to the young composer, who underscored passages that justified chromatic modulations—primarily to the flat supertonic—and enharmonic shifts to more remote keys. He read with glee Tovey's assessment that "textbooks on harmony are still all too persistent in regarding modulations to keys a semitone apart as extremely remote," especially given the musicologist's assertion that "certain very remote keys can be brought into contact by changing both modes of the relation."[114] Such harmonic motions were not merely tonal exercises but were also reflective of a deeper character and revolutionary spirit that Rochberg sensed in Beethoven's music. As three sequential underlined passages knit together explain: "The remoter key-relations always have directly impressive effects when used by a master who does not squander them. . . . Melodic modulations from a major tonic to its unchanged median or submediant have no very

definite character. . . . Put [modal mixture into play] and you at once have an authentic word of power from Beethoven."[115]

Rochberg's works from his second tour of duty put some of these harmonic ideas into play, albeit often in miniature or truncated settings. His emphasis appears to be less on developing larger-scale works—most probably because of restraints on his time—and more on continuing his work with modal mixture and chromatic key relations. On February 12 he wrote a short piano piece, "Song without Words," an obvious homage to Felix Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Wörter* but without the latter's sophisticated Lied-style figuration. The *allegretto* is a regularly phrased melody supported by sustained chords or homophonic motion in the left hand, often with octave doubling in the flowing passages. As with his earlier songs, Rochberg seems keen to experiment with parallel modes (I/i) and harmonic shifts to the flat side of the spectrum (♭III), along with short chromatic sequences and dissonant voice leading. Rochberg later converted the short miniature into an arrangement for string quartet, an exercise in orchestration that required him to recall the ranges of the instruments (violin, viola, cello) as well as how to notate harmonics for the viola and various string articulations.[116] On February 13 he worked on a fugal dance for wind trio (oboe, French horn, and bassoon), again with a simplistic triple counterpoint that generated open fifths or triads in either root position or first inversion.[117]

The largest-scale composition Rochberg produced—or at least drafted—during his time at Habay-La-Neuve was the first movement of a Sonatina (1945) that he would complete after his return from the war.[118] While Rochberg's wartime sketches for the work do not survive, the unpublished autograph serves as a postwar culmination of the musical skills and ideas the composer had worked with while on the front. The *allegro* begins with a short fantasia-esque introduction that leads to the opening theme. The first transition consists primarily of florid runs, percussive open fifths, and arpeggiated triads all doubled at the octave, which gives these modulatory sections a sense of closely coordinated activity. The arrival of the second theme recalls the opening gesture of "Song of the Doughboy"—with its triplets leading to the downbeat of the opening phrase and its following pause to be filled with the imagined footsteps of the battalion (ex. 1.7a).[119] The passage also reflects Rochberg's increasing desire to employ strategic moments of chromaticism in large-scale forms, a concept he had encountered in Tovey's analysis of Beethoven's Symphony no. 3 ("Eroica") and later practiced in the Sonatina.[120] The second theme ascends chromatically an augmented third (A♭ to C#) to what appears to be its apex, but the enharmonic spelling predicts its resolution to D major, a chord that suggests another world of possibilities through the discordant interval of the tritone. Rochberg resolves this harmonic tension at the close of the movement using an enharmonic revision; the second theme again chromatically rises (G–C),

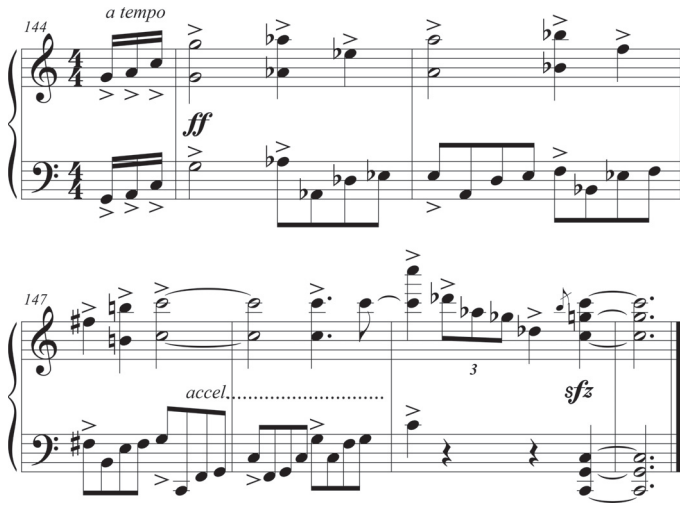
Example 1.7a. Rochberg, Sonatina (1945), first movement, mm. 54–65. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



but this time it only flirts with the tritone (now spelled as D♭) before resolving downward to C major (ex. 1.7b).[121] The resolution recalls Beethoven's enharmonic play with the same two pitches (C♯–D♭) in the first movement of the Eroica, a moment that had intellectually excited Rochberg given the number of exclamation points littering the margins of his personal copy.[122]

Rochberg's final months of the war were less productive because of the advance of the Third Army deeper into German territory and a disciplinary

Example 1.7b. Rochberg, Sonatina (1945), first movement, mm. 144–end. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



charge brought against the composer. As his battalion moved closer to the German border in March, encounters with German military units were increasingly frequent. Being a musician gave the composer one small advantage on the battlefield; he "could tell whether the firing was a German gun or an American gun" from the timbre and articulation of the rounds, thus allowing him to better triangulate the position of his battalion relative to that of the enemy.[123] In one serious instance, however, this talent led to charges of insubordination being leveled against Rochberg. As Gene relayed:

> He got an order from the general. "Rochberg, get your men over there!" And Rochberg said, "We're not going." [The general] said, "I gave you an order!" And George said, "I'm not taking my men there," because he could tell that they were going into a place where the [German artillery] was really sounding. . . . And so he was immediately arrested, and his prison cell was an old lady's house, and he had the bathroom.[124]

Unlike World War I, when refusal to follow a direct order could have led to immediate execution by firing squad, Rochberg was given a court-martial trial. In the end, his explanation that he was protecting his men from certain slaughter was accepted, and he was declared innocent of all charges. The army validated his actions by awarding him the Purple Heart for bravery—a medal

Rochberg quietly kept in his study until his death in 2005—and promptly sent him back to the front lines.[125] The composer reached Mayen, Germany, on March 22, 1945, a breach he celebrated with a feisty "Scherzo" for string quartet that rapidly accelerated to its closing cadence—a punctuated triad in the unambiguously optimistic key of C major and underscored with the following word: "Germany!!"[126]

Rochberg's last combat experience, as he explained in an interview with Richard Dufallo, was during the aftermath of the Battle of the Bulge. The Third Army was brought up from the south to begin to break the Germans' hold, and on February 7, 1945, Rochberg again sustained serious injuries on the battlefield.[127] He was sent to one of the general hospitals located in Chalons-Sur-Marne, France, for further medical attention.[128] With the end of the war in sight, the army relocated him to a British hospital ward and gave him notice that he would be discharged upon recovery. "Oh God, O God, Darling!" wrote Gene upon receiving the news. "I know you wouldn't say such things without grounds for them and my heart is bursting with the thought of being with my love again. . . . To see you [and Paul] together! I think I'll burst with joy."[129] The emotional toll of their separation—only deepened by the arrival of their son—had worn on her greatly. Awaking in the middle of the night, she often worried that she had only imagined her marriage as a "beautiful, exalted dream."[130] A month later she laid her soul bare to her husband, able now to share what she had emotionally withheld throughout the war:

> Dearest, when you went, no one could console me. As the months went by and you were assigned, wounded, sent back, arrested, wounded again—all those things—walls of iron kept growing up around my heart—my thoughts and emotions—until I was encased so tightly in an ugly unbearable armor. Darling, I was so scared, for you and then for our child and . . . [I suffered] the bitterness of seeing lives untouched, unaffected while so much was being suffered.[131]

Rochberg wrote shortly thereafter with news of his discharge orders. "I feel this iron giving way till I shall be a human being again . . . when I see you," Gene wrote in an outpouring of relief. "There is so much awaiting us—love first and then hard work. Soon beloved . . ."[132] And it would be soon; Rochberg returned to New Jersey on June 21, 1945, welcomed by the loving embraces of his wife and the first glimpse of his ten-month-old son.[133]

As Gene had predicted, love soon did give way to hard work. From the sketches he had produced in Habay-La-Neuve, Rochberg immediately set upon writing the final two movements of his Sonatina and completed them only a few weeks after his homecoming.[134] On August 14, the Japanese officially surrendered to the US forces, bringing World War II to a formal close. The news prompted Rochberg to go back to the compositional table with a volume

of William Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, from which he selected the celebratory poem "Spring" for four-part women's chorus.[135]

Sound the flute!
Now it's mute.
Birds delight
Day and night;
Nightingale
In the dale,
Lark in sky,
Merrily,
Merrily, merrily, to welcome in the year.

Little Boy,
Full of Joy;
Little Girl,
Sweet and small;
Cock does Crow,
So do you;
Merry voice,
Infant Noise,
Merrily, merrily to welcome in the year.

Little lamb,
Here I am;
Come and lick
My white neck;
Let me pull
Your soft wool;
Let me kiss
Your soft face;
Merrily, merrily, we welcome in the year.

The poem no doubt had personal postwar associations for Rochberg, its verses suggesting optimism for a new beginning, adoration of a new infant child, and the sweet affection between two lovers. The rhythmic activity of the piece—with its textually motivated shifts between homophony and small imitative gestures passed between the voices—recalls an *a cappella* madrigal setting. As one might expect, the harmonic profile is more intricate than the wartime sketches (Rochberg had access to a piano and more time to develop his ideas), but it does not venture past a fin-de-siècle vocabulary. Chromatic modulations still appear as localized coloristic effects, including brief shifts to the flat keys (♭III/♭VI) or playful meanderings into standard cadence types (IV-I/V-I). Granted, these decisions serve the cheerful text well; isolated chromatic sequences act as passageways to more stable harmonic arrivals, reflecting the overall poetic structure in that the narrator's wandering discoveries coalesce to create a collective portrait of the new season. But they also demonstrate how Rochberg's war service had isolated him from modernist trends such as free atonality and serialism. As a result, his postwar return to composition remained grounded in the comfortable—or, as the modernist camp might argue, *innocent*—modes of nineteenth-century musical communication he had studied both before and during the war.

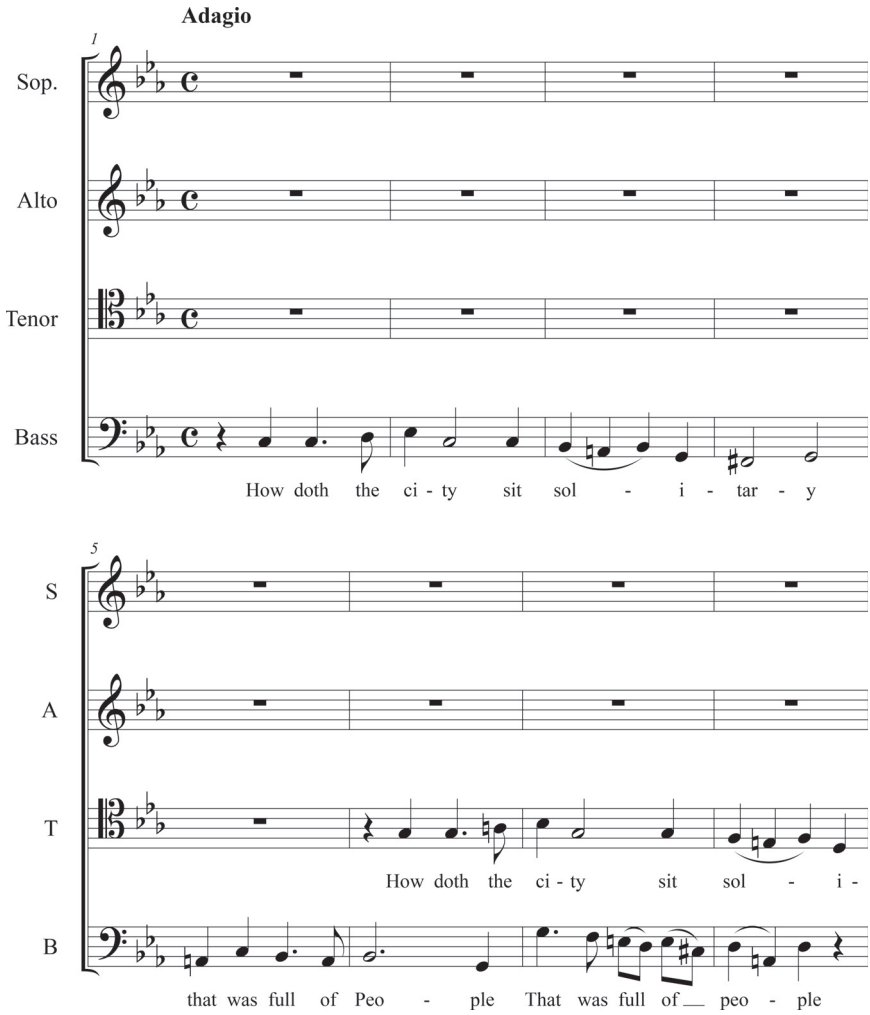
Rochberg later admitted that his postwar development had been hampered by a form of post-traumatic stress he termed "psychic anesthesia." As he

described to Reilly, it was "a way of protecting yourself against any form of feelings. . . . There is probably a two-inch layer of something in your psyche that is holding back immediate impressions."[136] While such a buttress ultimately allowed a person to persevere despite horrific experiences, the negative result of building such a coat of armor was that one was "induced into the deepest passive condition."[137] As a result, the war years were somewhat of a compositional stalemate for Rochberg.[138] He remained suspended in—and yet perhaps comforted by—the repetition of skills and repertory stressed by Szell and Weisse in his early training: fugal counterpoint, nineteenth-century harmonization, traditional genres and forms, and compositions modeled on canonical literature. Such exercises became a coping mechanism, a tether to the past that reminded him of his life's ambition and reassured him of his commitment.

In April 1946, Rochberg returned to choral music to express the bleak experience of the war and its horrific aftermath. Instead of Blake's primaveral poem, he coupled three verses from the Old Testament into an apocalyptic postwar text. Set for four-part mixed choir, the motet opens solemnly with a passage from Lamentations 1—"How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people?"—set to a neo-Baroque fugue reminiscent of the dramatic works of Bach and Handel (ex. 1.8). The texture shows Rochberg's development and advancement in contrapuntal technique; there are no more octave doublings, the subject is more complex, and the voices are better positioned within appropriate choral tessituras. A short stretto gives way to a second passage from Lamentations 3—"All our enemies have opened their mouth [*sic*] wide against us. Terror and the pit are come upon us. Desolution and destruction"—which is realized as a florid G-minor fugue filled with idiomatic gestures of the eighteenth century.[139] The work closes with a return to the opening text and key, the layered texture replaced by a more introspective homophonic rendering of the mid-century's unanswerable question: "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people?" Rochberg's reframing of the verse, which is now posed from a reflective post-conflict position within the motet, transforms its tone from a dramatic prompt into a philosophical query about man, war, and suffering.

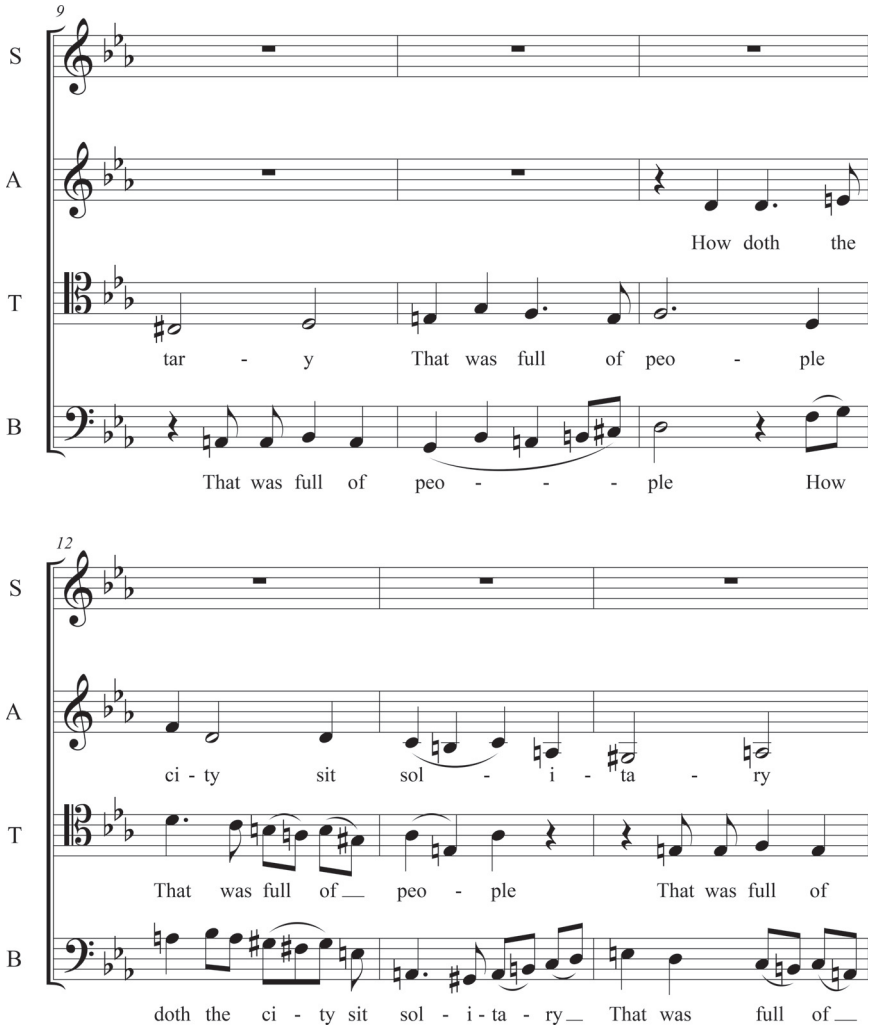
The overall effect is old-fashioned, more like a counterpoint assignment than what one might expect from a mid-twentieth-century composition about terror and destruction. This assessment makes sense, given that the motet stems from a period of intense pedagogical study during which Rochberg filled multiple sketchbooks with transcriptions from the fugal works of di Lasso, Palestrina, Handel, J. S. Bach, W. F. Bach, Cherubini, Mozart, and Brahms.[140] Between the meticulously reproduced copies, Rochberg sketched out his own contrapuntal ideas based on the older canonical models, usually prompted by short tutorials provided by his instructor, Dante Fiorillo. But as he would explain, works like the motet made him believe that this harmonic vocabulary

Example 1.8. Rochberg, Motet (1946), mvt. 1, mm. 1–21. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



fell short of capturing the horror and chaos he had seen in Europe: "From the time I came out of the army until about 1948 . . . I began to struggle with absorbing what for a lot of my contemporaries was probably old hat. War shook me out of my dream of the nineteenth century [and] forced me into the necessity to face the realities of the world around me and my relation to that [modern] world."[141] The result was an abandonment of what he called

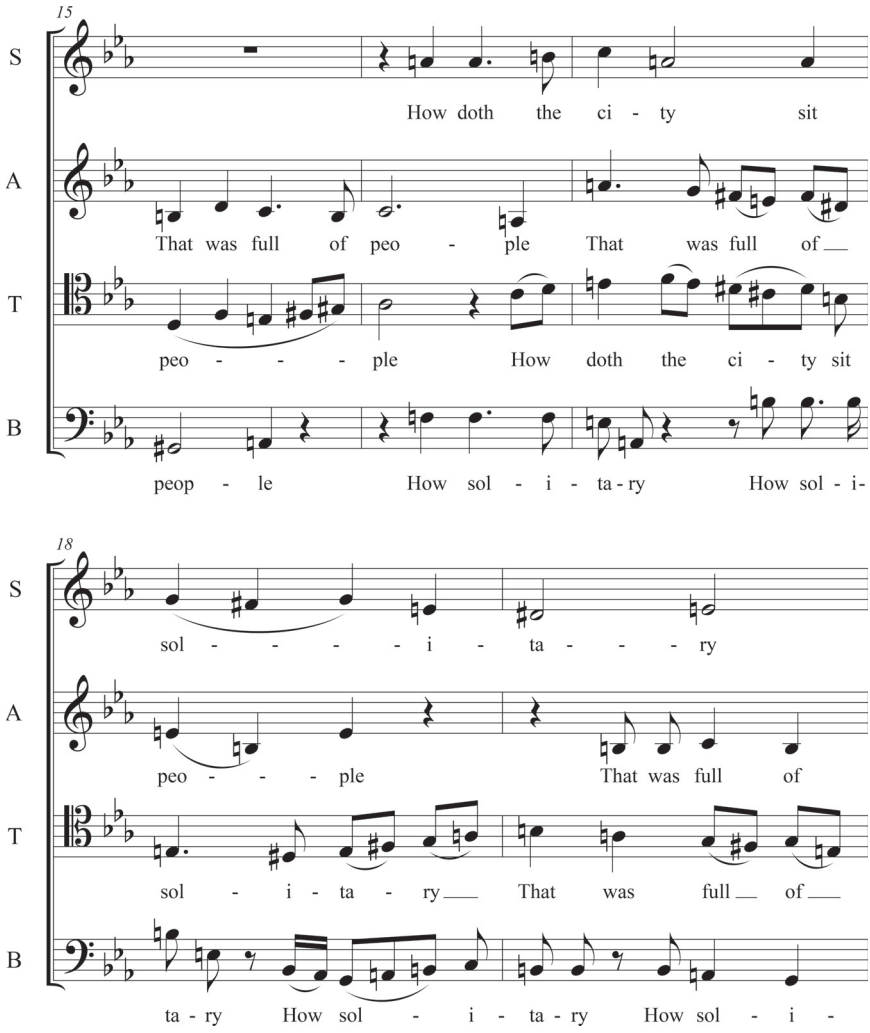
Example 1.8. *Continued.*



"soft romanticism"—the canonical idioms he now considered "the total opposite of [what] human beings have experienced: harsh, short, brutish"—and an embrace of "hard romanticism," with its "sharp angularities of dissonance." In short, he noted, "I had to find a way to hook onto the twentieth century."[142]

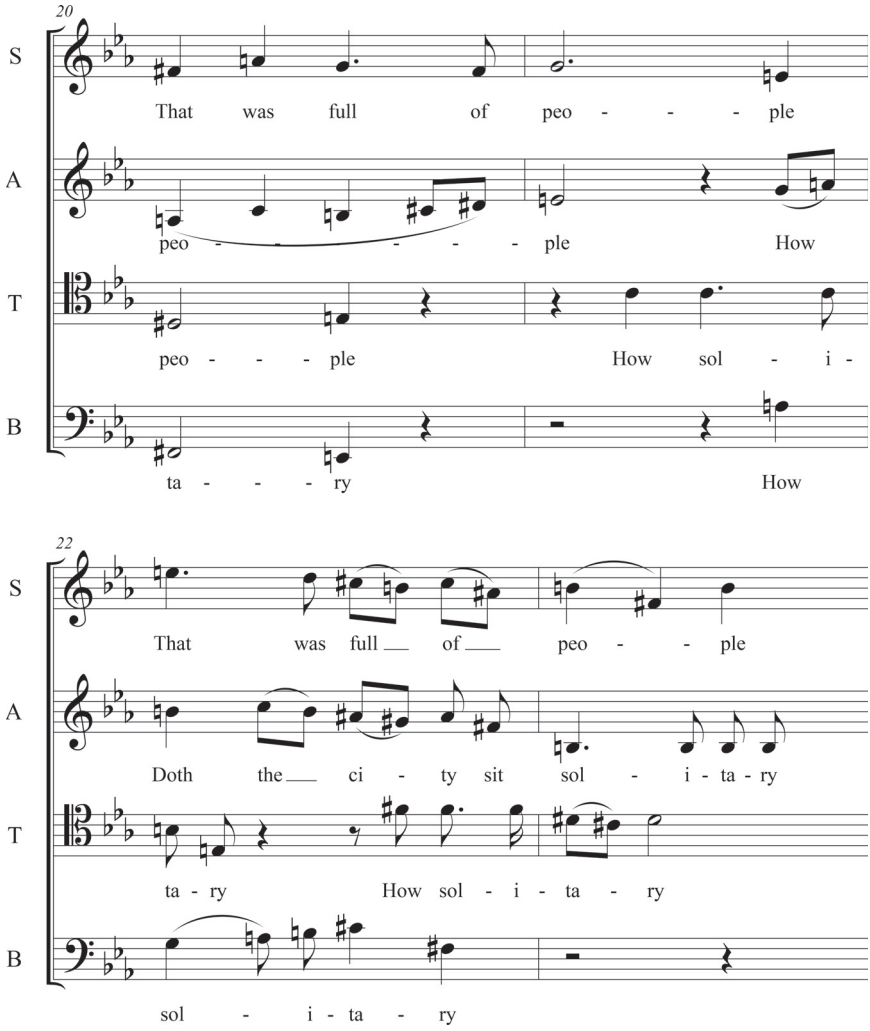
Rochberg would discover the works of Arnold Schoenberg the following year, an experience that radically changed the course of his early compositional trajectory. "Schoenberg was [my] great trauma of 1947," he recalled with

Example 1.8. *Continued.*



humor, "because . . . I made my first real contact with . . . his twelve-tone works" in that year.[143] But whereas Rochberg often described Schoenberg's dodecaphony as an intellectual exercise, he portrayed his own foray into atonality as stemming from a "deep emotional need to express what I felt had happened, what I'd been involved in, and what it meant to me."[144] He continued: "My need for a romanticism of extremes, an expressionism which could move suddenly and quickly in any and all directions[,] was not sufficiently satisfied by

Example 1.8. *Continued.*



what I knew before the war of Bartók, Stravinsky, or Hindemith. Indeed, [I needed] a language which felt much more real and palpable in the terms I now saw as the substance of twentieth century experience."[145] Twelve-tone music thus provided Rochberg with a new vocabulary by which he could "give voice to how I saw the world, how I responded to the experience of being in an uncertain world which, paradoxically, refused to see itself . . . for the dark place of terror it really was."[146]

But the lessons of his war experience, as Rochberg would discover during the next period of his career, were not as simple as adopting a more dissonant musical language. Such techniques provided a more diverse musical palette and a wider range of expression, but his war experience had not simply been about human discord and destruction. The war had driven him to what he considered his lowest and most anti-humanistic form—a killing machine driven by ideological forces outside of himself—but it had also underscored the importance of basic humanistic values to the individual retention of self. Through his wartime compositions, Rochberg deepened and preserved these human relationships: singing with his brothers-in-arms, sharing his musical sense of humor with his infant son, modeling his language on composers he revered. Collectively, such activities created an alternative aesthetic space outside the deafening roar of modern warfare that sustained him through its brutality. As he once noted, "It is a very strange kind of experience to love the world, to love life—which I did—but to be very disappointed in it."[147] His struggle with that tension—between human love and the false promises of modernism—would ultimately become the foundation for his new aesthetic worldview, a personal philosophy developed on the front lines of the war against fascism and then mapped repeatedly onto his developing ideas about musical time and space.

Chapter Two

The Long Road to *Ars Combinatoria*: 1943–63

> Reclaiming tonality was not that simple. . . . I could not give up my own direct heritage, which was that of a man [who] inherited the legacy of the giants of the time: Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Bartók. There are still aspects of their music . . . which I believe to be viable and valid.
>
> —George Rochberg (1976)

In 1969, Rochberg assembled ideas drawn from his personal journals into the essay "No Center," a quasi-poetic manifesto for a new aesthetic philosophy: *ars combinatoria*, or the art of combination. Therein, he advocated for a postmodern technique of assemblage and collage that would result in "a complex of attitudes and ideas . . . surrounded by a vague aura of association."[1] But Rochberg's philosophical conceit was more existential than the mere collection of objects and stylistic gestures into new musical contexts. In his mind, *ars combinatoria* was not a compositional technique or theory but an "exploration of deep inner space, mental space."[2] It promoted artistic expressions of human connection that reflected "a state of mind and soul against death and time" as well as "the survival of our inmost, immaterial essence."[3] At the core of his philosophy were the values of love and inclusivity, which manifested themselves in the repetition and embrace of the canonical repertory. As Rochberg described, "Everything we love belongs to us. That includes the past and the future. We are the present." He continued: "360 degrees of past, present, future. All around me. I can look in any direction I want. . . . Inclusivity. . . . The liberation of the imagination . . . implies the freedom to move where the ear takes us and to bring together everything which seems good to it. . . . We can choose and create our own time."[4] The result was a rich multi-directionality limited only by one's imagination and aural reach.

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While it has been suggested that Rochberg drew inspiration from the philosophical ideas of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who wrote about an "art of combination" in his *Dissertatio de arte combinatoria* (1666), the composer actually seized on the term after reading *Labyrinths* (1962), a collection of writings by the Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges.[5] As he shared with his friend Alexander Ringer, his discovery of Borges's ideas about literary correspondences were revelatory, and he was compelled by the author's "conscious re-creation of [past] attitude, stance, and word" as a means to pursue distinct compositional identities in the present.[6] He saw this as a "method of literature turning in on itself," with the "spine-tingling" potential to become a metaphysical philosophy "of cosmic proportions."[7] As he wrote in his journal, "Borges says you are Shakespeare if you quote him. I have had this sense about Beethoven. This cuts below [any] level of history. . . . We stand in the middle of a circle, not on a line."[8]

Borges appears in "No Center" along with other scholarly and historical influences, among them the specific humanistic challenges posed by modern war. In the essay, Rochberg frames one of his central queries—Why should one create art?—with literary reflections on the brutality of twentieth-century warfare. The first response comes from a letter written by Rainer Maria Rilke in 1915, when he was serving as a soldier in the trenches of World War I. Rilke bemoans the inability of prewar art to inspire men to humanistic values and acts: "The whole sad man-made complication of [World War I] was necessary to force out evidences of wholehearted courage, devotion and bigness. While we, the arts . . . called nothing forth in these very same people, brought nothing to rise and flower, were unable to change anyone."[9] Rilke's pessimism cedes a second reflection drawn from Norman Mailer's *Why Are We in Vietnam*, which Rochberg describes as speaking about the impotency of art through a crude "language of despair [and] the obscenities of human suffering and pain."[10]

Residing in the no-man's land between these two texts is the mid-century catastrophe, World War II, which is never explicitly mentioned and yet directly influenced Rochberg's development of the core tenets of *ars combinatoria*. Over the course of two decades bracketed by personal tragedy—his wounding in the European theater and the diagnosis of his son with brain cancer—Rochberg sought positive models for his own work, historical figures who seemed to answer Rilke's plea for musical heroes who might serve humanity through their art. But as World War II had taught Rochberg, heroes are necessarily defined by their struggle against nemeses in ethical conflicts. Correspondingly, he constructed the other side of the artistic world as a realm of vain egoists whose work reflected the crudity Mailer had identified in his novel. As his ideas matured, Rochberg would assign different aesthetic practices to these archetypes—with some composers and styles shifting between the two categories as his allegiances changed—but the guiding ethical criteria, as outlined in "No

Center," remained fairly consistent throughout. The essay therefore reflects Rochberg's mature philosophical response to the war he experienced and its impact on humanity and artistic culture.

The earliest seeds for *ars combinatoria* can be traced to three wartime essays written during Rochberg's first recovery stay in a British hospital, roughly around November 1944. While recuperating, Rochberg began to sketch a vision for the type of composer he wished to become—an authentic artist whose music espoused the human values at the core of his wartime experience. In the earliest essay, "Love and Art," Rochberg contemplated the relationship between human joy and artistic creation that would later form the heart of *ars combinatoria*. Of great initial concern was what he observed as a lack of awareness in the modern world that love has always been the cornerstone of great musical creations. The spiritual power and beauty of "meaningful music," he argued, surfaces only when an "artist bring[s] to bear on his work all of himself—his mind, his heart, his physical and mental stamina all joined to the common purpose by an overwhelming, loving, creative passion."[11] Moreover, an artist's capacity to love ultimately expands or restricts one's musical language, which Rochberg believed reflects the quality of one's inner being:

> Art is a view of life which depends not on the mechanism of that view but on its ultimate meaning to man. . . . From his capacity for love the artist creates a "view of life" [that is either] full of warmth, vitality, and passion *or* [is] a drab, colorless world—dull, futile, and passionless. The ratio that exists between [the artist's] love for life and nature is distinctly related to his work.[12]

At this point in the essay, he posited two general archetypes for the modern composer, one positive in nature and the other negative. The ideal artist is one who abdicates self-importance in aesthetic service to the world; by directing his or her loving energy toward the needs of the artwork, the artist generously creates a vastly greater art. The opposite is an artist who is "completely self-loving," in that "all interest and purpose is directed inward, where the ego burns with ever-increasing intensity, demanding more fuel and giving more heat than light." As a result, the self-serving artist "generates power in himself. . . . He absorbs life and . . . assimilates it into himself" rather than into his creation.[13]

These themes were developed further in two other essays from 1944, in which Rochberg assigned historical examples to the two archetypes. The first identified Ludwig van Beethoven as the supreme model of a loving artist, a "great creator and great man" who "never ceased probing the depths of his soul, of nature, of life and man."[14] In Rochberg's opinion, Beethoven possessed two important qualities—spiritual accessibility and introspection—that allowed him to escape the grasp of the "superficial world" and draw his energy from more abstract sources like "nature and the cosmos." This ability to relocate his art from the material to the spiritual realm marked Beethoven as "a

king among all men" who heroically "rode music like a God." Similarly, the ability to be introspective—to reflect nothing of his external life or temperament in his works—allowed him to create supposedly universalist works like the Fifth Symphony, which Rochberg considered a "monument to the spirit of mankind, [a work] from a man who has tasted bitterness but [who seizes instead on] a deep welling power of inner joy."[15] Such accolades are glowingly superlative and transcendent, a portrayal that conveniently distanced the composer from his national and worldly contexts as well as from Germany's fascist legacy.[16]

The negative archetype appears in the persona of Richard Wagner, who Rochberg praised for his "musical contribution to western culture" but savaged as "the most egotistical musician who has ever inhabited the globe."[17] Rochberg briefly mentioned some of his ethical objections to Wagner, including his extra-marital affairs and the "racial prejudices" the composer circulated in his anti-Semitic "pamphlets on music and art," but his greater objection related back to ideas about generosity developed in "Love and Art." Wagner's perceived selfishness and the direction of his creative energy toward his personal gain therefore establish him as Beethoven's spiritual antithesis: "Beethoven's great ego sought not its own justification but justification for man. He sought his inspiration from the great outer life of nature and God. The opposite is true of Wagner. Whatever he uses as his vehicle of expression, it is invariably turned inward and is used to feed [his] ever-hungry self. Wagner had no need of God for he had himself." In the end, Rochberg concluded that Wagner might be viewed as a "victim of his own tyrannical sensualism and need for self-expression," which expressed itself as a "fever [and a] disease" that relentlessly drove him.[18] "He has meaning only for himself," Rochberg argued, "and not mankind as a whole."

Such portrayals reflect the influence of the wartime context in which Rochberg conceived the essays, including texts he had access to in England as well as prevailing attitudes toward Beethoven and Wagner in Great Britain. One guiding source was again Tovey's biography of Beethoven, which had been drafted between 1910 and 1936 and published posthumously in 1944.[19] The opening pages of Tovey's study offer a parallel assessment of Beethoven and Wagner, suggesting it was a possible model for Rochberg's essays. "Beethoven is a complete artist," writes Tovey, "He was eminently a man who held himself responsible [to the world]."[20] Tovey then establishes Wagner as a spiritual antithesis to Beethoven's humanism, a curious insertion given that Wagner is neither the subject of the study nor a contemporary of Beethoven. "We have now come to see," Tovey contends with a measure of Allied patriotism, "that a reverence for the music dramas of Wagner is quite compatible with a dislike for the Saxon (I will not say Anglo-Saxon) traits by which Wagner the man . . . was apt to pray to his gods to prosper his ends and sanctify the means he

used to gain them."[21] Such portraits are common in Tovey's writings, which had long celebrated Beethoven and maintained skepticism about Wagner. As Joseph Kerman notes, "Whatever complimentary words Tovey ever found to say about Wagner, in his bones he felt that the great [German] tradition" had reached an apogee with Beethoven and ended with Brahms.[22]

In the context of the war, comparisons of Beethoven and Wagner as spiritual adversaries took on new political and national dimensions within the realm of public musicology, in which musical figures were used as ideological symbols on both sides of the Allied-Axis divide.[23] Indeed, a perennial topic in the British press was the debate over whether composers associated with Germany—specifically those favored by Hitler and Goebbels in their cultural propaganda—should be broadcast on BBC classical programming. Notably, Beethoven was broadcast throughout the war without controversy and often in prominent ideological moments of uplift; for example, the Fifth Symphony was the BBC Orchestra's first offering after Victory Europe (V-E) Day. Beethoven's music was consistently defended as reflecting humanist rather than German values, and BBC researchers noted that his instrumental music was uniquely able to unite British listeners across the various spectrums of musical taste and social background.[24] Conversely, the case of Wagner provoked more heated discussions, with opponents arguing that his work expressed an intrinsically "German spirit . . . [which was not] good for life." Ultimately, the BBC did continue to broadcast Wagner because of his importance in the classical repertory as well as the argument by liberal critics that an outright ban would drag the BBC "down to the level of what we are fighting against."[25] The assessments parallel those of both Tovey and Rochberg; Beethoven is able to transcend the current political context, while Wagner remains implicated in it.

Rochberg's foray into musicological commentary ceased when he returned to active duty in January 1945. After his honorable discharge in July, he returned to America and took advantage of the GI Bill, which had been instituted in 1944 to provide stipends to cover college tuition for veterans; the funds allowed him to enroll at the Curtis Institute of Music, where he studied with Rosario Scalero and Gian Carlo Menotti.[26] To make up for lost time, Rochberg started working fourteen hours a day to develop his contrapuntal skills—often assigning himself additional exercises beyond what Scalero had required—but his post-mortems on his work were laced with more philosophical thoughts about the distinction between musical craft (the material and technique) and artistry (the spiritual intent). In a sketch from August 1946 that featured a particularly dull fugal realization, Rochberg consoles himself that such rote exercises are necessary at this early point in his career. "Double counterpoint is a device to be utilized within the framework of true contrapuntal writing," he writes while imploring himself to make even these exercises "musical in feeling."[27] Advancement to triple and quadruple counterpoint brought additional

worries about color and line, but his commentaries in the margins speak of a greater concern for a work's energy and spirit: "The composer is a colorist with his harmonic sense and a draftsman with his contrapuntal sense. The combination of the two is the ideal. In this way, craft becomes a vehicle of many ways to expression. There must always be warmth and passion. Dry Music is a living fact today, and how unappealing and unmeaningful it is!!"[28]

By dry music, Rochberg was not referring to twelve-tone or serial music—as one might assume from his later, more polemical essays—but rather to "commercial" or "populist" music composed to appeal to external taste rather than to reflect the artist's inner emotional being. Within this camp he included well-known American composers such as Aaron Copland and Virgil Thomson, but he felt the most disappointed in those closest to him, his mentors Fiorillo and Menotti.[29] In a journal entry from May 1948, Rochberg wrote extensively about his memory of Fiorillo as a "sure, independent artist" whose prewar ideas about uncompromising art "corroborate[d] my own attitudes and feelings about art and what an artist must be."[30] But after the sudden death of Fiorillo's daughter, Andrea, from a ruptured appendix, the composer's writing changed drastically in both style and existential concern. As Rochberg observed, "He is desperately trying to establish connection with the world as a composer so that he can earn more money. . . . He is writing music which will appeal to the more ordinary emotional life of the concert listener. He is really writing a commercial product, not art."[31] Even Menotti, who had warmly embraced Rochberg as a colleague, did not escape criticism:[32] "Menotti is a man of the real world [who has] taken every advantage presented to him and [made] it work for his benefit. . . . [He] can only turn out music which entertains and delights for a moment but [which] make[s] no lasting impression because it is neither original nor strong." Likening him to Wagner, Rochberg concluded that without the external crutch of the libretto and the conventions of the stage, "Menotti is probably lost as a composer."[33]

Admittedly, such youthful aesthetic division of the world into craftsmen and artists was a common trope in the twentieth century. "A craftsman can do—good and bad, shallow and profound, new-fangled and old-fashioned," wrote the thirty-seven-year-old Arnold Schoenberg in 1911, only five years after the premiere of his atonal Second String Quartet. "But the artist must. He has no say in the matter; it is nothing to do with what he wants. . . . [He] learns from nature. . . . Feeling is already form, the idea is already the word."[34] In 1948, the thirty-year-old Rochberg would similarly turn the mirror on himself and make a self-assessment of his talents and intentions since the war:

> It's now a little more than one-and-a-half years since my piano sonata [1946]. I have accomplished a lot in that time—more freedom of expression, greater command of the technical means, more freedom in sound. . . . Nevertheless I still feel a certain stiffness . . . which bothers me. My mental images are

> always freer than the ones I realize on paper. . . . Better to write less if necessary, but make Every Thing Count. Every effort of composition should be toward something personal and strong and new. . . . I am not interested in writing pleasant music. Let the others do that. . . . I want my [work] to have . . . sounds as even Beethoven never wrote. Let the DAEMON have his way!![35]

As with any dance with the devil, however, the journey toward artistic authenticity was filled with personal struggles, including what he increasingly saw as the limitations of his own musical vocabulary.[36] As he wrote to Gene from a composers' conference at Middlebury College in 1949, the core problem with his most recent compositions was that they indulged "so extensively in sheer mechanical contrapuntal devices for their own sake. [My] practice was excellent but it doesn't produce the best music."[37] The following year, he would call more desperately on a higher power for inspiration. "Where is the man whose soul speaks?" he lamented to his journal. "I am almost thirty-two and still seeking and searching. I must will myself to life. . . . O God, Lord, the Universe, Help this suffering spirit to abundance and strength, to create works of which even you will be glad!"[38]

In the early 1950s, Rochberg's search led him to embrace serialism, a decision that would later pose broader autobiographical challenges for the composer, given the anti-modernist polemics on which he had founded his musical legacy. Although wise enough to avoid casting his embrace of the twelve-tone technique as a youthful indiscretion, Rochberg does inject a conscious personal distance into his autobiography, written in the final years of the composer's life. He admits to feeling external pressure to conform with his modernist colleagues ("I felt I had to master Schoenberg's ordered chromaticism") or portrays himself as a somewhat passive student ("I see I was being 'educated' . . . in what was then . . . the latest variety of ongoing modernism").[39] Although both explanations are plausible, one short passage hints at another motive—genuine excitement for the new musical and harmonic vocabulary he was developing: "My old passion for making variations took on renewed energy and enlarged scope with the manifold possibilities I saw inherent in the principles of the row. I loved the challenge of adhering as closely as imagination and technical control permitted to one or another configuration . . . while finding in the combinations . . . seemingly limitless ways to present such . . . memorable continuities."[40] A similar sense of liberation surfaces in a less guarded moment from his interview with Guy Freedman: "I felt suddenly free. I thought I had found the means with which to actually compose music that I felt deeply. . . . I was interested in probing those areas of human experience which struck me as belonging legitimately to the twentieth century."[41]

Ultimately, it was Schoenberg's music that inspired Rochberg's new direction, an experience he would later describe as "feeling my way in the dark" toward revelation.[42] In his autobiography, Rochberg reflects on his initial

experiences with Schoenberg's music with a degree of revisionism, a fact that is not surprising given Rochberg's complicated lifelong relationship with Schoenberg as both a composer and a historical figure. He describes listening habitually to the Fourth String Quartet, albeit with a "deep ambivalence of love-hate" that caused him to be "simultaneously repelled by and drawn to it."[43] He continues: "[I] tried endless more times to make [the score] come to life at the piano. . . . I still found that [Schoenberg's] overwrought expressionist emotional palette, often combined with emotionally desiccated sensibilities, rubbed my nerves the wrong way. The music sounded ugly and unbeautiful to my ears."[44] Here, Rochberg's metaphors are those he commonly levied against modernist music after his rejection of serialism in 1963. Schoenberg's Fourth String Quartet has become lifeless, dehydrated, and psychologically unsound because of its hysterical neurosis.[45]

And yet, entries in his journal from 1952—the year of his first serial composition—reveal the composer's exuberant embrace of Schoenberg as a positive archetype for modernist artistry and humanistic art. "I know of no composer of the twentieth century," he wrote admiringly, "who has the sense of [the living phrase] as Schoenberg had it. [It is] a complete musical unit that 'breathes' as music must breathe, that moves through a significant profile, [that is] fundamentally a 'vocal' concept."[46] In June 1952, having just heard Schoenberg's String Trio (1946) for the first time, he raced back home to record his impressions: "How is it possible that such beauty and musical art still goes unrecognized except in obscure corners of this earth? . . . One wonders if this were written by a man or an angel. Such a work reminds us that music is still a human art . . . [not just] pitch and absolute time structures."[47] Rochberg defended twelve-tone music further in a journal passage responding to Paul Hindemith's autobiography, *A Composer's World* (1952), which he had read the same year. "Hindemith argues against twelve-tone—calls it a stylistic bubble," he complained in his journal. "He doesn't realize that wherever significance . . . has arisen a mind and soul have always been at work. . . . I myself am convinced that it is past the time for tonality. . . . I believe [in] chromaticism and [dodecaphony] as a road which must be gone over. . . . We will see new visions."[48]

Rochberg explains that he was "driven to keep at Schoenberg's 'secrets'" so he could forge a "language with which to say, in terms of my own time and experience, those things I wanted and needed to say."[49] In one essay, Rochberg suggests that American composers were prompted to embrace Schoenberg's aesthetics after their physical and emotional involvement "with the European cataclysm of World War II," a comment that resonates with remarks he offered in two interviews about his serialist period.[50] "One of the most powerful impulses toward twelve-tone [and] serialism . . . was my reaction to my war experience," he shared with Richard Dufallo. "The darkness of that whole

experience . . . really had rooted itself. It didn't show itself right away, but it started to make demands on me emotionally. And that's what [pushed] me into a kind of atonal world. . . . It was very, very powerful."[51] The topic resurfaces in a later interview with Robert Reilly, in which Rochberg explains his embrace of serialism as a way of confronting the devastating impact of modern war: "I needed to find a language with which I could say what I had experienced, but obviously in a way which was refractive, not brutalized by the nature of the experience itself. [I had] to make damn sure that whatever I composed . . . would be as beautiful as I could make it."[52] Rochberg's youthful reactions to dodecaphony thus allow one to understand how the composer could reconcile its language with a desire for postwar beauty; at that time he had considered it, to use his own words, the "counter to the horror" rather than an expression of that horror itself.[53]

Rochberg developed his admiration of Schoenberg during his time in Italy—he had earned two fellowships, from the Fulbright commission (1950–51) and the American Academy in Rome (1950–51)—when he made the acquaintance of Luigi Dallapiccola, an Italian twelve-tone composer.[54] "It was, for me, a sweet kind of relationship," Rochberg would recall. "I thought he was a marvelous kind of human being."[55] Their deep humanistic connection allowed the elder composer to become something of an aspirational model for the young American. Both professed to be self-taught disciples of Schoenberg and claimed to have learned the twelve-tone technique not through treatises or articles but through the analysis of Schoenberg's works themselves.[56] Both saw themselves as artistic victims of the war who believed that dodecaphony—a method Rochberg noted was judged as "an entirely alien attitude and [degenerate] aesthetic" in fascist cultures—could be reclaimed for humanistic intents and texts.[57] Dallapiccola's gracious encouragement of Rochberg's talents buoyed the younger composer, who appreciated that the Italian was not overly dogmatic but aesthetically open-minded in his compositional approach. As Rochberg observed, Dallapiccola was known to have merged dodecaphony with more traditional elements in his compositions, and as the two discovered with delight, they shared a common love of Bach's contrapuntal works.[58]

In their postwar careers, both Schoenberg and Dallapiccola seized on texted works as a means to address the horrors and anti-humanism of the war—including works such as *A Survivor from Warsaw* (1947), *Il Prigioniero* (1948), and *Job* (1950)—but Rochberg rarely cites their overt political engagement as the basis for his admiration during this period. Rather, he adopts rhetoric from Carl Jung's *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, which he had read with great interest and excitement, to make a more abstract case for their artistic heroism. Jung averred that art must rise "above the realm of [one's] personal life and speak from the spirit and heart of the poet as man to the spirit and heart of mankind."[59] In Rochberg's mind, Jung's romantic characterization of art

took it "out of time and space and [brought it] into contact with [a] fundamental spirit" that "would never exist in the phenomenal world for everyman to see and to feel." He immediately connected Jung's ideas to his conception of Beethoven, who reemerged as "an exemplar of a thoroughly 'modern' composer," one whose works were "not . . . representative of his times" but "impersonal and yet deeply affecting because they reveal the depths . . . of his [humanity], his spirit, and his root being."[60] True artistic heroes such as Beethoven, Schoenberg, and Dallapiccola thus conveyed their artistic bravery through their aesthetic decisions to stand musically "on the threshold of the future and . . . [be] vilified, damned, persecuted, and destroyed" for their innovative extensions of musical tradition.[61]

All three composers were certainly on Rochberg's mind when he began his first twelve-tone composition, the *Twelve Bagatelles* for piano (1952), which he dedicated to Dallapiccola.[62] Composed over the course of two months, the movements came fast and furiously to Rochberg in a fit of inspiration: "After long preparation and improvising daily on rows in progress, the first eight bagatelles burst forth, each in a single night. The last four were written more slowly and deliberately."[63] Such initial speed might be explained by the fact that Rochberg limited himself to just four permutations of his noncombinatorial row—P_1, R_1, I_8, and RI_8—and worked with only one or two row forms in the first eight movements (table 2.1). Theorist Yoojin Kim hypothesizes that Rochberg may have chosen these rows to "exhibit a [more tonal] tonic-dominant relationship" between their initial pitches (C# and G#) and thus place the two musical systems in conversation with one another.[64] He attributes Rochberg's tonal allusions to Dallapiccola's influence, but Rochberg had already encountered (and admired) the practice in Schoenberg's Fourth String Quartet, a score he had assiduously analyzed as part of his studies at Curtis.[65] Schoenberg's harmonic language also seems to have influenced the intervallic makeup of Rochberg's guiding row; it is composed of three {016} trichords (colloquially referred to as the "Viennese trichord" because of its predominance in the music of the Second Viennese School) and one augmented {048} trichord, both of which Schoenberg favored in his writing (ex. 2.1).[66]

Rochberg depicted the *Twelve Bagatelles* as a radically "seismic . . . tectonic shift" in his corpus, but one also senses personal retrospection in the second triptych of the work: Bagatelles nos. 4–6.[67] The scene begins with Bagatelle no. 4, a short and humorous march Rochberg described as a "little toy march in a little toy world," a playful quality that comes through in the movement's treble registration and thin texture.[68] The work gains a stronger and more recognizable military character only in its brief middle section (mm. 18–34), where the pulse becomes steadier and Rochberg employs the conventional topoi of a triplet upbeat leading to a quarter note (ex. 2.2). Rochberg had already employed this gesture in his jovial 1944 marching tune "Song of the Doughboy" and the

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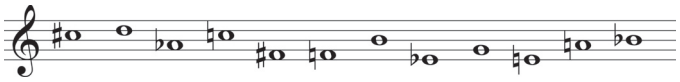
Table 2.1. Serial organization of the *Twelve Bagatelles* (1952)

Bagatelle	Row forms utilized
No. 1	P_1
No. 2	I_8
No. 3	P_1, I_8
No. 4	R_1
No. 5	RI_8
No. 6	R_1, RI_8
No. 7	P_1, R_1
No. 8	RI_8, I_8
No. 9	R_1, I_8
No. 10	RI_8, P_1
No. 11	P_1, I_8, R_1, RI_8
No. 12	P_1, I_8, R_1, RI_8

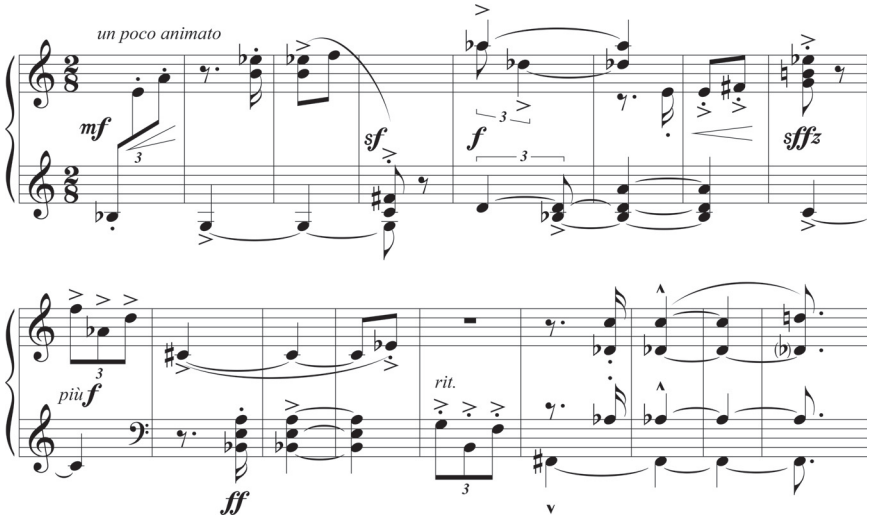
Example 2.1. Prime form of the twelve-tone row for the *Twelve Bagatelles* (1952).



war-inspired Piano Sonata of 1946, and as pianist Evan Hirsch notes, Bagatelle no. 4 held wartime associations for the composer. At one point in a rehearsal Hirsch recalled, "The composer leaned over and sang in my ear: 'You're in the Army Now,'" a tune he had no doubt encountered during the war.[69] The movement does not seek to portray the war in realistic terms, however; as Rochberg asserted, its language was that of artistic parody: "It's make-believe. It's not real. It's an antidote to the horrors of the world."[70]

Those horrors surface in Bagatelle no. 5—the most dramatic movement in the series—which Rochberg characterized as a painful narrative about hurtful aggression.[71] The work begins as an *arioso* featuring a tender cantabile line singing above slowly accumulating harmonic dissonance. This gentleness is abruptly curtailed with the arrival of the middle section (mm. 10–14), in which an increasingly agitated motive escalates in pitch, volume, tempo and articulation markings, and sheer harmonic density (ex. 2.3). It first appears in measure 10 as a minor third that repeats four times before cutting abruptly to a rhythmic dyad in the lower register. In its second iteration, the motive expands its harmonic content to a wide voicing of the {016} trichord, thus cultivating increased dissonance. In measure 12, Rochberg extends the rhythmic motive

Example 2.2. Rochberg, *Twelve Bagatelles* (1952), Bagatelle no. 4, mm. 18–34. © 1955 by Presser Music Company. Reproduced by permission.

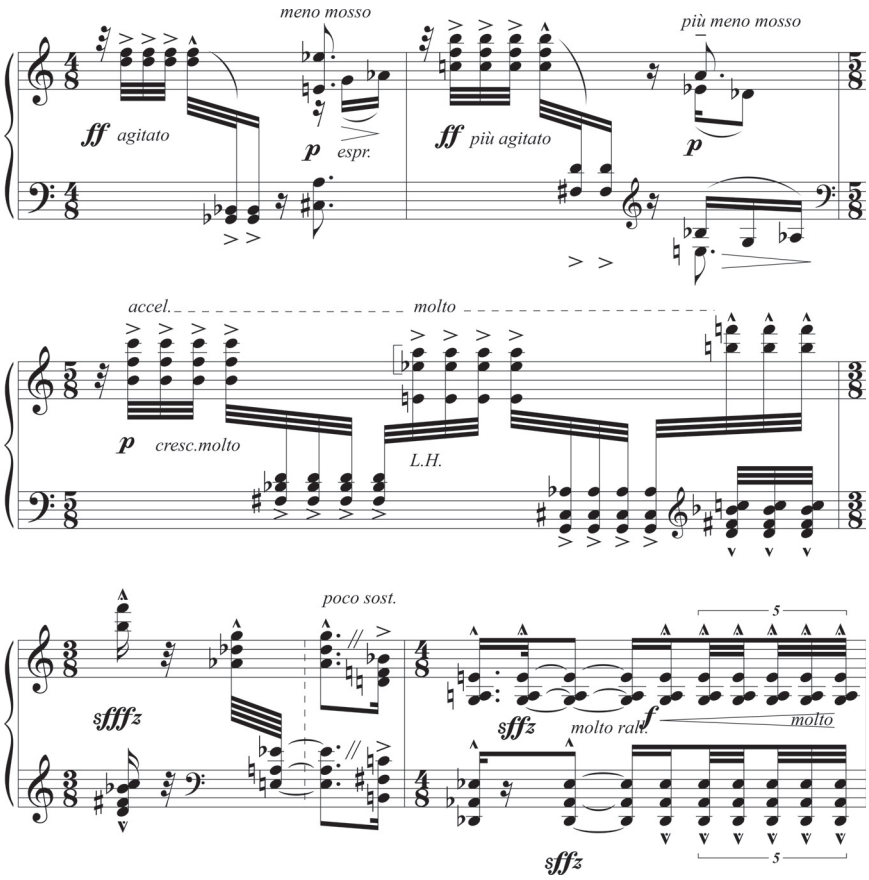


in the lower register, creating an even alternation between the two hands that forcefully accelerates as it circles through the entire twelve-tone series.

Although the composer never revealed the specific inspiration for this movement, its direct prefacing by the march again suggests the war as a possible subtext for the scene. But there is another potential subject rhythmically embedded into the apex of Bagatelle no. 5: the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, a work Rochberg had long associated with "psychic intensity" and forceful immediacy. In addition to sharing a rhythmic affinity with Beethoven's opening motto, the passage just described unfolds in a manner similar to the measures preceding the recapitulation in Beethoven's first movement—a moment Rochberg associated with unrelenting power and violent persecution.[72] Both alternate sequentially between registers and share a similar design plan, with each adamantly reasserting its entrance against a more static field and then multiplying its statements in an inevitable trajectory toward weighty arrival. Rochberg makes the connection between his bagatelles and the Fifth Symphony more explicit in the following movement—Bagatelle no. 6—in which the final measures make a clear rhythmic allusion to the Fifth, thus cementing a connection between the two works (ex. 2.4).[73]

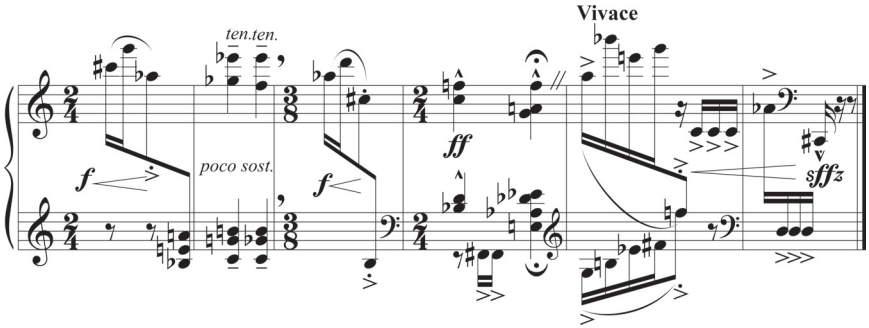
Rochberg described Bagatelle no. 6 as "a satire or ridicule of another . . . person, piece, or event," and although he left the satirical target unspecified, its position at the end of the triptych offers some interpretive possibilities.[74]

Example 2.3. Rochberg, *Twelve Bagatelles* (1952), Bagatelle no. 5, mm. 10–14. © 1955 by Presser Music Company. Reproduced by permission.



Jeffrey Shumway's reading of Bagatelle no. 6 as a satire of either the German composer or his symphony is possible, but given Rochberg's characterization of Beethoven as the archetypal model for humanist composition, it seems unlikely that he would choose him or his works for abject ridicule. Rather, Rochberg seems to have appropriated Beethoven's opening *Klang*—a motive he once directly associated with "heightened, intensely personalized modernist projections of angst and forebodings of terror"—as a symbol still relevant in the postwar period.[75] Read this way, Bagatelles nos. 4–6 might be interpreted as an abstract and distanced portrait of warfare from a postwar perspective, a reading that resonates well with the composer's postwar description of the twentieth century as consisting of two emotional extremes—the "inner pain

Example 2.4. Rochberg, *Twelve Bagatelles* (1952), Bagatelle no. 6, closing measures.



and terror" of the war followed by the "distancing . . . [of] the self from the pain of direct emotional involvement."[76]

These allusions to both of his positive artistic archetypes—Beethoven and Schoenberg—also reveal the composer consciously looking to history as he cultivated his own postwar voice, and he was not displeased with the results.[77] In his journal, he described the *Twelve Bagatelles* as a conquering triumph for his career: "I have found my voice in my *Twelve Bagatelles*. . . . My new power, my new direction. I feel like a general who has made the first major breach in the enemy's defenses. . . . This will be my world."[78] While he might not have anticipated it at the time, the *Twelve Bagatelles* exhibited what would later become a defining aspect of *ars combinatoria*: the stylistic and emotional connection of his works with the musical past. In the serial works that followed, Rochberg experimented further with direct quotation, always drawing his examples from composers he identified as strong artistic role models. In his *Chamber Symphony for Nine Instruments* (1953)—Rochberg's first composition to consciously use direct quotation—he interwove an intimate homage to Dallapiccola by citing the "fratello" motive from *Il Prigionero*, thus suggesting a shared brotherhood between the two composers.[79] The Sonata-Fantasia (1956) was bolder in its borrowings and incorporated several full measures of Schoenberg's *Five Piano Pieces*, op. 23, no. 1 into its soundscape, a practice that landed Rochberg in the middle of heated discussions with the Danish publisher Hansen, which held the copyright to Schoenberg's original.[80] Some allusions were less literal and more atmospheric in nature, including a passage in his *Cheltenham Concerto for Small Orchestra* (1958) in which an inversion of his row produced "a passage which evoked [for him] the sense of . . . Beethoven's Seventh Symphony," a moment that "behaved for [Rochberg] like an 'interjection' [and represented his] first conscious correspondence with old music."[81] In this regard, Rochberg's serial period was never as ancillary to his postmodern period as the composer later

suggested; rather, it was a compositional bridge that led him from the war in a new musical direction.

If Schoenberg and Dallapiccola represented "Beethovenian" models for what Rochberg viewed as an inclusive brand of modernism—one that embraced an expanded harmonic language and yet still retained a connection with certain traditional relationships—it was his American counterparts who ultimately presented him with his "Wagnerian" antithesis. In 1954, as the result of an analysis of the String Trio (1946), Rochberg came to realize that Schoenberg often completed prime rows with what Rochberg called "mirror inversions," now widely understood as the practice of hexachordal combinatoriality. His excitement for the "discovery" was palpable, as he described to Plush: "When I hit on the secret of the hexachord . . . I was immediately obsessed with the idea of putting [all of the information] in some kind of order and publishing it."[82]

In January 1954, he wrote to the editors of *Music Survey* about his observations, noting that he found them valuable not only because they lent insight into Schoenberg's compositional practices but also because the two rows seemed to "define an interesting relationship [that] may lend heart to those who believe that Schoenberg had not thrown out tonality [but instead] formed a new and more subtle way of working with it."[83] The intent of this letter was to ask for scholarly guidance: Did his ideas stand up to the publisher's further scrutiny? Was there relevant literature that he was overlooking? Having received only a cursory reply that the publisher found his ideas "interesting," Rochberg excitedly began work on preparing a short volume to explain hexachordal mirrors and secured a contract from his current employer, the Theodore Presser Company.

As Rochberg was preparing the manuscript, he simultaneously incorporated his newfound knowledge into the compositional sketches for his Symphony no. 2. It was a deeply satisfying experience, both for the opportunity to return to the symphonic genre and to promote that which he most valued in Schoenberg's modernism: the ability to develop new sounds without entirely rejecting past conventions. As he described in his autobiography: "I found ways of organizing the row based on hexachords in such fashion that its transpositions through inversion could take on an analogical relation to tonal centers through *locus*, so that different ideas and gestures embodying events had a relationship to a scheme of tonal *loci*—that is, they had the status of 'keys' in the old tonal sense." A composer's sensibility is discernible in the manuscript, in which he identifies not as a theorist but as a creative artist who needed "to clarify [technical] problems which concerned me."[84] The preface begins not with academic speak or analytical reasoning but with a more poetic explanation of how such intricate musical designs arise: "When the imagination of [a composer] seizes on sound in order to produce music, intuitive and rational forces come into play which create artistically integrated structures whose forms are

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as logical as geometry. . . . Such a device is mirror inversion."[85] For Rochberg, the breakthrough was an expansion of his musical world, with mirror inversions representing not only the subject of his first foray into academic writing but also a more complex form of serial composition, one in which mirror hexachords exhibit a "genetic capacity [to] multiply" and thus create a musical space of greater depth.[86]

The Hexachord and Its Relation to the 12-Tone Row was finished in 1955 and was lovingly dedicated to "the memory of Arnold Schoenberg." It contained no literature review and concerned itself primarily with examples drawn from the twelve-tone works of Schoenberg. Rochberg's pride in the original "discovery" was easily detectable throughout the prose:

> As far as I know, the only specific reference (and not a detailed one at that) . . . was in a letter [from Schoenberg] to Josef Rufer. . . . Since Schoenberg left all too few clues, I feel perfectly justified in presenting my results without fear that I will repeat or borrow from others. It is without trepidation, then, that I offer this study to those who may find it not only stimulating but also useful.[87]

Before the manuscript was ready to go to press, however, it came to Rochberg's attention that two American composers, Milton Babbitt and George Perle, had also been working on the topic for quite some time. Instead of delaying publication, Rochberg decided that "whether or not there was agreement in principle between the solutions (assuming [Perle] or Babbitt had one) . . . the opportunity to have something brought out on this question was too important to delay."[88] With no revisions to the text, Presser published the volume.

Its reception was less enthusiastic than expected, with friends and commentators politely pointing out that Rochberg had neglected a wide range of available sources by Babbitt as well as Schoenberg's essays in the 1950 edition of *Style and Idea*.[89] Acutely embarrassed, Rochberg wrote to Babbitt to explain that he had not been concerned with abstract theories or mathematical equations but with deeper "metaphysical" questions surrounding compositional creativity; in his mind, such studies were only valuable if they "guide[d] the reader back to music—either to his own or to someone else's, with fresher insight and clearer perception."[90] Rochberg recalled that he received a "stiff-arm" reply from Babbitt, "as though I had invaded some sacred precinct" of his, but the letter from Babbitt is gracious in tone.[91] Babbitt characterized their dissimilar approaches as resulting from two different research goals: "Your primary concern, as I infer it, is primarily an analytical one, whereas I took the empirical material as a jumping off point, my concern being the characterization of the system as system."[92] To Rochberg's pointed insinuations that Babbitt's mathematical reasoning was not reflective of the more spiritual essence of creation, Babbitt responded with polite firmness. "I can easily understand your

demurrer at my method," he wrote," so allow me, then, to enter a mild one at your 'polemical' tone; I admit a particular allergy in this regard. But, I feel, this only serves to make a bad situation worse, and this, remember, in the light of the fact that I agree essentially with your position."[93]

In 1956, Rochberg experienced even more pointed accusations in a series of exchanges with the composer-theorist George Perle, whose assessment of the *Hexachord* manuscript was far more tense and territorial. "I feel that the implication given [in the *Hexachord*] . . . that [the topic] has been entirely ignored is unfortunate and unfair," Perle wrote before providing a laundry list of every available source Rochberg had failed to cite: Schoenberg, Babbitt, René Leibowitz, Roberto Gerhard, Ernst Krenek, Herbert Eimert, and Perle's article, "Schonberg's Late Style," in the November 1952 edition of *Music Review*.[94] "Even people who understand nothing about it have at least mentioned [Babbitt]," he objected. "I feel that it is a disservice to the interested student to convey the impression that there is nothing he can turn to for enlightenment concerning these matters outside of your book, and also because I think your own presentation would have benefitted had you been aware of the studies [already made] in this field."[95]

In his reply, Rochberg admitted that "there is no question of priority here for I am perfectly willing to concede that to Babbitt considering that he wrote his manuscript in 1946, [when] I was in my second year at Curtis and very remote from all of these questions involving twelve-tone music."[96] He offered to correct the bibliography should Presser issue a second edition of the *Hexachord* and eagerly shared with Perle his most recent essay, "Tradition and Twelve-Tone Music," in which Rochberg sought to rehabilitate Schoenberg's reputation in light of the rise of the neo-Webernists within the Darmstadt School as well as Pierre Boulez's manifesto, "Schoenberg Is Dead," published in *The Score* in 1952.[97] "Webern's music leaves his followers no new, unexplored territory," he contended. "He completely exhausted one side of the spectrum of twelve-tone possibilities."[98] But as he presented to Perle, Schoenberg's music "left much to be done" and "opened a vast unexplored area in which creative personalities can yet stake their claim. It is still an uncharted, virgin territory." This final comment brought Rochberg to what he considered the heart of the compositional matter. "Until there is a large body of music employing these [combinatorial] structures, the theory will mean very little to the 'outside world.' Knowing that both you and Babbitt are composers," he wrote to Perle, "I am genuinely curious to know whether you have produced works [with] mirror structures (or 'combinatoriality' as you may prefer)."[99]

Perle responded with a second round of brute criticism, this time about Rochberg's naive idolization of Schoenberg and his relative lack of understanding about postwar modernist trends. In the spirit of Boulez and Theodor

Adorno's recently published "The Aging of the New Music," Perle contended that Schoenberg's music had lost its modernist edge since his death:

> Once the initial excitement created by his fantastic textures and colors and the marvelous sweep of the melodic lines wears off, the music begins to sound all wrong to me. It reminds me of a cartoon I saw . . . in *The New Yorker*, of a group of French peasants admiring a brand-new wine-press consisting of a very complicated system of gears and levers . . . [which is nothing more than] a pair of dummy feet stamping the grapes in the old-fashioned way.[100]

The broader insinuation was that Rochberg's insights—nearly all of them—were outmoded (if not provincial), given the advances being made in postwar music. Perle closed the letter with a further personal insult, averring that "the big thing about Babbitt is not so much the solutions he has found, but the questions he has thought of asking."[101] Rochberg's mind, he implied, lacked the imagination to invent more abstract and wide-ranging theoretical applications.

At the close of his letter, Perle admitted that he had only composed one short piano work based on combinatoriality, as his interests had moved on to twelve-tone modalities.[102] Perhaps sensing an opportunity to connect on a compositional level, Rochberg sent Perle his latest work, the *Duo Concertante* for violin and cello (1955, rev. 1959), which was based on two mirror inversions. Four months later, Perle's response finally arrived.

> I gather that [the *Duo Concertante*] is based on an unordered hexachord and a transposition of the latter. . . . The basic technical procedure reminds me somewhat of that used by Schoenberg in the *Ode to Napoleon* (1942). . . . I was surprised to find that Schoenberg used this technique as early as 1923, in portions of the *Tanzscene* from the *Serenade*, so it appears that this concept is as old as the twelve-tone system itself.[103]

The assessment was clear in its harsh chronology. Rochberg's modernist music was not just aging; it was dead on arrival.

Two years after the publication of *Hexachord*, Perle published a damning book review of it in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Reiterating many of his previous concerns, Perle presented Rochberg's study as a cautionary tale to those who would venture into post-Schoenbergian theory: "The author appears to be unfamiliar with many published . . . contributions that others have made in the precise area of his investigation. His own contribution should serve as a warning that . . . some experience in research and an appreciation of its co-operative character are necessary." Noting that Rochberg's *Hexachord* was concerned with a relatively "simple [compositional] procedure," Perle criticized his overwrought analysis: "Mr. Rochberg's complicated charts and tables [are] superfluous. . . . One simply constructs the

prime and inversion simultaneously, avoiding the octave and taking care not to continue the construction of the initial hexachord with any note that has previously appeared in the inversion. . . . Mr. Rochberg's elaborate presentation . . . remains an obfuscation, regardless of what purpose we may assume it to have."[104] To demonstrate his point, Perle distilled into a single slender page the entire premise of Rochberg's forty-page volume using Rochberg's favorite composition—Schoenberg's Fourth String Quartet—as the object of the theoretical dismantling.[105]

For Rochberg, the public shaming of his work became one of the key turning points in his aesthetic journey. The transfer of Perle's critiques into the public realm escalated the power and humiliation of the criticism, ultimately affecting Rochberg's confidence as a young composer and modernist.[106] Rochberg had already been harboring doubts about his current musical course, writing in his journal in 1956 of a "growing dissatisfaction" with his recently completed Symphony no. 2:

> I know in my heart of hearts that it's far . . . from being the kind of music I want to write. . . . I have technique in abundance; but still have not more than hinted at the [lyricism] I wish to achieve—the very [lyricism] I find in Schoenberg or the work of Stefan Wolpe. And perhaps this is the worst agony of all. Am I doomed always to find that my goal has already been achieved by someone else and far better than I can do it presently?[107]

The feeling that he was always playing catch-up—a sensation created by the interruption of his studies by World War II—had caused the composer great personal anxiety throughout his serial period. But the perception of being excluded and derided by the very modernist community to which he aspired to contribute transformed that self-doubt into a more polemical cynicism about serialism and its proponents. That community gradually became his negative archetype for modernist music, an anti-humanistic repertory that shunned the past, doggedly protected its own self-interests, and had turned the composition of music into an analytical ritual rather than a creative act. "I want my music to be eloquent, warm, singing," he wrote a week after the final letter from Perle. "It's in these moments I begin again to wonder whether I am really a creative artist or simply one of the many who are trying to be."[108]

Rochberg received some necessary encouragement from William Schuman shortly after Perle's article appeared in print. After informing Rochberg that the Koussevitzky Foundation planned to commission a new work from him—the *Dialogues* for clarinet and piano (1957–58)—he offered a friendly opinion about Rochberg's continued dedication to dodecaphony: "[I hope] that you do not write your next piece in any 'system,'" he wrote somewhat cautiously. "Please understand that I do not refer to the technical procedures of composition . . . rather to the inadvisability of a man of your talents limiting himself by

attempting always to fulfill pre-determined procedures. Don't do it, George. You don't have to."[109] Rochberg responded that his current mode of expression felt right to him, despite its apparent restrictions:

> Emotionally and psychologically . . . I was not able to function freely and with that sense of "rightness" until I had entered into chromaticism and found a means of external organization in the twelve-tone. I am really trying to say that twelve-tone as a way of thinking and feeling is right for me [now]. . . . You must know how strongly I want to write a music which is emotionally free and full of life.[110]

Later, Rochberg would share his ambitions for the Symphony no. 2, which he hoped would achieve a convincing and "unique harmonic life" comparable to the best works of Schoenberg and Mozart.[111] After its New York premiere, Schuman wrote to offer his distinct praise for the work's musical and moral courage: "I salute your *high purpose*. Isn't it ridiculous to have to salute a composer for this? But in our day there are not too many whose sole concern is a bold and sweeping statement regardless of popular appeal."[112]

At the end of the decade, audiences might have assumed that Rochberg had firmly moved into the modernist camp. His Symphony no. 2 (1956), based on multi-combinatorial mirror inversions, met with great critical acclaim after its 1959 premiere by the Cleveland Orchestra under the direction of George Szell and received the Naumburg Recording Award in 1961.[113] In his private writings and correspondence, however, the composer began to develop the rhetoric that would later define his more public and polemical rejection of mid-century modernism. Crucial to this reconfiguration was the perception that modernist music lacked life and energy, that its sounds were always either dying or suspended in time. Such ideas first surfaced in his commentaries about Anton Webern and became increasingly cynical with the passage of time. In 1958 he wrote with some concern about Webern's music, arguing that its spatial dispersion of the row had ultimately constricted music's expressivity and set a dangerous example for current modernists. "As narrow as Webern's emotional range seems," he remarked, "that's how much narrower Stockhausen's range seems."[114]

In Rochberg's writings, spatialization increasingly became a metaphor for the modern condition, reflective of its spiritual paralysis and anti-humanistic tendencies. Such psychological abstractions were justified in Rochberg's opinion, for he believed serial music had "deep roots in the organization of the human mind [as it] corresponds to the phenomenal realm."[115] To him, the stasis inherent in Webern's music, which Rochberg understood as resulting from the composer's reliance on a highly self-referential harmonic system, became prescient of the traumatized state of the postwar world—its emotional withdrawal, its sense of increasing claustrophobia, its tightly constructed spaces,

and its limitation of "flexibility, extension, [and] variety."[116] The "neo-Webernicks"—as he referred to composers such as Boulez, Stockhausen, and Luigi Nono—seized on these tendencies in the music, thus propagating a "psychological state of suspension" in which "the sound is static; it doesn't seem to move; it's hanging there in the air."[117] The result, as he wrote to Roger Sessions, was "a thin world of music, monotonous in its extremely limited images and gestures," that left the listener not just dissatisfied but numb.[118]

While the impact on the listener was one of disengagement, the effect on the music itself was acoustically lethal in his mind. Recalling a rehearsal of his Symphony no. 1, Rochberg described the sensation of hearing his music "lift off the stage and project across the proscenium," an acoustical mobility that connected the work to the sonic life of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, whose music "never fails to fill a live hall with fullness and total presence."[119] Contrastingly, he experienced certain modernist works as lacking "life or intensity," whether because of spatialization or a high level of differentiation that results in "acoustical gridlock."[120] One example was a live performance of Krzysztof Penderecki's *Threnody for the Victims of Hiroshima* (1960) that the composer had attended. "I heard [it] for the first time when [Penderecki] came to Penn in the 1960s to talk to my composition seminar and played a recording of it," he remembered. "I remember its strong visceral impact, its impressive sense of presence in the room with the record player's volume turned full up. . . . The penetrating intensity of the massed string orchestra all contributed to its undeniable power as sound design. . . . [At the live performance], what I heard then sounded shockingly small, weak, puny. The work simply died right there on stage, literally lost the power of resonating sound."[121] As Rochberg noted, the *Threnody* had ironically assumed the vulnerable position of the victims it sought to memorialize—it had ceased to have presence and voice in the soundscape.

Rochberg's concern about the lifelessness in postwar modern music soon transferred from compositional worries to anxiety for the acutely human realm of performance. In an exchange with Leonard Stein, the two shared their apprehension about the impact of total serialism on the performer's "physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual" well-being. Together, they worried that the call to perform a totally organized work would cause the performer to be "likewise organized in the same calculated way," thus stripping him of his expressive individuality in the pursuit of the "technical perfection" suggested by the prominent postwar interest in electro-acoustic music.[122] The stakes were high, as Rochberg later argued in an interview that stressed the postwar context for his thoughts. "[It] fits the analogy of the totalitarian political system," he contended, "because if you repress, if you suppress, if you oppress human beings, eventually what you get is a dead society. What happens to music if you do that? [It might be simplistic to suggest that] you get a dead music, but it's always possible."[123]

More dire assessments surfaced in his personal letters to Alexander Ringer. In 1959, their correspondence turned almost entirely to a spiritual-political assessment of modernism, with Rochberg leading the charge in vividly postwar terms. In a series of letters from April 1959, Rochberg provided justification for why he believed the serialists were unable to "probe life" in their works: "Where will they get the motivation? What will be their spiritual fuel? Music is *art*, not just composition; and this is what is so wrong today. [Only] a few know this; the rest, who ought to, don't. And their work shows the pitiful result."[124] In response, Ringer shared ideas from his most recent lecture, which cast the questions in a more sympathetic tone: "I tried to say that the refusal to accept [the new music] fully . . . was [the result of] our refusal to identify ourselves with that which the best of this music attempts to communicate: reality. . . . The new music . . . fights myths [and propaganda] through abstraction. . . . [It] is a changeover in the concept of beauty. . . . The new music identifies beauty with truth." Ringer defended electronic music on the grounds that it spoke of modern realities, contending that although it might strike one as "a perfect instance of 'dehumanizaton,' . . . [electronic] music becomes at once a . . . [path] leading toward the restoration of human values in music."[125]

Rochberg agreed that the new music was essentially "dis-illusionist" in that it showed the ugly underbelly of the twentieth century through its compositional procedures and musical soundscapes. But he argued that the composer must not simply be a mirror for his times, for he was ultimately "one of the few moral creatures left in society" "The twentieth century is a nodal point in this right, in this striving for reality and, as you say, the best of the new music symbolizes this. We are being tranquillized to death in America. . . . Only the individual can know reality and music is a direct route. . . . [But] people don't like to be stripped of their illusions." He worried that the new music, in its embrace of modernist reality, had ultimately succumbed to its powerful and dark forces, perhaps even unconsciously, and thus lost its power to confront the twentieth century. "The more we have advanced into technology," he contended, "the more removed we have become from reality. . . . Automation will carry this further and man stands in danger of separating himself completely from the last vestiges of reality."[126] The only path for a humanist composer, in his mind, was to "get beyond the method phase." "All this 'organizing' is so much 'note-counting,'" he lamented, "and I want to leave this behind. The creative process demands it."[127]

In 1960, he would begin his in-depth studies of music as "experienced time," sharing with Stein that he had developed "some notions [about] time in music as a dialectic of the subjective experience of duration."[128] Rochberg's goal was to break free from formal temporal constraints in his music in order to foster musical forms that might express one's existential position in the universe with greater freedom. Rochberg had seized on the idea after reading

Studies in Human Time (1956) by Georges Poulet, in which the Belgian literary critic explores how readers experience time—both as a theoretical concept and as a syntactical element—in novels and poems.[129] As Poulet comments, time was "perpetually experienced not only as a *thought*, but as the very essence of our being. We are not only living *in* time; we are living time; we *are* time." He then proceeds to detail how writers have attempted to represent various tenses in human experience, from the use of allusion and repetition in Romantic poetry to create a "break in the dividing line between past and present" to the modernist novelist's "total exclusion of the past . . . [which creates] a perfect absorption in the present."[130]

Rochberg responded to *Studies in Human Time* in part because Poulet had hypothesized that "of all our senses, [that in] which the associative power is strongest seem[s] to be, above all, hearing," a pronouncement that animated the composer.[131] Rochberg immediately wrote to Ringer about his findings and ideas:

> I already have some ideas for an article, ideas relating to the possibility that in tonal music, time is *future* time in the sense that the goal sought for, the final cadence, is always ahead; therefore each present happening relates to its *future*, not itself. But in the new music time is of another [idea]. . . . There is no goal in the sense of a future tonic. . . . Each [moment] is an [affirmation] of the *present tense* of time.[132]

A musical sense of duration was thus "intrinsic to the psyche and not inherent in sound per se," a realization that excited Rochberg in that it allowed all forms of music—from the tonal to the twelve-tone—to become available resources in the expression of more philosophical or existential meditations on time and being. As he explained to Ringer, "Serialism is merely the means by which to help a composer establish a new syntax [of time]; it is not an end in itself."[133]

The scholarly result was "Duration in Music" (1960), in which Rochberg posited his own theories on how music might reflect existential and experienced time concepts.[134] As he argued, one lives "between memory and anticipation, between the past and the future, treading the bridge of the present that, we hope, will carry us across the inexorable passage of time. . . . We live in time and through time. We are both of it and immersed in it." He wrote of the importance of the past, which is how a "human being can come to know himself. Without memory he has no history, his life no form. His existence would be lost in the meaninglessness of each sensation." Importantly, memory and its recollection in the present context were "the substance of our life," and modernist theories that understood repetition only as a means to create structural unity were, in Rochberg's mind, spiritually simplistic and too focused on technique. "The power of return in music serves much more than a purely formal function," he stated firmly. Theory could not account experientially for

the "sheer power of return, the force of the past suddenly illuminating the felt present as a real element in the present." He also took aim at serialism's practice of controlling "lengths of micro-cosmic time," describing such efforts as artificial and antithetical to lived human experience: "These [time] lengths were never intended as objective, discrete elements but rather as symbols created for the purpose of guiding the flow of musical time in a meaningful way." The objectification of duration in total serialism thus deprived music of its "dynamic power to accumulate itself in motion and movement and culminate in perceptible form."[135]

Rochberg's ideas about duration would ultimately inspire his *Time-Span for Orchestra* (1960), which he would later withdraw, revise, and complete as *Time-Span II* in 1962. As in the first version, *Time-Span II* consists of a series of sustained pitches whose entrances, unregulated by a constantly shifting meter, combine to create undulating pockets of density that slowly accumulate and then recede. The chromatic series again serves to organize the piece, but Rochberg departs from the traditional procedures of inversion, retrograde, and combinatoriality; instead, he creates "essentially slow, continuously evolving arc[s]" by stacking semitone clusters to capitalize on the vibration between close pitches. Phrase structures do not align exactly with the completion of the twelve-tone row, and the overlaps creates a sense of temporal fluidity and expansion that Rochberg hoped would give the music a "sense of expanding duration" and lift "the music out of the [physical] realm."[136] The sense of rippling expanse is furthered by Rochberg's preference for vibrating timbres—flutter-tongued flutes, muted brass, resonant percussion (tubular bells, deep gong, vibraphone, celesta), wavering vibrato in the strings—all of which focus the listener's mind on gestures of aural extension and decay. "It is a music of presence," Rochberg would explain. "It defines, as only music can, a state of being. There is no climax in the usual sense . . . [I used] the language of [my] time but transformed it into music which is once again human" in its existential conceit.[137]

Time-Span II was premiered in Buffalo in 1964, but it never gained traction within the composer's corpus, perhaps because of the lack of a formal recording. But the essay that inspired it should be interpreted as a crucial text in Rochberg's aesthetic development, with its fluid conceptions of musical time and openness to various musical syntaxes laying the foundation for the more helical view of time put forth in "No Center." To represent all concepts of time and tense—past, present, and future—Rochberg would ultimately come to borrow freely from the full repertory of classical music. Tonal music, with its emphasis on the future cadence, would again become a viable means of expressing human existence. Quotations would become "affective, mental" reflections that "the listener must recreate . . . in his own mind in order to grasp" his or her historical position in the world, not uncreative and

uninspired acts of plagiarism.[138] Even atonality and the twelve-tone technique would find their embrace within Rochberg's new philosophy, allowing for a sense of immediacy and presence within the musical landscape. The aesthetic vision was Rochberg's own manifestation of the positive archetypes he had cultivated since 1944—an all-embracing, connective, and boundless art of human expression—and it proved exciting to the composer on these grounds. Time had set him free; musical duration as an experiential process and metaphor for human existence had become for him "an unmeasurable flow insusceptible to limits or demarcation."[139]

Rochberg would write one final serial work after his completion of *Time-Span II*—the Piano Trio for Violin, Cello, and Piano (1963)—but aesthetically and intellectually he had left the movement behind. His break would be captured in interactions with two of the modernist figures noted previously: Perle and Dallapiccola. In a potentially retaliatory review of Perle's *Serial Composition and Atonality*—also published in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*—Rochberg stressed what he considered the fundamental difference between music spawned from external logic and procedure and that created from more subconscious impulses: "What disturbs me profoundly is the persistent notion throughout the book that any deviations from rationally apprehensible operations are faults at worst, ambiguities at best. . . . One senses [Perle's] frustration when details of construction escape rational detection." A synthetic and subjective approach to composition that seized upon personal impulses and intuitions was more valuable in his mind.[140] He raised similar thoughts at a conference about "Music in the East and West" in Jerusalem, where he delighted in reuniting with Dallapiccola for what would ultimately be the last time. Over dinner, the conversation soon turned to the state of modern music, with Rochberg asking his friend what he saw on the horizon after serialism. "It was not just a musical question," Rochberg recalled, "it was a cultural question. . . . And [it] surprised [Dallapiccola], shocked him. He said, 'I don't know why you say after. . . . This is our language. We are here.'"[141] As Rochberg has acknowledged, the moment was strangely poetic—two friends in a contested space, at a conference about musical borders, standing at the threshold of their final parting on multiple levels.

Chapter Three

Entropic Suffering and *Ars Combinatoria*: 1962–70

> So [World War II] was in the atmosphere when my husband wrote the Third Symphony. The war was so ferocious, and what brought it about was even more ferocious.
>
> —Gene Rochberg (2013)

If one were only to consider his professional achievements, the years 1956 to 1969 could easily qualify as the most productive of Rochberg's entire career. In addition to enjoying the positive critical reception of three major works—the Symphony no. 2 (1956), *Contra Mortem et Tempus* (1965), and *Music for the Magic Theater* (1965)—he also received two Guggenheim Fellowships a decade apart (1956 and 1966), was awarded the prestigious Naumberg Recording Award in 1961, and earned an academic position at the University of Pennsylvania that allowed him to devote more time to composing. Over the course of these thirteen years, Rochberg completed twenty-five works, including four major orchestral compositions, three works for small chamber orchestra, nine instrumental chamber works, five settings for vocalists, and four solo keyboard works, including the well-known *Nach Bach* (1966). It was a prolific period of accomplishment that would have been the envy of any young composer entering his prime.

Privately, however, his emotional world felt as if it were spiraling out of control. As he noted in his autobiography, the "war experience had etched itself deep into my soul, and afterward I lived with an ever-sharpening awareness of . . . the abyss I saw, in a world coming apart at the seams."[1] In 1956, directly after the completion of his Second Symphony, Rochberg struggled with a foreboding sense of doom that adversely impacted his ability to compose. The political state of the world—specifically the collapse of colonial power in

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Egypt—had made him fearful for Western culture and the positive cultural values he believed it espoused.[2] "The West is breaking up. We are the last generations," he lamented in his journal. "What an agony to live between music and the world. In music we order the conditions of the world. We free ourselves from bonds, from restraints the world imposes on us as humans."[3]

The context for the entry was Election Day 1956. His vote for Adlai Stevenson cast that morning, Rochberg returned home to these headlines on the front page of the *New York Times*: "Russia Warns of Force to End Suez War," "British-French Commandos Land in Egypt," "Nehru Outraged by the Invasions; Moscow Aroused."[4] As an escape, Rochberg retreated into Baroque music, which he had been studying in greater detail in the late 1950s, but it ultimately offered little comfort against the personal and geopolitical challenges he felt mounting around him. In 1959, he wrote about his struggle with depression and its negative impact on his work: "I am dogged by remoteness from everything again, a painful sense of the unreality of life."[5] Incessant worry soon developed into an acute anxiety that provoked vivid nightmares of his wartime service, further haunting his psyche and disrupting his work. In his journal, he detailed one such triggered recollection: "Today I suddenly recalled how in an attack during the war on a wooded hill we had to keep moving, moving, and dodging in order to keep ahead of the mortars and 88s that kept creeping up on us from behind as we advanced. To stay where you were was sure death. No running back—only ahead."[6] Such flashbacks took their toll on him, resulting in a rising fear about the fate of the world. "It's a mad world in which we are living," he shared with his journal. "A cavernous sick nothing world. The only sanity left is in art—the only form and only truth."[7] Such comments became a regular trope in his diary, where he characterized the modern world as "offensive to the eye and ear" and wrote of his longing for another kind of existence in which "dignity follows naturally from simply being human."[8]

His depression grew more immediate at the turn of the decade. In 1959, he and Gene became aware that something was desperately wrong with their fifteen-year-old son, Paul. As Rochberg shared in one interview: "We went from doctor to doctor, and no one had the faintest idea of what it was. We were scared, [and] not in the ordinary way."[9] In 1961, Paul was diagnosed with a rare form of brain cancer that took its cruel toll on his young body: insufferable pain, invasive surgeries, exhaustive fatigue, increasing paralysis. Paul's illness devastated the family, and Rochberg struggled throughout to cope with his own anxiety, the increasing alienation in his marriage, and a desire to shelter his young daughter, Francesca (Chessie), from the unfolding tragedy. "I have to fight it off, and work is the only solution I know," he wrote in 1959 as he began sketches for two works that would engage directly with entropy not as a principle of thermodynamics but as a dynamic metaphor for the socio-political and emotional upheavals in his life: the Second String Quartet (1961) and the Third Symphony (1969).[10]

As part of his creative processes, Rochberg read broadly on the topic of social entropy, most notably sources that applied the term to the arenas of human communication and conflict. As a scientific concept, entropy refers generally to the quantitative measure of disorder or randomness in a closed thermal system, but after the war the term gained currency in more qualitative academic fields, such as sociology, political science, and communication theory. Klaus Krippendorff, an early developer of information theory who began his career at the University of Pennsylvania while Rochberg was on the faculty, defined social entropy as "a measure [either] of the natural decay of the structure or of the disappearance of distinctions within a social system."[11] Theories that developed in the 1950s and 1960s generally mirror this definition, seeing social entropy either as a movement away from order and structure (and thus toward social disorder) or as a measure of unavailable energy resulting from the homogenization of a social system (a lack of social diversity).[12]

Social entropy is generally categorized according to the type of system being measured. It may theoretically be internalized (within a closed system) or imported externally (within an open system), but as Arthur Koestler noted in *The Ghost in the Machine* (1967), "all living organisms . . . are 'open systems,' that is to say they maintain their complex form and function through continuous exchanges of energies and material with their environment."[13] One challenge for open social systems, therefore, is that they must contend with the importation of external energy or information and its unpredictable impact on social order. On a positive note, open systems can allow for "transfers of information, energy, or matter [that] can decrease entropy" within the system as a whole—a social pressure valve, so to speak. An increase in external entropy, however, can also negatively provoke a shift toward system restriction. The result is a "model of social systems as oscillating systems that can alternatively open or close their boundaries as the internal state of the system dictates."[14]

Among the earliest sources Rochberg read was Norbert Wiener's *The Human Uses of Human Beings* (1954), in which the cyberneticist considered the disruptive role of entropy in information theory.[15] As Wiener contended, entropy produces an "information overload" that overwhelms both individual senses and social systems, generating social confusion. This confusion—the interruption of meaningful discourse between individuals or between an individual and the system—results from what Wiener described as a decline in a message's meaningfulness. Unpredictability becomes an impediment to comprehension as signals are ultimately reduced to entropic noise. But Wiener also put forth a more allegorical interpretation of entropy, stemming from Letzler's essay, as the degradation of social relations "toward most-probably states of motionless homogeneity."[16] Unlike the chaotic and indeterminate possibilities of noise-based entropy—in which a hyper-freedom of choice ultimately produces unpredictable results that cannot be understood by conventional systems of

thought—this version of entropy considers the restriction of energy a threat to human systems. It captures another, perhaps more qualitative aspect in the literature Rochberg was reading: entropy as a reduction of social diversity that limits new sources of human energy and aims for a homogeneous social state. This is a so-called system death through stasis, restriction, and totalized populations that ultimately withers the social whole once it reaches equilibrium.

Social applications of entropy were to some extent understandable from a postwar perspective, given the increasing awareness of the mid-century tragedy of the Holocaust. If genocide could be equated with social entropy to the highest degree—mass extermination as an extreme form of system death—what social structures had facilitated its rise? One theory was the shift from agrarian to modern industrial society—a topic Rochberg cites in his diatribes against modern music—in that the modes of communal work changed from consistent and predictable seasonal patterns to the more fluid, mobile, and therefore ad hoc activities of modern society. In light of this increasing dispersion of energy, the nation became an important social construct, one "charged with the maintenance and supervision of an enormous [and diverse] social infrastructure."[17] Totalitarian governments would ultimately implement actions that swung the entropic pendulum to its opposite pole, including extreme policies like Gleichschaltung, which called for the elimination of distinctive communities that had infiltrated the perceived hegemony of a national industrial state like Nazi Germany.[18] Fascism, in this regard, aimed for an anti-Enlightenment construction of social equilibrium—the eradication of social distinctions and ultimate homogenization of society as a form of social control. But as Robert Paxton notes, it also ideologically required an extreme and violent response to perceived entropy within its society. "Fascist regimes," he observes, "had to produce an impression of driving momentum—permanent revolution—in order to fulfill [their] promises. They could not survive without that headlong, inebriating rush forward . . . [lest they risk] decaying into something resembling a tepid authoritarianism."[19]

This tension between entropic aggression and stagnation had been recognized in the mid-1940s by Theodor Adorno, whose writings Rochberg had read extensively. In *The Authoritarian Personality*, co-authored with sociological researchers at Berkeley in 1944, Adorno identified the dominant traits of fascist ideology as a "rigid commitment to dominant values," "a pessimistic and contemptuous view of humanity," and "extremely hierarchical thoughts and feelings."[20] The following year he would recognize within Nazi Germany a strong "hatred against the individual" that ultimately became expressed as an "aggressive spirit of community."[21] In the 1947 edition of *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Adorno and Max Horkheimer delved specifically into the racial biases that had fueled the Holocaust, noting that "anti-Semitism as a popular movement has always been driven by the urge . . . to make everyone the same."

They continued: "Idiosyncrasy attaches itself to the peculiar. The universal, that which fits into the context of social utility, is regarded as natural. But anything natural which has not been absorbed into utility by passing through the cleansing channels of conceptual order . . . whatever is not quite assimilated . . . is felt as intrusive and arouses a compulsive aversion."[22] Growing awareness of the Holocaust heightened attention toward the severe consequences of specific Nazi policies, with objections to Gleichschaltung rising to the level of a "moral and political imperative" in the late 1940s.[23] For Adorno, Auschwitz came to represent the real human consequence of extreme social entropy—the eradication of Jewish human energy and diversity from the population.

Adorno also worried about the impact of fascist entropy on European art culture. In "What National Socialism Has Done to the Arts" (1945), Adorno argued that fascism was a direct threat not only to Enlightenment political values but also to the humanistic traditions of music and philosophy. Within fascist culture, he averred, there is "the wish for simplicity at any price, the contempt of the métier, the unwillingness to learn anything that requires persistent intellectual efforts." As such, the artist "is no longer called upon . . . to express independently his experiences, visions, and ideas, but has come to understand himself as a sort of functionary who has to fulfill a social and productive duty." The result is therefore artistic entropy of the static kind, what Adorno describes as a "complete stagnation, a 'freezing' of all musical styles of composing and performing and of all standards of criticism. . . . [Fascism] exercised a paralyzing effect [on music]."[24] In his 1951 essay, "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda," Adorno further identified fascism with a weak Mündigkeit, which Espen Hammer sensitively translates as "the ability to think for oneself or to be capable of resisting the claims of heteronomous, dogmatically adopted sources of authority."[25] The anti-fascist artist, as Adorno imagined him, was neither "a stubborn, blind specialist" nor a "commercial designer."[26]

In later essays, Adorno mapped these mid-century tendencies onto two of the dominant artistic movements of the immediate postwar period: total serialism and the Fluxus movement. In "Modern Music Is Growing Old" (1956), an essay Rochberg read with great interest, Adorno explicitly used political metaphors to discuss the perceived entropy of total serialism. He criticized figures such as Pierre Boulez for dehumanizing music through the process of "prohibit[ing] any free and subjective initiative in the process of composition."[27] Sociologically, he identified in serial works a "reduction of freedom and disintegration of the individual" indicative of totalitarian political policies: "The brutal measures current under totalitarian regimes, where music is muzzled and any 'deviation' looked upon as decadent and subversive—these measures reflect, in a cruder form, what is happening more gradually and more subtly . . . in art itself." Such measures resulted in an entropic aesthetic,

a "static conception of music [in which] all the exact ratios of equivalence and symmetry . . . assume that the identical things that appear in different places in the score are, in fact, identical." As Adorno concluded, this musical paralysis reflected the lingering fascist spirit of the postwar period.[28]

Based on his interdisciplinary reading, Rochberg began writing a series of essays about musical entropy around the time of the Second String Quartet. In his personal copy of *The Ghost in the Machine*, Rochberg made a clear association between serialism and closed systems in his marginal glosses, viewing serialism as a more homogenized and therefore static form of musical entropy akin to Adorno's frozen aesthetic. A few pages later he addressed a passage about modern communication theory in which Koestler noted that "entropy [can be] equated with 'noise' which causes a waste of information. Our perceptions, then, become 'negative noises,' amusement the absence of boredom."[29] Rochberg immediately drew a correspondence with aleatoric music, which he considered a disruptive open system that ultimately resulted in confusion, disorder, and noise. In his theory of musical entropy, the two poles were represented by what he viewed as the dangerous extremes of modernism.

The Ghost in the Machine confirmed these ideas for Rochberg, but they had not given birth to them; the composer had already conceived of entropic musical systems in essays that predate Koestler's study. In "Indeterminacy in the New Music" (1959), Rochberg provides his own working definition of entropy: "the measure of the tendency of nature toward disorder, non-differentiation, and a final state of static equilibrium."[30] The passage resonates with Wiener's description of entropy in *Human Uses of Human Beings*: "As entropy increases, the universe, and all closed systems tend naturally to deteriorate and lose their distinctiveness. [The system moves] from a state of differentiation in which distinction and forms exist to a state of chaos and sameness."[31] Rochberg makes a leap from social systems to musical systems, arguing that both indeterminate and serialist methods of composition are entropic in that their end products—the compositions themselves—leave the listener disoriented. The sounds produced, he argues, are both chaotic (unpredictable) and static (lacking harmonic motion and rhythmic pulse), an assessment that could have equally been levied against John Cage's chance-based *Music of Changes* and Webern's twelve-tone Symphony op. 21.

By the close of the essay, Rochberg's entropic assessment of indeterminacy becomes clear; it is a chaotic genre that muddles listener comprehensibility and structural orientation. But he also identifies similar entropic qualities at the opposite of the compositional spectrum: total serialism. "It is precisely this kind of order which does produce entropy," he argues, because "total organization is based on an *equivalence principle*: all elements are granted equal status. . . . In totally organized music, then, the equivalence principle tends to reduce differentiation to a minimum, creating a kind of musical

entropy [that] brings on itself the condition of indeterminacy." Overall, he laments that both types of music have become devoid of expressive melodies; as a consequence, their music has become composed solely of "sound structures which are ends in themselves, and therefore remain fixed objects, incapable of radiating value or meaning."[32] In short, both serialism and aleatoric music lack humanistic energy and perceptible communicative abilities. Their sounds had become quantitative—fetishized, reified—because of compositional procedures Rochberg believed objectified and destroyed their human expressivity. Modern music was not aging, he contended; it was "dead."[33]

Similar aesthetic discussions appeared in left-leaning art criticism of the 1960s, including one article by Evgeni Zamyatin that appeared in *Partisan Review*, a journal with which Rochberg was familiar. In "On Literature, Revolution, and Entropy," Zamyatin reiterated these ideas in similarly apocalyptic terms:

> Red, fiery, death-dealing is the law of revolution . . . and old, blue as ice, as the icy interplanetary infinities, is the law of entropy. . . . When [in art] a flaming, seething sphere grows cold, the fiery molten rock becomes covered with dogma—with a hard, ossified, immovable crust. [In art], dogmatization is the entropy of thought; what has been dogmatized no longer inflames, it is merely warm—and soon to be cool. The Sermon on the Mount, delivered beneath the scorching sun to upstretched arms and rending sobs[,] gives way to slumberous prayer in some well-appointed abbey.[34]

But Zamyatin was less skeptical than Rochberg about the new postmodern genres. Anti-entropic art, he argued, "militates against calcification, sclerosis, encrustedness, moss, peace. It is utopian and ridiculous. . . . It leaves the canonical rails," a reference to indeterminate and chance-based performance art.[35]

Adorno had similarly predicted a turn from static entropy to chaotic entropy, noting that equilibrial and hyper-structural approaches to composition would ultimately provoke their opposite: anti-structure. But his assessment was more akin to that of Rochberg, and not only in its musical distaste. Both men feared that postmodernism's playful surface masked an underlying fascist mentality. Adorno addressed the consequences of structural dissolution in his 1966 essay, "Art and the Arts," in which he labeled Fluxus performance events as a "Verfransung der Künste"—a fraying or blurring of artistic boundaries. Such hybridization, he contended, was not a productive or positive development; rather, as Andreas Huyssen observes, Adorno associated the movement with "entropy and a process in which the arts, given their inability to redeem in the post-Auschwitz age, simply consume each other."[36] Such a postwar commentary was most likely not based solely on aesthetic considerations. Both Adorno

and Rochberg were well aware of the fascist leanings of Italian Futurists like Luigi Russolo and Emilio Marinetti, whose works constitute a dark genealogical past for Cage's affirmations of noise and sound.[37]

Rochberg often used his journals as sketchbooks for his published essays, and during the period 1959–63, commentaries on absurdist, serialist, and entropic art appear regularly in their pages. On October 15, 1959, Rochberg frankly admitted that he could not abide Cage or his ideas, mostly because indeterminacy took from the composer the ability to thoughtfully craft aesthetic meaning and placed that "burden" on someone who was trained as a "performer," not a "creator."[38] In a later entry, Rochberg worried that absurdist art not only withdrew serious intent from music but also distracted its listeners from the severity of the world:

> What should Hamlet, Lear, and Wozzeck have done? Laughed it all off and said, "See how absurd my situation is? I'll laugh about it and then maybe I'll feel better?" What horseshit. . . . A real artist get[s] down to rock bottom—down to where you live and where it hurts. Life has a kind of monstrous quality about it that has always existed and always will. . . . The great [artists] will always tell us this. They won't go around like a bunch of wailing . . . babes telling us life is absurd.[39]

An entry on May 8, 1962, neatly summarized his position on absurdist art: "Everyone is playing games today. Nobody is reaching out. Life is big and dreadful. That's what music ought to be about."[40]

If Rochberg found Cage intolerable for his disregard of human suffering, electro-acoustic composers like Milton Babbitt and Karlheinz Stockhausen were objectionable for their mechanization of performance, especially in the genre of song. In April 1963, he attended an electronic music concert at the University of Pennsylvania that ultimately left him depressed. "I can't take the dead level quality of sounds and what is done with them," he confided to his journal. "Even though human beings produce it, its own intrinsic substance is machine."[41] Three months later, a radio broadcast of Babbitt's *Composition for Tenor and Six Instruments* (1960) and Stockhausen's first group of *Momente* (1962) provoked greater ire and engendered pointed political readings. Both compositions use the human voice as their central sound source, but Rochberg averred that neither work "supplied meaningful text." Even when words were discernible, they appeared to have "no meaning *as words*" but were just "stammerings, gasps, sighs, shouts, burns."[42] Rochberg's vocabulary in this passage is anything but neutral; the giggles and laughter of Cage are replaced with a more visceral and disturbing soundscape.

At the time of the 1963 broadcast, Rochberg had just finished reading Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, which provides a context for his scathing critique of Stockhausen. "Only a German

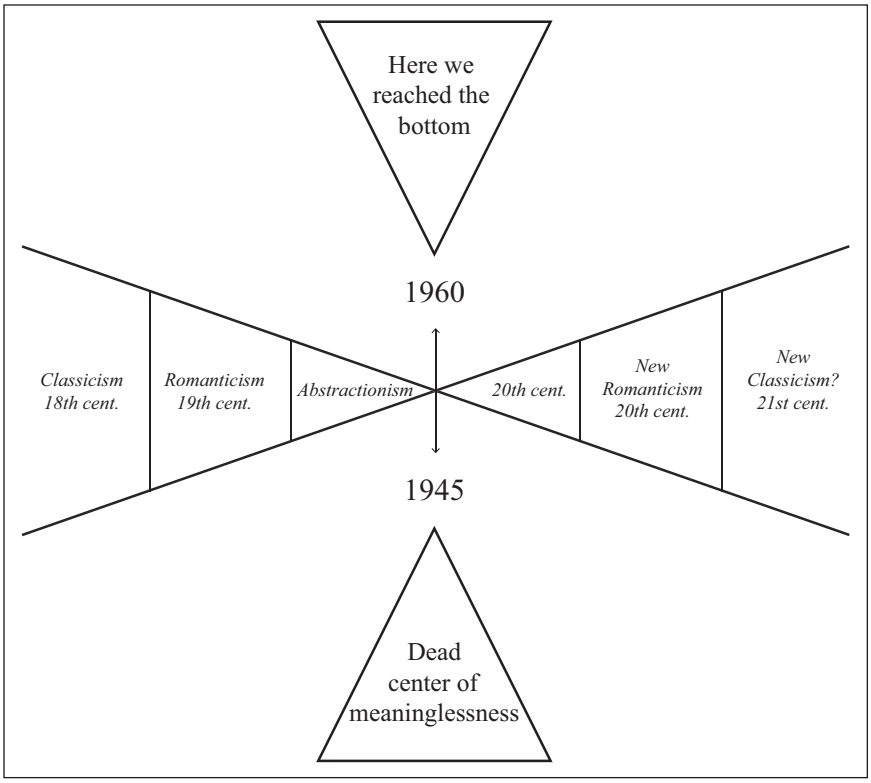


Figure 3.1. Diagram from Rochberg's journal, August 1, 1963. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.

could have produced this work," Rochberg vehemently concluded. "Only a German knows evil so deeply in his soul that he [could] raise it to [artistic] value. If Stockhausen had called [*Momente*] 'Twelve Years with Hitler,' one could accept the daring [and] courage. *Momente* proves my feeling that he is reveling in [evil]."[43] His severe distaste for the work prompted an entry in his journal the following day in which he sketched out the annihilation of art music in the immediate post-Holocaust period (figure 3.1). Eloquence, he argued, had inspired the music of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner, Mahler, and even Schoenberg. But postwar composers like Stockhausen, he contended, compose music that creates the sensation of "freezing, and below freezing nothing can flow or live. Everything becomes blocked, frozen, frustrated, and out of frustration [comes] nothing but violent fragmentation (*Momente*!). At its very center, it is dead and cold."[44]

Elements of this post-Holocaust critique resurface specifically in two later essays about artistic entropy. In "The New Image of Music" (1963), Rochberg again takes aim at postwar music for what he perceives as its fragmented diffusion of musical space and gestures.[45] Again, two portraits of musical entropy emerge—frozen stasis and unpredictable chaos—that ultimately divest these compositions of the productive energy generated by harmonic tension and rhythmic pulse. But Rochberg now describes the compositional shift toward entropy in political and apocalyptic terms. He portrays the spatialization of music as an aesthetic coup, the "overthrow of [the] long-dominant temporal structure" of Classical and Romantic music.[46] But unlike Schoenberg's emancipation of dissonance, this is no triumphant liberation narrative. Instead, Rochberg views the mid-century embrace of entropy as a response to the "terror of history," a term borrowed from historian Mircea Éliade to explain the modern rejection of a historical telos marred by "catastrophes and horrors, collective deportations and massacres."[47] As Rochberg argues, the high modernists felt compelled to discard "three centuries of [tonal practice they could] no longer live with"; in doing so, they created an "image of music which aspires to Being, not Becoming."[48]

In 1961 Rochberg finished his Second String Quartet, a twelve-tone work scored for string quartet and soprano that featured text from Rilke's *Duino Elegies*. Its compositional gestation (1959–61) corresponds neatly with his writings on entropy, an association reflected in the language of the program notes:[49]

> [I have created] a play with the possibilities of order-disorder; but a play which, I want to stress, is wholly within my control and not left to hazard or chance—or the performers. . . . So far as "subject matter" goes—definable themes, rhythms, etc.—there is none in the usual sense. What takes place is, instead, a purposeful play with order-disorder, a movement between fantasia and arabesque, and tempo combinations which are deeply involved in both. . . .The voice reclaims the music from the abstract and indeterminate, brings it back fully within the sphere of what is most deeply and intensely human—a concern with the questions of existence itself.[50]

The work recalls Schoenberg's Second String Quartet (1908) in both its atonality and its use of text, but Rochberg's quartet presents a subtle critique of the modernist tendency *toward* entropy. As Joseph Straus argues, the instrumental opening of Rochberg's quartet could be considered more entropic than Schoenberg's more poetic and interrelated modes of serialism in that the twelve-tone series are "never shared between the parts. . . . Rather than combining to create aggregates or other definable harmonies, the parts go their own way."[51] But whereas Schoenberg's quartet moves toward increasingly atonal language in each movement, Rochberg uses the entry of the soprano to

signal what critic Gilbert Chase recognized as a reclamation of "the music from the abstract, bringing it back to what is most deeply and intensely human."[52] Instead of feeling the "air of another planet," Rochberg's quartet asserts that "to have been, though only once, an earthly thing seems irrevocable."[53]

The quartet ultimately became the first of a trio of works that Rochberg intended as meditations on the extreme social entropy of the twentieth century. "All the while I was working on the [Rilke] quartet," he wrote in his journal, "there was growing in me the feeling to produce a large-scale orchestra work with vocal sections" on a related subject.[54] The initial descriptions suggest he was referring to his unpublished oratorio, "Passions According to the Twentieth Century," which he ultimately completed in 1967. Rochberg imagined a choral work drawn from a collage of texts: fragments from the Requiem mass, excerpts from current newspaper clippings, translations of classical Greek tragedies. It would be akin, in his mind, to a "mighty lamentation" in which people "gather . . . to weep bitter tears over the foolishness of man" in an act of spiritual defiance; "to lament is also to live," he argued, "to go down in defeat singing is better than to delude oneself."[55] In 1962, the composer began sketching some of the chant settings that would ultimately find their way into the "Passions," but his productivity stalled as his son Paul's condition declined. In 1964, Rochberg was offered the opportunity to teach at the State University of New York at Buffalo during the spring semester, and Gene insisted that he take the position, leave the family in her care, and find his way back to composing.[56]

As he did, Gene became his trusted sounding board for the "Passions." While their nightly telephone calls were the medium for more practical discussions about family, health, and finances, a political and aesthetic conversation unfolded in their handwritten letters. Gene had secured a ticket to see *The Deputy*, Rolf Hochhuth's play about the silence of Pope Pius XII during the Holocaust, in New York City and wrote to Rochberg about her eagerness to "enter this philosophical fray by way of the theater."[57] Her suggestion that art could be a medium through which to confront fascism and the failure of organized religion prompted Rochberg to share his ambitions for the "Passions": a personal rejection of God in light of the Holocaust. He described to her a choral sequence in which religious exhortations were juxtaposed against a speaking chorus that would "hiss and spit out" the names of concentration camps.[58] The description hit Gene "like a pistol shot": "'And praise be to the Lord'—the lord of Auschwitz, etc., and all kinds of human misery, suffering, torture, and despair. What are you trying to do? Bring the curtain down on the Lord? . . . It is fascinating that this should be emerging from you just as we seem to be entering another period of questioning man's inhumanity to man and God's as well."[59] Rochberg's answer provided the subtext for the project, his own response to the Holocaust: "It struck me we speak of the 'Passion of Jesus

Christ' [and] the *St. Matthew Passion*. . . . Why not use 'passion' in the identical sense when referring to the 'six million' or any of the world's . . . anonymous innocents[?]"[60] With Gene's encouragement, Rochberg began assembling core texts that would feature in what he considered a set of secular "scrolls, which came to me like a quick stabbing of black searing pain."[61] Among the sources were poems by Federico García Lorca, William Blake, and an eyewitness testimony drawn from Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*: "Day after day, the people here leave for their own funeral."[62]

In the earliest versions of the oratorio, Rochberg's protagonists were literary and historical—the wailing laments of Hecuba, the cries of a slaughtered Abel, the mad rantings of Herod, the barked commands of Hitler.[63] But Rochberg grew worried about this approach for two reasons. First, he was troubled by the coupling of Herod with Hitler, which required him to erase what he believed was the "historical fact of Herod's Jewish ancestry" to portray the two men as similarly aligned within a clear binary ethical conflict of "good versus evil."[64] Second, a discussion with the composer Lukas Foss raised concerns that an explicitly polemical dramatic setting could result in the work becoming too propagandistic.[65] Returning to Arendt, he began to think more abstractly about what was at the heart of modern fascism.[66] "There is a demonic quality in he who finds himself in a center of cold devoid of everything human," he wrote, "who kills man better than man himself and can rationalize it."[67] At this point, Rochberg began explicitly connecting postwar musical entropy with political forms of human behavior—chaos with anarchy and order with totalitarianism—and wrestled with how best to represent their spiritual threat through music.[68] He began an initial sketch for the "Passions" in which the choral finale from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony segues through Stockhausen into Heinrich Schütz's chorale, "Saul, was verfolgst du mich?" [Saul, Why Do You Persecute Me?].[69] For Rochberg, the transference held a deliberate yet subtle social commentary: "There is one mad (insane) place in the third [movement] where I deliberately quote [*Momente*] and [which] will prove for those who are sensitive to human values that you can't descend into incoherence and inarticulations without entering an irrational, disturbed, insane condition."[70] In a 1967 speech at the University of Texas, Austin, he would specifically identify this sketch as the pivotal creative moment that led to *ars combinatoria*. As he explained to his audience, he saw his intentions as moving beyond simple quotation: "I wanted to quote Beethoven and then transform the quote by refracting it, filtering it through the language of our own time."[71]

Ultimately, the conceit was never realized. Rochberg returned home at the end of the semester to find Paul unable to open his jaw without physical manipulation, and he ceased all composition to help his son finish a collection of poetry that would be published posthumously.[72] His journals document the full

range of his emotional devastation. "We are cracking more and more every day, until we too are shattered," he wrote in May 1964. "How can I help Gene? How can she help me? We are helpless."[73] Paul passed away just before Thanksgiving, a loss that left the composer emotionally disoriented and paralyzed. "I write as though it were not me," he wrote in his first journal entry after Paul's death. "It is real—unreal. Paolo is gone, gone from us. He is everywhere in the house, in our hearts, in our minds, yet he is gone. He doesn't live here anymore. He has left. My words are so feeble, utterly inept."[74] Over the next year, friends and colleagues expressed continual condolences and support, but such polite offers struck Rochberg as meaningless social gestures: "They talk about suffering in the abstract, about loss. But they never say how one is to survive it while carrying the ache of lost love in your veins. I have to stay on the bottom, where it is black, where the light doesn't penetrate, only there can I see."[75]

In March 1965, Rochberg felt compelled to compose again, and the music came fast and furious, as if "invading [his] psyche" from a place without.[76] The result was his path-breaking combinatorial *Contra Mortem et Tempus*, which laced quotations of Pierre Boulez, Alban Berg, Charles Ives, Luciano Berio, and Edgar Varèse together with his own material along a thread of shared pitch relationships. As he explained, "It meant dissembling the sources . . . and using only those things which fit what I was interested in, and then finding ways of making the connections so that you reestablish some kind of organic relationship."[77] In his journal, the composer described the work as a personal requiem in an entry addressed to Paul: "In the *Contra*, the piano harmonies will toll like bells for you, my boy, and for all of us."[78] Other memorial works such as *Three Black Pieces* (1965) illustrate Rochberg's interest in recapturing the humanistic roots of music. "I don't know when I have made such sad and beautiful music," he wrote to Paul in August 1965. "In this music is there a bridge between where I am and where you are? It is a deep crying, a lamenting for all the life of man."[79] Such creative work brought some measure of comfort—a sense that his compositions had spiritually reconnected him with Paul—but Rochberg still felt confused about his path forward. "I feel alone and surrounded by love," he confided in one entry, "but how do you make that into art?"[80]

A visit to Tanglewood in 1966 provided the first spark toward an answer. Surrounded by the lush greenery of the Berkshires, the performances of the Boston Symphony Orchestra became a salve for his wounded soul. Bach suddenly held new significance as "music that is noble and dignified in its human suffering"; Mozart was to be admired for his transformation of pain into joy; Mahler's Tenth Symphony suggested a meditation about "last things, finalities, and longing for what is gone and past."[81] The works re-called Rochberg to his piano, not to compose but to immerse himself in Classical and Romantic masterworks. In October 1966, he giddily captured his experience of playing through the Beethoven *Missa Solemnis*: "[It was] a way of getting back to the

real thing. Real things: of the fantasy, imagination, senses. Felt alive after, really alive for the first time in months—it started [a] chain reaction: my head full of classical tunes, harmonies. . . . I'm going to call my psychiatrist and tell him I won't be back."[82]

From this experience, Rochberg posited an alternative model for twentieth-century music: the re-embrace of canonical repertory as a humanistic antidote to modernism. Shortly thereafter, he sketched a humanistic manifesto, providing one of the earliest descriptions of the philosophical aims of *ars combinatoria*:

> To use all of history
> To make the past present
> To combine, juxtapose, mix, transform, reshape
> To use all manner of sound
> To deny nothing which is of music and in music
> To sing in every way
> To murmur, whisper, shout, cry out, scream, moan, groan, and grunt
> For we are at the end and everything is germane . . .
> The last great bonfire, the last all-consuming furnace of human energy
> A last pyre on which we immolate our culture, which is dead,
> In order to make the earth clean again . . .
> The burning away.
> The final cry of exulting pain
> Through Adam's Fall are we lost and we shall not regain Paradise
> Not in this epoch.
> So I must abandon all present reason and logic
> And make my work out of all that has been into my own time
> And proclaim the Apocalypse.[83]

Here, the dystopian roots of *ars combinatoria* are laid bare before the reader. The supposedly life-affirming process of musical combination—his postmodern "kiss for the entire world"—becomes a final form of resistance against an "all-consuming furnace" for a ravished and dying humanism.

That same year, Rochberg integrated these new combinatorial ideas with his earlier political conception for the "Passions" into a piece of anti-fascist Holocaust witness. As a result, the large-scale plan for the "Passions" underwent several revisions over its gestation, ranging from the first idea, hatched in Buffalo, for six choral passions based on myriad text collages (1964) to the sprawling concept of five passions interspersed among twelve–fifteen staged melodramas (1966). In February 1967, while he was concurrently sketching ideas for his Third Symphony, he wrote to Anhalt with a new vision for the "Passions":

1. *First Lumina* for orchestra . . . "spatialized" music in which I hope to convey some sense of the ineffable which surrounds us . . . (to be composed)

2. "Saul, was verfolgst du mich" . . . This is a giant collage (Schütz, Beethoven, Mahler, Ives, etc.)
3. "Deus Cujus Hodierna" . . . This text is from the Catholic liturgy dealing with the slaughter of the innocents.
4. "Ayl Molay Rachamim," the Hebrew litany—memorial service. Mostly solo voice (Cantorial)
5. "Was wirst du tun, Gott, wenn ich sterbe" by R. M. Rilke . . . (To be composed)
6. *First Black Piece* for orchestra. . . . This is already composed [in 1965].[84]

Rochberg would settle on a more simplified setting of four theatrical melodramas and three intervening choral passions. The final version merged two periods of Jewish persecution—Herod's slaughter and Hitler's Holocaust—in a dramatic structure that utilized musical texts ranging from the medieval period to the twentieth century.[85] Musically, Beethoven's "millions" from the Ninth Symphony encounter Jewish laments sung by the millions exterminated in the death camps, while abstract jazz motifs are overcome by the banal insistence of the "Horst Wessel Lied," the official anthem of the Nazi Party. The work drew musical material from sketches related to all but the second and sixth movements he had described to Anhalt, but it also incorporated new material featuring the voices of lamenting women, in particular mothers (table 3.1). As

Table 3.1. Final three-movement organization of "Passions According to the Twentieth Century," with descriptions of textual content and performance forces

Title	Dramatic concept	Performing forces
Passion I	Catholic and Jewish liturgical chants echoed by a whispering chorus; visual images of art depicting Holocaust suffering; speaking chorus intoning the names of concentration camps; Rilke's "Was wirst du tun, Gott, wenn ich sterbe?"	Soloists, speakers, double chorus, orchestra
Passion II	Movement dedicated to the voices of women, particularly mothers, including the Greek figures Hecuba and Andromache (Aeschlyus's *The Women of Troy*); poem by García Lorca ("y el mar deja de moverse")	Soloists, speakers, double chorus, orchestra
Passion III	Juxtaposition of Schiller's "An die Freude" with Catholic liturgical phrases (Agnus Dei), Jewish laments (Eli Eli), Christ's final words on the cross (My God, My God), and Rochberg's own commentary on the Holocaust	Soloists, speakers, double chorus, orchestra; recorded tape

Rochberg described in the accompanying program notes, his intention was to use a wide-ranging span of texts and music as a cultural tool of confrontation: "In this cultural 'folding over' . . . we cannot escape any longer the peculiar and powerful sense that all things and all times, however worthy or unworthy, belong to us. At least, we have not been able to escape their consequences, humanly and artistically."[86]

The final score for the "Passions" was completed on April 13, 1967, in a rapid two-month creative outpouring, but it was ultimately never performed. Rochberg suppressed the work, worried that it bordered on the "pseudo-serious" and was ultimately "a giant torso of something I may never bring to completion."[87] In the end, its large repository of musical sketches, poetic texts, political intentions, and aesthetic ideas flowed into the Third Symphony, which resembled the second section of the "Passions" proposed to Anhalt in February. In August, Rochberg began sketches for the opening material, which faithfully quoted Heinrich Schütz's chorale "Saul, was verfolgst du mich?" and Bach's arrangement for organ of the Lutheran chorale "Durch Adams Fall" (BWV 637). By November, he was composing with material from Beethoven's Third, Fifth, and Ninth Symphonies, the *Missa Solemnis*, and shorter passages by Mozart, Mahler, Ives, and Anhalt. "I did not write the Third Symphony. But something in me did," he explained in terms *ars combinatorial*. "Beethoven in Handel. Me in Beethoven. All things intersect on a plane that is outside of time."[88]

In December 1967, he explicitly identified the two inspirations for the new symphony, one personal and one political. "The music comes from places I never thought music could come from—a broken-heart and nerves stretched to breaking point," he wrote in a passage dedicated to Paul on Christmas Day.[89] Soon thereafter, he revealed the entropic fate he envisioned for his canonical subjects:

> [It] suddenly dawned on me that [the Third Symphony] is a musical metaphor of the world as [Immanuel Velikovsky] pictures it in *Earth in Upheaval*. . . . Just as physical catastrophe overturned the world time and time again, this culture is overturned and now in its old place [is] nothing [but] chaos. . . . The Third Symphony is an image of the terror in me (man) and the vision of ending. . . . To know the world in all its possibilities—to the root of its destruction—is to begin to learn the depths of the abyss.[90]

Velikovsky was later criticized for having "only the vaguest understanding of such basic physical principles as conservation of angular momentum, gravity, and entropy," but Rochberg seized on his descriptions of environmental chaos as reflective of humanistic catastrophes both past and present.[91] "I knew it could be done only indirectly," he explained, "because the means of human expression are insufficient and inadequate to 'name' the horrors of the

twentieth century. Terms like *holocaust*, *ethnic cleansing*, *killing fields*, *gulags*, and *concentration camps* are only symbolic cues. Monstrous, monumental evil cannot be shown entire[ly] . . . through the meager symbols and language we have."[92]

Identifiable musical symbols became the allegorical material of the Third Symphony, which pitted canonical references against what Rochberg considered the entropic language of neo-fascist modernism. The work unfolds as one continuous movement scored for orchestra, double chorus, vocal soloists, and speakers, which Rochberg roughly divides into three dramatic "clusters of combination"[93] (table 3.2). In an unabridged version of his autobiography, Rochberg provides a quasi-program for each section that features the general characteristics of musical entropy. Tonal stability cedes to an "apocalyptic atmosphere" of atonal pitch clusters and irregular phrases; lengthy quotations of Beethoven's Eroica lead the funeral procession into a "wild purposeful chaos" where "meaning is smashed and shattered"; in the aftermath, "exhaustion" sets in, with Ives's *Unanswered Question* standing in as a philosophical witness to the final gasps of the Schütz chorale.

In his analysis of the symphony, David Metzer describes how the composer topples the work by overburdening its already monumental citations: "More and more layers are added, some not even integrated into the originals," causing the work's centrifugal balance to be thrown off. "With no original as a foundation . . . [the symphony] rapidly disintegrates into nothingness."[94] Harmonic balance also strays from an initial symmetry, but with an unintended allegorical result. Rochberg planned a symmetrical key progression of rising minor and enharmonic minor thirds [D minor, F minor, A-flat major, B major], only to have the sequence broken by the *Missa Solemnis* citation ("Agnus Dei"), which is in the key of B-flat major [D minor, F minor, A-flat minor, B-flat major]. Although initially disappointed by the abandoned symmetry, Rochberg ultimately decided not to substitute another work for the *Missa Solemnis*. To accept its deviation from his tonal plan, he argued, was in the spirit of the work's humanism: "It illustrates the necessity of giving clear preference to . . . the emotional meaning of a work over the rigors and exigencies of craft and technique . . . [the] carrying out [of] purely theoretical, technical mandates."[95]

This last comment uncovers one of the underlying motivations for the Third Symphony—a critique of postwar modernist aesthetics—but one unsettling passage from his journal suggests Rochberg's understanding of the work as an allegorical response to the Holocaust. "The inner space of the Third Symphony, [which] takes us back to the worlds of Bach and Mozart, is the greatest I have produced so far," he wrote. In the work, the canonical subjects encounter "complexity for its own sake . . . sheer clutter, [which overloads] reception mechanism; consequently [it] chokes off mental oxygen and produces carbon monoxide, poison fumes."[96] Here, serialism and absurdist art—understood by the composer as fascist and anti-humanist in nature—ultimately

Table 3.2. Rochberg's three "compositional clusters" in "Passions According to the Twentieth Century." Italicized text originates from the unabridged version of *Five Lines, Four Spaces*. Bold text represents musical quotations from other composers.

First cluster (mm. 1–416)	Second cluster (mm. 417–98)	Third cluster (mm. 499–end)
"Apocalyptic atmosphere"	*"Spiritual-moral ethos of the sense of the fall of man . . . into the sin of consciousness [where] unanswerable questions related to good and evil arise."*	*"Exhaustion sets in . . . bursts of angry energy."*
Schütz, "Saul" **J. S. Bach, "Durch Adams Fall"** **Ives, *Unanswered Question*** **Mahler, Symphony no. 1** Rochberg, D-minor Fugue **Anhalt, Symphony (1958)** **Mozart, Piano Sonata K. 533** **Beethoven, *Missa Solemnis***	**Beethoven, Third Symphony (Fugue)** Rochberg, D-minor Fugue **Beethoven, Third Symphony (Funeral March)**	**Beethoven, Fifth Symphony** **Beethoven, *Missa Solemnis*** **Mahler, Symphony no. 1** **Ives, *Unanswered Question*** **Beethoven, Ninth Symphony** **Schütz, "Saul"** **Ives, *Unanswered Question***
"Uncertainty [that] clouds the tonal clarity" but which gives way to a "sudden return to tonal clarity."	*"Wild purposeful chaos—notated noise. At such a juncture . . . the center cannot hold . . . earth is in upheaval . . . meaning is smashed, shattered."*	*"Ives's unanswerable question. In audible voices . . . the work slowly dies into silence."*
D major/D minor	F minor shifts to A-flat major	B-flat major returns to D minor

gas their victims (including Rochberg) to death through entropic techniques he developed in the "Passions" to accompany explicitly violent scenes of historical persecution.

In the "Passions," Rochberg utilizes two compositional techniques—reverberation and suspension—to portray entropic stasis. The first movement opens with a "reverberatory effect" in which a small whispering chorus intones the "Deus Cujus Hodie," a Latin text related to the slaughter of the innocents:

Deus cujus hodierna dies	O God, whose glory
Praeconium Innocentes martyres	the martyred innocents—
Non loquendo sed moriendo	not by speaking but by dying—
Confessi sunt	confessed.

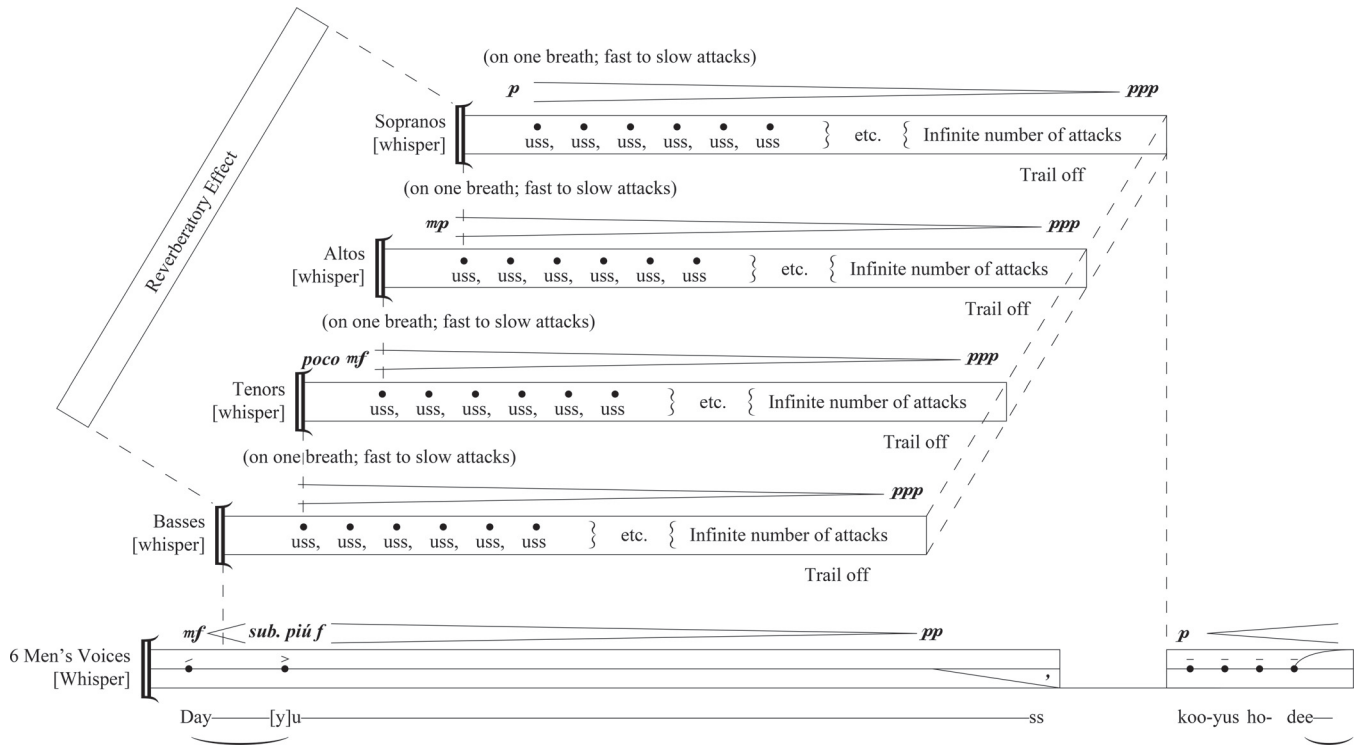
During the recitation of the text, a double chorus distorts the chant through percussive emphasis and elaboration on the closing consonants ("usss" or "yuh") (ex. 3.1). Rochberg muddles linguistic meaning by obscuring human singing, thus dramatizing the tragic fate of the innocent victims—their words ultimately "hang in the air in a state of completely suspended motion" that portrays not speaking but decay and extinction.[97] The interruption of the chant through syllabic echoing is not merely a dramatic effect, however; it also relates to a humanistic critique Rochberg levied against modernist vocal works, most notably Ralph Shapey's *Incantations* (1961) and Babbitt's *Philomel* (1964): "Singing is the sound of man; and through their voices they express the entire range of dark feelings and emotions which is their lot to bear. . . . The 'music of terror' reveals [a] sound . . . that is precisely logical and cold—mere patterns of sound relationships and configuration whose tiny, hard granules travel through musical space . . . like lonely planets."[98] In the first "Passion," the consonantal hard granules of the Latin words, which Rochberg remarks should be hissed or performed with ridicule and scorn, fill the musical space—a sphere of empty signification.

In the second "Passion," Rochberg produces static entropy through the suspension of rhythmic pulse and pitch, associating the effect with both social violence and serialism. The music accompanies a dystopic passage from Federico García Lorca's poem "Murder (Two Early Morning Voices on Riverside Drive)," in which the senseless assassination of an individual becomes reflected in the surrounding environment:

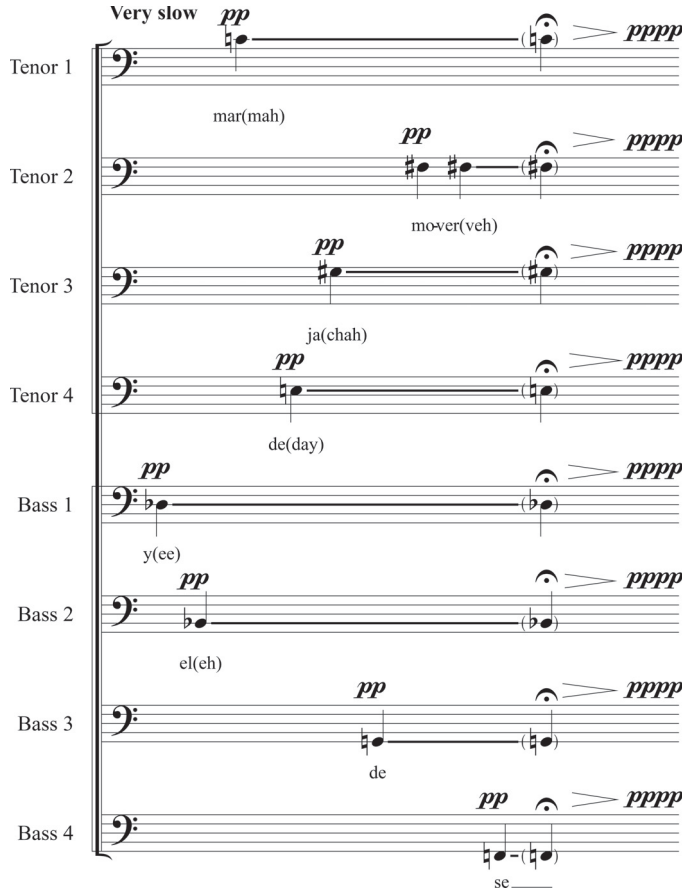
—¿Cómo Fue?	"*How did it happen?*"
—Una grieta en la mejilla	"A gash on the cheek.
¡Eso es todo!	That's all!
Una uña que aprieta el tallo.	A fingernail that pinches the stem.
Un alfiler que bucea	A pin that dives
Hasta encontrar las raicillas del grito	Until it finds the roots of a scream.
Y el mar deja de moverse.	And the sea stops still."[99]

García Lorca's poem addresses how grave acts of violence often materialize from smaller actions—a gash on the cheek, the pinch of a stem—that appear innocuous in isolation but ultimately accumulate into larger traumas. Rochberg selects the naturalistic line from the poem ("y el mar deja de moverse") and creates a musical setting that mirrors the entropic seizure of the ocean. An eight-part men's chorus sequentially intones each syllable of the

Example 3.1. Rochberg, "Passions According to the Twentieth Century" (1967), first movement, m. 1. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



Example 3.2. Rochberg, "Passions According to the Twentieth Century" (1967), second movement, m. 8. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



poetic phrase, freezing the pitch and vowel at the point of attack (ex. 3.2). The effect ultimately fragments García Lorca's language while producing a sense of suspended time and a dissonant <0145678T> pitch cluster. Rochberg had long associated these qualities with serialism's existential threat to humanism, and in an essay on musical duration he chided serial composition along similar lines: "Antidynamic, the music becomes static, arrested, incapable of directed flow. . . . It does not engage the listener in his most profound intuitive relation to life and experience."[100] Around the time of the work's composition, Rochberg recorded a nightmare in which he felt his soul

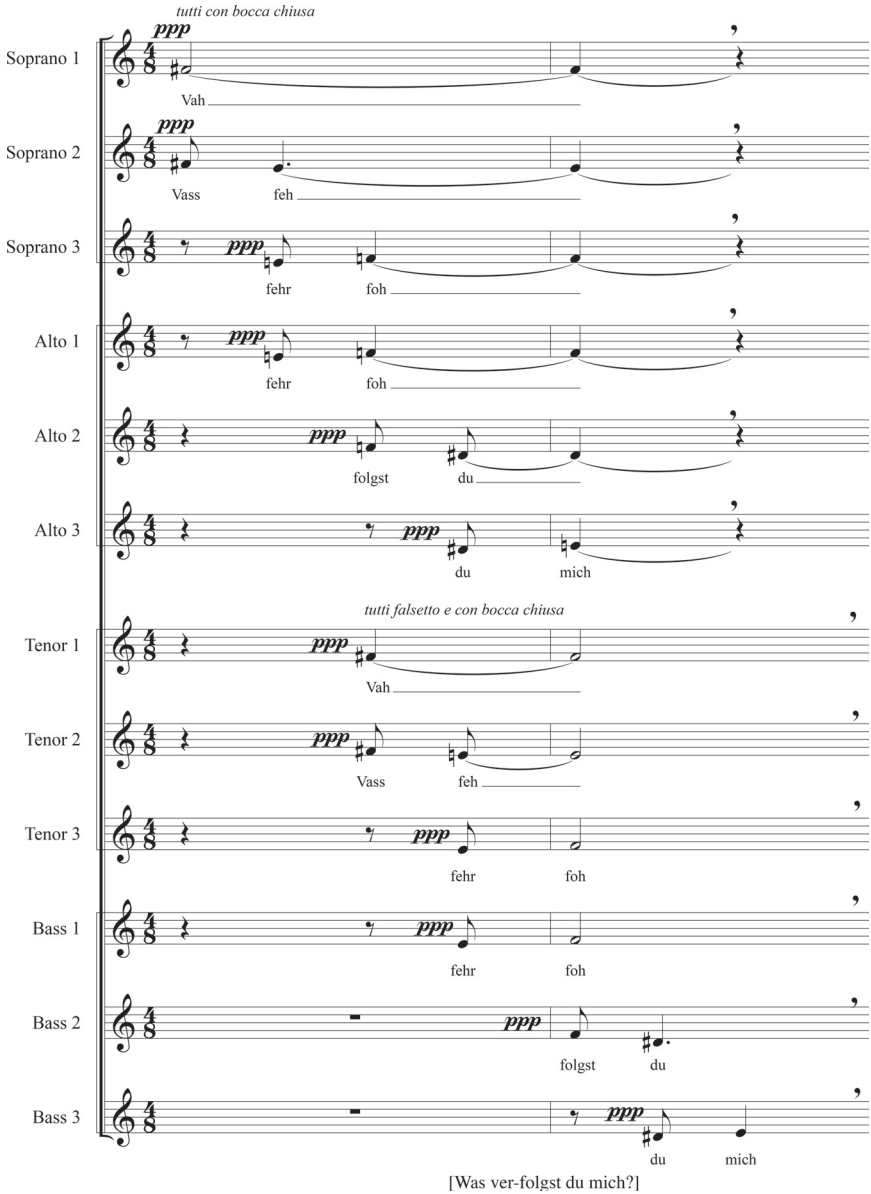
"freezing to death inside"—becoming sclerotic and ultimately amoral. As he confided chillingly to his journal, this is the state in which "man conducts war and his sadistic masochistic tendencies go with him—wounding, hunting, destroying."[101]

The opening of the Third Symphony reprises these techniques to create the initial "apocalyptic atmosphere." The work opens with three fortissimo percussion strikes and cacophonous twelve-note clusters in the piano, each of which accompanies the double choir screaming the name of the protagonist: "Saul!"[102] Rochberg uses technology to amplify the forces with multiple microphones, instructing the conductor to wait for each episode to decay and evaporate into silence, the waves of electronic reverberation suspending motion and time. Rochberg intended this sonic distortion not only as the erasure of a human name—Saul and, obliquely, Rochberg's son, Paul—but also as a metaphor for the humanistic dangers of technology and "the full realization of the . . . unrelenting hounding of the Jews throughout history climaxing in the Holocaust."[103]

After the final decay, the choir reenters slowly and quietly with single syllables from the phrase "Was verfolgst du mich" [Why do you persecute me?] sustained on individual pitches drawn from the opening motive of Bach's "Durch Adams Fall" (ex. 3.3). Just like García Lorca's sea, Rochberg's entropic treatment of the chorale stands still, frozen as a dissonant <3456> tetrachord that Rochberg hoped would awaken "darkened, anguished memories [and] give rise to unresolvable questions about ourselves."[104] Nestled among citations of Mahler and Ives's *Unanswered Question*, Bach and Schütz thus become the symphony's first victims of entropic stasis, a suspended and disintegrated state against which they unsuccessfully struggle to reconstitute themselves throughout the remainder of the symphony.

The opposite side of the entropic spectrum also appears in both works, with technological and chaotic distortion effects applied specifically to quotations from Beethoven's heroic symphonies. Unlike their Baroque counterpoints, Rochberg found these citations too weighty—both musically and philosophically—to simply freeze; Beethoven's music, he observed, possessed such existential depth that it "created truth" and demanded repeat performances, as its full dimensions could not be absorbed in a single hearing.[105] To him, the monumental symphonies (in particular the Third, Fifth, and Ninth) appeared formidable adversaries to the chaotic soundscapes of the serialists and absurdists. As he noted in his journal, "The promise in Beethoven [is] that out of chaos [one] *can* and *must* make clarity and beauty, otherwise we die miserable."[106] The Ninth Symphony, in particular its setting of Schiller's "An die Freude" [Ode to Joy], inspired Rochberg to pen an exegesis of its potential humanistic meaning after 1945:

Example 3.3. Rochberg, Third Symphony (1969), mm. 7–8. © 1970 by Presser Music Company. Reproduced by permission.



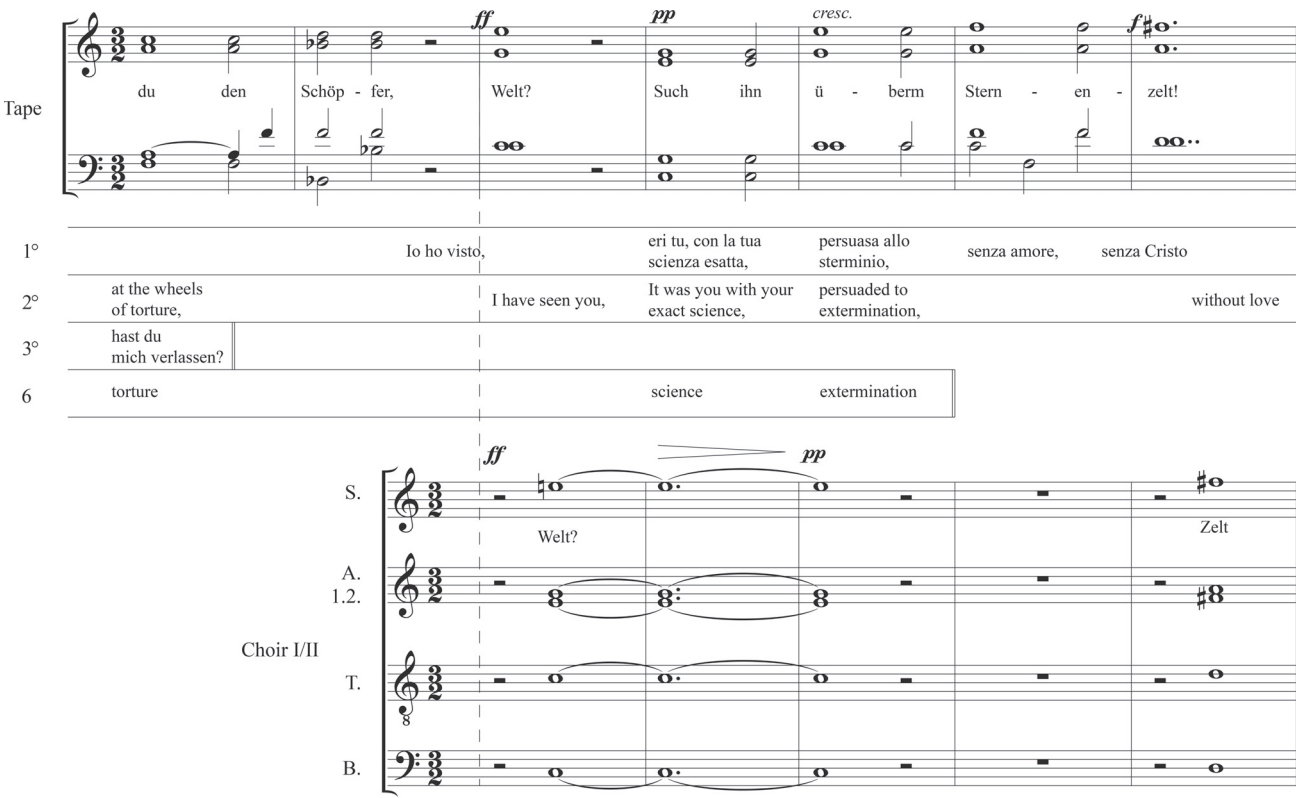
> *O Freunde, nicht diese Töne!* [O friends,] not these sounds. What sounds is he talking about? The sounds that destroy peace and harmony? The sounds that bring disruption, pain, unhappiness, sadness, depression? Was this a prophetic insight into the darkness yet to break loose in the twentieth century and wreak havoc in music? Was this a foretelling, however shadowy and vague, of serialism's and aleatory's sinking into the wastes of indeterminateness?[107]

In a related textual sketch for the "Passions," Rochberg furthers these implications by connecting them with the Holocaust. The same opening phrase from the Ninth Symphony now begets a new interpretation in the libretto: "No, no, my friends. *Nicht diese Töne*—not these sounds. The master of Bonn's realm has gone up in the smoke of Auschwitz. How can I say with him *Freude, schöner Götterfunken, Tochter aus Elysium.* . . . I can return no longer to my Elysium."[108]

The elision between sonic and social entropy becomes explicit in the final movement of the "Passions," in which Rochberg uses two techniques he associated with the mid-century modernists to subsume and ultimately obliterate the joyous double fugue at the heart of the Ninth Symphony's finale. In a juxtaposition of the human and the technological, Rochberg begins this section with a taped recording of the choral finale (mm. 626ff), over which a narrator bleakly intones the following text: "O black Angel of Auschwitz, you are still the one with the stone and the sling; man of my time."[109] Soon, the texture shifts to a live performance of the Beethoven that features alternative lyrics associated with religious contexts for suffering: *Miserere. Eli Eli lamazavtani? O ye Millions.* In response, the narrator provides pointed commentary: "I have seen you. It was with your exact science pursued to extermination, without love" (ex. 3.4).[110] Given the setting, the reference to "exact science" becomes twofold—a recognition of the modernist uses of technology to foster serial music as well as genocide.

This allegorical point is underscored as Beethoven's double fugue begins. Rochberg abruptly eliminates the live forces, leaving only the recording to rejoice in the embrace of Beethoven's "millions." But after only four measures, Rochberg calls for the recording to be technically manipulated to produce maximum distortion at the highest decibel possible (ex. 3.5). Beethoven's millions are cast violently into the electro-acoustic abyss, Elysium dissolved into machine-produced white noise. At this point, the narrator returns with a desperate plea—"No! No, my friends!"—but his entreaty is met with indifference and, ultimately, silence. A similar distortion of the live ensemble ensues shortly thereafter, with the choral passage subsumed by aleatoric density (ex. 3.6). Rochberg commands the pianist to improvise "wildly [with] all manner of clusters (fists, palms, arms)" in order to assault the keyboard, while the percussion section should perform "wild, savage bursts" on the tom-toms, suspended cymbal, and bass drum. Vocally, the female soloists generate "mad sounds [. . . that] fall outside the range of human speech and take on animal-like qualities,"

Example 3.4. Rochberg, "Passions According to the Twentieth Century" (1967), third movement, p 57. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



while the double chorus barks out "insane laughter" and a pre-recorded tape blares "crowd sounds—wild, angry, tumultuous," to create "dense and non-synchronous confusion." At the apex of this cacophony, the noise abruptly breaks off into silence, leaving the narrator to provide the work's moral: "The master of Bonn's dream lies buried in the mass graves of Dulmo, Riga, Minsk . . . [it] still rides the death trains . . . [still] rises in the smoke of Auschwitz." As the pianist's fingernails eerily scrape the strings within the body of the instrument—perhaps simulating the scraping of fingernails in the gas chambers—Rochberg's commentary becomes clear. The poles of musical modernism are anti-humanistic extensions of fascism that directly threaten not just Beethoven but postwar society at large.

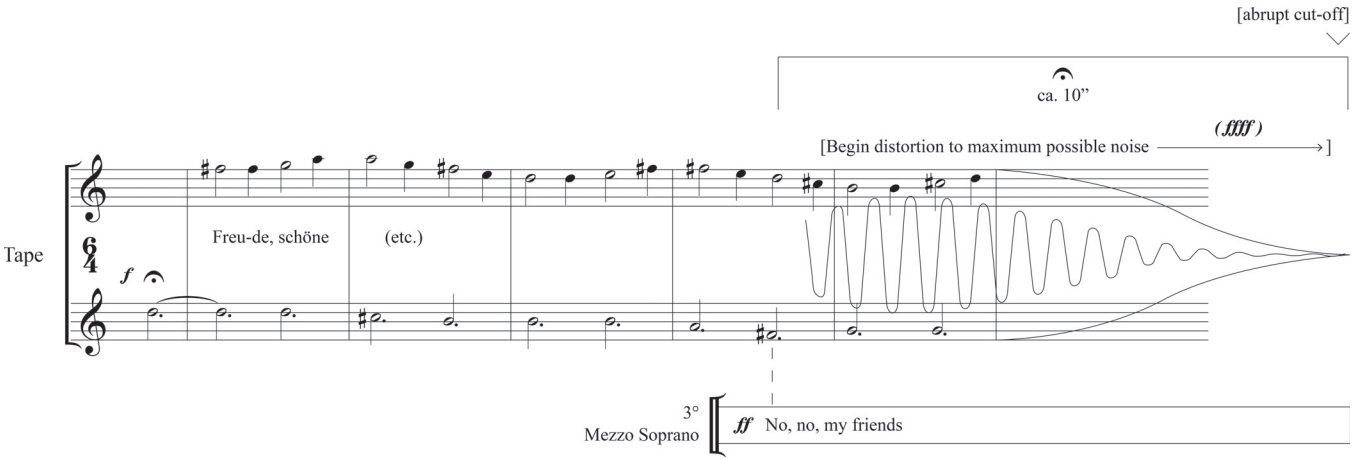
The transference of these entropic metaphors into the Third Symphony is more thematically abstract, but the parallels between the two works suggest that Rochberg was lodging the same postwar aesthetic and social critique. According to his unabridged autobiography, the second section of the symphony signified the work's "spiritual-moral ethos," providing a musical space in which to contemplate "unanswerable questions related to good and evil" (see table 3.2). The section similarly features extensive transcriptions from Beethoven, most notably the Third Symphony's funeral march. As in the "Passions," the instrumental (almost mechanical) reproduction of Beethoven becomes consumed by non-synchronous chance music designed to overwhelm the original. Singers were to choose from a variety of options, including the following:

1. Speak, shout or whisper *Saul, was verfolgst du mich*?
2. Sing the original fugal subject, with individuals beginning on a semitonal cluster or any pitch at random.
3. Stagger entries on the same pitch or different pitches.
4. Shout at random *Saul*!

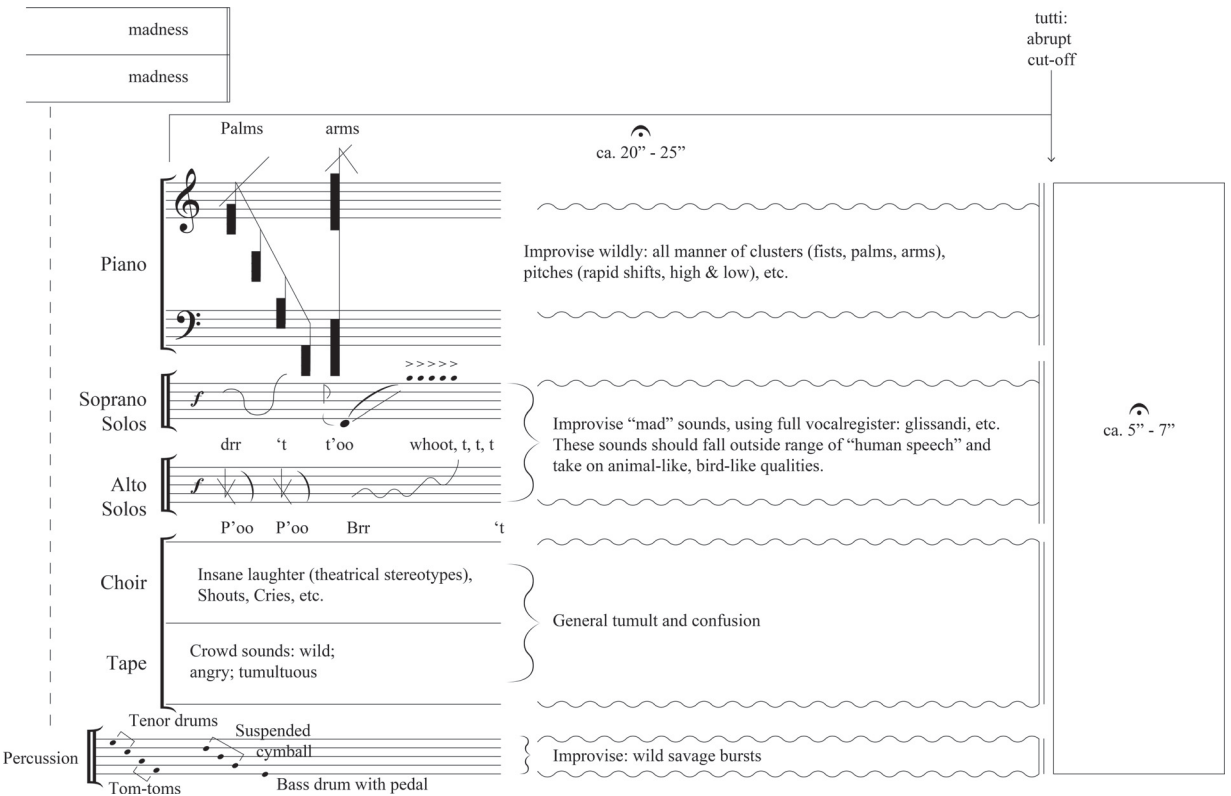
With these vocal options to be performed in any order, Rochberg sought to create a "vast, multitudinous vocal chaos" and "heavy saturation of vocal density" in the work.[111] More obliquely, he employs the aesthetics of Cage and the absurdists to generate entropy in the work's more stable soundscape, thus positing them as the modernist aggressors in the work. But the parallel with the denigration of Beethoven in the "Passions" suggest a darker, more social commentary about fascism in Rochberg's Third Symphony—a hidden political program at the heart of his most combinatorial symphonic work.

Rochberg had foreshadowed the entropic techniques described above in his *Music for the Magic Theater* (1965), written directly after the *Contra*.[112] One scene features the character Harry Haller from Hermann Hesse's *Steppenwolf*,

Example 3.5. Rochberg, “Passions According to the Twentieth Century” (1967), third movement, p 60. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



Example 3.6. Rochberg, "Passions According to the Twentieth Century" (1967), third movement, p 66. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.



who happens to encounter a modern reincarnation of Mozart listening to Handel on the radio. In the novel, Haller objects to the distortion of the music by the static, arguing that "it makes unappetizing tone-slime of the most magic orchestral music. Everywhere it obtrudes its mechanism."[113] Rochberg attempts to create the same effect by overlaying the Adagio movement from Mozart's Divertimento, K. 287 with sustained (often aggressive) pitches in the woodwinds—a technique that resonates with both forms of entropy describe above—but as Richard Taruskin observes, the composer does not yet seem willing to "imply [total] rejection of modernism": "The last movement (act III) enacts the acceptance of modernity that Hesse's Mozart recommends: as the work continues, Mozart's music becomes less a contrasting ground, but is instead drawn into dialogue and eventual harmony with the modern 'graffiti.' . . . As [Alexander] Ringer puts it, the jarring interjections eventually 'manage to make music with Mozart.'"[114] Instead, the musical ecosystem stabilizes in a manner similar to the wedded quotations in *Contra Mortem et Tempus*—it finds a harmonic common ground that allows the tension to resolve, a quasi–pressure valve for the potentially entropic system. Four years later, Rochberg withdrew such aesthetic and cultural resolutions, choosing instead to allow musical entropy to achieve a violent and catastrophic destruction of the cultural past. Unlike the *Magic Theater*, this later drama has clear perpetrators and victims; there is no reconciliation, only a reckoning.

The Third Symphony was premiered on November 24, 1970, at the Juilliard School in celebration of its move to Lincoln Center. Under the baton of Abraham Kaplan, the Juilliard Chorus and Theater Orchestra, along with the Collegiate Chorale, put forth the only performance of the massive work to date.[115] Rochberg approached the event with trepidation. "I sometimes dread the performance," he wrote to Anhalt:

> I wish there were some way to detach oneself . . . from what one produces in order to be free of all the inner doubts. . . . These are hard days in which to try to maintain the inner strength and purpose of artistic work. . . . Somehow I have to gather my energies together again and keep going in the face of Vietnam . . . civil strife and violence. What a country, what a culture, what a time![116]

In the end, Rochberg did manage to detach the work's political intentions from the performance. In the program notes, he borrowed a familiar subtitle for the symphony—"A Passion According to the Twentieth Century"—and acknowledged that the work developed out of "a larger idea . . . conceived in 1959." But instead of referencing its anti-modernist, anti-fascist agenda, Rochberg cast the symphony broadly as a work of "awesome religious-theological meaning" that portrayed both modern man's "terrible drama of his struggle with his

own nature" and his own impulse to "speak to my fellow-man in the language I know best of the things closest to my heart."[117]

The tactic was, to be certain, intentional. To avoid the charge of political engagement, Rochberg deliberately excised any mention of his allegorical intent and sidestepped the reasoning for his large-scale borrowings. As he tantalizingly wrote to his audience, "Since I do not wish to enter into polemics, aesthetics, or theory here, I will simply by-pass the questions of why I feel it possible to use other composers' music or how I make use of such music. Suffice it to say I have little faith in explanations *per se* of music, and certainly none . . . which resort to journalistic cliché phrases."[118] Rochberg's prevarication was a baited hook at which the evening's critics could not help but bite. "Why?" Irving Kolodin wrote with frustration in his review for the *Saturday Review*. "With all this resource at his command, why does Rochberg feel obliged to work in such terms of reference?"[119]

Some critics based their answers heavily on Rochberg's program notes, with Allen Hughes of the *New York Times* defending the work against "wholesale [musical] larceny" and portraying it instead as a "journey through a musical dream [of] the composer's memories, associations, and transformations."[120] Daniel Webster, writing for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, seized on the work's personal humanism and connected it to an earlier musical strand of twentieth-century American innovation: "Rochberg is gathering into his own music the ideas from the past that are most important to him. . . . [The work] has the effect of Ives: disquieting for its personal intensity, human, haunting. . . . It is an epochal work."[121] As to Rochberg's refusal to provide any theoretical explanation for his *ars combinatorial* approach, Webster argued sympathetically that the Third Symphony was "music from the heart, and its message scarcely needs words to make its impact."[122]

Kolodin was not as easily satisfied. "For me," he wrote with obvious bluster, Rochberg's equivocation was "dislocating, not to say incommoding." Left without guidance from the composer, Kolodin posited his own reading of the work: "I don't have an answer [from] Rochberg . . . but I cannot help recalling that, for years on end, it was all the vogue for composers to work with materials that were totally unintelligible and completely disengaging. Is that bankruptcy of that practice at the heart of this trend in a totally opposite direction? That makes two questions without an answer, one more than enough for any review."[123] Others picked up on the same anti-modernist polemics hidden in the work. As James Felton noted, the symphony appeared to be a retort to modernism, a "turning back from sterile, anti-human music."[124] International papers such as the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich, Switzerland) also broadly emphasized the work's rejection of modernism, suggesting that Rochberg's canonical memories could be a search for "a way out of the dead end" posed by modernists like Stockhausen.[125]

The conductor Ainslee Cox, writing for *Music Journal*, took the analysis one step further, astutely identifying in the work two irreconcilable aesthetic forces at war with one another: "Among his altered and unaltered borrowings, [Rochberg] has placed the most fashionable of current devices: electric organ, multiple conductors, aleatoric sections, yelled exclamation points. . . . But aesthetically it doesn't work. . . . All the music is forced to carry more weight than it can. . . . The symphony is a failure . . . but it is a disturbing work all the same because the intention which prompted it is so evident."[126] Cox's assessment prefigures that of Metzer's later musicological analysis; ultimately, the work was too unstable for either writer. Its center—torn between modernist interjections and lengthy canonical citations—ultimately collapsed into confusion.[127]

The subtitle might have suggested a number of political or anti-war contexts for the work, especially given its premiere in 1970 during the height of the Vietnam War, but curiously, none of the reviews considered this political angle. The oversight ultimately frustrated Rochberg, who wrote tersely on the subject to Ringer: "No one, not even you, has understood what it really is and instead have gotten all tangled up in the barbed-wire of their own a priori prejudices about music. No one has grasped its tragic nature, its cathartic power."[128] Rochberg would set the record straight posthumously in his autobiography, in which he revealed the work's historical subtext: "[It] allowed me to deal with the enormity of the human tragedy that had overtaken the twentieth century . . . [to convey] the sufferings of millions upon millions of human beings at the hands of an anthropomorphized 'Twentieth Century' whose collective, evil physiognomy . . . [had turned humanity] to stone."[129]

Rochberg may have also been imaginatively confronting his own postwar trauma in the composition, waging war against the modernists in a personalized extension of the fascist conflict. And yet, closure—whether musical, cultural, or personal—would remain elusive. At the work's conclusion, a citation from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony attempts a structural resurrection, but the aesthetic damage has been done.[130] Undercut by the entropic forces of postwar modernism—whether serialist suspension or Cagean chance—the work instead concludes nervously with a final citation: Charles Ives's *Unanswered Question*. What question might Rochberg have been posing through the citation? Was its concern a cultural pessimism about the world or a warning about the aesthetic direction of contemporary music or perhaps a fatalistic expression of the deep self-doubt Rochberg harbored about the project and his purpose in life—or, as his myriad statements about the work suggest, about all of these and then some? As is often the case with prolonged trauma, the answer is never clear-cut. What is certain is that Rochberg had attempted to express a recognizable existential angst at the heart of the ambitious work, one whose aesthetic wounds (although identifiable) would remain unassimilated and thus unnamed, known only to the psyche of the artist. Throughout his life,

Rochberg harbored a sense of guilt about the fact that the project had "proved too much" for him, in part because he believed so deeply in its cultural warning: "The 'Passions' stand[s] as a symbol of what I believed to be true when I wrote it and still believe to be true. I do not say music is incapable of giving voice to horror, hate, and murder; I am saying [that] I was, for whatever reasons, unable to do so."[131] But as his friend William Bolcom tried to assure him, Rochberg's attempt to process and confront "the schizoid gaps in our fragmented culture" was honorable, even if unsuccessful. "At least you're trying," Bolcom wrote shortly after the premiere. "Me too. And I wish us luck."[132]

Chapter Four

Jewish Secularism as *Ars Combinatoria*: 1954–87

> I am an anomaly in American music, a kind of freak. A "European American" or an "American European." Because I'm Jewish?
>
> —George Rochberg (1982)

Rochberg's compositional indictment of modernism in the Third Symphony would find its literary translation two years later in "Humanism versus Science" (1970). The essay lamented the replacement of "singing and dancing in the traditional musical sense" with "conscious counting" and the desire of modernist composers to achieve a "frozen" aesthetic—"sound events designed in time" but lacking human pulse and personal cosmologies. His diagnosis of the situation again targeted a cultural fascination with "mathematics, logic, and science [that] have taken on the rational madness of their scientific confreres," with music now reduced to a "new form of applied science, a kind of acoustical technology." At the conclusion of the essay, Rochberg described musical composition as being held hostage, expressing a fear that "any sense of the human limits of music has been lost." He concluded with a passage from *The Physicists* (1961) by the Swiss writer Friedrich Dürrenmatt: "I am poor King Solomon. Once I was immeasurably rich and wise and god-fearing. . . . But my wisdom destroyed my fear of God, and when I no longer feared God, my wisdom destroyed my riches. Now all cities are dead over which I ruled; the empire which was entrusted to me is empty . . . I am poor King Solomon."[1] It is the lamentation of a modern-day scientist who realizes too late the human consequences of his creations.

King Solomon is also a Jewish figure, and his deliberate presence in Rochberg's text points to another lesser explored subject-position in the composer's biography: his identification as a secular Jew. In a letter to Anhalt, he

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described his relationship to Judaism as a "war [he had felt] in [him]self since [he] was fifteen to seventeen [years old]," and it begged of him many complex existential questions. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Rochberg confessed to a "growing need to confirm and reaffirm my Jewishness—not in the ordinary sociological sense [of] joining a congregation . . . but in the spiritual sense. Digging into the psyche to discover . . . that quality which made it possible to survive [the modern era] and be a Jew."[2] At times, he felt his "Jewishness" was an intrinsic part of his humanity, and at other times he felt it was an external label affixed to him. As he remarked to Anhalt, "The [personal] quandary is hardly lessened when I remind myself of what Sartre said: a Jew is anyone others call a Jew."[3]

The question of how to address and represent Rochberg's Jewish identity is further complicated by the nature of modern Jewish secularism itself—a complex, rich, varied, and subjective mode of identification that has been characterized as "diverse and fractious" because of its lack of a "shared consensus . . . and mutual recognition" among those in its identity group.[4] As Barry Kosmin and Ariela Keysar argue, "Jewish secularism contains conflicting ideologies; so its ranks encompass a variety of Jewish nationalists, assimilationists, cultural cosmopolitans, and political universalists. As a result, teasing out and differentiating the secular from the religious and even more the irreligious from the areligious among [secular] Jews is a difficult task."[5] One must resist the urge to search for or unveil what David Biale refers to as a hidden Talmudic mentality or essence in the works of a "secular thinker who happened to be Jewish or came from Jewish origins."[6] It is important not to cast the net too liberally and argue, as Zohar Maor has, that "every secular move is, essentially, a religious one."[7]

But as the full corpus of his work demonstrates, Jewish ideas and events were often important catalysts for Rochberg's ideas about the spiritual nature of art, a realization that both broadens and particularizes one's understanding of his humanistic positions. Throughout his life, Rochberg found himself drawn to various Jewish religious sources but was never fully satisfied with any one mode of Jewish spirituality. As a result, he sought spiritual answers in part through his reactions—whether positive or negative—to a diverse and intercultural set of Jewish symbols and texts, and even in his deepest moments of spiritual disengagement, subtle references to Jewish heritage are perceptible in his work. Such surfacings recall Biale's provocative suggestion, inspired by a reading of Psalm 122, that a "secular culture built upon the rejected foundations of a religious culture cannot escape its heritage: 'the stone rejected by the builders becomes the cornerstone.'"[8] Similarly, Rochberg's appropriations of Jewish texts could be read as distinctly expressive of his secular spiritual orientation, one that allowed him the intellectual and creative freedom to select from the wide corpus of Jewish thought those discarded pieces that might form

a new cornerstone for his art—a process not unlike his theory of *ars combinatoria* itself.

In one extensive oral history interview, Rochberg is asked to begin with his birth in Patterson, New Jersey—a proposition that provokes amusement from the composer. Beginning there seems ill advised, he suggests, given that one is born out of history into the present. Rochberg reveals his genealogical roots to be Russian generally, Ukrainian specifically, and Jewish inherently. Both his mother and father hailed from the small city of Uman (south of Kiev), which boasted one of the largest Jewish populations in prewar Ukraine. The first piece of information Rochberg presents about Uman—that "the Germans had captured [it] along with the rest of the Ukraine"—immediately recalls a devastating period of Jewish persecution, including the massacres at Babi Yar and Janowska.[9] The fate of Uman's Jewish population was similarly tragic. The town was overrun during the German offensive known as Operation Barbarossa in the summer of 1941, at which time the Nazis established a segregated Jewish ghetto that they all but liquidated on Yom Kippur that same year. On April 22, 1942, Uman's remaining Jews were killed in a massacre near the village of Grodzevo, a genocidal act from which the population never recovered. In 1959, only 5 percent of Uman's population identified as Jewish, a figure that contrasts soberly with the robust prewar figures.[10]

Rochberg's initial situation of his family history within the Jewish tragedy of World War II is curious given that his family fled the region prior to 1914, but it reflects his long-standing identification with the war and its traumatic aftermath. The subject of his parents themselves constitutes a more delicate and complicated emotional terrain in some regards, and so he returns to it after gentle prompting. Rochberg explains that both his parents—who did not know one another at the time—were compelled to leave Uman because they felt "uncomfortable [and] the future . . . did not look too bright for all kinds of reasons," not least of which was a rising tide of anti-Semitism that had already led to several small-scale pogroms.[11] Their migrations were not without grave risks; Rochberg's father was a member of the Russian Army, and desertion would have been met with the severest of consequences, especially for Jewish soldiers. Ultimately, he managed to flee the country with the help of the Ukrainian underground by disguising himself as a peasant woman and moving across the border with a set of false papers.[12] He found his way to Germany and ultimately immigrated to the United States, taking up residence in Brooklyn—where he met his wife through mutual friends.[13]

But Rochberg's narrative is ultimately less concerned with his parents and more interested in connecting his own self-identity to his Jewish roots. As he comments later, "Uman was famous for two things [in Jewish history]: pogroms and musicians," a statement that calls forth a formative memory:[14]

> When I announced to my family at the age of fifteen that I was going to be a composer . . . my father apparently remembered what the status of musicians was in [Uman], and they called them *klezmer* or *klezmerine.* [He depicted them as] people who toodled on clarinets, scraped on fiddles, banged a drum, and played for weddings, funerals, whatever. That's the way he imagined it, and I guess he just couldn't tolerate it.[15]

The exchange not only captures the familial pressures placed on Rochberg as a first-generation American, but it also speaks to what he perceives as a broader connection with Jewish history. Here, his Jewish identity is intertwined with historical events and expressive musical identities rather than with "the common rubrics of liberal pluralist difference, including race, class, and gender" or "the overarching notion of religion."[16] For all of these reasons, Rochberg retains a connection to Uman—as a musical center for Jewish creativity and a site of humanistic suffering.

As the scholar Laura Levitt observes, "The vast majority of Eastern European Jews who came to [America] at the turn of the [twentieth] century were the least educated, the poorest, and the most desperate."[17] Rochberg paints his parents in a similar light, partly to distinguish himself from an overbearing father against whom he struggled throughout his life. "[My family] were not peoples of means," he shares, "these were not people with family traditions in the sense of achievement preceding them."[18] He notes that his parents continued to speak Russian at home, often when "they absolutely didn't want us to know what was going on," and they instructed him and his siblings in basic Yiddish and Jewish cultural practices, thus marking the family's ethnic difference within an American context.[19] And yet, Rochberg's evaluation of his parents presupposes modern criteria regarding success and American assimilation, in that immigrants often "had a very different sense of what it might mean to be modern as they entered the United States, [bringing] with them a mixture of pride, shame, nostalgia, and joy in the Yiddish culture and politics they left behind."[20] For Rochberg's parents, the traditional cultures they passed along to their children were distinctly Eastern European *and* Jewish. They were embedded in what Levitt refers to as "secularized Jewish rituals": the food they ate, the songs they sang, and the candles they lit on Friday evenings for the Sabbath dinner.[21] Even the way they celebrated their firm economic integration into American culture was expressed in what Rochberg describes as an "old, sort of European" gesture: his mother's demand that they buy a piano, a moment that forever changed the course of Rochberg's life.[22]

This time of Rochberg's youth correlates with an important historical moment—the "flourishing of Jewish attempts to create a public and synthetic American Jewish identity"—and for many Eastern European Jews, American "modernity meant liberation from the restraints of a more stringent religious way of life."[23] As a result, many maintained only vague relationships with Jewish

religious traditions, instead embracing cultural practices that were "familiar and comforting" even as they held "many, even contradictory meanings for those who performed them."[24] As Rochberg recalls, the family was never very religious and tended toward more cultural identifications:

> My father was an atheist, although I don't think he would have admitted it. My mother was a very naïve, wonderfully warm, sympathetic person, who had a kind of natural connection with certain aspects of the Jewish religion. . . . But it was not a strong tradition in the family, and I fell away from it rather quickly. . . . [After] my bar mitzvah . . . I just gave it up. I had no reason to continue it that I could think of then.[25]

And yet, Rochberg never felt entirely free from his Jewishness in his teenage years, noting that before he went to college he "almost instinctively stayed away from all non-Jews, so strong was this feeling of differentness and strangeness inbred in me by my parents' [distrustful] attitude."[26] Later, in his own family, he and his wife, Gene, consciously rejected Judaism as a religious mode of worship, but they continued to cultivate Jewish cultural rituals as part of their secular lives.[27] In one journal entry from 1952, the composer provides an intimate window into one such moment on the evening of Rosh Hashanah: "Tonight for dinner Paul made the Star of David on a piece of shirt cardboard using a deep blue with white border. Gene lit two candles. It was a beautiful dinner."[28]

In 1954, Rochberg produced two substantial vocal works on Jewish themes in which he embedded musical homages to Schoenberg: *Three Psalms* for a cappella mixed chorus and *David the Psalmist* for tenor and orchestra.[29] Schoenberg had been the aesthetic model for Rochberg's serial works, but the affinity also had roots in a shared cultural identity. In essays and letters, Rochberg often mentioned Schoenberg's Jewishness and his understanding that the modernist's conversion to Protestantism was a secularist strategy to avoid the "distinct social and professional drawbacks" that came with being Jewish in Vienna at the turn of the twentieth century.[30] Rochberg interpreted works such as *Moses und Aron* (1932) as evidence of Schoenberg's latent spirituality and his awareness of the tension between the divine and the worldly: "No single work conveys better Schoenberg's passionate belief in an unknowable and invisible God [as well as] his hatred for all false gods and false idols. In his search for ultimately spiritual truths, Schoenberg regained a cosmic view of man's place in the universe." Rochberg found Schoenberg's search for faith "profoundly moving" and identified specifically with his "struggle to regain his roots in Judaism, his deep need to raise a protective barrier against the godlessness and loss of values of his generation." He also saw the composer as caught in a similar aesthetic schism, trapped between two versions of himself: one "compelled to leave behind whatever security [tonal] traditions offered [and the other] always longing for them."[31]

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Accordingly, allusions to Schoenberg appear in the *Three Psalms*. Each psalm is derived from a source row with the potential for "mirror inversions," Rochberg's phrase for the practice of hexachordal combinatoriality he particularly admired in the work of Schoenberg.[32] Collectively, the texts express the steadfast love of God, request His guidance and presence during difficult times, and praise His greatness in the heavens. Ringer was intimately involved in the composition of the *Three Psalms*, providing Rochberg with translations, transliterations, and accentuation patterns for the Hebrew text at the composer's request.[33] As he noted, the *Three Psalms* also bore a resemblance to the "declamatory type of choral writing developed by Schoenberg in his last completed work, *De Profundis* [op. 50b]."[34] This assertion makes sense, given the parallel structure of Schoenberg's op. 50a–c—another set of three a cappella choral works based on religious themes written in the twelve-tone method—and the fact that Rochberg's sketchbooks reveal that he considered using the source row for *De Profundis* for his own settings.[35] Ultimately, Rochberg discarded the idea, but its mere consideration suggests that he envisioned his *Three Psalms* as connected to Schoenberg's work.

Instances of Jewish self-identification also appear in the dedications of the *Three Psalms*, which Rochberg used to connect specific movements to important figures in his personal life. The first setting of Psalm 23 was dedicated to his parents, who might well have identified with its descriptions of God's eternal presence during dangerous journeys and safe arrivals in new, peaceful lands. The second movement bore the name of the composer Hugo Weisgall, who was also of Jewish and Eastern European descent, had studied with Rosario Scalero at the Curtis Institute, and was on the Theodore Presser Company's roster of composers. Both Rochberg and Weisgall had served in the Third Army during World War II—Weisgall as an assistant military attaché directly assigned to General Patton—which might explain Rochberg's decision to dedicate Psalm 43 to his friend; the text is a spiritual battle hymn demanding vindication of the just and righteous in the struggle against evil.[36] The final setting is Psalm 150, which Rochberg dedicated to his elder brother Samuel ("Rock"), whom he often credited with stirring his initial interest in composition.[37] Notably, the figure at the center of Psalm 150 emerges as a music composer, one who gathers together trumpets and lyres, stringed instruments, and cymbals to celebrate the glory and power of God.

Rochberg's intertwining of sacred and secular figures in his *Three Psalms* may have been inspired by a crucial source Rochberg consulted before embarking on the project: Chemjo Vinaver's *Anthology of Jewish Music* (1953), which contained the only published score of Schoenberg's *De Profundis* at the time. In the volume, Schoenberg's modern setting is somewhat of an anomaly, given that most of the other settings are transcriptions of traditional, folk, or liturgical music—much of it sourced from Ashkenazic repertories. A similar

sacred-secular tension is captured in the artistry of the frontispiece, a drawing by the Jewish artist Marc Chagall. Ringer, who was intimately familiar with the volume, beautifully describes its symbolic significance:

> In the forefront, [Chagall] placed the crowned head of King David, the "singer of Israel," slightly bent forward, listening intently, eyes closed, to his own music. But he is not alone, nor is this all of him, for from his back, just below the shoulders, protrudes the much smaller figure of a caftan-clad *Klezmer,* a Jewish street-musician, attached to the Psalmist like a [conjunct] twin, playing his humble fiddle as he gazes across the roof-top outlines of an East European *Shtetl.*[38]

One cannot help but wonder whether Rochberg had been drawn to Chagall's imagery: Did he identify with the difficulty of disentangling sacred and secular traditions, the feeling of being simultaneously conjoined with and estranged from Jewish history?[39]

The *Three Psalms* do not answer these questions directly, and neither do Rochberg's journals, which jump (inconveniently for the historian) entirely over this period of creative work. But Rochberg's *David the Psalmist* reveals him again to be fashioning a symbolic intertwining of sacred and secular topics from Jewish history. The composition consists of seven movements in which the tenor soloist performs three psalms attributed to King David as well as to the Shema Yisroel, the Jewish profession of faith.[40] Rochberg structured the work around the Shema Yisroel, which he initially envisioned as a "ritornello" that would frame all three psalm settings (table 4.1).[41] He composed two different dodecaphonic melodies for the Shema's realization—one based on the row's prime form and the other on its retrograde—which appear in movements one and five (P_9) and three and seven (R_9). Strategically, those texts that reflect Jewish suffering and fear—Psalms 6 and 57—are derived from a different row, but their musical and emotional otherness is surrounded by the comforting certainty of the Shema rows, resulting in two larger parallel units of music: movements 1–3 (A) and 5–7 (A′). Separating these structural units is Psalm 29, a confident song praising God for His divine omnipotence that uses a transposition of the Shema row (P_5) for its musical realization. The result is a quasi-ternary form (ABA′) in which the musical material of the opening is reprised at the end after the intervening psalm setting.

The reiteration of the Shema Yisroel encases the poetic psalms, drawing them into concert with Jewish liturgical life. Moreover, Psalm 29 is recited regularly on the Sabbath, and one well-known midrash suggests that King David may have intended it as a model for the central daily prayer of rabbinic Judaism, commonly known as the eighteen benedictions.[42] Thus, its appearance here alongside a central text of the Jewish liturgy could be read as a loose artistic representation of the Jewish service. But twentieth-century listeners might have

Table 4.1. Textual and hexachordal structures in *David the Psalmist* (1954)

Movement	Text	Melodic content	Hexachords (Forte)	Ordered sets
I.	Shema Yisroel (I)	Row 1: P_9	6-20 + 6-20 "Ode to Napoleon" hexachord	<9T2165> <0E4378>
II.	Psalm 6	Row 2: P_{11}	6-Z44 + 6-Z19 "Schoenberg Signature" hexachord	<E87630> <9T1254>
III.	[instrumental version of Movement VII]	Row 1: R_9	6-20 + 6-20 "Ode to Napoleon" hexachord	<8734E0> <5612T9>
IV.	Psalm 29	Row 1: P_5	6-20 + 6-20 "Ode to Napoleon" hexachord	<56T921> <870E34>
V.	[instrumental version of Movement I]	Row 1: P_9	6-20 + 6-20 "Ode to Napoleon" hexachord	<9T2165> <0E4378>
VI.	Psalm 57	Row 2: R_{11}	6-Z44 + 6-Z19 "Schoenberg Signature" hexachord	<4521T9> <03678E>
VII.	Shema Yisroel (II)	Row 1: R_9	6-20 + 6-20 "Ode to Napoleon" hexachord	<8734E0> <5612T9>

detected another musical reference in Rochberg's *David the Psalmist*—Arnold Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw* (1947), in which Schoenberg bears secondary witness to Jewish suffering during the Holocaust.[43] Therein, the narrator relates the traumatic memory of his persecution in the Warsaw Ghetto, a memory that culminates in a men's choir defiantly breaking forth into a sung dodecaphonic rendition of the Shema Yisroel. *David the Psalmist* might therefore also be read as referencing a more historical moment of Jewish suffering through its allusions to Schoenberg's *Survivor*, thus presenting a more complex binding of moments from Jewish history.

The explicit homage to Schoenberg becomes more concrete when one considers the rows Rochberg selected for the piece. In the case of the four Shema settings as well as Psalm 29—the most overtly religious movements of the piece—Rochberg generates his rows from a single-source hexachord (6–20) famously associated with Schoenberg's *Ode to Napoleon*, op. 41 (1942), a politically engaged piece of anti-fascist art written directly after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor.[44] This musical allusion raises the historical specter of World War II within the work, given that the *Ode* sets a poem by Lord Byron that was intended as a protest against Hitler and his anti-Semitic crimes against humanity.[45] Moreover, while sketching

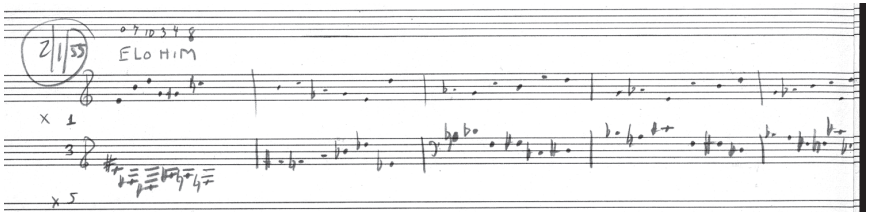

Figure 4.1. ELOHIM hexachord for proposed fantasia for violin and piano. Sammlung George Rochberg, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland. Reprinted by permission.

the opening movement, Rochberg consulted the opening hexachord of *De Profundis* and rearranged its pitches to form a new ordered series that shared a common tetrachord <0561> with the heart of his Shema rows.[46] Thus, embedded in Rochberg's settings of the Shema Yisroel and Psalm 29 are intentional musical references to both Schoenberg's late anti-fascist and spiritual corpus. The fact that Rochberg viewed Schoenberg in this vein—either as a figure of Jewish historical suffering or as a twentieth-century prophet—seems to be confirmed in the remaining settings of Psalms 6 and 57. In both, Rochberg sets their lamenting texts to variants of Schoenberg's signature hexachord and its complement (6–Z44 and 6–Z19), thus directly referencing the Jewish modernist and his tragic mid-century struggle through musical symbolism.

Although Rochberg described *David the Psalmist* as holding a "special place in [his] heart as much for purely musical reasons as well as personal" ones, his interest in engaging with Jewish history in his compositional works continued only sporadically in the following years.[47] He continued to play with the symbolic encoding of twelve-tone structures, including one instance in which he fashioned a hexachord from the word "ELOHIM," the Hebrew name for God, for a possible fantasia (figure 4.1).[48] But by the end of the decade, Rochberg had grown skeptical of such overtly "Jewish" symbols and began seeking more abstract cosmic manifestations of the divine. The decision was driven by an increasingly nihilistic and pessimistic outlook and deepened by a more personal tragedy: Paul's death. His son's suffering challenged Rochberg's tenuous spiritual connection to Jewish rituals and faith, which he increasingly came to see as empty and meaningless. In 1963, he lashed out directly at God in a vivid diary entry: "God is dead and we live in an infinite misery. Job, you refused to curse God no matter what he did to you. A pleasant tale if I ever heard one. But we have no God anymore."[49]

As with any emotional divorce, however, his separation from Judaism was never final; it continued to surface throughout his lifetime in the guise of

various philosophic questionings attached to other Jewish intellectual traditions. Three years after Paul's death, Rochberg began to explore the mystical tradition of Kabbalah, an interest sparked by a series of conversations with Anhalt. In one letter written after the Six Day War of 1967, Anhalt confided intimately that he considered Rochberg part of a shared ancestral family. Rochberg movingly concurred, but on more mystical than ethnic terms: "We are brothers in mind and spirit based on a sense of human life and human art which reaches toward a larger vision of both, something cosmic in [the] ancient sense of the connection between man and the gods."[50] His need for sincere human connection was acute; the struggle to cope with the weight of his son's mortality and his own earthly existence had left him shattered, and Anhalt became a trusted confidant during this period.

In 1969, Anhalt recommended that Rochberg read the *Zohar*—regarded as a foundational text of Kabbalism—which he believed held many musical correspondences with Rochberg's philosophy of *ars combinatoria*.[51] Moshe Idel describes Kabbalism as an "overtly lingual type of mysticism [that] implicitly invests other sonoric activities with similar energetic qualities. It projects the energetic visions of language and music into the remote past in order to invigorate the present."[52] Notably, early Kabbalists such as the Rabbi Abraham Abulafia drew parallels between music and the mystical "technique of combination" to explain the prophetic experience, with the harmony between man and God described as akin to the sympathetic vibration between strings on two separate instruments (David's *kinnôr* and a *nevel*) and the ecstatic act of communion likened to how music "gladdens the heart . . . by means of [revealing] the 'hidden things which are found'":[53]

> [Within the Kabbalah], music is seen . . . as influential. In the ecstatic Kabbalah, music induces a feeling of joy which contributes . . . to the occurrence of the prophecy; or, according to other, more philosophically oriented views, music is perceived as able to soften the soul and open it to a more spiritual type of perception. . . . Song [becomes] a spiritual energy, a way to respond to the divine with a human activity that affects the union between the two higher *sefirot*.[54]

The noted scholar Gershom Scholem further explains that one challenge for the Kabbalist is to "perceive all kinds of gross natural objects" and "admit their images into [one's] consciousness," ultimately using them as an imaginative catalyst to "facilitate a new state of mystical consciousness." The combinatorial results would ultimately "throw open the way to God."[55]

Rochberg had engaged Kabbalistic sources well before Anhalt's recommendation, albeit in a strictly literary format: the writings of Jorge Luis Borges, whose aesthetic ideas were one of the primary inspirations for Rochberg's *ars combinatoria*. Borges was well-versed in the Kabbalah, often weaving its ideas

into his stories and poems. As the scholar Jaime Alazraki describes, explicit references to Kabbalist literature surface throughout Borges's literary endeavors, as in this passage from his poem "The Golem":[56]

El cabalista que ofició de numen	The Kabbalist from whom the creature took
A la vasta criatura apodó Golem—	Its inspiration called the weird thing Golem—
Estas verdades las refiere Scholem	But all these matters are discussed by Scholem
En un docto lugar de su volumen	In a most learned passage in his book.[57]

Like Borges, Rochberg had read Scholem's *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, and he seized on correlations between the mystical experience and his own creative process. Particularly attractive was Scholem's description of Jewish mysticism as emphasizing a "certain communal way of living and believing" that transcended place and time. In the mind of the Kabbalist, God and the cosmos were transformed from fixed objects of dogmatic knowledge into sensations of trans-temporal experience and intuition.[58]

These ideas—boldly underscored in his personal copy of Scholem's book—appealed to Rochberg, who was concurrently theorizing a new form of musical humanism that would similarly reject the hyper-rationalized dogma of the high modernists. In envisioning this new attitude toward art, he described the act of musical composition as a mystical symbol in itself, one defined by what Scholem called an "ecstatic experience" in which one encountered "the absolute Being in the depths of one's own soul." Akin to the Kabbalists, Rochberg deeply believed that such "mystical tendencies, in spite of their strictly personal character, [could lead] to the formation of new social . . . communities" and thus, in Rochberg's mind, to new levels of human consciousness and models for artistic behavior.[59]

This tendency to "interpret human life and behavior as symbols of a deeper life, the conception of man as a *micro-cosmos* and of the living God as a *macro-anthropos*," became a driving theme in Rochberg's private writings.[60] He wrote privately about how he experienced musical visions in dreams—what he saw as an antithetical process to rational thought—and drew distinct parallels between God's creative power and his own ability to bring forth music from nothingness. As Rochberg noted in one diary entry:

> We cannot make art out of words that are [rational]. . . . The purpose of art is to dream ourselves into a different level of existence, and break through the shell of the mundane and to lift [us] to places where reason has no place and cannot function. . . . We were not sent here, if we were sent at all, to create science, sociology . . . but to make over ourselves and therefore the world through spirit.[61]

In his scholarly work, Scholem attempted to "connect the religious and the secular dialectically, to preserve their opposition to each other but nevertheless

show how the one generated the other," and one might say the same thing about Rochberg's theologizing.[62] A work of twentieth-century art, in his mind, still took inspiration from a non-material spiritual ideal—a "soft" version of romanticism that included "all kinds of wonderful dream images of life"—but its expression was ultimately conditioned by the secular rejection of idealism, thus resulting in a profane "hard" romanticism.[63] The result is "paradoxically an entirely secular, or human, creation, but one whose practitioners believe has its source in an unknowable, incomprehensible God."[64]

Variations on these mystical themes found direct translation in Rochberg's essays, including "The Avant-Garde and the Aesthetics of Survival," written in 1969. The essay opens with a litany of secular interlocutors: Beethoven and Ives (music), Albert Einstein and John von Neumann (science), Matthew Arnold and Susan Sontag (criticism), William Blake and Rainer Maria Rilke (poetry). But Rochberg closes the essay with a more mystical vision of the ideal creator as a premodern composer with a "profound relation to the cosmos" who believes in the "transcendent nature of private vision[s]" and seeks to reconnect humanity with the "alpha language of the central nervous system," which Rochberg believed was a secondary derivative of the cosmos.[65] Such a figure would not only rescue art from rationalism but would also return art to its earliest cosmological roots and thus reveal "how far we have wandered from home—and that it is time to try to get back, not to some historical past, but to an awareness of the mysterious creatures we are."[66] Such ideas became further associated with Jewish figures in a letter to Anhalt, in which he portrayed himself as a prophetic Moses-like figure, likening serialism to the Golden Calf that was foolishly worshipped by Aaron and his followers: "Music is being corrupted today, is being lost in the vagaries of 'false idols.' It has become unclean."[67]

Such metaphors reappeared in the 1970s, most prominently in "Humanism versus Science" (1970), in which he decried the elevation of the scientific rationalists to the status of "secular saints" who cast themselves as being as omniscient as God himself.[68] A mystical and humanistic position, he averred, envisioned the universe instead as a more mysterious and ineffable source of cognition. He sensed a similar orientation in his compositions of the time, as he candidly shared with Anhalt shortly after the successful premiere of his Third String Quartet (1972): "I feel I have entered into an entirely new and different phase of existence but can hardly describe or depict it for you or myself. It affects my whole outlook on life and music . . . [and] has brought me to the center of my obsession with music—*holy music*—yet I feel totally inadequate to find the way to formulate in pattern and design and structure what grips me. . . . Perhaps in time it will emerge."[69]

In 1973, Rochberg composed two works that merged his nascent ideas about mysticism with non-Western sources of inspiration: *Imago Mundi* and *Ukiyo-E*. The works were inspired by a visit to Japan that summer, during which he and

Gene encountered what he described as "the old Japan of temples and shrines, *Noh* and *Kabuki*."[70] The experience of *Noh* in particular made a deep impression on Rochberg, who described its gradual dramaturgy as a quasi-spiritual experience: "That dreamlike slowness cast a spell over me . . . it is closer to an otherworldly pace, a form of floating, motionless motion . . . [that] reaches into the core of existence itself."[71] As he shared with Anhalt, "the glimpse I had, especially of the old culture, made an indelible impression," such that the "spirit of Japan entered me so strongly" and drew forth dream-like visions that ultimately became the basis for both works.[72] In his autobiography, he described the process in overtly mystical terms: "[The Japanese-inspired works] are imagistic: personal, subjective evocations, each in its own way a dreaming consciousness's internal picturing through musical images . . . moving freely in a fluid space (rather than time) unanchored from gravity . . . closer to floating than anything else imaginable." In Rochberg's mind, both compositions were less concerned with external realities than with internal revelations "wrought of nameless and nameable images."[73]

In the case of *Imago Mundi*, some of those "nameable images" appear in the guise of sonic allusions that connect the work to a broad range of musical and spiritual associations.[74] Within the ethereal aesthetic of *gagaku* music—a genre associated with the Japanese court but also performed in sacred contexts—Rochberg seized on its suspended timbres and pentatonic modes, connecting them (whether consciously or not) to well-known canonical works.[75] One hears evocations of Igor Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* and its pagan celebration of the connection between human rituals and nature (notably the "Spring Round Dances" movement), as well as the reverberating nocturnal atmospheres of Béla Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta* (especially the third movement).[76] The inspiration for the first *Ukiyo-E*, however, was more traditionally imagistic in the mystical sense of the term; it appeared to Rochberg as a vision: "I saw [the] harp in front of me . . . slowly pulled it toward me until it rested in the crook of my neck and right shoulder, and began to hear the quality of the music I wanted. It's as though I dreamed [it] into existence."[77] As art historian Jack R. Hillier notes, the method of painting known as Ukiyo-E was similarly impulsive in that it "did not draw from nature but stored images in the painter's mind until the mood was upon him to paint," brought on by "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings."[78] Rochberg appears to have been aware of the genre's imagistic roots, a quality he connected to his own conception of "visual magic that converts the natural world and people into a sense of what may lie behind reality." The result was an image of the world "not as static, fixed forms of 'reality' but as floating pictures of radiant qualities."[79]

While Rochberg notes that the two works intersect at the axis of cross-cultural imaging, they also point to the composer's interest in mystical and metaphysical ideas, an interest he would pointedly tie to Kabbalistic thinkers in the

coming decade.[80] In 1977, Rochberg read Ringer's latest musicological article, "Arnold Schoenberg and the Prophetic Image in Music." Rochberg was fascinated by this new account of Schoenberg's spirituality, including his connection to the "old masters of the kabbalah" and his desire to "draw the Divine into the earthly realm" and thus create "in the strong and courageous solitude of the mystic."[81] As Ringer argued and Rochberg believed, Schoenberg conceptualized art as "the prophetic conscience of modern man," and while works like *Moses und Aron* had seemed preoccupied with the "relevance of biblical morality [and] law," Ringer suggested that Schoenberg ultimately believed that "music conveys a prophetic message revealing a higher form of life."[82]

Increasingly, Rochberg had also come to see music as charged with unconscious psychic energy and transformative power, a mind-set further encouraged by his reading of the sociological work *The Meaning of Things*, coauthored by his then son-in-law, Eugene Halton.[83] In his journal, Rochberg recorded his reactions to the study, which took the form of mystical musings about his earthly purpose. "We are put here to realize consciousness," he wrote, "to perceive both the internal and the external, and to see the connection that binds them like two steel bands."[84] From these ideas, he derived renewed excitement and energy, the sense that he was "on the threshold of a new effort—to compose directly from my deepest experience and awareness, [my] deepest sense of the spirit that informs the universe."[85]

During this period, Rochberg steeped himself in a wide range of mystical literature, ranging from poetry and fiction to more historical studies. In 1982, the writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge inspired his essay "The Marvelous in Art," in which Rochberg suggested that modern audiences were hungry for a realm that pointed away from "the literal to the imagination, the primary energy that created and sustains the universe."[86] In a related passage, Rochberg argued against what he perceives as a false dichotomy—that of "corporeal" and "incorporeal"—and instead suggested that the language of human consciousness, including music, is merely another expression of world consciousness. Rochberg pursued this line of thinking after reading Walter Benjamin's "On Language as Such, and on the Language of Man," which he found particularly compelling for its assertion that "every expression of human mental life can be understood as a kind of language."[87] "So in that sense," he wrote to Anhalt, "the universe itself is a form of 'speaking' and we are one of those forms 'spoken' by the universe; and our speech . . . reflects back on its source."[88]

Anhalt responded sympathetically, noting that "the depth, the tone, the idea of all this reminds me of the milieu of the Kabbalah. . . . It sounds terribly old, sweet, and Jewish. . . . Or do I hear eastern echoes in it? Or perhaps theosophical ones?"[89] His analysis was certainly perceptive, for regardless of whether Rochberg realized it at the time, both Coleridge and Benjamin were well-versed in the Kabbalah and its mystical envisioning of cosmos. As Tim

Fulford has uncovered, Coleridge had read core Kabbalistic texts and "owed much of this mystical thinking" to his Kabbalistic explorations.[90] Benjamin also had ties to the Kabbalah through Scholem, who was one of his closest friends and intellectual advisers.[91] But Rochberg's focus was never exclusively or intentionally Kabbalistic, and as he cast his intellectual net wider, he necessarily began to engage with the broader phenomenon of mysticism in various cultures. A selection of titles he read in 1984 demonstrated his wide-ranging curiosity—Hans Jonas's academic study, *The Gnostic Religion* (1958); Doris Lessing's mystical novel, *Shikasta* (1979); Indries Shah's scholarly volume, *The Sufis* (1964)—and supported his belief that "at their core all religions are the same": "Even if what we mean by 'God' is distantly related to what the Hebrews meant, I suspect both are . . . echoes of what was once understood and felt when man lived in the cosmos."[92]

At the time Scholem published his magnum opus in 1941, the European situation had turned catastrophic, pushed to ideological extremes by fascism. Writing in the 1970s and 1980s, Rochberg similarly identified scientific rationalism—now manifested in the guise of materialism, academicism, and spiritual exhaustion—as the scapegoat behind the continued dehumanization of art. And yet Rochberg refused to see the situation as hopeless.[93] In one passage from his 1985 essay "Can the Arts Survive Modernism," he identified the "metaphysical gap between individual human consciousness and [the] cosmos" as a terrorized victim of twentieth-century modernism:

> Modernism tried to claim victory over the metaphysical gap, to declare it nonexistent, having overcome the weight of memory, history, the past, tradition. . . . After eighty years, we see that what modernism actually did was to dismantle and destroy whatever bridges had been previously thrown across the gap and left an even wider and deeper void than ever before—and, now, filled with violence and terror and the dread of annihilation.[94]

In the past, religion might have filled the gap for human beings, but Rochberg argued for an aesthetic alternative. As he mused in his journal, "Art, if anything, is closer to theology. That is, if you believe something to be true and it allows you to act at the highest level of your being."[95] The creative bond connecting music, composer, and cosmos was a spiritual truth for Rochberg, who believed along with the Kabbalists that "man is a spiritual emanation in *toto*, mind as well as body," a conviction that inspired him to fashion his own mystical creed: "Do I believe in God? Yes, but in my own way. Not the God of religion, but the God of creation in which we share. Not the God of rituals and prayers, but the God locked into the secret recesses of consciousness."[96]

The mid-1980s saw a shift in his focus, from mysticism to the more legalistic debate against iconic representations of God as laid out in the Second Commandment. In his next manuscript, "The Iconography of the Mind"

(1985–86), Rochberg described what he perceived as the false divide between Jewish iconodules and iconoclasts, noting that both shared the common belief that "an image was closely connected with its prototype."[97] This realization confirmed for him the undeniable spiritual power behind sacred images—a force that inspired either adulation or fear in the eyes of its beholder—and the relative closeness of the two positions. In the text, Rochberg mapped the two positions onto the two hemispheres of the brain, a neurological model for his philosophy of the mind.[98] On the one side, he argued, there is the older instinctual brain that harbors a deep connection to the "interior world of human consciousness, a world of dreams and sleep, of images and pictures, of memories, of feelings, desires, and emotions." On the opposite side, the more immature scientific brain "rules against subjectivity and its [iconic] states" and raises external reality to "unassailable primacy . . . through pre-determined, rationally sanctioned methods."[99]

At first, Rochberg characterized the two brains as locked in a "constant war" with one another, but he later attempted to reconcile the two sides as joint participants in an ultimate spiritual realization. Although he believed the central nervous system could function both as a neurological and a spiritual center, he valued the instinctual brain for its ability to access an "inner world of images" that bypassed the mind's intellectual faculties and connected directly to the subconscious. Inspiration, he argued, need not always be a visual image—one might also experience it as sound or touch—but it must always be inwardly sensual in nature: "Before [they] can project their images onto the world around them [composers] must all develop their innate capacities to 'see' inwardly in their mind's eyes." The process was akin, in his mind, to the Hindi concept of *maya*, a term Rochberg translated as "illusion" but which also refers to the acts of "making and finding."[100]

Having explored the iconic mind, Rochberg devoted his next manuscript entirely to the subject of what he perceived as the iconoclastic threat against Jewish creativity.[101] "The Second Commandment and Idolatry" (1987) traces the consequences of Moses's explicit prohibition—"Thou shalt not make a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above or in the earth beneath"—for artists working in the modern era.[102] He warned that the prophet's legalistic insistence on moral purposiveness "deanimated the world of natural phenomena" and implicitly sanctioned "the pursuit of rational thought" over all other modes of worship. Such a directive prized an analytical process of "instruction and commentary" above artistic modes of representation and figuration.[103]

For Rochberg, the ritualization of iconoclasm had transformed Judaism into a more rigorous religion, by which he meant it had become less flexible and more unyielding in its promotion of rationalist thinking. In framing the Exodus narrative as they did, the iconoclasts had "created a God whose *otherness*

consisted in utter detachment from the world of man and nature." The impact of this divine objectification was not merely cosmological, he argued, but phenomenological: "The Israelite mind, thus forced in on itself, grew to see the phenomenal world as separate, *outside* representational limits. Not only was God the *Other*; nature too now became an 'other' realm, distinct as a creation of the supreme will of the Lord but separate and separated from man."[104] By widening the metaphysical gap between God and the universe, iconoclasm had prepared the way for rationalism, which ultimately caused images to become "rendered more objectively, and therefore more [prone] to rational comprehension and demystification."[105]

Rochberg asserted that this biblical path had ultimately resulted in the secular schism between humanism and science.[106] Iconoclasm did not merely refuse the image; it disallowed "any further trafficking with the being and spirits whom the pagans knew." The results were catastrophic, in his opinion; they made "men's minds much poorer in content, allowing only a God and his laws."[107] As Rochberg elaborated in strikingly postmodern terms in his final essay on the topic, "Iconoclasm and Fear of the Image" (1987):

> Rationalism seeks to produce closed systems or worlds, to put clearly defined and delimiting boundaries around them. The mental image, as much an emanation of mind as [of] the world, challenges these goals of reductionist, structuralist, foundationalist logics by its very nature. . . . Among other things, the mental image is unpredictable in emergence, imponderable to unambiguous meaning and understanding, and incalculable to logical analysis. Such qualities militate against certainty, closure, limits, and boundaries. Instead, they are more likely to produce ambiguity and its relativisms, while blurring boundaries or opening them up to indefinable limits.[108]

This final essay also demonstrates the maturation of Rochberg's dichotomous thinking since "Humanism versus Science." Toward the conclusion of the essay, he envisions a reconciliatory culture that would make sense of existence in the "fullest human terms, replete with the rational tools of logical-analytical thought" while also admitting "the uses of imagination [and] a revitalized and renewed sense of cosmic connectedness" to create "every conceivable variety of mental and material imagery."[109] As he conceded in the final strokes, the time had come to abandon his earlier dichotomous metaphors, for in the struggle between the image and the word "there can be no clear-cut victor because both are vital signs of human consciousness."[110]

This compromise was inspired in part by Rochberg's increasing skepticism about the fracturing of human existence, especially at a time when his deepest inclinations were toward "wholeness, the oneness of man, of the universe, of what others call 'God' but I think of as 'world consciousness.'"[111] This change

in perspective could explain why Rochberg ultimately suppressed these essays, sharing them only with Anhalt, who invested them with further Kabbalistic significance.[112] "Our word-receptacles are inadequate means whereby to encapsulate the divine (read: cosmic, human, scientific, artistic) essence," his friend replied. "No wonder they burst, and all that remain are the debris of sparks and the scraps. . . . But a latter-date kabbalist said that all [the] sparks and the shards express the physical and metaphysical. The two are but two sides of what is given."[113]

Rochberg responded in agreement, writing that he increasingly saw the separation of word and image as impractical, just as he found it impossible to separate the various parts of the self.[114] The conversation ultimately became a discussion about being Jewish in a secular age, with Rochberg wondering whether the iconoclasm of Moses and his followers had been a reflection of their own sense of cultural *otherness*: "Were [they]—and subsequently the Jews of Europe and America—'alienated' or 'self-alienated?'" Rochberg felt the dilemma personally, adding that he wondered if "buried under layers and layers of secularized living" there existed a "kind of 'genetic' suffering that comes with being born a Jew."[115] Anhalt admitted that he was also struggling with coming to terms with all sides of his Jewish past. "Instead of wanting to learn to become a better articulated Jew, in his Jewishness," he wrote, "I want to do something else. I want to understand my very specific reality, which includes my Jewishness and being at peace with my entire past, even if that part includes a great disconcern for Jewishness. Much of my life consisted of interacting with non-Jews, and I like many of them, learned much from them; they were, are, and will remain parts of myself."[116]

The question Anhalt had raised—about retaining a "personal sense of Jewishness while living among non-Jews"—stirred Rochberg, who responded forcefully with his "abhorrence of the religion of Judaism, its narrow-chested, nationalistic legalisms, rituals, tribal echoes," complaints he later abstracted to "all orthodox religions of whatever stripe."[117] But his provocations ultimately gave way to a more nuanced position that interwove both Jewish and secular sources:

> I am religious, my life is dominated by a sense of the awesomeness of whatever powers fashioned this incredible universe and maintains it. I think more than anything I relate very strongly to the American poet Robinson Jeffers's view: that "God" is unconcerned with man, and that man is only a small part of what is. . . . If we can discover what it is in our neurological makeup that determines our sleeping and waking hours, our passion for the arts, our ability—so natural—to love, our power to sustain this weak reed that we are against forces stronger than we are . . . we shall eventually learn much that [the] old sciences and humanities have been either unable to talk about or even show any serious interest in.[118]

As the composer expressed to Anhalt in 1988, "I tend to think sometimes that [my Jewish heritage] has worked in curious ways, and I'm not sure I can define exactly what those ways are."[119] On one level, his perplexity reminds us of the complex intersectionality at the heart of human existence and experience, but it also reveals his ambivalence as a type of secularized freedom, one that allowed him to borrow freely from a broad range of Jewish and mystical traditions. Indeed, the manner in which Rochberg affixed Jewish ideas and symbols to his work shows him to be participating in what Lawrence A. Hoffmann calls a "more interesting tale of [Jewish] secularity, religion, and spirituality, coexisting in interesting ways."[120]

Such observations also offer a fresh perspective on Rochberg's relationship to modernity, in that the secular Jewish identity he claimed for himself was in many ways the direct result of historical events of the twentieth century. In the case of Rochberg, his rejection of traditional religion was founded not only on deep ideological objections but also on his family's social experience of modernism through the phenomena of secular education, urbanization, and migration. And yet it was through his firsthand engagement with contemporary Jewish history—most notably his experience as a soldier in World War II and his recognition of the Holocaust as a specifically modern *and* Jewish catastrophe—that he came to pointedly critique the same modern culture that had facilitated his own spiritual conversion. As such, Rochberg's complicated and shifting relationship with Judaism underscores Biale's firm belief that "religion and secularism in modernity are deeply implicated in each other," with their "contemporary entanglement owing something to the way the secular emerged out of the religious, not so much its polar negation as its dialectical product."[121]

But as moments in Rochberg's life reveal, the dialectic could also work the other way, with the religious emerging out of sources that appeared more secular in their orientation, such as literature, poetry, neuroscience, and even Japanese court music. As Rochberg once reflected, the "supreme philosophic/metaphysical question" at the heart of his conversations with Anhalt had always been "the problem of untying the knot of being Jewish and human all at the same time." As he wrote in an unpublished essay about his friend:

> What Jewishness is as a condition of being human, all too human, still eludes me. Still in the very nature of things I know I am Jewish. But certainly not for religious reasons. Nor for reasons of race. . . . Isty and I have written and talked much to each other about these matters. Like virtually all of the most important things that preoccupy human minds and hearts these are largely, if not entirely, unresolvable, mysterious, refractable.[122]

Their letters had always contained intimate and self-reflective conversations about God and nature, art and man. As Rochberg shared, such conversations

functioned as a clarifying mirror in which "I not only see myself, but also the world I inhabit, reflections which make it possible for me to see more imaginatively *that which is*."[123] Anhalt responded in kind, likening their friendship to a reflective prism that revealed the "great richness, depth, and passions" of their souls.[124] It was one of the greatest spiritual relationships of his life, as Rochberg lovingly shared in one of his most intimate closings: "So now we sit on the mountain top together and survey life and comment to each other on what we see (and hear), what we think meaningful (still) or not. . . . Mostly I'm struck (again) by the power of intuition. There's still much to write, but I'll leave it for my next letter."[125]

Chapter Five

A Moral Education for the Future: 1948–2005

> A few years ago . . . I was struck by something Beckett said about Joyce: . . . "Joyce became an ethical ideal . . . he had a moral effect on me, he made me realize artistic integrity." When I read that, I saw an eloquent description of how we fledgling composers felt who worked with Rochberg at Penn.
>
> —Martin Herman (1988)

In a mood perhaps influenced by a dull and overcast day—or by aggravated back pain brought on by a particularly uncomfortable hotel bed—Rochberg picked up his journal for the first time in a while. It was the spring of 1999, and he had been invited by Lincoln Center to participate in a public interview with the composer Bruce Adolphe on the subject "Breaking with Modernism," a title the composer had suggested himself. "I feel like a fraud," he admitted freely, "I basically don't *know* anything but *feel* a great deal about the twentieth century which I've lived in my own way—which I know is only a sliver of human experience; how could it be otherwise?"[1] In many ways, the engagement had made him feel his age (on the cusp of eighty-one) and his senior status in the field (as one of the "elder statesmen of composers"), but even more he felt increasingly irrelevant to the active compositional world.[2] Lincoln Center had invited him as a "historical figure" to discuss his role in American music over the past fifty years, but the event limited itself primarily to his confrontation with modernism in the 1960s and 1970s. His receipt of the ASCAP Foundation Lifetime Achievement Award that year only cemented the feeling that he was nearing the end of his relevance. "What am I doing still living at eighty-one," he wrote, when "my music died at [age] sixty-one [in 1979]? Often I have thought how much better it would have been if I'd died in the war."[3]

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In many ways, 1999 was another turning point in his life. He had retired from the University of Pennsylvania in 1983, hoping that the release from service and teaching would renew his creative energies, which it ultimately did. Over the next fifteen years he completed twenty-three musical works—among them his final two symphonies, myriad chamber works, and some repurposed versions of earlier compositions—but he sensed an increasingly tired quality in his music, as illustrated by a self-assessment of his piano duo *Circles of Fire* (1997): "As I've worked on it . . . I begin to hear the faintest echoes of earlier work of mine. I find that bothersome. But it couldn't be otherwise. Not only at this stage can't you *start* over again, you are bound to have marked out the perimeters of your vocabulary."[4] As Gene noted, it was around this time that he had begun to experience "diminishing energies and the inability to sustain a composing schedule"; thus, he "turned exclusively to writing about music and musicians" of the twentieth century.[5]

Although many topics captured Rochberg's curious mind, one central question surfaced regularly throughout his writings from the 1990s: what would be his legacy within the context of twentieth-century music, a topic that had dogged the composer throughout his lifetime. Gene once remarked that her husband had always been "intensely mindful of the legacy left by the greatest composers of the past."[6] Privately, Rochberg worried about whether his compositions would outlive him and attain the monumental status he would later have engraved on his tombstone: *Contra Mortem et Tempus*. While composing *Circles of Fire*, he confessed to feeling "depleted" and creatively disoriented, and so he sought to distract himself by assessing his corpus.[7] He concluded that five works had the potential for longevity because of their unique voice and solid craftsmanship: *Music for the Magic Theater*, the *Contra*, the Third String Quartet, *Imago Mundi*, and *Ukiyo-E II (Slow Fires of Autumn)*.[8] He further identified *ars combinatoria* as his central contribution to twentieth-century humanism and hoped his ultimate achievement would be a legacy of beauty and courage.[9]

The composer remained slightly optimistic despite the signs of cultural degradation he saw in late modernism: "For all that we place such naïve trust in what we call 'history' . . . [no one] could have predicted a Beethoven, nor could anyone in the generation of Wagner and Brahms have predicted a Schoenberg."[10] In the final decade of his life, he drew additional encouragement from members of the next generation of composers he privately mentored at his home in Newtown Square, Pennsylvania. In many ways, the last years of his life were less notable for their musical and intellectual accomplishments than for the meaningful and impactful relationships he fostered with maturing composers, on whom he "left an indelible mark . . . regarding the direction [music] should take" in the next century.[11] "I and my work have come in for their share of temporary, localized attention," he openly acknowledged,

"but one must always step aside, relinquish the stage to the others pressing forward around us."[12] In one of his final published essays, the composer cast the situation in biblical terms: "My generation . . . is past its prime. Moses guided the people of Israel to the threshold of the land of Canaan. [But] it was Joshua who led them *into* Canaan. . . . My generation . . . has completed the first phase. The younger generation of artistic Joshuas will have to find and live the answers, however they turn out, to the questions I've posed."[13]

One of the least explored aspects and yet most important legacies of Rochberg's career is his role as an educator and mentor to at least three generations of working postwar composers. The biographical omission is understandable. Rochberg was famously ambivalent about his teaching career at the University of Pennsylvania, in part because he remained skeptical that academia was the best setting for both established and developing composers. In essays and talks, he railed against the constrictions and distractions a teaching career placed on creative work, often extending his critique to take aim at American culture writ large, which he blamed for devaluing and defunding serious compositional efforts. And yet, the university was an important and influential context for developing and disseminating his aesthetic ideas, with Rochberg deriving ideas from contemporary curricular debates and the intimate pedagogical interactions he shared with his students. These institutional and interpersonal influences ultimately shaped the direction of his most provocative aesthetic ideas about humanism, neo-tonality, and creative authenticity.[14]

Rochberg began his teaching career after completing his bachelor's degree at the Curtis Institute of Music while concurrently pursuing his master's degree at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1948, Curtis hired him as a faculty member to teach a wide range of subjects—introduction to music composition, music history surveys, beginning theory classes—a challenge he ultimately enjoyed because it satisfied his intellectual curiosity.[15] But teaching also forced him to spend a copious amount of time prepping his lectures, which placed considerable time constraints on his creative work. To maintain balance, he successfully negotiated an arrangement with the University of Pennsylvania that allowed him to be absent from his required academic courses as long as he completed all of the required written work.[16] His rationale was that his teaching duties at Curtis were providing the same educational foundation, and it seemed foolish, if not redundant, to repeat the literature reviews. It was a rigorous two years, but his excitement about pursuing his life's dream after the war propelled him forward: "I was young and I had lots of physical and nervous energy, and so I could manage [it] all."[17]

His receipt of a Fulbright fellowship to Rome provided him with a yearlong leave of absence (1950–51), during which he began work on his First String Quartet. After he returned to America, however, external pressures began

to mount. Gene was pregnant with their second child, Francesca, and the Rochbergs had begun to worry about the family's finances. "We were sort of hanging by our toenails because there wasn't very much money," he recalled; "the job at Curtis didn't pay very much . . . certainly not enough to live on."[18] To compensate, Rochberg took a position at the Theodore Presser Company, where he ultimately rose to the position of chief music editor and director of publications. As he remarked in his memoirs, he initially had reservations about working at Presser, given its commercial approach to music publishing: "[The] president of the board of directors told me when I began working there in 1951, with great booster pride, 'Presser is the Woolworth of the music business.' I received this news with the shock of the totally unprepared . . . What jarred me was his casual joining of what I loved passionately, 'music,' with what I loved least of all things possible in this world, 'business.'"[19] The relationship with Presser was highly beneficial to Rochberg, both financially and professionally. He joined the company's growing roster of international composers, and as Presser moved away from what he considered the bread-and-butter side of the publication business—"two-page piano pieces for beginners and *Etude* magazine"—he increasingly recruited his friends to become Presser composers.[20]

During that time, Rochberg expanded Presser's contemporary catalog, arguing that the promotion of art music could be mutually beneficial for both publishers and educators. He promoted this position in one of his first public lectures, a talk for the Society of Music in the Liberal Arts Colleges, in which he argued that America was "in the midst of a commercially stimulated and sustained populist culture [whose] values or lack of values . . . are in direct conflict with [the] traditional values among which we must certainly place the art of music, whether in the concert hall or in the college or high school."[21] He decried the notion that music should be "fun" and instead placed the onus on publishers to provide quality content that would combat the "group-determined, populist thinking" that had infiltrated music education. It was an early theme to which he would return throughout his life, especially as he encountered what he considered the increasing cultural dilettantism of younger generations.[22]

Still, he missed the intellectual rigor and joy of teaching, and therefore he managed to arrange Friday afternoons off to teach a class at Curtis.[23] This structure aided his composing immensely, as he was able to transition away from Presser at the end of the week and assume more creative activities over the extended weekend. The schedule soon became untenable because of his promotion at Presser and increasing financial stress; in 1954, he gave up teaching at Curtis and returned to full-time work at Presser. The decision left him burning the candle at both ends: "I worked a full day, came home, had supper, spent some time with the kids. . . . And about seven o'clock in the evening I

would go to my room and I would work until [after midnight]. Every night. I worked all weekend. That went on for nine years."[24] It was at this point that he began searching for a university job.

In 1960, he accepted a full-time position as chairman of the music department at the University of Pennsylvania, but the administrative work was just as demanding as teaching and came at a trying time: "These were the years when our son was first diagnosed with cancer and, from 1961, [his illness] paralleled my efforts to build a new department of music with a new faculty and curriculum. . . . Those early years at Penn appear to me now as surreal, the rebuilding of the music department disconnected, light-years apart from what our family suffered."[25] As he admitted in his diary in 1960, he remained in the position only for financial security.[26] Later in life, Rochberg retrospectively admitted that he "loved building" the curriculum and was "damn good" at chairing the department, but he firmly maintained that he never derived "any eternal satisfaction" from the position.[27] As he once explained to Edward T. Cone, then a music professor at Princeton: "I'm on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania because I need to earn a living. That's how I'm earning my livelihood. I don't have any identification of either a personal or spiritual nature with the university."[28]

But such comments are not entirely accurate. Committee work forced Rochberg to forge relationships with a variety of intellectuals from other divisions, interactions that inherently enriched the interdisciplinary nature of his aesthetic writings. As chair of the department and later as a member of the all-college curriculum committee at Penn, Rochberg was actively involved in the curriculum debates of the 1960s, many of which mirror prominent intellectual themes that appeared in his publications from the time. In the 1950s, with the advent of the Cold War and the competitive tenor of the "race to space," a general criticism of higher education emerged that accused universities of failing to achieve appropriate rigor, most notably in the natural and physical sciences. Consequently, curriculum debates became dominated by "an immediate and enduring obsession with science and technology," a development faculty in the arts and humanities perceived as a direct threat. As a countermeasure, humanities programs began hiring "disciplinary specialists" like Rochberg to create curricular structures that would return degree programs to the "traditional task of formal education in Western civilization: transmission of cultural heritage and preparation for life through rigorous intellectual training of young minds to think clearly, logically, and independently." The programs that resulted were often "twentieth-century version[s] of the nineteenth-century classical curriculum" and focused on teaching the so-called classics of Western civilization.[29]

In the following decade, rationalist language drew concern from humanists, who worried that the curricular priorities of the 1950s tended to be "tied to 'technique' and not linked to the human spirit."[30] As historian John Brubacher

explains, humanists "saw this variant of liberal education as a holdover from the scientism of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. The empiricists then and the pragmatists [now] seemed to be saying that the world is out of joint. It can only be set right by science. What science did for solving the enigmas of nature it can also do for the study of man and society."[31] In response, prominent theorists such as Dwayne Huebner argued that the field of higher education was suffering from "an overdependence upon values conceived as goals or objectives"; thus, the time was ripe to assert a new humanistic discourse that would liberate students from the spiritual constraints of a taxonomic education.[32] As he remarked, the educational environment and activity were "symbolic of what man is today and what he wants to be tomorrow. The design of these symbols is a great art. The study of curriculum should be a preparation for this artistry."[33]

In the arts specifically, administrators argued that the "affective domain" was less predisposed to a taxonomic curriculum than the "cognitive domain" and therefore called for a new humanistic orientation that would foster values such as "perceiving, communicating, loving, knowing, decision-making, patterning, creating, and valuing."[34] Influenced by the work of the American psychologist Abraham Maslow, these educators advocated for a "humanistic individual-oriented conception of education" that would lead to "full and equal opportunity for all persons to lead self-actualizing lives."[35] In 1967, James B. Macdonald, a leading visionary of curricular humanism, boldly sounded the call for a person-oriented curriculum in defense against dehumanization: "We will create our own image of ourselves through the ways we structure and relate to our own world. This image is in dire peril of becoming characterized by a partially ordered and conditioned set of regimented performances in the modern age. What we must strive for is to make men what they ought to be—complete human beings."[36] Central to Macdonald's platform was the deep-seated belief that studying the arts could "help students confront meaninglessness, especially that meaninglessness associated with the triumph of science and the decline of religion."[37]

Rochberg's curricular reforms at Penn were an amalgam drawn from both sides of these lively debates, with the composer embracing elements of both "traditionalist" and "reconceptualist" arguments to advance his own vision for a rigorous and relevant compositional program.[38] In his mind, educators, like artists, should have the freedom to borrow from a variety of methods and models in an effort to renew and revitalize their fields—a sort of *ars combinatorial* vision for university curricula. In this general outlook, he was decidedly ahead of his time, with the pioneering educational theorist William Pinar advocating a similar approach only in 1977: "We must strive for synthesis, or a series of perspectives on curriculum that are at once interpretative, critical, emancipatory. . . . One may remain a traditionalist while sympathetically

studying the work of a reconceptualist. . . . Further, an intellectual climate may become established in which one could develop syntheses of current perspectives, regenerating the field, and making [it] more likely that its contribution to American [culture] be an important one."[39] Rochberg's developing vision for the composition program at Penn was similarly inclusive, in that it merged ideas about the affective language of music with the somewhat outmoded idea that the traditional canon "should be a central focus for aspiring composers"—a notion composer Jim Primosch described to me as "so conservative it was progressive at the time."[40] To support his initiatives, Rochberg also oversaw the hiring of composers he felt were sympathetic to his synthetical vision, including George Crumb (1965) and Richard Wernick (1968).[41]

In 1960, the first action Rochberg took as chair was an environmental scan of the department and the drafting of a prospectus for the dean that would chart specific recommendations for moving forward. Although the document contained several concrete suggestions—including assembling a world-class faculty and proposing a series of courses designed to maximize interdisciplinarity—the bulk of the prospectus reads like a treatise on metaphysics.[42] Rochberg goes to great lengths to explain the challenge of situating, if not justifying, the study of music in an academic setting. He sought to distinguish music from philosophy, which he saw as its natural counterpart within the traditional humanities, by contending that "music is a human reality in itself which we experience and try to apprehend," while philosophy was not "concerned with itself per se but with its subject matter, which is [also] the range of life and the means by which we come to know it." One could, he observed, teach music as a form of aesthetic philosophy, but he worried that it would only reinforce the "traditional and still prevalent notion that academic study is centered on rational ideas . . . and that consequently music, as an art of expression, can only exist on the periphery." The result would reduce music to the indiscriminate realm of human leisure or to the status of a second-class citizen in the university, therefore impacting morale and enrollment. Instead, he implored the administration to "understand and accept that music is experience of the deepest forces in man" while also recognizing that its modes of expression could be concurrently rational and irrational.[43]

Of greatest concern to Rochberg was how to structure and evaluate the department's composition program.[44] "Are composers made or born?" he queried in his initial prospectus for the redesigned department: "The irrepressible urge to write notes on paper is far more often a passionate act involving the total human being [rather] than a calmly deliberated intellectual act, although the powers of intellect are completely engaged. This is perhaps the hardest question of all to answer satisfactorily because too much of what goes into becoming a composer cannot be related to academic study per se."[45] His proposed solution consisted of a merger between intellectual and composition work, in

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which students in the first year of the program would engage in more analytical coursework that would form a practical basis for their creative work. To this end, he proposed instruction in the twelve-tone method, an introductory tutorial to electronic music and the use of its technologies, an analytical seminar on contemporary music, and a collective composition seminar.[46] The second year would fold private study—the realm of guided self-expression—into the curriculum while students continued their coursework at the advanced level. Of great importance to Rochberg was the notion that contemporary music be taught by the composition faculty and not by his fellow musicologists, whom he felt could not "rear an academic generation of composers" when their "technical equipment does not reach beyond [Anton] Bruckner."[47] To this end, he requested increased funding to invite living composers to share their work-in-progress, an impressive program that hosted figures such as Roger Sessions, Ralph Shapey, and Karlheinz Stockhausen—just to name one alphabetical series—for intimate conversations with Rochberg's students.

Rochberg also used his seminars as a laboratory for his own aesthetic and compositional interests, developing topics that reflected what he was writing on at the time. In a seminar titled "The Elaboration of the Essential," taught during the 1964–65 academic year, he prefaced the course material with this learning objective: "The world of nature is an elaboration of what is essential in it. The world of art is an elaboration of what is essential in it. What is essential is often hidden, hard to uncover to one's understanding and comprehension. This is our task."[48] The accompanying (and extensive) bibliography reflects a wide range of non-musical texts, among them Wassily Kandinsky's *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, John von Neumann's *The Computer and the Brain*, Erich Heller's *The Disinherited Mind*, and Hermann Hesse's *Siddhartha*. While some of these texts had already appeared in Rochberg's published essays—"Indeterminacy in the New Music" (1959), "The New Image of Music" (1963), and "Concepts of Musical Time and Space" (1963)—others would find their way into later intellectual projects, such as "The Avant-Garde and the Aesthetics of Survival" (1969) and "Reflections on Schoenberg" (1972).

In 1966, Rochberg also taught a course titled "Harmonic Series" in which the final assignment was to identify and describe the theoretical basis for a musical correspondence between various works by different composers—arguably the compositional premise behind *Contra Mortem et Tempus*. As one student's notes summarize, Rochberg explained that these correspondences could be either superficial, "as when a similar or identical melody or harmony reappears in a different context," or profound, "as when the underlying musical substance is a true reincarnation of the musical essence of a different period."[49] Rochberg's comments on one graded prospectus, in which the student vaguely notes that he wants to write about how contemporary composers use correspondences, belie the composer's own compositional and existential

preoccupations at the time. Its margins are littered with bold and provocative questions that speak more to Rochberg's mind-set than to his ambitions for his student: "What is transitory? What is constant? Is musical history *real*? Is it *abstract*? Is the musical mind individual or universal? Are these real questions, i.e., can they be answered?"[50]

After he resigned as chair in 1968, Rochberg set about disseminating all of these ideas in a variety of public formats, including presentations about the threat the US educational system posed to humanism. In an unpublished talk, "The Study of Music as an Aspect of Liberal Arts Education," he warned that because America was so "technologically [and] business oriented, we stand in danger of *starving out* our sensual and emotional life." He proposed that universities should focus on providing an education that stimulated both the mind and the spirit and could stand as a "deeply human bulwark against doubts, uncertainties, and misgivings." A college degree, he averred, should not be understood as an educational terminus but rather as a "sign that the [humanistic] process was underway," a formal reminder to graduates that they should "live intensely in mind and spirit."[51]

Rochberg had always been wary of the supposed value of an institutional degree, but he reserved his most vehement objections for doctoral programs in music composition. In a terse article written for *College Music Symposium*, he outlined his objections on both practical and ethical grounds. Rochberg worried that young composers would ultimately have to "make [their] way in society rather than in the university" and questioned whether the academic environment prepared students for creating and promoting their work outside of university settings.[52] In some ways, he was reflecting on his own experience; although Rochberg had never pursued a doctorate, he had found academia detrimental to his own creativity. Part of the issue was the scheduled nature of teaching, which took the composer away from composing (often at inopportune times) and made "basic demands on his time and energy." More problematical, he had observed that doctoral programs at other institutions encouraged young composers to align their artistic goals with those expected in other disciplines: "They feel they must justify their existence, not as artists, but as masters of logical procedures, demonstrable, observable, *and* (last but not least) teachable." Instead of obtaining a doctorate, Rochberg argued that developing composers should "find the strength to build an intensely private world while maintaining a fluid and open contact with the external world in which [one] must function."[53] In keeping with this stance, he insisted that Penn offer only undergraduate degrees and a terminal master's degree during his tenure. His objection was so adamant that he would offer to write letters of recommendation "in regard to anything [a student] might want to do—job applications, grants—but not for applications to PhD programs" in composition.[54] If a composer should

pursue a degree or university teaching position and manage to succeed, he remarked, it would be "a miracle."[55]

In the early 1970s, Rochberg embraced a more radical strand of curriculum developed by James B. Macdonald, a "transcendental ideology of education" that spoke to Rochberg's contemporaneous interest in mysticism, inward seeing, and creative expression. "Today's technology is yesterday's magic," Macdonald wrote in 1974: "Humanity will eventually transcend technology by turning inward, the only viable alternative that allows a human being to continue to experience oneself in the world as a creative and vital element. Out of this will come the rediscovery of human potential."[56] Rochberg became a fervent advocate for these ideas while serving on the curriculum committee of Penn's College of Arts and Sciences, where he tested early versions of his theories among his colleagues. "I took every occasion to speak for the necessity of recognizing the world of the nonverbal as a world of images and imagination whose 'language' employed configurations equal in power and force . . . to logical formulation," he recounted, noting with glee that his contrarian stance regularly exasperated the dean of the college.[57] The experiences also helped him develop a powerful sense of the "difference between the seemingly clear aims of scientific study and . . . the far less clear *purposes* of art."[58] In many ways, his debates within the broader context of curriculum reform had helped clarify the root of the postwar musical problem for himself.[59]

Rochberg's students at Penn were not shielded from such strong opinions; in fact, his critical honesty and passionate method of debate was one of the guiding reasons they chose to study with him in the 1960s. As Rochberg himself confessed, he found it difficult to feign interest in "lazy" or "self-aggrandizing" composition students who lacked conviction, craft, and a sense of historical awareness. Even long after his retirement, the memory of certain lackluster students would inspire a degree of professorial irascibility: "All these untalented ones drag down standards. . . . They want to be 'successful.' This is America . . . and the young must be allowed to go their own way. But I refuse to encourage people to go into art who lack the mental [or] psychic makeup."[60] In his advanced seminars, he often lapsed into "mildly berating diatribes" against what he considered their blind acceptance of "bland, routinized academic" approaches to musical organization and logic; true composers, he implored, should instead develop and maintain an outward "skeptical eye" and endeavor to create music that "reverberates first in [their] own souls, then in others."[61]

Among his earliest recruits was the composer Stephen Albert, who credited Rochberg with steering him back to composition during a particularly pessimistic period of his life. Albert had encountered what he described as an "atmosphere of terrorism" during his earlier studies that had caused him to feel like an outcast:[62] "I remember very much the sense I had that serial music was the music of the future. . . . [But] it was not music that moved my

emotions. It was not music that made sense. It was not music I felt any kind of emotional commitment to."[63] Experimental music also held little appeal for Albert—"there was no aspect of it that I found musical in the way I felt about music"—who increasingly felt marginalized among his teachers and peers. "All I cared about was finding music which I could believe in and which, in a sense, could be inspiring to me," he recalled, noting that there was a sense in the current academic environment that if you did "not believe in [serialism or twelve-tone music], that you were wrong, that you were morally culpable. There were no two sides to the issue."[64]

In his preliminary audition at the University of Pennsylvania, one interviewer chastised Albert's composition portfolio for its traditional craftsmanship, a comment that nearly drove the frustrated composer to go to law school. Shortly thereafter, Rochberg personally invited Albert to join the program, an appeal that came as a surprise given the elder composer's reputation as a staunch serialist: "When I first came to him, [Rochberg was] very devoted to the twelve-tone practice. [But he] was beginning to listen to other kinds of things, and he was very encouraging to me."[65] During Albert's year at Penn, he and Rochberg met weekly over lunch to discuss the state of American music, a welcome distraction as were both suffering personal hardships at the time.[66] Albert found Rochberg to be an open-minded instructor, which initially surprised him given Rochberg's most recent projects:

> We [would] talk extensively about what was wrong with music, what the problems in music were during this time. And in many ways he was a representative of the American school of twelve-tone serial composition. . . . But there was something else going on in his mind, a lot of questioning. I said to him in no uncertain terms that I thought . . . the momentum of all that had happened in the first fifty years was breaking down. And that what we were left with [were] the gestures and the rhetoric without the actual masterpieces.[67]

Slowly, it became clear to his most trusted students that Rochberg's compositional voice was veering in a radically different direction. In a letter from 1964, Albert inquired with disbelief about Rochberg's plans for the "Passions According to the Twentieth Century": "Bob Suderburg told me it wasn't 'twelve-tone.' Did I misunderstand him?"[68]

Albert's stories confirm that Rochberg did not initiate his postmodern turn in a creative vacuum but instead within specific academic sub-communities. At Penn, he gained insight and encouragement from a younger generation of composers who were both his students and his contemporaries (figure 5.1). As he was increasingly realizing, the future of music might also belong to serious composers like Albert, whose "passionately intense obsession with personal and musical honesty" led them to question "how one could be a composer in the twentieth century and say human things against the clear knowledge

Figure 5.1. Rochberg seated at piano with students, ca. 1961. Stephen Albert is on the far left, looking over Rochberg's shoulder. University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Reprinted by permission.

that [humans] have behaved appallingly throughout."[69] His interest in musical quotation also found confirmation in the emerging compositional ideas of his colleague George Crumb, who has remarked that he and Rochberg "both had the idea that music made big arcs back into the past, that maybe all past time, in a sense, was contemporaneous."[70]

In 1965, Rochberg premiered *Contra Mortem et Tempus* at the Bowdoin College Summer Music Festival.[71] In his next-day review, professional music critic Michael Steinberg of the *Boston Globe* struggled to make sense of the work, describing it abstractly as a "whole tissue of musical quotations [that] are dissolved by Rochberg into a kind of continuous, almost dreamlike suspended musical continuum."[72] Elliott Schwartz, who had the benefit of repeated hearings and a review score, provided a more robust review for the *Musical Quarterly*: "The immediate impression . . . is that this is a music dominated by bits of other people's music . . . [but it] projects an undeniable sense of originality; through some transformation of contexts, every note in the piece

becomes Rochberg's. . . . The fabric of the entire work becomes not a series of isolated quotations but a continuous interplay of associations and fleeting images."[73] Schwartz also noted astutely that the college's summer festival was a safe harbor for such compositional risk taking, partly because of the festival's physical and ideological remove—outside of the major metropolitan cultural centers and the academic calendar year. Because "total serialization and aggressive indeterminacy were both absent from the Bowdoin scene," he remarked, the new works were free to display an "undogmatic approach to musical materials and [a] highly personal language." As he concluded, "While new buildings for the performing arts continue to spring up in American cities, quiet revolutions have been brewing on the campuses. . . . The Bowdoin festival may thus be representative of the new role to be assumed by colleges in the furtherance of contemporary music. This is an encouraging sign for the future."[74]

Rochberg seemed to concur, for in the time period between the *Contra* and the Third String Quartet, he premiered nearly all of his combinatorial works in either educational or nontraditional settings.[75] During this time, Rochberg dedicated a great deal of his professional efforts to traveling throughout the United States to attend concerts of his new works, often offering composition residencies or public lectures at the sponsoring colleges, conservatories, and universities.[76] The lectures often presented the course of his musical development—with specific attention to his latest stylistic phase—and laid out his new philosophical and aesthetic ideas for the fresh minds of the next generation; his talks were, in effect, working drafts of the polemical essays he would later publish: "Aural Fact or Fiction" (1965), "No Center" (1969), "Humanism versus Science" (1970), and "The Fantastic and the Logical" (1973).[77] Rochberg's time on the lecture circuit expanded his aesthetic reach beyond Penn, with both former students and new devotees following his career with great interest.[78]

One of these admirers was William Bolcom, who met the composer at a lecture at the University of Washington in Seattle in 1965. "I heard his lecture, and I heard his *Music for the Magic Theater* and [the *Contra*]," he recalled, "and I felt . . . here's a man who's been able to find some kind of connection between the past [and] present, between atonal [and] tonal styles."[79] The encounter encouraged Bolcom to explore his interest in integrated eclecticism in *Black Host* (1967), a work for organ and electronic tape premiered by William Albright at the University of Michigan.[80] In it, Bolcom interpolated diverse musical references—jazz, pop, Baroque counterpoint, and atonality—and, similar to Rochberg, used a common modal orientation to interweave references to two discrete religious melodies: the hymn "Donne Secours" and the Dies Irae.[81] As Lois Burney notes, such heterogeneity reflected the influence of Bolcom's formal teachers—George Fredrick McKay, John Verrall, Darius Milhaud, Olivier Messiaen—but as Bolcom attests, it was Rochberg's example

that further emboldened him to use "all the resources from his musically diverse past . . . [to] happily draw from any musical genre that [suited] his expressive needs."[82] In the case of *Black Host*, the composer turned to a keyboard repertory he had long admired—ragtime—and included it in the work, signifying his first foray into what would later become a central genre in his corpus.[83] As the preface to the work states, *Black Host* was about letting go of the fear of judgment and embracing the "joy that one might create in one's own life and in the lives with which one comes in contact."[84]

And yet, as Rochberg might have warned him, such combinatorial experiments were not always joyfully received in more modernist settings. Bolcom's next piece, *Session IV* (1967) for instrumental nonet, was dedicated to Rochberg and contained an adventurous amalgam of stylistic references: Scott Joplinesque rags, direct quotations of Beethoven and Schubert, elements from late eighteenth-century chamber music, atonal pitch clusters, and a simple folk-like tune in A-flat major.[85] As Bolcom describes it, the work was somewhat unruly but ultimately original: "I quoted the *Eroica* variations of Beethoven but mostly did not quote [others literally]. I made up my own odd styles here and there. But it was a shock to people . . . to have brought in not only quotations but tonal things." At its premiere at the Festival International d'Art Contemporain (Royan, France) under the baton of Dennis Russell Davies, *Session IV* was met with open hostility and rioting during the performance: "It was a big scandal. It was terrible. [Davies] had to start over three [or] four different times. People came up on the stage, and somebody tried to kick in the bass drum. [There was] hooting and hollering and fighting out in the audience because of the fact that I had thrown in not only some quotational things, but also some ragtime."[86] At its 1973 New York premiere at Alice Tully Hall, in a performance by The Ensemble and Davies, critical response to the work was more tepid but equally dismissive. While the other works on the program—Leon Kirchner's *Lily*, Garrett List's *Songs*, and Tona Scherchen's *Bien*—all received lengthy descriptions in the *New York Times*, Donal Henahan devoted only a single sentence to Bolcom's work: "It quoted and parodied older music, including ragtime, to no point that could be determined at a first hearing." His uncharacteristic brevity suggested to the reader that a second hearing was not recommended.[87]

Such dismissive reviews could sting, as Rochberg acknowledged throughout his life, but the elder composer saw them as an external test of one's artistic integrity: "We all suffer in myriad ways. Sensing lack of appreciation, of acceptance, of approval is surely one of the ways humans in any area of endeavor suffer. . . . But if you understand this . . . then you do not have to suffer. Just go your way. There is no other way. . . . One must be a spiritual warrior, nothing less."[88] For his earliest protégés, Rochberg's persistence in the face of criticism that ranged from enthusiastic to brutally dismissive provided them with the

resolve to find their own path. As Bolcom once admitted in a letter: "I have mistaken 'relevance' for clarity. And clarity is simply the truth of why you write and what you have to say. It can even be muddy clarity . . . but it must be true to what you are or [the music] can be."[89]

The premiere of Rochberg's String Quartet no. 3 (1972) by the Concord String Quartet at Alice Tully Hall seems to have underscored Bolcom's point, with critics moving beyond their usual discussions of source material to more substantive debates about compositional originality and Rochberg's impact on American postmodernism. Henahan, stunned by the performance he had witnessed two evenings earlier, filed the first review for the *New York Times*: "[The piece] goes ahead while facing backward, and some people will despise it for that. . . . The appeal of this work lies not in any literary stance [such as irony] but in its unfailing formal rigor and old-fashioned musicality. Mr. Rochberg's quartet is—how did we used to put it?—beautiful. It is one of the rare new works that go past collage and quotation into another, fairer land."[90] Two weeks later, still entranced, he posted a second report in which he optimistically posited the work as the basis for a new school of American postmodernism. "Since World War II," he wrote, "we have seen several violent swings of the [musical] pendulum, [but one] thread of influence can be detected in American music, and it is likely to be increasingly important: the systematic re-use of the past":

> Only the other day, George Rochberg's brand-new String Quartet No. 3 illustrated the tendency in full flower. . . . The idea of shifting in the course of one piece from style to style was striking, and indicated a love affair with tradition that the composer's more recent works have borne out. . . . It may be that Rochberg, like Mahler and other great allusionists, has found a way to connect us with our common and not entirely despicable past.[91]

Alan Kriegsman of the *Washington Post* listed the quartet as the signature musical achievement of the year, heralding that Rochberg had ushered in a "new phase in which allusion to the past is no longer a device or a conceit, but a primary aesthetic axiom."[92] He openly mused, as did Henahan, as to whether an "air of retrenchment seems to be gathering, a retreat to the known and the safe and the familiar" that might appeal to a generation of young composers who had grown weary of the Vietnam War and their "theorizing elders."[93]

As James Wierzbicki has noted, musicologists have often promoted a similar narrative, effectively recognizing the Third String Quartet as either the "beginning" of the neo-tonal postmodern story or the "vital factor in the emergence of a genre of [new-Romantic] music."[94] While such assertions hold some truth, they inadvertently lead to a perception of Rochberg as a musical vanguard leading the way for others to emulate, as one headline—"Follow This [Quartet] for Direction in Contemporary Composition"—suggested.[95] But for many of his

former students, Rochberg was less a Moses figure than a fellow Joshua trying to reach the Promised Land. As composers like Albert and Bolcom asserted in interviews and other published sources, they did not view themselves as the genealogical descendants of a "Rochberg school," in part because they had come to the same philosophical and aesthetic orientation alongside him, if not slightly in advance. They were not following his lead but simultaneously cultivating what Kyle Gann has described as the musical "midtown," an aesthetic space in which composers sought to write "orchestral and chamber music in intuitive, nonsystematic idioms comparable in form and feeling, if not always in musical materials or style, to European works of the nineteenth century."[96] In their minds, the neighborhood was both multi-generational and large enough to encompass a fifty-three-year-old convert like Rochberg as well as newcomers like Albert and Bolcom, who were only in their early thirties.

Certain examples demonstrate that the sphere of influence and guidance was neither unilateral nor top-down—from teacher to student—but rather reciprocal. Throughout the 1970s, Albert and Rochberg sustained a vibrant and lively correspondence among equals, even trading book recommendations that ultimately led to common extra-musical influences on their compositions. For example, in the mid-1960s both composers read and discussed Immanuel Velikovsky as they worked on two of their most "dissonant and cataclysmic works": Rochberg's war-inspired Third Symphony (1969) and Albert's *Wolf Time* (1968–69), a musical meditation on "political assassinations, [the] Vietnam War, and other grim realities of American life."[97] While Rochberg was writing his String Quartet no. 3, Albert was concurrently composing his *Cathedral Music* (1971–72) for electronic and traditional instruments, a work inspired by a film of Pablo Casals performing Bach cello suites in a looming cathedral.[98] As Albert describes, his use of electro-acoustic amplification was intended not only to re-create the spaciousness of the sanctuary but also to produce an echo chamber he then filled with myriad historical reverberations, including references to Stravinsky's *Octet* (itself built on neoclassical allusions), which Albert prized for its "complexity of texture" and "surface accessibility."[99] He sought not to re-encounter the past "nostalgically"—a crucial point that Rochberg also asserted in response to criticism of the Third String Quartet—but to "move across it . . . so [that] the materials harken back to an earlier type of music . . . and carry its architecture forward."[100] The two composers' language of justification can appear almost interchangeable, a synonymy varied by their unique tones and temperaments.

But whereas Albert did not wish to become ensnared by a "very dangerous spider web of tradition," Bolcom appears to have gleefully jumped directly into its sticky netting.[101] The allusions in his String Quartet no. 9 (1972), commissioned by the Concord String Quartet in the same year as Rochberg's quartet, are easy to detect, if not intentional: nods to eighteenth-century fugal

counterpoint, the opening of Bartók's String Quartet no. 5, gestures from Crumb's *Black Angels*, and fragments from the Tin Pan Alley melody "By the Light of the Silvery Moon."[102] Together, they suggest an altogether contemporary yet non-synchronistic cast of characters that both baffled and delighted *Times* critic Raymond Ericson. Bolcom, he wrote, had "turned out a kind of Ivesian piece. . . . Old-fashioned salon dances are filtered through the distortions of our time [in what] might be described as a long sentimental threnody . . . [that] is poignant and appealing."[103] Thus it comes as no surprise that by the time of the Third String Quartet, Rochberg did not view either composer as a young ingenue. Rather, he saw them as trusted and sympathetic colleagues with whom he could vigorously debate ideas and share his latest experiments and frustrations.

The Third String Quartet is a case in point; in search of an early appraisal, Rochberg asked both Albert and Bolcom to review the score before its first performance. Generally, their evaluations were encouraging and positive, with Albert writing that he found it a "full and graceful work": "No straining for affectation or effect, just a rich flow of dramatic and lyrical ideas. . . . [It] seems to make its own rules concerning form and style. I like especially the content of its juxtaposed sections and the diversity of its moods. I don't think it will disappoint you in the end."[104] Bolcom was equally effusive, remarking to Rochberg that upon reading the first few pages, "[I found] my eyes suddenly full of *tears*, of all things. You've come out the other side of *something*, left the *Geschrei* behind, and that must be what got me."[105] Both composers helped Rochberg weather the critical reception of his work, including negative reviews that cast Rochberg as an imitator and the quartet's materials as superficial knock-offs of the originals.[106] Albert wrote encouragingly after one such review, assuring Rochberg that he still found the work "a *complete* musical experience" whose "uniqueness and deeper worth lies in its inimitability and freedom from easy aesthetic solutions."[107] But Bolcom used the opportunity to raise serious concerns that Rochberg might be "paint[ing] himself into a corner," which could jeopardize the authenticity and integrity of his compositional voice: "We [have] discover[ed] that we can't live without the past. We lose intelligibility. . . . But I won't let it take over [as you have]. It is part of me . . . but it is not all."[108] After a vigorous back and forth, Bolcom closed the conversation with his observation that "we all (still!) want to be Beethoven, when I don't think even Beethoven wanted to be Beethoven. So we deny the truth of our own experience in search of GREATNESS. [But] the only greatness is in absolute truthfulness."[109]

Ultimately, the Third String Quartet did raise Rochberg's postmodern profile among North American composers born after 1950, many of whom enrolled at Penn to study with him. Robert Carl specifically identifies the quartet as the reason he chose Penn for graduate studies: "[It] bowled me over when I heard it [in college]. . . . The mix of historical styles in the piece spoke

very directly to me. . . . I thought it was a magnificent testament to the ideal of revering tradition and reworking it fearlessly."[110] Conversely, Stephen Hartke admired the "gently dissonated lyricism" of Rochberg's serial works, specifically the Second Symphony and *Serenata d'Estate*. "My music at that time was exploring the juxtaposition of tonal and atonal elements," he recalled, "and it was clear to me that George was one of the few teachers out there . . . who would be okay with my continuing on that path."[111] For Stephen Jaffe, it was that wide musical palette that attracted him to Penn, where he hoped to learn how to "absorb other influences into a post-serial style."[112] He described being enamored with the Second Symphony ("one of the best twelve-tone symphonies of that period") but noted that the "excitement of the Third Quartet, and all it indicated for music's future, was palpable."[113]

For all of his students, Rochberg's reengagement of the past had broadened compositional possibilities and suggested new ways of thinking about what comprised a unique or original postwar voice. As Albert noted, the challenge for the listener was to move beyond a simplistic catalog of citations to seize upon the composer's singular creative vision. "Some of us are given to just readopt [past techniques] and not create anything really new," he mused, but "we create new and different ways though. We create new because our voices are new. The way in which we bring these old, old friends together, the new context, is what gives us a new voice. . . . Originality does not lie in innovation by itself."[114] One therefore had to develop a different way of listening—an ear attuned more to idea than to style, to put it in Schoenbergian terms—to understand the value of his corpus. For some, that value was the needed voice of a moralist, one whose music acknowledged that "we owe debts to other human beings" and who saw this as "a necessary step to finding our own human essence [in that] it admits that we are truly fed by each other."[115] For others, it was the courage to be authentic and vulnerable, wholly committed to one's own aesthetic and vision.

Cultivation of an individual voice was the crucial lesson Rochberg imparted to his students, but it came at some expense. As many former students noted, he was less concerned with teaching them the nitty-gritty aspects of technique despite his analytical chops and expert knowledge of the subtle workings of expanded tonal practice. As Michael Alec Rose described, he would address the seminar room with "his head wreathed in cigarette smoke" and "sit on his horde of musical gold—the entire repertory of classical music and American popular song—and toss coins at us, not even caring if we could catch them."[116] Despite the value of these lasting pearls of wisdom—"great composers *really* get going in codas, where they write entire mini-pieces" or "the test of any work for its [cultural] endurance is whether it leaves a residue"—some students admitted that they "might have felt a little cheated" if they had not also had additional training from other teachers, at Penn or elsewhere.[117] But his greatest

pedagogical strength was his "influence as an artistic model."[118] He forced his students to look in the mirror and question who they were and what their identity as an artist would be. In one conversation, Carl offered a heartfelt and grateful assessment of his time at Penn: "I was blessed to have encountered his passion and drive to make work of substance, to not kid oneself. That's the great positive I retain."[119]

Carl and others described the seminars of the 1970s as a "constant conversation about aesthetics and sociopolitical issues" that could be described as a "moral education" in music, comments that resonate with arguments Rochberg was cultivating in his intellectual work.[120] In seminars like "The Renewal of New Music," Rochberg consciously drew from his published essays and presented their material as compositional and ethical guidance for the future. Questioning why twentieth-century composers had given up harmony, melody, and counterpoint in favor of more static soundscapes, Rochberg implored his students to rebuild in their own work the liberated gestural repertory of human expression—to open themselves up to the "precious sense of the magic and mystery of existence" that inspired people to sing (rather than to speak) and to dance (rather than to deny music's kinetic energy).[121] Even in more technical composition courses such as Orchestration, Rochberg pointedly addressed the moral implications of creating music. In that class, Hartke remembers him describing "intricately worked orchestral colors and textures as unnecessary blandishment [that] border[ed] on the immoral," even referring once to Alexander Scriabin's music as "pretty poison."[122] Students received these moral musings in a variety of ways, with some absorbing them as musical guidance that sparked personal interests in affect theory or rhythmic energy;[123] others read them explicitly as ethical warnings against scientific hubris and the dehumanization of music.[124]

But for all his talk about humanistic connection and aesthetic integrity, Rochberg could also be famously insecure and, as his journals reveal, prone to rash outbursts when he felt dismissed or threatened by those he considered rivals. Every former student with whom I spoke cited the "ups and downs" of his moods or the crushing impact of his "withering criticism" to various degrees.[125] "He wanted affirmation," one former student explained, "but this was difficult when he kept getting on his high horse to announce a moral position about music; the discourses were often about rejecting all other alternatives because his was just about the only way forward."[126] Such staunch positions also soured his relationships with Crumb and Wernick, and sometimes Rochberg momentarily directed his professional anger at their shared graduate students.[127] Carl recalls one semester when he registered for composition lessons with Crumb to gain a "diversity of viewpoints" on his work: "I didn't realize this was a big mistake. When I showed [Rochberg] a new piece outside of normal channels, he really tore into it. And while it did

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have 'Feldmanesque' aspects, I couldn't help but feel much of his reaction was because he felt I'd rejected him."[128]

Regardless of their personal experiences with Rochberg, every student with whom I corresponded unequivocally cited him as a twentieth-century model for "artistic integrity and thoroughgoing musicianship" and described their studies with him as "deeply expansive and meaningful," if not an outright "privilege."[129] And yet, true to the moral education they had received, none of them were entirely sycophantic in their assessments of his ideas or works. In their dealings with Rochberg, they experienced impassioned disagreements over many central debates of the late twentieth century. Still, they continued to keep in touch with him well beyond their graduate years, seeking his guidance and confirmation but also holding him at arms'-length to develop their own individual voices. One letter from Carl, about an electronic piece Rochberg refused to comment on because of its "robotic" voice, clearly illustrates the tension: "Whether I agree with everything you say is immaterial. What is important to me is your unflinching honesty in your evaluation of things, your willingness to make commitments, and the sense that [the] values by which you both create and judge other creation comes from the highest motives."[130]

At age sixty-five, Rochberg retired from Penn as Emeritus Annenberg Professor of the Humanities, having earned a host of public accolades for his two decades of work while at the university: two Naumburg Recording Awards (Symphony no. 2 and String Quartet no. 3), a National Institute of Arts and Letters Recording Award (String Quartet no. 2, with the Philadelphia String Quartet and Janice Harasanyi), a second Guggenheim fellowship ("Passions According to the Twentieth Century"), two grants from the National Endowment for the Arts (*Imago Mundi, Ukiyo-E, Phaedra*), the Kennedy Center Friedheim Award (String Quartet no. 4), two Grammy nominations (String Quartet nos. 3 and 7, with the Concord String Quartet and Leslie Guinn), and three honorary doctorates.[131] The one obvious prestigious award that eluded him was the Pulitzer Prize for music, which, much to his chagrin, his colleagues Crumb and Wernick had received in 1968 and 1977, respectively.[132] "[He] should have won a Pulitzer," Bolcom has complained, contending that politics played a role in the committee's apparent oversight: "He was so reviled by all of the academic community, who thought he had sold out on them. . . . In his case, it did make him angry, because he certainly was deserving."[133] In 1986, when the committee did name him a finalist for his Symphony no. 5 (1985), he ultimately lost to George Perle's Wind Quintet IV, a near miss to an old nemesis that stung bitterly. But reviews of the Fifth Symphony were less than enthusiastic, which may have also influenced the committee's decision. Writing for the *Chicago Tribune*, John von Rhein described the premiere as "welcome but disappointing" because of the "drabness" of its invention and the way the "music limps and lurches from one short-breathed, unmemorable

idea to the next."[134] Daniel Webster of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* concurred, noting that the symphony's "central theme suggested growth that never materialized"; thus, Rochberg "did not make the music seem fully developed or its possibilities completely explored."[135]

Such snubs lingered in the decades that followed, with Rochberg growing increasingly frustrated with the late-century musical landscape as it unfolded around him: the ascendency of minimalism and pop-art, the continued prominence of serialism in the university curriculum, the lack of vigor in many contemporary compositions. As he admitted in one interview: "When I think of contemporary music, I'm not overly optimistic, for a lot of reasons. One is purely external: there is less and less contemporary music being programmed by performers outside the university circuit these days. . . . But something still more serious disturbs me: young composers don't seem to have any vitality of mind or psyche. Still, I don't want to make this a total indictment."[136] He hoped his nearly five decades of work might open up new possibilities for a generation who would come of age in the twenty-first century; in his mind, the collective range of his corpus demonstrated that "composers now possess an extraordinarily wide range of possible devices and means" and that "tonal and atonal music are forms of musical thinking that are not necessarily mutually exclusive but are, in fact, large-scale transformations of the same forces at work in both." On this basis, he predicted that American art music would "very likely see an increasing tendency toward an enlarged and newly stabilized tonality . . . with greater flexibility and range in melodic, harmonic and structural possibilities."[137] As he recorded in his journal, "I think we're in a new stage of making it come out right again after a full century of struggling and new uses of old syntaxes. And only the few who know it's there to be done [and who are] willing and able to work hard enough to try [will] bring this next stage to . . . fruition and mature realization. Who will that be?"[138]

After 1983, as he shared with Anhalt, his life was "far from retired."[139] In 1984 he published the first edition of *The Aesthetics of Survival*—a collection of provocative essays on aesthetics, culture, morality, and music—and sought opportunities to work with "serious young composers," a form of "teaching preferable at this time of my life to the teaching in classrooms I've done for so long."[140] To this end, he generously accepted academic residencies and invitations for speeches, despite the fact that the travel increasingly left him physically exhausted for several days afterward. His lessons and lectures often reiterated the central tenets of his writings, which remained for him an immutable moral truth. "Music is the only art I know which directly binds together the individual and society and in the process produces an experience which brings self-fulfillment and self-realization to [both] those who make it [and] those who receive it," he professed at one commencement speech, imploring

the undergraduates before him to aspire to "something larger and greater than your individual selves" by "putting your ego—its energies; its desires; its ambitions—at the service of music." Such efforts were "hard, unrelenting work," he averred, but "there is no other way to educate your heart and your spirit, your mind and your emotions, *as a human being*."[141]

But by the end of the century, Rochberg had grown increasingly skeptical about the upcoming generation. In 1997 he traveled to the Longy School of Music for one of his final public appearances, during which he received the conservatory's Distinguished Achievement Award and gave the commencement address. The visit also included a concert of Rochberg's works for keyboard by the faculty pianist Sally Pinkas, who had premiered his *Circles of Fire* with Evan Hirsch earlier that year. The speech was derived from his 1986 essay "Fiddlers and Fribbles," in which he gave a condensed lesson on metaphysics. In the conclusion, he attacked solipsism and implored the students to resist the "glitz and glamour" of entertainment and the "gray, soulless mundane of the business of life-form" to make art that is "real [and] survives us [so] we leave something good behind."[142] The graduates' blank reaction left him feeling depressed and defeated, with one of the faculty members confirming that only a few had understood the urgency of his message. The experience seemed to confirm his worst nightmares: "The barbarians are not at the gates. . . . They are us, in our own castles."[143]

One final ray of light presented itself at the International Center for American Music at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where he spent one week as composer-in-residence in 1995.[144] The program took place over three weeks, with John Corigliano and John Harbison hosting the first two weeks, and it was organized around a daily lecture session.[145] In addition, each student received two group lessons—with two to three students assembled—every week, ensuring some level of individual feedback. Rochberg had nothing but praise for the students he encountered in Madison. "The fourteen young men were bright and talented," he recorded in his journal. "An amazing group of youngsters [in their] early and middle 20s."[146] Unlike the other composers, Rochberg had not written a composition since the Sonata-Aria for cello (1992), and his Clarinet Concerto (1995) was still in progress. While he did share some of his earlier work, including *Music for the Magic Theater*, he ultimately opted for a more historical approach to his plenary sessions: he lectured about Beethoven op. 130 for the entire week.[147] The choice was anything but arbitrary, for Rochberg had long equated Beethoven's works with a deep sense of moral and aesthetic conviction.[148]

It was a moment that "changed everything" for Greg Wilder, a composer and computer programmer who admits that he had been eager to learn from Corigliano and Harbison but had not given Rochberg, who "seemed a generation too far away," much thought:[149]

> While the other composers [sat] down and played their own music . . . George play[ed] Beethoven's op. 130. . . . Then he turns to the group and he says, "What's the form of this piece?" Which is really an impossible question! And we discussed the form for probably forty-five minutes. . . . His point was to tell us, "Look, you've got to put away the things that you've been learning in school. . . . If you are serious about getting to the bottom of the questions and challenges you [will] have to face, [then] you need to find your own answer to questions like this, to figure out what it means to you, individually as a composer."[150]

Jeremy Gill, who also attended the conference, recalls how the shift in orientation opened up a discursive space that invited conversation: "I was just discovering the late quartets for myself. . . . He made me feel like my opinion mattered and, more importantly, that the way one thought about this work mattered . . . that it was worth discussing [in 1995] because we might learn something new about a masterwork."[151]

Gill's final comment reflects Rochberg's long-standing belief that the past should be part of a living tradition and that its best examples—in this case, Beethoven—could reveal a set of universal concerns common to humanistic endeavors in composition. In the essay "Polarity in Music," written the same year as the conference, he argued that "from its inception, Western music has been a great communal effort on the part of an unbroken chain of generations of composers, a still ongoing human project whose end must remain opaque to us."[152] With a broader range of musical techniques available to the composer, younger composers required not only a technical education but a moral one; they had to be taught how to "exercise taste, judgment, and serious criteria in working toward new vocabularies, [as] great care [was] needed in using the potentialities of such a double-tracked *ars combinatoria*."[153] Rochberg's presentation of the Beethoven might be read in this vein, not merely as an analytical exercise but as encouraging the students to align the "true norths" of their musical-moral compasses with his own.[154] In their daily discussions of the Sonata op. 130, he intentionally stressed those aspects of the work that correlated with aesthetic positions he had championed over his fifty-year career: "the role of memory and identity, the mastery of influence, the importance of repeatability, the relationship of clock time and perceptual time, and the importance of writing music for performers."[155] As Jon Forshee remarked, "Underneath the intellection and discourse was a constant musician's concern: write music that is playable. I remember him saying that [we] needed to give the musician 'something to *play*.' This injunction has become a guideline for me in my work ever since."[156] Rochberg offered that if the students tackled these problems in their own individualized language, they would then become members of a formidable and lasting genealogy—bringing music "to the highest levels of maturation."[157]

As several participants reported, his approach was spell-binding, if not socratically seductive; he appealed to them as fellow composers rather than neophytes and told them that "the twenty-first century was theirs, provided they worked very hard to make it theirs, that through them things will begin to return to a better level of the human condition."[158] Rochberg's concluding statement resonated deeply with Gill, who felt compelled to respond publicly to the charge:

> I wound up making a statement to the effect that we, as composers, had a responsibility to our listeners and to the musicians we composed for when we wrote music—that what we said and how we said it had consequences, and that we had to be careful that we were always honoring our tradition and aspiring to the highest potentials of our craft. Rochberg reminded me of that speech [later in life]. "People get uncomfortable when they encounter serious truths," he said.[159]

Of the fourteen participants, three wrote to Rochberg afterward to inquire about private lessons. "I am disgusted with the politics of many schools," shared Gill in his initial appeal, "and I want, above all things, to be a composer of music which speaks to humankind. I wish to be thoughtful, responsible, and completely committed to the music which I write."[160]

Rochberg accepted the students into his life, often intimately so, and their visits with him over the next ten years became a beautiful entanglement of life and work. Tutorials would begin with a "light chat" about the state of affairs in the world—often with Gene serving tea and joining them for the conversation—and would then move into Rochberg's study, where everyone would pull out scores and engage in critiques that Wilder described as "intense, but always very fair."[161] At times, the feedback was "general and kind of meta," and at other times it swung to the "hyper-specific," with Rochberg seizing upon the smallest details in an expansive work. As Wilder related:

> I remember Jeremy Gill [once] brought in a cello concerto. . . . George thumbed through the score for a long time in silence, which was a little nerve-wracking. And he got to the cadenza—not a main idea at all—and he circled a couple [of] measures with his fingers and said, "This. This was a good idea. And you missed it. This is what this piece should have been about." What a tough thing to hear. It's a wonderful and tough thing to hear someone say something that critical.[162]

Gill had a different memory of the critique, recalling not the technical evaluation but the moral instruction attached to it:

> The piece began cacophonously, and I told George that I imagined the relationship between the soloist and orchestra as pursued and pursuer, victim

> and oppressor. George said that art shouldn't imitate life in this way, that there was enough pain and victimization in the real world, and that art deserved other considerations. I had never had a teacher question the fundamental concept of a work of mine. . . . George was rejecting my premise but simultaneously holding me to a higher standard, to what I had said in Madison. It was crushing on one level (he was essentially dismissing my most ambitious work to date) but invigorating on another. He was pointing me in a truer direction.[163]

Rochberg himself commented that his lessons were intended more as moral training than as formal instruction. "In the realm of [their] art and mental work," he wrote, "[I explained that] there is no 'ought,' no 'should,' no 'right,' no 'wrong.' . . . Only love opens the windows of the imagination and lets the juices flow according to the nature and experience of the imaginer. As far as I can tell there are no known limits."[164] The integrity of his message was not lost on his students. "Privately, he emphasized composing the music that mattered most to *me*, regardless of style or popularity," Forshee recalled fondly. "His personal advice and feedback have all become a part of my musical world and creative thinking. Most of all, his dedication, as I perceived it, to musical individualism and freedom has remained a motivation, and a check, in my own musical life."[165]

At the time of his death in 2005, Rochberg left several projects incomplete, including a massive theoretical study on chromaticism that was later edited by Gill and published as *A Dance of Polar Opposites*. The book is in many ways reflective of technical analyses Rochberg first developed for his composition seminars, including concepts such as the "harmonic envelope" and "tonal field" that directly influenced his students' thinking beyond their years at Penn.[166] But it also illustrates his deep belief that an aesthetic education must necessarily also address moral dimensions. In the published afterword, Rochberg returned to the issue that had consumed him throughout his lifetime: how to evaluate the moral dimension of those polar opposites he had identified in Western art music and whether an opportunity might exist for their reconciliation. As he noted, theoretical analyses often lost sight of the fact that music is "as real as the human beings who make it" and therefore "as crucial and serious as any other reality within the broad range of human experience": "It [is] a direct expression, an uncompromised projection of the states of the human heart and soul. . . . There has to be . . . an appropriateness of fit between the musical language at [a composer's] disposal and how he uses it. But the means, the language used, does not determine the spiritual outcome. It is the essence of the composer that leaves its imprint."[167] He still worried periodically about the consequences of modernism, but as he neared the twenty-first century he became increasingly concerned for those who might be seduced by electroacoustic music, a genre he had begun to call "aesthetic engineering" to call

attention to its ethical concerns: "We must rid [ourselves] of the confusion of calling [it] music when it is absolutely the reverse, the very opposite of music. Music issues from inside; technology deals with the surface of externals. Music projects the natural fire and heat of the human heart and soul. Technology is cold, outside, at best titillates and makes interesting or fascinating 'sounds,' but never enters the inside."[168]

But as any educator will attest, one can never anticipate what impact his or her teachings or writings may have on the next generation. In the case of Wilder, the education he received led directly to his work in the genre Rochberg considered the polar opposite of music: computational creativity and the use of artificial intelligence to compose music. The topic was a perennial source of disagreement between the two:

> George was a non-believer. He clearly saw music as a "religious" experience. But I would say that . . . the stories and myths that humans used to look to in order to understand the world have been largely replaced, in the western world, by scientific observation. If a person wants to believe that magic is the only option to understanding why the stars show up every night, that's their prerogative. But I feel very similarly about the role of artificial intelligence and computers in aesthetic matters. I have a lot of faith in it.[169]

Wilder took Rochberg's pedagogical instruction seriously—the ability to distill a musical motive and discover its identity, the need to master past influences to define your own voice, the desire to create an intimate and powerful bond between music and listener—and adapted them to the context of machine listening and learning, ostensibly teaching Rochberg's humanistic lessons to a suite of artificial intelligence programs. His goal is a sophisticated transformation of computer-influenced music—what he calls the Isomer Project—into software capable of learning by looking agnostically at what we, as humans, create and call music.[170]

And yet, Wilder is not advocating for the end of humanistic music; what he envisions is a "productive partnership" in which the computer "takes on the role of managing compositional systems and patterns—the tedious tasks—so that I can focus on the aesthetic sculpting that I like to do. [In the end], I am the composer, so I get the privilege of selecting [from what Isomer identifies] what I think is best or novel, what's worth hearing and what's worth keeping." Wilder's description of the software's potential also recalls language from Rochberg's belief in a mystical cosmic fabric that binds all of humanity together: "Isomer has the power to validate and uncover potential universal connections in musical language in ways that people can hear and feel and connect with. . . . If the result is something that we generally value as music, I'm not so sure that the source of that music, in terms of its creator or composer, is so relevant or important."[171]

Wilder views his work as a potential path for the twenty-first century born of Rochberg's philosophies, a post-dialectical solution in which humanism and science function not as adversaries locked in moral conflict but as creative companions that, by working in concert with one another, might attain a unity of purpose that improves aesthetic pleasure and recaptures the ancient connection between music and life. The result would be what Rochberg once described as a "grand, morphological pas de deux"—a dance of polar opposites in which seemingly antithetical "qualities are brought into purposeful conflict, expressive friction and tension" through the compositional process. Such a merger, as he once acknowledged, would be morally preferable to the domination of one side over the other, for "where one or the other of contraries wins out, no unity of [polar] opposites is possible. Though the war has ceased, it cannot be said that peace has been established—unless we mean the false peace of tyranny and oppression."[172]

And yet, I cannot help but hear Rochberg's skeptical professorial voice challenging Wilder, and us, from somewhere beyond. With the stale smell of tobacco filling the room, perhaps we might imagine him placing a copy of Rilke's *Letters to a Young Poet* in Wilder's hands so they might comb through its pages searching for Rochberg's favorite passage: "Cherish the questions. Live everything. Live the questions. Live right into the answer."[173] In response to Wilder's answers, might Rochberg "tilt his head back listening or thinking, and then laugh" as he prepared to give his own critical response?[174] Or would he lean forward, hazel eyes rapt with intense concentration, and pose a final series of serious questions in his deep, rich, and expressive baritone voice?

> Rochberg: The artistic problem, as I see it, lies not only in the reality of accepting the confrontation between two opposing impulses and tendencies, but also in the reality of asking oneself whether these opposites can be or even should be resolved![175]

> Wilder: George, I remember an afternoon with you on the back porch when you suddenly wondered aloud, 'If aliens exist, what sort of music might they create?' Such an incredible thought! Is that a question worth asking? Absolutely! So why, then, should the source of artistic expression be limited only to human experience? Has anyone proven that art must be a function of biology? If not, then exploring other sources is worthwhile, although admittedly, it's a task that must be handled with great care.[176]

> Rochberg: Art wants neither to prove anything nor to manipulate anything. Art wants to project an endless stream of individual, subjective experience by expressing that infinite, ever-changing variety of experience purely in qualitative terms. Art is not interested in proof or demonstration.[177] [So, what are you trying to do—prove something or make art?]

WILDER: The goal of Isomer is to *create* works of artistic value, full stop. Artificial Intelligence is developing at an unprecedented rate—evolution at a pace and scale the earth has never witnessed. My goal for AI as a source of artistic expression is not simply for it to produce novel sounds, but ultimately, for the machine to *feel* unsatisfied with the current state of things. Once that happens, the *desire* to change, comment on, or extend what has come before will *drive* machines to create. And isn't that the true source of artistic creation?[178]

Afterword

On Trauma, Moral Injuries, and Aesthetic Recoveries

> The act of composing is existential. It arises out of the pain of existence in order to make the awareness of the pain mean something—to transform its negative into a positive.
>
> —George Rochberg (1961)

As moments in this book reveal, Rochberg had always understood music as a "direct expression and uncompromised projection of the states of the human heart and soul."[1] He believed deeply in the personal *Innerlichkeit* of art, a romantic notion that "compositions were fragments of autobiography" that revealed the causal relationship between the "outer world of human actions and behavior and the inner world of mental-spiritual states."[2] It therefore comes as no surprise that his personal journals, in which he wrote regularly between 1948 and 2005, record strikingly candid reflections about how his lived experiences—whether consciously or subconsciously, positively or negatively—fed the spiritual content of his music. As he remarked in one entry from 1996, at age seventy-eight: "Dreaming is a little like writing music. You can't dream what you want to when you want. I keep thinking I'm on the road to the Falaise Gap, and I've walked it in memory. Stretches of it come back to me. It remains an unknown and is wrapped in pain and fear, inside and outside, all around. It has grown into a major, giant symbol within my life."[3]

In his journals, Rochberg detailed decades of residual trauma linked to his experiences during World War II.[4] He describes a host of symptoms that correlate with the four diagnostic clusters recognized as clinical indicators of post-traumatic stress disorder, or PTSD: *re-experiencing, avoidance, negative cognitions and mood*, and *hyper-arousal*.[5] Among those he directly linked to his war experience were nightmares, flashbacks, a persistent sense of fatalism, debilitating

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bouts of depression, feelings of social isolation, and episodes of insomnia. Although PTSD is a fairly recent psychological designation—the American Psychiatric Association first established its diagnostic criteria in 1980—war-related emotional trauma was already acknowledged in the colloquial military speak of the times: *shell shock*, *effort syndrome*, *combat exhaustion*, *battle fatigue*. As the army's chief neurologist Frederick Hanson belatedly determined, "Even the most normal of soldiers may be brought to neurotic decompensation by war," and the emotional stress they suffered appeared "almost directly proportional to the time spent in combat."[6] Based on studies of casualties at Monte Cassino and Anzio, army psychiatrist John Appel similarly concluded that any soldier who experienced "214 aggregate days of combat duty" could be expected to break down psychologically, "if they had not [already] been wounded, killed, or lost to physical sickness."[7] Rochberg served approximately 250 days in active combat situations and sustained two life-threatening injuries, statistics that suggest he would likely have been at heightened risk for developing PTSD.[8]

Rochberg's papers also contain traces of traumatic writing linked to a more recently recognized condition that has proven difficult to conceptualize and treat: *moral injury*. As psychiatrist Grace W. Yang explains, moral injury is "characterized as damage done to an individual's core morality or moral worldview as a result of a stressful or traumatic life event" and is "equally applicable to all [veterans] regardless of deistic beliefs or religious identity."[9] Philosopher Nancy Sherman describes how moral injury manifests as "experiences of serious inner conflict arising from what one takes to be grievous moral transgressions that can overwhelm one's sense of goodness and humanity." Such a sense of transgression can arise from "bearing witness to the intense human suffering and detritus that is a part of the grotesquerie of war and its aftermath" to a more "generalized sense of falling short of moral and normative standards befitting good persons."[10] Such infractions therefore propagate internal existential conflict, as damage to moral sensibilities may upend "basic fundamental assumptions" such as "the world is benevolent, the world is meaningful, and the self is worth[y]."[11] For if the veteran believes "behavior is an extension of the self" that reflects moral character and ethical orientation, war can provoke doubts about one's moral constitution (self-loathing), the validity of one's existence (suicidal ideation), and the preexisting schemas they hold about the society (alienation/pessimism).[12] The result is a loss of trust—in oneself, in others, and in the world itself.[13]

Rochberg identified these "invisible wounds" not only in his own emotional life but also in the political, social, and cultural worlds that surrounded him. As the previous chapters have detailed, he was concerned that the experience of violence would negatively impact his creativity, despite the fact that he viewed the war as morally justified. When memories of combat disrupted his creative work, he feared the cessations reflected his own dehumanization. More

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broadly, he worried that the moral injury of the war was more widespread than any individual suffering, as he explained to Gene in a text written after his second injury at the front: "We are living in an age of war which is psychologically a sign that the human race is unbalanced. . . . It is the artist's function to combat this spirit with aesthetic proof that the spirit of man still exists even [when] engaged in the lowest exercise of his nature—killing."[14]

Here, Rochberg repeats his earliest suggestion that music might contribute to an aesthetic recovery that could heal moral injuries brought about by World War II. Such a recommendation makes sense, given the deeply humanistic value Rochberg assigned to music in particular. His language of aesthetic recovery, continually developed over the decades, suggests his sincere belief that music held the noble potential to restore the commonwealth of humanity.[15] As he explained to his students at Penn, to study composition was to participate in a moral education; to create music was to contribute to ethical work. Such narratives were perhaps necessary to his own self-recovery, for as Sherman notes, productive therapies for moral injury require "both *feeling* engaged and *believing* one's activities are worthwhile and worthy of one's esteem."[16] The path to existential renewal emerges from a therapeutic process in which veterans seek to "reconcile their moral injury with their larger worldview."[17] Veterans traditionally see the greatest measure of success when moral injuries can be meaningfully integrated into a coherent narrative with broader moral significance that enhances one's sense of self-worth. Conversely, if individuals are "unable to assimilate or accommodate the event within existing self- and relational-schemas," the etiological chain remains broken—a fracture of meaning that impairs moral restoration.[18]

Rochberg's earliest efforts at aesthetic recovery corresponded with his serial period, in which he sought to reflect the spiritual dissonance of war through musical dissonance. Serialism became for him almost like a talking cure: "I was seriously wounded . . . [and] I had to find ways to deal with all this after I returned from the war. Indeed, the cutting, dark dissonances of atonality, I responded to its harshnesses [*sic*], its opacities, its emotional uncertainties and aural confusions. . . . I responded to the experience of being in an uncertain world which, paradoxically, refused to see itself . . . for the dark place of terror it really was."[19] Ultimately, Rochberg grew wary of re-creating the war's disorienting tenor through serialism, worrying that he was perpetuating dehumanization aesthetically. This realization came to him around 1958, a period that corresponds with the premiere of his Symphony no. 1 (1948–49, rev. 1953–55). As Rochberg describes, he had intended the fiery work as an "undeniably affirmative" rejection of the war.[20] After the performance, however, Irma Rademacher—the Romanian-born pianist and former wife of Stefan Wolpe—shared her reaction to the work as having experienced a "radiant violence."[21] The comment was meant encouragingly, but the reference to glorified violence

unsettled Rochberg. As he shared in an interview with Guy Freedman, "The freedom I had felt in 1952 turned into a trap by 1963. I saw serialism as a means of projecting only the strange, peripheral areas of human feeling while the old music now seemed to cover the central core of it."[22] Serialism soon came to represent the "helplessness of the artist in the face of the brutal reality of enormous events [as well as] his or her sense of art's ineffectiveness in altering their nature."[23] Rather than bringing hope, it engendered self-doubt.

Over time, he came to believe that modernist aesthetics could never engineer an aesthetic recovery from the war because it had also enabled an aggressive reinstatement of the "sociological-political disintegration in Europe" and was therefore an active agent of "European *meschuggekeit*," a Yiddish word meaning a state of madness.[24] Modernists such as Schoenberg now appeared to him as morally injured artists who had suffered a "sickness of the soul [that was] not the eccentricity of a single individual, but the sickness of the times themselves, the neurosis of that generation to which [he] belongs." They had, in his mind, journeyed through "the chaos of a world whose souls dwell in darkness . . . and suffer[ed] torture to the full."[25] The situation required him to speak out against what he saw as cultural injustices, which meant exposing modernist aesthetics as dangerous extensions of "external history."[26] His mindset at this time, as he would describe retrospectively, was that of "an individual sufferer who tried to make his way through the hail of bullets and . . . mortar shells. I [saw] all of it as war: symbolic and actual."[27]

In one unpublished essay, he wrote that aesthetic recovery depended entirely on one's "capacity to develop a deep personal set of values which will act as a bulwark against a world gone berserk . . . a world where values no longer are honored, where the demagogue sets the tone and people gladly acquiesce."[28] Unwilling to be a passive bystander, he used his writings as a forum by which to diagnose the etiological root of the postwar problem, concluding as early as 1959 that "the divorce of the poet from his poetry is a spiritual and moral defection in favor of order, objectivity, [and] technical certainty."[29] A decade later, he would speak in bolder post-Holocaust terms of the need for an "aesthetics of survival," by which he meant the reestablishment of a spiritual bond between humanity and its art. His greatest fear was that the "unchecked hubris of modern science" had caused the "alienation of man" from his spiritual environment and thereby permanently weakened his moral composure and aesthetic resistance. The result was not, he argued, merely an abstract confrontation between "good and evil" but rather a "moral catastrophe."[30]

Aesthetic recovery therefore had to resist representing the moral decline of twentieth-century culture, "a world of evil, smugness, and lust for power; rampant with materialism and commercialism; and completely unaware of the danger of its predicament." He boldly called on composers to restore "beauty and a power of expression which has purposefulness and balance" and to

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provide society with "an example of moral courage, intellectual integrity, and emotional balance and maturity."[31] To that final point, Rochberg championed the Western canonical repertory—pieces he believed held lasting cultural value—and integrated them into his own contemporary voice.[32] The dialogical goal was "less to debate theories of history than simply to recapture a lost expressive range" and reassert "the value and necessity of a sense of historical continuity [and] a feeling for the continuum of human life and culture."[33] Musical integration became the hallmark of his therapeutic postmodern style, whether through collage technique or the revival of neo-Romantic structures and sounds. The host of modernist composers threaded together through the Mozartean concept of "*il filo*" in the *Contra* or the obvious references to Beethoven in the Third String Quartet reflected a new "psychology and philosophy of composition" that Rochberg considered indicative of a synthetically holistic approach to postwar composition.[34]

In 1972 he published "Reflections on the Renewal of Music," which explicitly described *ars combinatoria* in terms related to psychology and aesthetic recovery. Therein, he clarified that his return to the tonal repertory was not meant to invalidate twentieth-century gestures but rather to advocate for an integrative and healing approach to composition: "Translated into practice, this would mean the use of every device and every technique appropriate to its specific gestural repertory in combination with every other device and technique, until theoretically all that we are and all that we know is bodied forth in the richest, most diverse music ever known to man: *ars combinatoria*."[35] To restrict one's language intentionally—whether through pre-compositional measures or in deference to prevailing trends—was in his mind tantamount to an amoral act, a "tortur[ing of] music" that ultimately rendered it crippled and inarticulate, no longer able to dance or sing. "To sing," he concluded, "is to project the subtle inflections of the human psyche; to dance is to project the subtle inflections of the human body and its musculature. The renewal of music lies in . . . reasserting both, simply and directly."[36] Four years later he explicitly contended that "we are [all] part of a moral order . . . and it seems that the job of all human beings, whether they perform acts of science or art, is somehow to find their relationship to the moral order."[37]

And yet, there are inherent dangers in the association of classical music (or any musical genre) with a fixed moral position. As Richard Taruskin has argued, "The discourse supporting classical music so reeks of historical blindness and sanctimonious self-regard as to render the object of its ministrations practically indefensible. . . . Those who mount such arguments on its behalf morally indict themselves. Which is not to say that classical music, or any music, is morally reprehensible. Only people, not music, can be that."[38] Such a statement challenged me to consider the potential ideological consequences of Rochberg's specific vision for *ars combinatoria*. But I will openly admit that

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such a scholarly charge was not easy, for a very human reason: I had peered so intimately into Rochberg's life, and despite his failings I had come to have empathy for him. At lunch every day, I would return home from the archives and share with my husband one of my "Rochbergisms"—a prescient quote or a telling comment about art that had taught me something about being human. I bore witness to the depths of his suffering, such as his gut-wrenching words written the day his son died. I laughed aloud at the humble advice given after a visit to the emergency room to have a broken arm set: "Always sit down when you are putting on your pants!" I followed him through what could have been a graduate course in poetry—from Rilke and Blake in his youth to Wordsworth and Yeats in his final years. I came to realize how acutely the decline of the body impacts one's outlook on existence. "I am learning so much about living through this project," I whispered to my husband one night, as our children slept heavy with innocence in the room nearby.

I also came to realize that Rochberg's personal traumas had made him prone to paranoid readings of the world around him; in the music around him, he continually sensed signs of degradation, apocalypse, and moral decline. He therefore used his formidable skills as a writer to compose essays intended simultaneously as a wake-up call to the alert reader, an accusation against his cultural aggressors, and a defense of his own creative path. The intimidating and sagacious voice he crafted for himself—anticipatory, reflexive, conversant in corroborating interdisciplinary theories, attuned to a history of negative affects, and intent on exposing the moral sins of postwar serialism—reflected nearly all the categories of "paranoid readings" identified by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. Through his writings and teaching, he sought what witnesses and prophets desire: "to offer unique access to true knowledge."[39]

William Cheng's concept of reparative scholarship—a process that "involves holding accountable those who voice prejudice, sow injury, and do wrong" while also insisting on "an active search for positivity and potential"—provided a helpful model for dealing with Rochberg's own humanistic contradictions.[40] For while Rochberg nobly grounded his philosophy of *ars combinatoria* in the concept of an inclusive and embracing love for memorable music, the specific manner in which he believed it should be practiced at times produced a tone of exclusivity and forceful derision. Marcia Citron observes this same methodology in her analysis of other canonical defenders, in which she demonstrates how dominant repertories maintain a grip on their hegemony by strategically excluding and silencing alternative (or threatening) voices, often through the use of rhetorical practices that seek to persuade or intimidate the non-believer while advancing the agency and interests of the writer.[41]

Among the targets of Rochberg's criticism were perceived threats to what one former student described to me as "the *fons et origo* of his entire aesthetic universe": the canonical literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries.[42] In a nervous and unpublished essay, "Is the Repertoire Coming to an End?" (1990), he advocated for the continued importance of these works to Western culture, averring that the supposed values they espoused were directly related to humanistic concerns close to his heart: the "virtue of memory and belief in [a moral] future."[43] He decisively contended that there were universal, absolute values in music and suggested that deviations from canonical practice reflected an overall cultural sickness or the opportunism of identity politics. "There is a standard or there is not a standard," he shared in one controversial interview aimed at music educators. "You cannot redefine the world to satisfy narrow [ideological] perceptions. The truth is never lined up with these narrow perceptions. . . . The color of the sky is not going to change because we want it to. It's blue."[44]

Rochberg's firm convictions stemmed from a deep metaphysical belief in human activity as a reflection of the mystical fabric of a universal cosmos, but they also reflected the powerful influence of nineteenth-century German ideology on his postwar humanistic writing. This coupling should not come as a surprise, given Taruskin's astute observation that "belief in the transcendent human value of creative labor has always invested German romantic aesthetics with the trappings of a secular or humanistic religion. In the twentieth century, such a theory of art could be seen as a bulwark against totalitarianism."[45] Mark Evan Bonds notes that the supposed blankness of nineteenth-century idealism appealed to postwar composers like Rochberg, who "actively promoted . . . music that favored material autonomy, which was the surest guarantor of ethical autonomy."[46] As Daniel Chua elaborates: "The new morality that absolute music was elected to represent was . . . an internal, organic impulse that formed an *Empfindungssprache* of moral gestures. . . . Thus the aesthetic could make an art out of morality by aestheticizing the soul as a kind of innate, natural religion consecrated by the body. And music . . . was given power over the moral nature as a living form within."[47] Rochberg makes similar claims for his music, despite its combinatorial worldliness: that it was a return to universal musical truths that could aesthetically guide the listener to noble feelings and acts, a course reversal from the anti-humanism of the fascist age.

Such neo-Romantic suggestions set off warning bells for some, as seen in a letter from Taruskin to Rochberg, who had contacted the musicologist for his opinion of Rochberg's hefty "Chromaticism" manuscript. Taruskin expresses his discomfort with Rochberg's persistent implication that analysis reveals universal musical truths rather than individual composition practices. He warns that nearly all fallacies about the meaning of music arise when one regards music as an absolute thing rather than an activity conducted by individuals, who alone have morals, motivations, and desires.[48] In response to this criticism, Rochberg claimed that *ars combinatoria* proved the existence of a "universal mind" in that the ties among "Beethoven, Mahler, and an atonal outburst"

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were *things* "already there, made before [he] even conceived of a piece."[49] But Rochberg's "simultaneous embrace and repudiation of history" through *ars combinatoria* also complicated his claims of aesthetic universalism. His explicit material use of the past—whether cast as eternalist, evolutionary, neo-conservative, neo-Romantic, neo-tonal, nostalgic, radical, reactionary, regressive, or any of the other labels that have been affixed to his music—was always, as Taruskin avers, an ideological *act*.[50]

We might find ourselves inclined to read Rochberg's claims of universalism benignly, a harmless or even endearing testament to his sincere concern for his art and its profound spiritual meaning in his life. But as the century progressed, Rochberg regularly imagined figures such as Beethoven and Mozart as mortally threatened by contemporary neoliberal forces in academic culture; they were canonical "victims of the twentieth century" whose reputations had been injured by ideological agendas in the postmodern American academy.[51] As he argued, "When the moral values of music . . . are tethered to ideologies such as socialist realism, political correctness, multiculturalism, and all such ideologies that attempt to exert control over those who make art or think about it, we may expect things to go wrong—and seriously so."[52] Unable to see (or admit to) the ideological underpinnings of his own moralizations and having grown less worried about the tyranny of modernism, he began to target new trends in academia that he felt posed serious threats to art at the turn of the twenty-first century.

In the mid-1990s, he pointedly bemoaned the advent of feminist musicology, describing Susan McClary and others as "pathetic creatures [who] are polluting the air with their weird notions about what music is and what composers do."[53] This comment was in response to a two-day symposium on women's music at which McClary had given the keynote lecture. McClary began by identifying Rochberg's beloved genre of nineteenth-century symphonic music as "a thinly disguised representation of male aggression," concerned more with form and structure than with social context and meaning.[54] Having identified a paradigm shift within the discipline, McClary advocated that recognition of how music "operates as an integral part of the social world" invited an expanded field of inquiry. "We need only ask: 'Does gender enter into this picture?' and the evidence starts pouring in," she wrote in a related article. "Only our determination not to notice has blinded us to these ubiquitous features of musical practice."[55] In closing, she called for scholars to "leave the antagonisms behind" and instead "concentrate on a broader, more inclusive vision of what music could be if we all participated"—a vision that would include women's works, given that "the standard repertory is not entirely based on merit, but was equally the product of advocacy."[56]

The conceit drew seething ire from Rochberg, who had long associated the feminist movement and its "politicization of women artists" with what he

perceived as an overall decline in artistic quality since the 1970s. In one published interview, he discussed the problem openly:

> I have a friend in Princeton [who said], "I have to give a lecture on some translations I've recently made . . . of poetry by French women poets. . . . But I have a real problem. . . . It's bad poetry." Now, if she were me or I were she, I would have refused to give such a lecture. I would simply have said, "This is bad work, I can't talk about bad work." I don't care who does it—chimpanzees, women, male heterosexuals, homosexuals, starlings, robins—I don't care.[57]

Rochberg's instructional subtext around identity politics here was twofold: (1) feminist ideology is responsible for the elevation of substandard art (e.g., women's poetry), and (2) the female scholar in this situation lacked the moral character of the male academic (Rochberg) to stand up for her own ideals. She appears as a passive and compromised figure, acquiescing politely to the request before her rather than actively resisting in the name of personal integrity.

Rochberg also had a tendency to employ a long history of rhetorical terms associated with feminine frigidity and hysteria to disparage aesthetic styles he found morally offensive or compromised.[58] In "Humanism versus Science," the downfall of a pre-Holocaust culture is precipitated by the rise of music that is either "precisely logical and cold—mere patterns of sound relationship and configuration," or "unrestrained in a hysterical, chaotic way."[59] In the following years, he would emasculate the work of Richard Strauss as "hysterical heroicism" and emphatically state that "no genuinely *good* and *real* music can be produced by *coldness*."[60] Similar narratives also emerged in less formal academic settings, including a dinner party he hosted for graduate students in 1975. When it became clear that the only woman enrolled in the composition program was not in attendance, Rochberg took the opportunity to explain to the young men gathered that women were "unsuitable" as composers because "men are active by nature, and women passive," a point he evidenced by referencing the latter's supposedly subordinate role in the missionary position.[61]

Sexualized aesthetic metaphors also extended to caricatures of queer figures, whom Rochberg accused of having fostered crass tendencies in contemporary music. The association of homosexuality with "bad music" was not a new connotation, as Jason Lee Oakes explains: "Bad music is sometimes referred to as gay . . . [and] the implicit linking of gayness with inauthenticity serves to stabilize heterosexual identity as normative, and homosexuality as unnatural."[62] But for Rochberg, the consequences of queer culture—or what he also referred to as "absurdist" or "adolescent" art in his writings—extended well beyond charges of inauthenticity. "It's the child-like banging on pots and pans kind-of-sound I object to," he wrote as early as 1962, predicting that such antics

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would ultimately lead to severe artistic degeneracy:[63] "The *consequences* of such behavior and [the] attitudes behind it is [*sic*] the ultimate disintegration of society through lack of any kind of seriousness, critical thinking and judgment, the moral morass already well-advanced, the corruption already corroding the bloodstream, the complete inability to recognize any form of *reality*, thus the side-stepping of genuine self-understanding."[64] In a related passage, he specifically opined that gay artists such as John Cage and Merce Cunningham lacked the vigor and maturity necessary to create serious works of art and therefore represented a threat to the development of Western culture.

In the 1980s, his distrust of homosexuals became directly associated with a personal failure: the unsuccessful premiere of his first opera, *The Confidence Man* (1982), at the Santa Fe Opera. The work was a first collaboration between Rochberg and Gene, who wrote the libretto based on Herman Melville's novel, and together they chose Richard Pearlman as the artistic director of the production based on what they described as an "excellent rapport" and sense of "trust and support."[65] After a series of initial collaborative discussions, the couple finally arrived in what Rochberg would later characterize pejoratively as "Santa Fagele."[66] He and Gene felt deliberately excluded from all artistic conversations among the production's gay creative directors, including Pearlman and the conductor William Harwood. Harwood, in Rochberg's mind, was unable to control the dynamic of the orchestra and had therefore "emasculated the score" by giving it a "lackluster, even at times unconvincing character" that lacked "electricity, vitality, spirit, and size."[67] But he saved his greatest ire for Pearlman, who had deviated from Gene's explicit instructions in earlier meetings and conceptualized a multi-tiered, funnel-shaped stage conception that Rochberg believed had compromised the flow of the work.[68] He considered asking John Crosby, the founder of the Santa Fe Opera, to intervene but ultimately decided against it for conspiratorial reasons: "He is the 'Grand Duchesse' of the whole place. . . . We tried on two separate occasions to make an appointment to see him . . . but 'her majesty' was too busy to see us. . . . Christ, what unbelievable *creatures* (not people) they are."[69]

Six years later, these resentments found their way into Rochberg's polemical essay "News of the Culture" (1988), in which he explicitly identified bad art as a "self-induced and self-incubated" form of "cultural AIDS," a charge that carried decidedly homophobic undertones at that time: "To my way of thinking, it's the onslaught of cultural AIDS, born out of self-indulgence and lack of morality. . . . We live in gutless, passionless times, we've lost all immunity to the production of Bad Art."[70] In the following decade, he seized on new cultural studies by Robert Coles that argued that the United States had entered a "second adolescence, [with its] proverbial fascination with newness . . . warped into a willful juvenility."[71] It became a persistent theme throughout his journal, culminating in several entries about Cage, whom he had first targeted

in his criticism in 1959. "Homosexuality and childishness and adolescence are all part of the same essential compound," he wrote. "Children also love the sensational, the lurid . . . the outlandish, the outrageous. So do homos. It is not a minor aspect of the story of Cage that he too was a homosexual. . . . Children [can be] sadistic. There's much to fear in that direction. Sadistic and dangerous."[72]

Keeping with his mystical belief that music reflected the inner spiritual life of its creator, he continued to argue that adolescent taste and homosexuality signaled an "underdeveloped soul" that could only create "substitutes for real art."[73] Among his final targets was David del Tredici, a potential rival who had also rejected serialism and embraced a neo-tonal aesthetic in his works in the 1970s. The difference between them, as Rochberg understood it, was in the spiritual and topical content of their works. Rochberg firmly believed that music should reflect the seriousness of life—its sufferings and traumas, its struggle against time and death—and was confounded that major institutions and critics alike would embrace what he saw as the "insipid nonsense" of del Tredici's works, such as those based on the children's novel *Alice in Wonderland*.[74] In April 2000, both composers were featured on a program of influential neo-tonalists given by the music ensemble Sequitur. Privately, Rochberg could hardly contain his disgust at the entire affair.[75] "The real point for me is that del Tredici is a poor composer," he wrote. "No magic to his music. But lots of self-display, which is fully consistent with the psychology . . . of homosexual Americans."[76]

As Rochberg openly recognized, "Judgments produced by the skeptical temper are not necessarily true for all people. Yet, for an artist, they are basic to decisions he must make for himself. They affect his views . . . and determine to a great extent what he will willfully take . . . from another artist, how he will allow himself to be influenced, and what he will accept into his personal canon."[77] But as Jonathan Bernard notes in his discussion of post-1960s neo-tonalism, sometimes supposedly "blank" aesthetic borrowings can also reveal or transfer implicit biases: "Culture, and the artifacts that constituted it, perforce served the function of preserving a memory of national origin that was at least as important as any purely aesthetic function they might have had. Thus a colonial mentality about the arts persisted . . . [in which non-Western] music was suspect, regarded as no better than second-rate; the authentic product came from Europe."[78] To be fair, Rochberg did not reject non-Western culture outright—as Alan Gillmor observes, he "manifested more than a passing interest in the philosophy, literature, and music of the Far East," as evidenced in his compositions and essays—and he remained ever critical of what he considered America's twenty-first-century "push to Empire" in the form of nation building.[79] But he grew increasingly worried about external threats to Western culture, as seen in one letter written to Anhalt in 1961. "There are moments when

I think I see it all very clearly," he shared, "a huge convulsive movement to shake off the old world, Europe, and America—to shake off the white man—a realignment of power—a new culture (but what kind?) dawning. . . . All the café bombings in Algeria, uprisings in Africa, in South America—this all means something profound for the direction of mankind. But who can say if it's good or bad. . . . Maybe this is all leading to a new barbarism."[80]

The events of 9/11 presented him with the apocalyptic sign he had long awaited, and his brief entry in his journal captures his sense of both shock and confirmation: "Today was the day World War III began. 11:15a.m."[81] In the letters to Anhalt that followed, his anti-Muslim rhetoric became messily entangled with his long-standing and ecumenical skepticism of religious extremism, but he increasingly saw uniquely sinister aspects in Islamic culture. "My head is full of the horror of what has befallen us—and the Western world—at one blow, and by fiendishly clever [people]—far cleverer than any of us could ever dream of being," he wrote to Anhalt on September 23, 2001: "I keep thinking [how] the Ottoman Empire reached to the very outskirts of Vienna in Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven's time . . . of the deadly hatred of the old Muslims for the 'infidel' Christians, not to mention [the] Jews. . . . [Similar is] the slow, patient coiling of their plan to strike . . . at the symbols at the heart of what stands for America to most Americans and most of the world."[82] His musical saints—perhaps the closest thing to a deity in his mind—had musically tempered and survived a similar threat in the past, but the realization afforded little consolation. Everywhere he turned, even in old comforts such as poetry and music, he began to see paranoid signs of the end of Western civilization, as evidenced in this discussion of Yeats's "Second Coming": "The end of the first stanza is the very prophecy of the fogbound sated-with-false-dreams and illusions of a fast-asleep-with-eyes-wide-shut West best represented by America . . . and the fierce hating Moslems. . . . I keep thinking of Beethoven and his '*Nicht dieser Töne*' followed by his 'hymn to the Brotherhood of Man.' Was he also full of nonsensical illusions?"[83] He began to read the literal devil into the details, seeing in the graceful arc of Arabic script essentialist indications of how Muslims' evil "Islamic minds . . . twist and turn," whereas the "squareness of ancient Hebrew denotes opposite characteristics."[84] "No Arab is to be believed or trusted," he concluded outright at the close of the year. "Their minds are like their script: twisted and curving in circuitous ways—nothing straight there."[85]

The acerbic convictions of his final decades, and the moralistic terms in which he lodged them, raise the question of how to contend with those biographical aspects of Rochberg's career that were less than noble. One could compassionately overlook them as isolated rants, misdirected anger, or perhaps the resentments that come with age and unexpected developments that threaten one's sense of truth and being—whether in the world of music or in the world itself. Or one might be inclined to dismiss him entirely, to meet

his stringent judgments of others with adamant counter-judgments and cast his music aside on moralistic grounds of one's own. Both approaches are feasible, but I believe they are too easy given what I have learned from working with traumatized subjects. As a witness to the complexities of Rochberg's inner life, I am more inclined to understand his polemics as inextricably intertwined with (but not excused by) a lifetime of personal trauma and artistic creativity that consistently framed the world as apocalyptic, Western culture as declining, aesthetics as symbolic of a universal spirit, and music as a crucial means of survival. The uglier parts of his persona—his judgmentalism, his sanctimoniousness, his bigotries—are therefore just as crucial to uncovering what drove his art and ideas, and any study would be incomplete without them. They reveal something important about his "aesthetics of survival"—that it was simultaneously heroic and self-preservationist, rooted in humanistic beliefs and yet susceptible to desperations and discriminations.

Certainly, there are broader historical and ethical lessons to be learned from Rochberg's career, and musicologists have recently begun to consider what they might be. Despite her own skepticism toward hegemonic canons, Citron identifies Rochberg's postmodern works as an early rebuke of the "tyranny of the canon" and distinguishes him as an intrepid pluralist who challenged the "elitist tendencies" of composers such as Elliott Carter and Milton Babbitt.[86] Among his greatest contributions, in her mind, was the reminder that "the humanity of the maker is vital to the understanding of the work," a neo-Romantic idea that he reclaimed as "one of the central tenets of [his] postmodern aesthetic."[87] Others have suggested that Rochberg's "neo-conservative" brand of postmodernism indicated a somewhat uncomfortable "nostalgic yearning for an imagined cultural golden age in Western civilization" that nonetheless demonstrated how "historical cultural forms [might] have currency in the living present."[88] More pointedly, David Metzer has argued that Rochberg's "big dreams and his bigger failures" carry a specifically postmodern historical lesson: "[His] thwarted promises remind us once again how tense the relationship between past and present is, even in works that have supposedly achieved a rapprochement between the two periods."[89]

I would argue that Rochberg's problematic association of aesthetic style with moral character presents a further lesson about the double-edged nature of his ethical crusade to defend musical humanism. For as Yeats insinuates, "passionate intensity" can lead to both humanistic and anti-humanistic acts, a point Rochberg agreed with in no uncertain terms:

> Hitler possessed the passion of conviction. He made war on all of Europe and the United States, he murdered 11,000,000 human beings, damaged countless others, among them 6,000,000+ Jews whose only crime was [that] they were Jews. And Stalin too was possessed by the passions of conviction, as was Lenin, as was Trotsky. They were all murderers, all mistaken, all misguided.

> *Believing something is so* neither makes it so, nor does it justify *acting [against] others for whatever purpose* without any sense of awareness of consequences, the effect of our actions.[90]

As he realistically noted, the human costs were different for politicians and military leaders than they might be for composers, but he countered that when an artist "acted out his aesthetic and religious as well as psychological beliefs by writing music," then "he must like all of us, any of us, bear the consequences and brunt of evaluation and judgement."[91]

It is an invitation straight from the pages of his journal, an exercise that yields a better understanding of how the turbulence of the late twentieth century was experienced by composers who sought to find footing after the upheaval of World War II. Amid what felt to him as drastic and rapid cultural change—the shift from modernism to postmodernism, the rise of identity politics and multi-culturalism within Western culture, the decline of symphonic art culture in the United States—he grounded himself in music that felt certain: Beethoven, Mozart, Bartók. In the face of immense personal suffering and immeasurable loss—chronic pain from his leg wound, the experience of having killed and having seen friends killed, the loss of his beloved son—he trusted only one person to the end: Gene. These were his bearings and moorings, the source of all his truths and love, the wellspring of his art. "The real artist starts from somewhere, some place, somebody which means something to him" was his creed, and it drove his actions for better and for worse.[92] Thus, my wish at the close of this study is not to throw more stones—the world is filled with too many slings as it is—but to wonder whether I might have fared any better under such traumatic circumstances. Would paranoia and resentment also have found their way into my psyche? Would I have had the strength to attempt an aesthetic recovery for myself? Might I not also have fallen into the traps of resentment, skepticism, and fear? Would blinding devotion also have blinded me to my own prejudices? Would I have had the strength to struggle daily against such formidable adversaries as death and time? My test lies ahead of me; I cannot foresee its coming. But when it does come, may I remember his courage and love, find greater humility and tolerance, and strive to learn from the changing world around me while somehow finding a way to maintain and care for the spiritual centers without which I would be nothing more than skin and bones.

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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.
2. Gleason, "'Totalitarianism' in *1984*," 148.
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.
6. Reilly, "Recovery of Modern Music," 8.
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.
8. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 5.

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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.
11. Ringer, "Music of George Rochberg," 412–13.
12. Clarkson and Johnson, "George Rochberg," 480.
13. Gene Rochberg, letter to the author, July 29, 2013; original emphases.
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.
19. Reilly, "Recovery of Modern Music," 10.
20. Taruskin, "After Everything," 435.
21. Rochberg, "No Center" (1969), in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 134. There are two editions of *Aesthetics of Survival*. When no date is given, the reference is to the 2004 edition. The 1984 edition is always specified.
22. Rochberg, "A Composer's Notes" (1944–45), George Rochberg Papers–Additions, NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
23. Rochberg, "No Center" (1969), in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 132, 134.
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*.

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Chapter One

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

1. Rochberg, "Personal Views" (1944), GRP–NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
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.
3. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 3.
4. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 22–23.
5. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 24.
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).
7. Charry, *George Szell*, 11.
8. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 7–8.
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.
11. Charry, *George Szell*, 58.
12. Rochberg, journal entry, April 1969, Tagebuch 14, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
13. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 21.
14. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 11.
15. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, March 31, 1999, in *Eagle Minds*, 358.
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.

18. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.
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."
20. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.
21. Meyers and Meyers, "Conscription and Basic Training," 12–13.
22. Meyers and Meyers, "Conscription and Basic Training," 14.
23. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
24. Rochberg, journal entry, October 26, 1953, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
25. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.3.
26. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.3.
27. Puckett, *In the Shadow of Hitler*, 138.
28. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
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.
30. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, November 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
31. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.2.
32. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.2.
33. Marszalek, "Libraries." As Marszalek notes, "Libraries operated wherever service men were stationed: posts, training camps, command headquarters, permanent bases, naval vessels, and hospitals." See also Jamieson, *Books for the Army*, 20–21.
34. Jamieson, *Books for the Army*, 71, 22, 36.
35. Rochberg, letters to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, and December 18, 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
36. Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 107.
37. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.2.
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.
39. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, November 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
40. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, November 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
41. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, n.d. 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.2.
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."
45. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, December 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
46. See "Jascha Heifetz Ill," *New York Times*, 19; "Women in War Will Be Guests at Vassar Fete," *New York Times*, D1. Rochberg continued to encourage Gene in this endeavor, suggesting that she contact their mutual friend, Dante Fiorillo, for an introduction.
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.
48. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, December 11, 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
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.
50. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, December 17, 1942, GRP–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1.1.
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.
57. Gagne and Caras, *Soundpieces*, 342. See also Grimes and Rochberg, "Conversations with American Composers," 48; Rochberg, "Talking to Luigi Russolo," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 182.
58. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 11, 13. See also Gagne and Caras, *Soundpieces*, 342.

59. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 8.
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.
61. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 15.
62. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 124; Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory*, 171. See also Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 106.
63. Fauser, "Music for the Allies," 247.
64. Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory*, 46–47.
65. Fauser, "Music for the Allies," 247; Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory*, 21–22.
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.
71. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 209.
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 repertory 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.
77. Rochberg, journal entry, May 25, 1998, Tagebuch 56, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
78. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 25.
79. Rochberg, journal entry, July 18, 1996, Tagebuch 49, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
80. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 25.
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.
88. Rochberg, "Better Than Cider or Apples," 3.
89. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 25.
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 Condè-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.

91. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 25–26.
92. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.
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.
95. Rochberg, "His Brother," unpublished story (1944), War-Time Stories, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 2.
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."
98. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.
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-Biliographic 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.
108. Reilly, "Recovery of Modern Music," 8.
109. Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 4. The suite was ultimately never published or adapted into other works.
110. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 226.
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.
119. Rochberg would also use "March of the Halberds" in the second movement of his Symphony no. 6 (1987). See Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 201.
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."]
123. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.
124. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.
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.
131. Gene Rochberg, letter to Rochberg, June 5, 1945, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
132. Gene Rochberg, letter to Rochberg, June 5, 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.

135. Rochberg explicitly notes the association at the bottom of the score: "Begun [on] 14 Aug[ust] (Victory Day). See Rochberg, "Spring" (1945, unpublished), Partitur (Reinschrift), Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS. Rochberg later conducted a women's chorus in Philadelphia between 1946 and 1949.
136. Reilly, "Recovery of Modern Music," 8–9.
137. Grimes and Rochberg, "Conversations with American Composers," 48.
138. Reilly, "Recovery of Modern Music," 9.
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.
141. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 27.
142. Reilly, "Recovery of Modern Music," 8–9.
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.
147. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 28.

Chapter Two

Epigraph: Freedman and Rochberg, "Metamorphosis of a Twentieth-Century Composer," 13.
1. Rochberg, "No Center," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 132.
2. Rochberg, "No Center," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 130.
3. Rochberg, "Preface," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, xiv.
4. Rochberg, "No Center," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 132–34.
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), *Discussión* (1957), *Otras Inquisiciones* (1960), *El Hacedor* (1960).
6. Rochberg, letter to Alexander Ringer, November 22, 1966, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS; also Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, January 4, 1966, in *Eagle Minds*, 39;

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

7. Rochberg, letter to Istvan Anhalt, November 16, 1966, in *Eagle Minds*, 45. The earliest mention of Borges and *ars combinatoria* appears in a letter to Anhalt dated January 4, 1966, in *Eagle Minds*, 39.
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.
9. Rilke, cited in Rochberg, "No Center," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 130.
10. Rochberg, "No Center," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 130.
11. Rochberg, "Love and Art" (1944), GRP–NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
12. Rochberg, "Love and Art" (1944), GRP–NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
13. Rochberg, "Love and Art" (1944), GRP–NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
14. Rochberg, "Personal Views: Beethoven" (1944, unpublished essay), GRP–NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
15. Rochberg, "Personal Views: Beethoven" (1944), GRP–NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
16. Rochberg, "Personal Views: Beethoven" (1944), GRP-NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
17. Rochberg, "Personal Views: Wagner" (1944), GRP–NYPL, Series II, b. 17, f. 12.
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.
25. Mackay, "Being Beastly to the Germans," 519, 518. See also Kenyon, *The BBC Symphony Orchestra*, 161–68. For a broader treatment of Wagner's reception in England during the war, see Anton, "Richard Wagner und England."

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.
28. Rochberg, Skizzenbuch 1, Musikmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 90. 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.
32. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 31.
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.

36. See Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 71.
37. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, August 24, 1949, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. Rochberg attended the Middlebury Composer's Conference on August 20–September 3, 1949.
38. Rochberg, journal entry, June 5, 1950, Tagebuch 1, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
39. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 72, 70.
40. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 62.
41. Freedman and Rochberg, "Metamorphosis of a Twentieth-Century Composer," 12.
42. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 39.
43. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 72. The specific recording was Arnold Schoenberg, *String Quartet no. 4, opus 37*, Kolisch Quartet, Alco ALP 1005 (1950), LP reissue of a 78-rpm recording made in 1937.
44. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 72.
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.
48. Rochberg, journal entry, May 4, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
49. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 72.
50. Rochberg, "Reflections on Schoenberg (1972)," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 38.
51. Dufallo, *Trackings*, 63, 65
52. Reilly, "Recovery of Modern Music," 9.
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.
59. Carl Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, cited in Rochberg, journal entry, May 12, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
60. Rochberg, journal entry, May 12, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
61. Rochberg, journal entry, May 25, 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.
64. Kim, "Innovative Approach to Serialism," 70. Martha Lynn Thomas also notes Rochberg's "tonal" treatment of the row through the establishment of pitch centers (notably around C#) using repetition and extended pedal points. See Thomas, "Analysis of George Rochberg's *Twelve Bagatelles* and *Nach Bach* for Solo Piano," 17.
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.
75. Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 86; Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 52.
76. Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 87–88.
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."
81. Rochberg, "Ars Combinatoria" (1967), 3.
82. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 40.
83. Rochberg, letter to the editors of *Music Survey*, January 24, 1954, filed under George Perle, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
84. Rochberg, *Hexachord*, vii.
85. Rochberg, *Hexachord*, vii–viii.
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.
91. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 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.
97. See Meyer, "George Rochberg,," 102–3. Meyer notes that Schoenberg struck Rochberg as promoting an "essentially dramatic view of music," whereas Webern and his followers constructed an "aesthetic condition of non-action."
98. Rochberg, "Tradition and Twelve-Tone Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival* (1984), 44.

99. Rochberg, letter to Perle, January 11, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
100. Perle, letter to Rochberg, January 16, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
101. Perle, letter to Rochberg, January 16, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
102. See Perle, "Evolution of the Tone-Row"; Perle, "Twelve-Tone Tonality." For a self-analysis of his *Modal Suite* (1940), see Perle, *The Listening Composer*, 138–50.
103. Perle, letter to Rochberg, May 13, 1956, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
104. Perle, "Review of *Hexachord*," 55, 57.
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.
109. Schuman, letter to Rochberg, May 21, 1957, cited in Swayne, *Orpheus in Manhattan*, 317.
110. Rochberg, letter to Schuman, May 24, 1957, WSP–NYPL, JPB 87–33, b. 36, f. 8.
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.
113. Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 13.
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.

115. Rochberg, "Webern's Search for Harmonic Identity," 121–22.
116. Rochberg, "Webern's Search for Harmonic Identity," 120.
117. Gagne and Caras, *Soundpieces*, 339.
118. Rochberg, letter to Sessions, February 29, 1960, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. Rochberg's commentary is in response to hearing Pierre Boulez's *Le Marteau*.
119. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 76.
120. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 76; Rochberg, unabridged version of *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 138.
121. Rochberg, unabridged version of *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 136.
122. Stein, letter to Rochberg, February 10, 1960, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
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.
128. Rochberg, letter to Stein, February 29, 1960, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. Rochberg first hatched these ideas in a short essay written in 1954. See Rochberg, "Toward a New Aesthetic of Music."
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.
131. Poulet, "Timelessness and Romanticism," 5.
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*.
135. Rochberg, "Duration in Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 61–63, 66–67.
136. Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 176.
137. Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 176–77.
138. Rochberg, "Duration in Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 63, 62.
139. Rochberg, "Duration in Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 66.
140. Rochberg, "Review of *Serial Composition and Atonality*," 414, 417.
141. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 46–47. Rochberg also recalls this moment in his autobiography; see *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 63–64.

Chapter Three

Epigraph: Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.

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.
4. Front page headlines, *New York Times*, November 6, 1956, 1.
5. Rochberg, journal entry, July 21, 1959, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
6. Rochberg, journal entry, July 21, 1959, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
7. Rochberg, journal entry, May 17, 1959, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
8. Rochberg, journal entry, January 24, 1960, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
9. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 48.
10. Rochberg, journal entry, July 21, 1959, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
11. Krippendorff, *Dictionary of Cybernetics*.
12. Bailey, *Social Entropy Theory*, 81.
13. Koestler, *Ghost in the Machine*, 198.
14. Bailey, *Social Entropy Theory*, 82.
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.

19. Paxton, *Anatomy of Fascism*, 148.
20. Wiggershaus, *Die Frankfurter Schule*, 414.
21. Adorno, "What National Socialism Has Done," 382.
22. Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 139, 147–48.
23. Hammer, *Adorno and the Political*, 50.
24. Adorno, "What National Socialism Has Done," 382, 384.
25. Hammer, *Adorno and the Political*, 57.
26. Adorno, "What National Socialism Has Done," 387.
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.
28. Adorno, "Modern Music Is Growing Old," 28, 23–24, 29.
29. Koestler, *Ghost in the Machine*, 199.
30. Rochberg, "Indeterminacy," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 6.
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.
33. In telling fashion, Rochberg misquotes the title of Adorno's article in the footnotes of his essay. It appears as "Modern Music Is Dead," not "Modern Music Is Growing Old." See Rochberg, "Indeterminacy," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 14.
34. Zamyatin, "Literature, Revolution, and Entropy," 174.
35. Zamyatin, "Literature, Revolution, and Entropy," 175, 177.
36. Huyssen, *Twilight Memories*, 206–7.
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.
39. Rochberg, journal entry, February 25, 1962, Tagebuch 4, Lebensdokumente, SGR-PSS. Rochberg wrote this commentary in response to an article by Edward Albee on the merits of absurdist theater. See Albee, "Which Theatre Is the Absurd One?" SM11.

40. Rochberg, journal entry, May 8, 1962, Tagebuch 4, 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.
45. Rochberg, "The New Image of Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 23.
46. Rochberg, "The New Image of Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 23.
47. Eliade, *Myth of the Eternal Return*, 151. Published in English in 1954.
48. Rochberg, "The New Image of Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 23–24.
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.
50. Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 134–36. In the quartet, Rochberg focuses specifically on creating musical disruption within the realms of metric and harmonic language. "I decided to work [with] the idea of four different tempos," Rochberg wrote in his autobiography, "sometimes sounding simultaneously, sometimes not." See Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 87. Rochberg also discusses this aspect of the work in the program notes.
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.
56. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.

57. Gene Rochberg, letter to Rochberg, February 23, 1964, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
58. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, February 22, 1964, GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1–9.
59. Gene Rochberg, letter to Rochberg, February 24, 1964, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
60. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, February 24, 1964, GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1–9.
61. Rochberg, journal entry, May 27, 1964, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. In our interview, Gene confirmed that Rochberg viewed the "Passions" as his own secular version of the Torah. Gene Rochberg, interview with the author, 2013.
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?"
65. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, April 3, 1964, GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1–9.
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, 1996, in *Eagle Minds*, 38.
68. Rochberg, journal entry, November 15, 1965, Tagebuch 7, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
69. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, March 22, 1964, GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1–9.
70. Rochberg, letter to Gene Rochberg, March 28, 1964, GRPA–NYPL, Series I, b. 1, f. 1–9; original emphasis.
71. Rochberg, "Ars Combinatoria: A New Approach to History and Composition" (1967), unpublished talk, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS.
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.
78. Rochberg, journal entry, March 3, 1965, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
79. Rochberg, journal entry, August 3, 1965, Tagebuch 6, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
80. Rochberg, journal entry, February 10, 1967, 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.
84. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, February 28, 1967, in *Eagle Minds*, 49.
85. For a complete transcription of the libretto, see Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 334.
86. Program notes for "Passions," reprinted in Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 110–11.
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.
90. Rochberg, journal entry, December 28, 1967, Tagebuch 10, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
91. Motz, "Personal Reminiscence," 53.
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.
100. Rochberg, "Duration in Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 67.
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.
107. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 164.
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.
114. Taruskin, "After Everything," 417, 416. See also Ringer, "Music of George Rochberg," 426.
115. I am grateful to Jeremy Gill for lending me a recording of the premiere.
116. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, July 14, 1969, in *Eagle Minds*, 73.
117. Concert Program, Juilliard School, November 24, 1970. Courtesy of the Juilliard Archives.
118. Concert Program, Juilliard School, November 24, 1970. Courtesy of the Juilliard Archives.
119. Kolodin, "Music to My Ears," 46.
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."
123. Kolodin, "Music to My Ears," 46.
124. Felton, "At Lincoln Center."
125. "Musik in New York: Neue konzertante Werke," 22.
126. Cox, "Juilliard Theater," 83.
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" ("Julliard Theater," 83).
128. Rochberg, letter to Ringer, January 30, 1971, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
129. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 168.
130. This citation is from the coda of the first movement, not the choral finale as in the "Passions."
131. Rochberg, unpublished note about the "Passions," May 30, 1996, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 5, 7.
132. William Bolcom, letter to Rochberg, November 25, 1970, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.

Chapter Four

Epigraph: Rochberg, journal entry, January 29 1982, Tagebuch 28, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.

1. Rochberg, "Humanism versus Science," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 142–44.
2. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, July 14, 1969, in *Eagle Minds*, 74; original emphasis.
3. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, January 31, 1988, in *Eagle Minds*, 206. The reference to Sartre is a paraphrase of his 1944 essay "Anti-Semite and Jew." For the original context, see Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*, 69.
4. Kosmin and Keysar, "American Jewish Secularism," 5.
5. Kosmin and Keysar, "American Jewish Secularism," 5.
6. Biale, *Not in the Heavens*, xii.
7. Maor, "Death or Birth," 79.
8. Biale, "God's Language," 57.
9. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 3.
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.
11. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 6.
12. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 6.
13. Rochberg, "Autobiographical Sketch" (1960), unpublished manuscript, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 6.
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.
16. Levitt, "Impossible Assimilations," 810.
17. Levitt, "Impossible Assimilations," 816.
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.
20. Levitt, "Impossible Assimilations," 816.
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.

23. Berman, *Speaking of Jews*, 4–5; Levitt, "Impossible Assimilations," 815.
24. Levitt, "Impossible Assimilations," 816–17.
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.
26. Rochberg, "Autobiographical Sketch," Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 8.
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.
28. Rochberg, journal entry, September 19, 1952, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS. On the score of his *Twelve Bagatelles*, Rochberg writes "completed Sept. 19 on the eve of Gene's birthday, Rosh Hashanah." See Rochberg, *Twelve Bagatelles for Piano Solo*, Holograph score, GRP–NYPL, call number JPB 86-18, no. 2.
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.
30. Rochberg, "Reflections on Schoenberg," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 46.
31. Rochberg, "Reflections on Schoenberg," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 46 (first two quotations), 37 (third quotation).
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.
34. Ringer, "Music of George Rochberg," 414. For an excellent discussion of Schoenberg's final religious works, see Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*, 108–12.
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."
37. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Fours Spaces*, 59–60. A variation of this story appears in Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 7–8.
38. Ringer, *Arnold Schoenberg: The Composer as Jew*, 204.
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.
50. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, August 4, 1967, in *Eagle Minds*, 52.
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).
53. Abulafia, quoted in Idel, "Conceptualizations of Music in Jewish Mysticism," 170–71, 177–78; Idel, "Music and Prophetic Kabbalah," 151–52, 155. Abulafia also suggests that David's *kinnôr* "resembles the human body: like the harp, man also makes music 'of himself' when the wind, namely, the divine spirit, blows" (Idel, "Conceptualizations of Music in Jewish Mysticism," 177).
54. Idel, "Conceptualizations of Music in Jewish Mysticism," 185–86.
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).
56. Alazraki, *Borges and the Kabbalah*, 263, 266–67.
57. Borges, "El Golem," in *Selected Poems*, 113. The book in question is Scholem's *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (1946).
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.
60. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 269.
61. Rochberg, journal entry, December 19, 1969, Tagebuch 13, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
62. Biale, *Not in the Heavens*, 53.
63. Reilly, "Recovery of Modern Music," 8.
64. Biale, *Not in the Heavens*, 54.
65. Rochberg, "The Avant-Garde and the Aesthetics of Survival" (1969), in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 241, 240, 241. As Alan Gillmor notes, Rochberg's characterization of serialism as a "secondary language severed from its intuitive roots" appears to also have been influenced by Claude Lévi-Strauss, particularly his *Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology* (1969). See Gillmor, "Apostasy of George Rochberg," 35.
66. Rochberg, "The Avant-Garde and the Aesthetics of Survival," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 241.
67. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, July 14, 1969, in *Eagle Minds*, 74; original emphasis.
68. Rochberg, "Humanism versus Science" (1970), in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 135.

69. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, December 11, 1972, in *Eagle Minds*, 102; emphasis added.
70. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, December 23, 1973, in *Eagle Minds*, 106.
71. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 189.
72. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, December 23, 1973, in *Eagle Minds*, 106.
73. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 192, 198.
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*, Bartok'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.
78. Hillier, *Japanese Colour Prints*, 8.
79. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 192–93.
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.

81. Werfel, "An Arnold Schönbergs Persönlichkeit und Kunst," 14, quoted in Ringer, "Arnold Schoenberg and the Prophetic Image," 26.
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.
85. Rochberg, journal entry, May 26, 1982, Tagebuch 28, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
86. Rochberg, "The Marvelous in Art," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 215–16.
87. Rochberg, "Notes on *Reflections*: Walter Benjamin, page 314—'On Language as Such and on the Language of Man,'" unpublished notes, Textmanuskripte, 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.
90. Fulford, "Coleridge, Kabbalah, and the Book of Daniel," 63. See also Fulford, *Coleridge's Spiritual Language*, 132–47. For more general discussions of Coleridge's mysticism, see Haven, "Coleridge, Hartly, and the Mystics"; Tsuchiya, *The Mirror Metaphor and Coleridge's Mysticism*.
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.
94. Rochberg, "Can the Arts Survive Modernism?" 337.
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*.
99. Rochberg, "Iconography of the Mind," 93, 1–2.
100. Rochberg, Iconography of the Mind," 93, 5, 8, 36–37.
101. Rochberg, journal entry, January 25, 1986, Tagebuch 34, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
102. This excerpt from Exodus 20:1–5 is Rochberg's translation found in "The Second Commandment and Idolatry" (1987), unpublished manuscript, Textmanusrkipte, SGR–PSS.
103. Rochberg, "Second Commandment," 8–9, 26.
104. Rochberg, "Second Commandment," 26, 36, 24; original emphasis.
105. Rochberg, "Iconoclasm and Fear of the Image" (1987), unpublished manuscript, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 60.
106. Rochberg, "Second Commandment," 43.
107. Rochberg, journal entry, June 3, 1987, Tagebuch 35, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
108. Rochberg, "Iconoclasm and Fear of the Image," 56.
109. Rochberg, "Iconoclasm and Fear of the Image," 62–63. "Iconoclasm and Fear of the Image" reads almost as a response to Jonathan Kramer's rigorous retort in "Can Modernism Survive George Rochberg?" As Kramer posed, "How can [Rochberg] maintain . . . a rigid distinction between humanistic and scientific attitudes toward art at a time when numerous humanistic artists use technology to express views of a society that is sometimes a confusing mix of scientific and humanistic values? It is artificial . . . to insist on an absolute split between these two 'categories' of art." See Kramer, "Can Modernism Survive George Rochberg?" 345–46.
110. Rochberg, "Iconoclasm and Fear of the Image," 95.
111. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, January 21, 1988, in *Eagle Minds*, 207.
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 (*netzotzim*) 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.
114. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, December 20, 1987, in *Eagle Minds*, 202.
115. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, January 31, 1988, in *Eagle Minds*, 206–7.
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.
119. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 7.
120. Hoffman, "Ethnicity, Religion, and Spirituality," 250.
121. Biale, *Not in the Heavens*, 2.
122. Rochberg, "Take Every Man His Turn in His Own Time" (1994), unpublished manuscript, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 6–7.
123. Rochberg, "A Three-Way Mirror" (1988), unpublished manuscript, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 6, 19; original emphasis.
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.
5. Gene Rochberg, "Introduction," in Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, xi.
6. Gene Rochberg, "Introduction," in Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, xi.
7. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, June 30, 1997, in *Eagle Minds*, 326.
8. Rochberg, journal entry, January 23, 1997, Tagebuch 51, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
9. Rochberg, "Contemporary Music and Its Audience" (1990), unpublished manuscript, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 6.
10. Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 146.
11. Gene Rochberg, "Introduction," in Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, xi.
12. Rochberg, journal entry, July 4, 1997, Tagebuch 53, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
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.
14. As Jonathan W. Bernard clarifies, postwar neo-tonality is a larger umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of responses to "the tonal imperative," including functional tonality, tonality by assertion, neoclassicism, neo-Romanticism, pastoral genres, minimalism and postminimalism, and works that borrow from modal traditions, "ethnic musics, [and] the popular styles of folk, jazz, and rock." See Bernard, "Tonal Traditions in Art Music since 1960," 538. Another helpful overview can be found in Gann, *American Music in the Twentieth Century*, 218–52.
15. Rochberg, OHAM (1983), 32.
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.
17. Rochberg, OHAM interview (1983), 33.
18. Rochberg, OHAM interview (1983), 33.
19. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 12–13.
20. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 13.
21. Rochberg, "The Publisher's Role in College Music and Music Education in the Secondary Schools" (1955), unpublished talk to the Society of Music in the Liberal Arts Colleges, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 8.
22. See, for example, Grimes and Rochberg, "Conversations with American Composers," 42–44, 46–48.

23. In addition to his courses at Curtis, Rochberg also presented a series of library lectures. In 1954, for example, he gave a series of three talks on the topic "The Problem of Texture in Music." See Rochberg, "The Problem of Texture in Music" (1952), GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-40, b. 16, f. 1–4.
24. Rochberg, OHAM interview (1983), 34–35.
25. Rochberg, *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 135–36.
26. Rochberg, journal entry, October 15, 1960, Tagebuch 3, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
27. Rochberg, OHAM interview (1998), 56.
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.
29. Pinar et al., *Understanding Curriculum*, 152–53.
30. Pinar et al., *Understanding Curriculum*, 182.
31. Brubacher, *Higher Education in Transition*, 293.
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 Priorites in the Curriculum*, 190–91.
35. Phillips, "Interpreting the Seventies," 323–24.
36. James B. Macdonald, quoted in Robison, *Precedents and Promise in the Curriculum Field*, 52.
37. Pinar et al., *Understanding Curriculum*, 183.
38. Pinar, "Reconceptualization of Curriculum Studies," 205.
39. Pinar, "Reconceptualization of Curriculum Studies," 211–12. Pinar's article is drawn from a lecture given at the University of Rochester in 1977.
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.
43. Rochberg, "Prospectus for the Music Department of the University of Pennsylvania" (1960–61), GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-04, b. 17, f. 6.
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."
46. Rochberg, "Proposal for Advanced Study in Music Composition" (ca. 1961), GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-04, b. 17, f. 6.
47. Rochberg, "Proposal for Advanced Study in Music Composition."
48. Rochberg, "Syllabus for the Elaboration of the Essential" (n.d.), GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-04, b. 17, f. 10.
49. Graded paper from Rochberg's seminar "Harmonic Series" (1966), GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-04, b. 17, f. 11.
50. Graded student prospectus from Rochberg's seminar "Harmonic Series"; original enphasis.
51. Rochberg, "The Study of Music as an Aspect of Liberal Arts Education," unpublished notes, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 2, 4–5; 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.
53. Rochberg, "The Composer in Academia," in *Aesthetics of Survival* (1984), 162–63. Rochberg discusses these themes further in *Five Lines, Four Spaces*, 138–40.
54. Stephen Hartke, email correspondence with the author, April 29, 2017. The year Rochberg retired (1982–83), the remaining faculty immediately inaugurated a PhD program in music composition. See the *University of Pennsylvania Bulletin: Information for Graduate Studies* (1982–83).
55. Rochberg, "The Composer in Academia," in *Aesthetics of Survival* (1984), 163.
56. Macdonald, "Transcendental Developmental Ideology of Education," 91.
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.
69. Rochberg, "Remembering Stephen Albert" (1993), unpublished final draft, Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 3.
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.
72. Steinberg, "Festival at Bowdoin Features New Concerts," 24.
73. Schwartz, "Current Chronicle," 682.
74. Schwartz, "Current Chronicle," 681, 687.
75. In addition to the Bowdoin Summer Festival, Rochberg premiered *Music for the Magic Theater* at the University of Chicgo (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

behaved. I'd rather know what they thought!" See Baldwin, "Analysis of Three Violin Sonatas," 145–46.
87. Henahan, "The Ensemble in 'New and Newer Music,'" 38.
88. Rochberg, journal entry, July 5, 1997, Tagebuch 53, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
89. Bolcom, letter to Rochberg, January 9, 1970, Korrespondence, SGR–PSS.
90. Henahan, "Rare New Work Played by Quartet," 38.
91. Henahan, "Tomorrow's Music," II, 11.
92. Kriegsman, "Crosscurrents," F-1.
93. Kriegsman, "Crosscurrents," F-1; Henaham, "Tomorrow's Music," II, 11.
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.
97. Humphrey, "Music of Stephen Albert," in *Stephen Albert*, 9. Albert would ultimately compose his own response to the Holocaust, *Voices Within* (1974–75), which features quotations of cabaret-style music that are ultimately subsumed by a militaristic march.
98. Humphrey, "Music of Stephen Albert," in *Stephen Albert*, 9.
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.
101. Albert, OHAM (1986), 93.
102. See Bolcom, *Novella for String Quartet: String Quartet no. 9*, music score (New York: E. B. Marks, 1972). A recording of the second movement is available online at www.ebmarks.com/catalog/chamber/bolcom-william/string-quartet-no-9.
103. Ericson, "Concord Ensemble Plays Bolcom Piece," 36.
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.

107. Albert, letter to Rochberg, n.d. (ca. June 1972), Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.
108. Bolcom, letter to Rochberg, n.d. (ca. 1972), Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
109. Bolcom, letter to Rochberg, September 16, 1973, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
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.
112. Jaffe, OHAM (1992), 12.
113. Jaffe, OHAM (1992), 12; Jaffe, email correspondence with the author, May 30, 2017.
114. Albert, OHAM (1986), 33.
115. Bolcom, letter to Rochberg, January 9, 1970, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
116. Michael Alec Rose, email correspondence with the author, May 1, 2017.
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."
118. Jaffe, email correspondence with the author, May 30, 2017.
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.
121. Rochberg, "Reflections on the Renewal of Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival* (1984), 237; Rochberg, "Humanism versus Science," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 141–42.
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.

125. Hartke, email correspondence with the author, April 29, 2017; Jaffe, email correspondence with the author, May 20, 2017.
126. Jaffe, email correspondence with the author, May 31, 2017.
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*.
133. Bolcom, OHAM (1999), 4. Several of his students have either won or been a finalist for the prize, including Stephen Albert (1985, winner for *Symphony: RiverRun*; 1987, finalist for *Flower of the Mountain*); William Bolcom (1988, winner for *Twelve New Etudes for* Piano; 1985, finalist for *Songs of Innocence and Experience, a Musical Illumination of the Poems of William Blake*); and Stephen Hartke (2001, finalist for *Tituli*; 2008, finalist for *Meanwhile*).
134. See Rhein, "Premiere Welcome but Disappointing," 12.

135. Webster, "Music: A New Symphony," D1, D5.
136. Gagne and Caras, *Soundpieces*, 349.
137. Rochberg, "Polarity in Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 251.
138. Rochberg, journal entry, March 31–April 1, 1998, Tagebuch 56, Lebendokumente, SGR–PSS.
139. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, July 19, 1983, in *Eagle Minds*, 135.
140. Rochberg, journal entry, January 16, 1983, Tagebuch 28, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
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 submediant. 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.
150. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 16, 2017.
151. Gill, email correspondence with the author, May 15, 2017.
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).
153. Rochberg, "Polarity in Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 251.
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."

155. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 18, 2017.
156. Jon Forshee, email correspondence with the author, July 10, 2017; original emphasis.
157. Rochberg, "Polarity in Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 252.
158. Rochberg, journal entry, June 29, 1995, Tagebuch 45, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
159. Gill, email correspondence with the author, May 15, 2017.
160. Gill, letter to Rochberg, September 15, 1995, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
161. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 16, 2017.
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.
163. Gill, email correspondence with the author, May 15, 2017.
164. Rochberg, journal entry, March 25, 1996, Tagebuch 47, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
165. Forshee, email correspondence with the author, July 10, 2017; original emphasis.
166. See Hartke, "Comparative Aspects of the Treatment of the 'Harmonic Envelope.'"
167. Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 156–57.
168. Rochberg, journal entry, October 7, 1998, Tagebuch 59, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
169. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 18, 2017.
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.
172. Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 158, 154.
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*.
174. Byron Au Yong, email correspondence with the author, June 2, 2017. Au Yong attended the 1995 Composer's Institute in Wisconsin.
175. Rochberg, "Guston and Me," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 244–45.
176. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 30, 2017.
177. Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 158.
178. Wilder, email correspondence with the author, May 30, 2017; emphasis added.

Afterword

Epigraph: Rochberg, "Afterthoughts on the Second Symphony" (1959–61), GRPA–NYPL, JPB 13-04, b. 16, f. 6.

1. Rochberg, *Dance of Polar Opposites*, 157.
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).
3. Rochberg, journal entry, July 18, 1996, Tagebuch 49, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
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.
6. Frederick Hanson, quoted in Anderson, "Shell Shock," 206.
7. Appel summarized in Anderson, "Shell Shock," 206.
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.
11. Litz et al., "Moral Injury and Moral Repair," 698.
12. Dombo, Grey, and Early, "Trauma of Moral Injury," 202.
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."
16. Sherman, *Afterwar*, 12; original emphases.
17. Yang, "Invisible Wound," 455.
18. Litz et al., "Moral Injury and Moral Repair," 701, 698.
19. Rochberg, letter to K. Robert Schwarz, June 5, 1996, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. The letter was Rochberg's response to Schwarz, who had requested an interview in conjunction with an essay he was writing on the perception of a "serial tyranny" in music. See Schwarz, "In Contemporary Music." The topic of serial tyranny was later treated more analytically in an exchange between Joseph Straus and Anne Shreffler. See Straus, "Myth of Serial 'Tyranny'"; Shreffler, "Myth of Empirical Historiography"; Straus, "Response to Anne C. Shreffler."
20. Rochberg, "Program Note for Symphony no. 1," cited in Dixon, *Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, 152.
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.
22. Freedman and Rochberg, "Metamorphosis of a Twentieth-Century Composer," 12.
23. Rochberg, "News of the Culture or News of the Universe," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 173.
24. Rochberg, letter to Ringer, January 19, 1976, Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS. In the letter, Rochberg misspells the Yiddish term as *mishuganakeit*, an error Ringer clarifies in his response.
25. Hermann Hesse, cited in Rochberg, "Reflections on Schoenberg," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 37.
26. Rochberg, journal entry, August 15, 1953, Tagebuch 2, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, May 21, 1998, in *Eagle Minds*, 341.
27. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, May 21, 1998, in *Eagle Minds*, 341.
28. Rochberg, "On Being a Composer," unpublished essay (ca. 1956–63), Textmanuskripte, SGR–PSS, 1–2.
29. Rochberg, "Indeterminacy," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 4.
30. Rochberg, "Humanism versus Science," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 136.
31. Rochberg, "A Composer's World."
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.

33. Rochberg, "The New Image of Music" (1963), in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 16.
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."
35. Rochberg, "Reflections on the Renewal of Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival* (1984), 238.
36. Rochberg, "Reflections on the Renewal of Music," 238.
37. Rochberg cited in Gelles, *Congress Transcripts*, 81.
38. Taruskin, "Musical Mystique," 332.
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.
45. Taruskin, "Musical Mystique," 339.
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.
49. Metzer, *Quotation and Cultural Meaning*, 115. Rochberg discusses the "universal mind" in "Reflections on the Renewal of Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival* (1984), 232–38.

50. Kramer, "Nature and Origins of Musical Postmodernism," 14. See also the discussion of unified pluralism in Rochberg's Piano Quintet (1975) in Danuser, "Zur Kritik der musikalischen Postmoderne," 8–9; a nuanced discussion of Rochberg's pluralism in Weber, "George Rochberg oder Vom Verschwinden des kompositorischen Subjekts," 271; and Mark Berry's discussion of the scholarly reception of the Third String Quartet in "Music, Postmodernism, and George Rochberg," 235–42. See also Hicks, "New Quotation," 38–39.
51. 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.
55. McClary, "Paradigm Dissonances," 70.
56. McClary, "Paradigm Dissonances," 80 (first two quotations); Kozinn, "Feminist Look," C13 (third quotation).
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*.
59. Rochberg, "Humanism versus Science," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 138. For a related discussion of this passage, see Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided*, 160.
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?'"
62. Oakes, "Pop Music, Racial Imaginations, and the Sound of Cheese," 76.
63. Rochberg, journal entries, April 18, 1962, and April 23, 1963, Tagebuch 4, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
64. Rochberg, journal entry, May 17, 1997, Tagebuch 53, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphases.
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.
66. Rochberg, journal entry, August 25, 1982, Tagebuch 28, Lebensdokumente,–PSS. Here, Rochberg uses the Yiddish term *fagele* to denote a homosexual man.

67. Rochberg, draft memo to Pearlman and Harwood, n.d. [1982?], Korrespondenz, SGR–PSS.
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.
69. Rochberg, journal entry, August 25, 1982, Tagebuch 28, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS; original emphasis.
70. Rochberg, "News of the Culture," in *Aesthetics of Survival*, 171, 170.
71. Kakutani, "Adolescence Rules." Rochberg encountered Coles's ideas in Kakutani's article, which he clipped from the *Times* and pasted into the pages of his journal for reference. He also references a related op-ed by Maureen Dowd about the television show *Seinfeld*. See Dowd, "Yada Yada Yuppies," A21.
72. Rochberg, journal entry, May 17, 1997, Tagebuch 53, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
73. Rochberg, journal entries, May 17 and June 10, 1997, Tagebuch 53, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
74. Rochberg, journal entry, May 17, 1997, Tagebuch 53, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
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.
77. Rochberg, "Reflections on the Renewal of Music," in *Aesthetics of Survival* (1984), 232.
78. Bernard, "Tonal Traditions in Art Music since 1960," 535–36.
79. Gillmor, "Introduction," in *Eagle Minds*, xxv; Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, March 14, 2003, in *Eagle Minds*, 401.
80. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, December 26, 1961, in *Eagle Minds*, 8–9.
81. Rochberg, journal entry, September 11, 2001, Tagebuch 65, Lebensdokumente, SGR–PSS.
82. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, September 23, 2001, in *Eagle Minds*, 387–88.
83. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, September 23, 2001, in *Eagle Minds*, 388.
84. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, September 23, 2001, in *Eagle Minds*, 388.
85. Rochberg, letter to Anhalt, December 3, 2001, in *Eagle Minds*, 396.
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.
87. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 30.
88. Berry, "Music, Postmodernism, and George Rochberg's Third String Quartet," 235.
89. Metzer, *Quotation and Cultural Meaning*, 112–13.

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.

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