



# Representations of Cultural Memory in Alban Berg's *Lulu*

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**Abstract:** A study of cultural memory pertains to a collective system through which societies engage with knowledge in multiple ways across their community's history. Symbolic patterns emerge regarding how individuals interact within the group, which is especially emblematic of the production of art as a reflection of these memory-derived systems. This study investigates how Alban Berg's opera *Lulu* is a product of the composer's cultural memory and, specifically, the way in which Berg harnessed the experience of attending a lecture in 1905 by Viennese satirist Karl Kraus. This experience informed Berg's conception of the symbolic meaning of Frank Wedekind's *Lulu* plays, which he drew upon in the 1920s when he brought those memories to the foreground in his operatic adaptation. What emerges is a new view of *Lulu* from the perspective of revived memories that played a central role in how Berg readapted his past experience to shape the narrative and character interactions in his opera.

**Keywords:** Alban Berg; *Lulu*; Aleida Assmann; cultural memory; opera studies; Karl Kraus

Alban Berg's opera *Lulu* has long invited interpretations that examine its socio-cultural implications, especially as they relate to fin-de-siècle Viennese modernism and the composer's intellectual milieu.<sup>1</sup> At the heart of the present study lies the claim that *Lulu* represents a sophisticated enactment of cultural memory, one that synthesizes personal recollection, ideological inheritance, and musical dramatization. This article contends that Berg's lifelong engagement with Karl Kraus's 1905 lecture-performance of Frank Wedekind's *Pandora's Box*—by Vienna's most famous satirical writer—constitutes not merely a formative artistic influence but a dynamic memory process through which the composer transformed a socio-critical framework into a musico-dramatic structure. By applying literary theorist Aleida Assmann's theory of cultural memory, this study demonstrates how *Lulu* encodes a dialectical interplay between trauma, archetype, and identity—not only at the level of narrative and characterization but also through dramaturgical architecture and musical structure.

What distinguishes this approach is its reconceptualization of memory not as a static act of recollection but as a formal and symbolic logic embedded in the opera's compositional design. Kraus's lecture is not simply an event Berg "remembers" decades later; rather, it marks the inception of a cultural discourse that becomes internalized and musically processed across time. *Lulu* thereby becomes not just a product of biographical influence or reception but a performative site in which individual and collective memories coalesce, refract, and re-emerge in mediated form. Assmann's categories of functional and storage memory provide a framework for analyzing how these recollections become operative within *Lulu*, especially through the recursive mechanisms of musical palindromes, leitmotifs, and dramatic symbolism. This interdisciplinary inquiry bridges opera studies and memory studies to argue that Berg's *Lulu* is an aesthetic crystallization of cultural memory—personal, collective, structural, and symbolic.

The epistemological objective of this investigation is to show that memory theory, particularly Assmann's framework, enables us to reconceptualize Berg's *Lulu* not simply as an object of reception but as a dynamic enactment of cultural memory in which personal recollection, collective identity, and musical structure intersect. Unlike traditional reception-historical approaches that emphasize the audience's or critic's response to a work, memory theory highlights the active processes by which past events (such as Berg's attendance at Kraus's 1905 lecture) are transformed into new cultural forms through selective recollection, suppression, and reactivation. In *Lulu*, memory operates not as a static record but as a structural and symbolic principle: musical palindromes, leitmotifs, and Lulu's portrait function as mnemonic devices that embody both functional and storage memory, linking past experience with present reconfiguration. This approach captures the complex, recursive, and often traumatic mechanisms of cultural memory, thus adding an explanatory dimension that reception studies alone cannot provide. In short, memory theory does not merely supplement reception history but reframes it by foregrounding the ways in which cultural and personal memories become embedded in the very fabric of musical and dramaturgical design. With this in mind, the present article addresses the following fundamental research questions: In what ways can Assmann's theory of cultural memory—particularly the distinction between functional and storage memory—illuminate the cyclical interplay of trauma, archetype, and identity in Berg's *Lulu*? How does the opera transform Karl Kraus's 1905

lecture-performance from a historical act of reception into a cultural memory process that is structurally and symbolically encoded in the opera's libretto and music?

Berg was a lifelong devotee of Kraus's magazine, *Die Fackel* (The torch), which Kraus wrote, published, and distributed at his own expense. In its pages, Kraus was especially keen on exposing the hypocrisy centered around women and the male-driven social apparatus that regulated and constricted female sexuality and sexual practices. This phenomenon is one of the principal symbolic themes of *Lulu* and requires elaboration. The central example of hypocrisy toward this phenomenon, as Kraus saw it, was newspapers that advocated for a social morality of chastity and self-restraint while promoting brothels at the back of their issues and reaping a profit from printing those advertisements. Kraus also strongly objected to the dishonest and biased legal system that brought legal action against prostitutes while turning a blind eye to their male clients.<sup>2</sup> In short, women were held to impossible standards of proper moral behavior, while men could indulge sexually however they wanted without fear of reprisals. Kraus was already aware of these matters and pointing them out in various media communications in the early years of the twentieth century, including at a private production of one of playwright Frank Wedekind's two Lulu plays, *Pandora's Box*, that Kraus organized in 1905. The satirist prefaced the performance with a lecture, drawing a correlation between the play and his perceptions of Viennese society, and the twenty-year-old Berg was in attendance for both the lecture and the performance.<sup>3</sup>

The context of Kraus's criticism sets the tone for the present article as a study of how memory is expressed and represented in Berg's *Lulu* from the perspective of the narrative and the behavior of its characters. Assmann's notion of cultural memory is utilized for this purpose and can be described, in summary, as a system used by a group or collective of people (primarily societies), where knowledge, traditions, and experiences are shared, maintained, and reinterpreted over time. This relates to both individual and group practices, and the current article adopts Assmann's theories to filter Berg's personal history with Kraus's lecture (the individual component). This approach also suggests Berg's belonging to a collective of like-minded people within a specific cultural circle in Vienna, which can be interpreted as the group of devotees who also stood in support of Kraus and his ideas on *Lulu*. The article begins with a theoretical section providing a synopsis of *Lulu* and introducing Assmann's various theories of memory formation, with analogous references

to character expressions in the opera. This section serves to illustrate the intersection of memory, identity, and culture in the opera, which isolates a new interpretive pathway for viewing the complex allegorical meaning in *Lulu* via its character interactions.

The subsequent section of this dialectical discussion engages with aspects of Berg's music that illustrate the broader application of memory systems in the opera from a musical perspective. This analysis focuses on the central orchestral interlude, known as the Film Music Interlude, as well as key leitmotifs and palindromic structures of circularity. This offers a counterpoint to the passages analyzed in the libretto to demonstrate multiple approaches to examining narrative examples of memory tropes. These musical and textual references lead into a discussion of the opera's embodiment of collective cultural memory and, more specifically, its grounding in the historical context of real memories that Berg harnessed from an event more than twenty years prior to the composition of *Lulu*: Kraus's aforementioned 1905 lecture on *Pandora's Box*. This lecture informed Berg's entire understanding of Wedekind's *Lulu* plays, finding ultimate expression in the symbolic implications of his *Lulu* opera a few decades later. Indeed, as Susanne Rode notes, "the evening initiated by Kraus as well as Kraus's introductory speech can be regarded—as far as Alban Berg is concerned—as the most striking example of what has been said about the interweaving of oral and written forms of expression in Kraus's work."<sup>4</sup> Berg was so explicitly influenced by Kraus that Berg's own student, the philosopher Theodor Adorno, had this to say about the satirist's role in the conception of an operatic *Lulu*: "Berg's *Lulu* music thanks him [Kraus] in the name of that utopia which at heart motivates Kraus's critique of the bourgeois taboos that degrade love."<sup>5</sup> In addition, Adorno notes that Kraus's impact guided *Lulu* as a metaphor of "societal repression over thousands of years, [which] has been concentrated in the ambivalent relationship to female sexuality."<sup>6</sup> Berg's other student and biographer, Willi Reich, states that "Berg identified himself completely with the conception of the *Lulu* tragedy contained in Kraus's speech."<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Rode adds that Berg's readings between 1905 and 1907 were catalogued in quotations that he notated, focusing on conceptions of femininity, which Rode sees as an unmistakable foreshadowing of Berg's interest in the *Lulu* stories.<sup>8</sup> Berg himself expressed his enthusiasm for *Die Fackel* in a letter to his friend, the composer Anton Webern, writing on 14 August 1920: "Ah, the Fackel!!! I know it by heart! Every line of this Kraus—even if it's only on the envelope—I adore!"<sup>9</sup> Likewise, in a letter to his former teacher Arnold Schoenberg dated 15 February

1915, Berg shares his impressions of another Kraus lecture, describing his awareness of Kraus's disdain for the press: "In this preface, he attacked the world in holy rage, the world upon which he has so often wished destruction, and of course he attacks it there where the life of the world is mirrored: in the newspaper."<sup>10</sup> Rode states that Kraus often reprinted Wedekind's poems in *Die Fackel*, considering Wedekind as important a playwright as Shakespeare.<sup>11</sup> Kraus's advocacy doubtlessly contributed to Berg's burgeoning affinity for Wedekind. Adorno also states that Berg's view of Kraus "was one of unqualified veneration," adding that the two men knew each other very well. Berg's close relationship with Kraus<sup>12</sup> demonstrates the composer's receptiveness toward remembering Kraus's viewpoints, which would become so intrinsic in *Lulu*. However, it is important to note that connecting Berg and Kraus in this manner should not suggest that Berg was merely reproducing a play and turning it into an opera. Last, Carl Dahlhaus concurs, observing how Berg's entire conception of the *Lulu* drama was filtered through the prism of Kraus's 1905 lecture, where the event was "inextricably intertwined with the impression that the performance of the play left on Berg over decades."<sup>13</sup> Dahlhaus further argues that as both librettist and composer, Berg adopted a dramaturgical perspective that stemmed from the key figure of Alwa, and he defined Lulu's essence through Alwa's conception of her, as Kraus pinpointed in his lecture.<sup>14</sup> Dahlhaus adds that "it would have been unthinkable for Berg to present a drama merely as a set of moral-amoral positions that cancel each other out. And so it was the polemicist Kraus's formula that enabled the music dramatist Berg to give Wedekind's tragedy musical form."<sup>15</sup> On the whole, Berg's letters, the testimonies of his students, and scholarly interpretations all show how invested Berg was in Kraus's socio-cultural beliefs. For this reason, Wedekind's *Lulu* plays should not be viewed as theater pieces that Berg imagined would make for a compelling opera but as a vehicle for expressing the collective memory of Berg, Kraus, Wedekind, and the milieu surrounding Kraus's lecture.

These matters coalesce to further the purpose of the present article of expounding a new theory regarding Berg's compositional approach to *Lulu* by arguing that he relied on his idealized memory of the Kraus lecture to guide the composition of his opera, because it informed his perception of the characters' psychologies. In addition, the experience of seeing Kraus and Wedekind perform on stage allowed Berg to perceive how the theatricality of *Lulu* should appear, the recollection of which likely played a pivotal role in Berg's adaptation of the *Lulu* plays into an opera. Furthermore, the way that

Berg experienced and reshaped *Lulu* after a few decades reflects Assmann's theory of functional and storage memory, which argues that forgotten or overlooked memories in society (i.e., the Kraus lecture-performance) can be revived (usually in works of art) to serve a readapted purpose. With this in mind, this is an interdisciplinary study of music history that intersects with cultural memory studies, presenting a new avenue for interpreting *Lulu* via two different approaches, involving the analysis of, first, themes from the opera as allegorical archetypes of memory theories and, second, Kraus's lecture as a real event, both of which denote memory formations in the operatic narrative. Furthermore, by attending Kraus's lecture, Berg additionally infused *Lulu* with the perspective gained from his own cultural memory.

### **Opera Synopsis and Memory Theory via *Lulu***

In order to establish salient themes in *Lulu*, I would like to first provide a brief synopsis of the opera. The plot follows the meteoric rise and catastrophic fall of Lulu, a figure both alluring and destructive, whose fate is bound up with male desire, social power, and the femme fatale archetype. *Lulu* is an opera in three acts (seven scenes) with an opening prologue. The prologue features the animal tamer in his capacity as emcee, directly addressing the audience and inviting them to enter his menagerie to witness the creatures within. The animals he names are implicitly associated with the opera's main characters, and Lulu herself is carried onstage and introduced as the snake who will seduce and kill those who encounter her. The animal tamer's monologue ends as he beckons the audience to enter, lifting the curtain on the opera proper.

The opening scene of the first act shows Lulu, wife of the medical specialist, sitting for a portrait of herself while the powerful newspaper magnate Dr. Ludwig Schön (secretly infatuated with Lulu) looks on with his son, the composer Alwa Schön. This portrait, attention to which recurs throughout the opera, is both an object of desire and a mirror of projection: men use it to possessively idealize Lulu rather than relate to Lulu herself. After the Schön's depart, the Painter begins his romantic pursuit of Lulu, at which point her husband returns and dies of shock at the suggested sight of Lulu with the Painter.

The second scene finds Lulu married to the Painter (as arranged by Dr. Schön) and secretly entertaining the old vagrant Schigolch, whose dubious past is somehow intertwined with Lulu's, though the truth of their connection is never

revealed. They exit, followed by the entrance of Dr. Schön and the Painter. From Schön, the Painter learns that Lulu has long been under his care. Overwhelmed by these revelations, coupled with his inability to understand the elusive Lulu, the Painter despairs and commits suicide offstage. The third and final scene of Act I takes place at the theater, where Lulu is dancing and where Dr. Schön has brought his fiancée to witness her performance. Lulu feigns a fainting spell to get Dr. Schön alone and manipulates him into breaking off his engagement. She succeeds by forcing him to acknowledge the extent of her control over him. Dr. Schön grudgingly yields to her demands, and Act I closes with Lulu's complete subjugation of the man she has coveted above all others.

The first scene of Act II depicts Lulu, now married to Dr. Schön, hosting a throng of admirers that includes the lesbian Countess Geschwitz. Dr. Schön despises Geschwitz, whom he encounters at the beginning of the scene. He pretends to leave but instead hides in order to spy on Lulu and her secret visitors. His anger and jealousy build until he can no longer endure the spectacle—which includes his son Alwa—and he emerges to confront Lulu, producing a gun and demanding that she kill herself to spare him further humiliation. Lulu tries to defend herself, but Schön is implacable. When he is momentarily distracted by another admirer, Lulu seizes the gun and fires five shots into his back, killing him—but not instantly. Alwa rushes to his dying father, who warns with his final words that Alwa will be next, destined to become another of Lulu's victims. The scene ends with Alwa calling the police as Lulu is arrested. The Film Music Interlude follows, presented as a short silent film with music. It documents the passing of a year and the events between Lulu's arrest and her escape from prison.

The second scene of Act II shows Lulu's admirers voicing their own plans and desires for her upon her return, following her escape, orchestrated by Geschwitz in an elaborate scheme of switching places with her. Lulu reappears, though in a greatly diminished state, which displeases the Acrobat, who had intended to recruit her for his troupe. Despite Lulu's admission that she murdered both his father and his mother, Alwa remains smitten with her, and the two agree to flee together.

Act III demonstrates the symmetrical design of the opera, charting Lulu's fall from high society to degradation. The first scene finds Alwa and Lulu in Paris, living off Alwa's inheritance from his late father, invested in railway shares. All the characters converge at a casino venue, where Lulu faces multiple blackmail

threats. Individuals attempt either to extort money from her or to report her as an escaped convict in exchange for a bounty. When it is suddenly announced that railway shares have collapsed, chaos ensues. Alwa and Lulu manage to escape again, but this time with no means of sustaining a comfortable life.

The final scene takes place in a London attic, where Lulu lives at her lowest point with Alwa and Schigolch. Reduced to prostitution, she is pimped out by the two men as their only means of survival. Geschwitz joins them, and as Lulu works the streets, the three reflect on their fates at Lulu's side while gazing nostalgically at her portrait. After Schigolch departs, Lulu brings back a string of clients who are revealed as doubles of her deceased husbands. The second client murders Alwa, while the third and final client—an embodiment of Dr. Schön, identified as Jack (strongly implied to be Jack the Ripper)—seals Lulu's fate. After a brief negotiation, Lulu takes Jack backstage, while Geschwitz remains onstage, lamenting her plight, Lulu's indifference, and her own unfulfilled plan to escape her lowly condition. Suddenly, Lulu shrieks as Jack stabs her to death. Geschwitz rushes to intervene but is also stabbed before Jack makes his getaway. The opera closes with the dying Geschwitz proclaiming her eternal love for Lulu, directed toward Lulu's portrait, before succumbing to her wounds.

In her comprehensive study on cultural memory, Aleida Assmann presents a string of theories that are applicable to *Lulu* as a method for distinguishing the imagery of memory in the opera. In her analysis of cultural memory, using specific examples from art and culture, Assmann categorizes cultural memory from one perspective as a gathering of archetypes that are shared between individuals and the social group. Assmann writes of pictures that accompany biblical texts, citing how the perception of the picture impacts the inner conception that creates its own meaning as an archetype.<sup>16</sup> This is strikingly similar to the function of Lulu's portrait as a conduit for those who behold it to idealistically project their desires onto it, and to then transfer those desires to Lulu herself. This action correlates with Lulu's role as a femme fatale archetype, which mirrors the established cultural paradigms of femininity, lust, and danger. Lulu is a product of her culture, and cultural memory conditions the stereotypical views of gender that the male gaze applies to her. As Susanne Rode writes, "the relationship between Lulu and her portrait is not about interchangeability, but about the ever-increasing distance between art and life, which preserves her grace and allows the idea of the true essence of femininity to remain present, so that it becomes all the clearer as to what misery Lulu is

driven by society's moral concepts."<sup>17</sup>

Assmann next writes of trauma as a type of lived memory that impacts identity formation.<sup>18</sup> The experience of trauma can subsequently act as a repression of memory within the psyche of the individual. This is evident in Lulu's character in the context of her blurred memory of her own past, as well as in the other characters' failure to understand or accept the past in general, all of which may imply the presence of traumatic memories. Moreover, the violent deaths of all her husbands are experiences that Lulu does not work through but suppresses. This illustrates her inability to overcome her trauma, resulting in its repetition, as people who love her continue to die around her. Astrid Erll also discusses trauma as something that cannot be resolved, thereby resulting in its repression,<sup>19</sup> which can be related to how trapped Lulu is in her trauma-derived memories. Lulu's inability to come to terms with her past is further reinforced by Dr. Schön, who continuously tries to control Lulu by suppressing her past in futile attempts to break away from her influence. Therefore, he suppresses his own traumatic memories of the dead husbands that he set Lulu up with, only to become one himself. Moreover, as Cathy Caruth argues, trauma is not seated in an experiential event in one's past but exists rather as an unabsorbed nature that returns to oppress the individual later on through the "inescapability of its belated impact."<sup>20</sup> This notion of the unavoidable return of a mental response that is not clear to the individual mirrors the above discussion of Lulu's patterned behaviors of repressed trauma, further reinforcing the fractured pathology of her memory and self-identity. Both Erll and Caruth believe that these suppressed mental reactions are an indelible part of an individual's psyche, which is certainly how Lulu's character is presented as a reflection of her inner turmoil.

The aspect of memory-derived identity correlates with Assmann's distinction between functional memory and storage memory, in which the former pertains to a past memory that an individual or a group harnesses to influence their overall perceptions and actions in life, while the latter is a repository for the entire past of a society, even if it is forgotten or not currently applicable. The point is that its components—artifacts, documents, artworks—can be retrieved at a later date and reintegrated into the scope of functional memory.<sup>21</sup> Lulu opposes how others view her, but her identity is linked to how others remember and judge her. She is a collection unto herself of disputed memory—straddling both functional memory in her present and aspects of storage memory regarding shadowy expressions of forgetfulness, such as

other characters who constantly forget her real name or the fact that she is a convicted murderer. She is a repository for her function as the recipient of characters' projections of their own emotional and cultural paradigms (such as the male gaze that views women as sexual objects of exploitation) onto her. Assmann also notes that forgetfulness is always present within the construction of active, functional memory,<sup>22</sup> which the characters of *Lulu* embody in the way they forget or ignore the outcomes of their actions, which in turn sows chaos and discontent in the opera. Once more, Lulu herself is at the center of this practice due to how inconsistent she is with how she remembers (or forgets) her own past, which circles back to a plausible avoidance of trauma, all of which is a conscious or unconscious avoidance of truth. This behavior on her part speaks to the larger themes in the opera concerning gender inequality and power relationships.

Last, in regard to Assmann's mention of cultural artifacts as central or neglected fixtures of memory,<sup>23</sup> Berg's music (as we will see in the next section) can itself be viewed as an expression of cultural memory by way of its motifs and repetitions, which recall past memories, emotions, and events. This is particularly noteworthy at the end of the opera, where the final scene is essentially a recollection of past exploits. Assmann suggests that artists and their works influence the construction of cultural memory by permanently representing a view of people along with their experiences and beliefs.<sup>24</sup> A connection to how cultural memory is associated with individual memory can be seen here, where it reinforces or disqualifies notions of sociopolitical identity formations. This is reflected in the way that Berg chose to remember the events of Kraus's lecture and performance, and how he used that memory to define his opera's cultural interpretations in his present. Assmann's theories are palpably reflected in *Lulu*, as the opera contains explicit notions of memory, identity, and culture. The characters embody the notion of how groups remember or forget, how trauma affects memory, and how cultural archetypes influence how others are seen and treated. Berg infused *Lulu* with complex symbolisms of cultural memory as a mirror of his own experiences and his understanding of truths as he perceived them. Since its world premiere in 1937, *Lulu* has unsettled audiences with its shocking and subversive narrative, and it becomes clear that a sizeable component of this disconcerting quality can be attributed to the way that memory tropes are employed to heighten the irrationality and conflict between the characters.

Turning our attention now to a central element of the narrative, the seduction

of Alwa begins early on, even when Lulu makes a greater effort to wedge herself into the life of Dr. Schön by forcing him to dissolve his engagement and marry her. In the third scene of the first act—the scene in which Lulu finally breaks the resolve of Dr. Schön—she manipulates Alwa by suggestively invoking the memory of Alwa’s dead mother, which arouses Alwa’s early memories of devotion to Lulu and how, in his youth, he passionately told his father that he had to marry Lulu following his mother’s death. Later on, after Lulu and Alwa are reunited following her escape from prison, Alwa’s infatuation with his father’s murderer has only increased, which Lulu recognizes and now cruelly exploits to consolidate her hold over Alwa. When Alwa beckons her to him, Lulu invokes a memory ploy by asking if Alwa has forgotten about his father and the fact that she shot him. This reflection has no impact on Alwa’s morality, and he says that he still loves her despite what she did, begging her now for kisses. Shortly thereafter, at the end of the scene that closes the second act, when Alwa is in a sexual frenzy, Lulu coldly asks: “is this not the sofa on which your father bled to death?”<sup>25</sup> Once again, Alwa’s deflection of the remembrance can be seen as an example of suppressing a traumatic memory in order to fulfill the idealized desire of the present. These applications of strategic memory invocations serve to reinforce the characters’ archetypal roles: Lulu as the callous seductress and Alwa as her powerless victim. Alexandre Dessingué argues that there is a symbiotic relationship between individual and collective memory in which the two shift constantly due to continued interaction and the individual’s memory is only possible as far as it can integrate into group memory.<sup>26</sup> This concept is at play in the dynamic between Lulu and Alwa and the evolving dynamic of the latter’s memory. At the start of the opera, Lulu is more of a sister to him due to their familial bond amidst Dr. Schön’s financial support of Lulu. This dynamic changes as Lulu next becomes Alwa’s lover and finally a kind of warped surrogate mother. These examples underscore Alwa’s selective memory of events and forgetfulness regarding his ability to merge his individual memory with the collective memory of Lulu as eternally desirable despite her destructive tendencies.

Throughout the opera, the phenomenon of Lulu’s portrait is the most striking physical manifestation of her irresistible charm and is the conduit upon which all the characters project their desires. The portrait functions almost like a holy relic, eliciting an irrational degree of faith from those who behold it. The portrait is the epitome of idealized desire, and in the second half of the opera, when everyone’s fortunes are at their lowest, the portrait becomes a

beacon of memories that are attached to reminiscences of a better past. In a symmetrical sentiment to the essence of Lulu's portrait and the idealization of memory that fuels its power, there is an essence of inevitability by virtue of a fixed and unchanging phenomenon that almost traps the individual in an imagined prison of their memory. This is evident in *Lulu* through the obsessive compulsion that characters project onto Lulu's portrait. Kordula Knaus observes similar patterns of ideality, which she likens to romanticized views of femininity. As such,

"Lulu is thus both the pinnacle and culmination of the "enigmatic woman" of the turn of the century, transforming her character—as if she were a chameleon changing its color—and uniting the various imaginations within herself. At the same time, however, nothing remains of her but an empty shell that seems capable of being filled at will."<sup>27</sup>

Memory also acts as a nostalgia for the past that likewise implies a desire to recreate these memories in the present. In the final scene of the opera, Lulu's admirers huddle around Lulu's portrait, which the Countess Geschwitz has brought to their London exile. Lulu's followers harness the suggestive power of the portrait to wax nostalgic about the past. Schigolch states of the portrait: "The whole apartment takes on a more elegant appearance. Her body was at its peak when the portrait was painted."<sup>28</sup> Alwa: "The childlike expression in her eyes is still the same, despite everything she has experienced since then."<sup>29</sup> Schigolch, lamenting their situation and Lulu's new role as a prostitute, states: "She can say with confidence: this was me once. Anyone who gets their hands on it today [the portrait] will have no idea what our youth was like."<sup>30</sup> Lulu, conversely, upon seeing her portrait once again, shudders with horror and demands its removal. She is far less swayed by memory and does not irrationally idealize the past, knowing that there is no return to what once was. Their memories have turned all the other characters in this last scene into passive observers and commentators on cruel twists of fate. Lulu remains the sole agent in her guise as a prostitute. Her refusal to acquiesce to the sedation of memory elevates her to the group's only source of income, as she alone feebly works to survive the reality of their miserable existential situation.

A few explanations can be suggested as to why Lulu is able to resist the somnambulant regression of existing solely in idealized fantasy. First, as the model of the portrait, Lulu never displayed a narcissistic attraction to the depicted image but rather capitalized on the subjugating influence that the portrait exerted over the individuals who longingly beheld it. Second, memories

imply a past onto which one may fixate if and when one is compelled to do so by a facilitating impetus like the portrait. The operatic narrative purposefully maintains a shadowy, nondescript past for Lulu in an attempt to portray her as a purely corruptive force devoid of any conventional origin. The essence of her existence is prophetically categorized in the opera's prologue by the animal tamer, who describes Lulu's purpose when he states: "She as the root of all evil was created; to snare us, to mislead us she was fated, and to murder, with no clue left on the spot. My sweetest beast, please don't be what you're not! You have no right to seem a gentler creature, distorting what is true in woman's nature."<sup>31</sup> Lulu spends the duration of the opera reflecting on this identity that has been assigned to her. Later on, in the second scene of the opening act, when she is asked a series of probing questions that would theoretically illustrate the psyche of a developed persona and character, Lulu replies to all queries with the response, "I do not know" ("Ich weiß es nicht"). It is clear that Lulu remembers the experiences of her life, but by negating a knowledge of fundamental formations of self, she is disavowing the kind of connection to one's past that would allow her to reflect in a way that gives strength to memories. This denial in turn creates the possibility to fabricate illusions in order to placate an undesirable reality. Although Lulu demonstrates free agency to an extent regarding her actions, her motivations are essentially programmed into her by the animal tamer's figurative embodiment of the sexually commodifying male gaze, rendering her immune to the kind of emotional burden that an intense preoccupation with memory tropes places on her closest companions at the end of the opera.

Whereas the first two acts of *Lulu* were not site-specific, the final act explicitly takes place first in Paris and then London. Moreover, in Geschwitz's final monologue before her stabbing, she expresses a desire to return to Germany specifically. As these characters emphasize a displacement of spatial location, coupled with a palpable obsession with their past, it is plausible to assume that they also pine for a restoration of lost places as well as lost moments. The tenuous situation in which these characters find themselves suggests that their memory constructs reflect a desire to return to both temporal and spatial fixtures of the past as a combined ideality, to which their present is a substitute neither in time nor space. In this regard, traveling and fleeing make no difference if memory reflection is evident.

The application of memory, as it is expressed by the various characters in the final scene of *Lulu*, takes on a reflective tone that is akin to a repetition of the

opera's idealizing gaze of Lulu as an archetype of seduction. As previously stated, Lulu herself does not indulge in this practice of reviving memories of the past, thereby disregarding the nostalgia of memory. Reality takes the place of idealized illusion for her, which is perhaps also why she is the only individual in the entire opera who verbally objects to and attempts to resist the onslaught of death, as there is no memory that she can escape to in her final moment. Geschwitz is another character who can never fully break with the ideality that Lulu's portrait inspires, and is trapped by the power of memory as a result. This is most evident after her fatal stabbing and before her death, where her eternal devotion is directed at the portrait in her final act in life. Even at the very end, the fantasy of the portrait eclipses a fleeting moment of memory-defying logic. Geschwitz returns to the past of her memory at the very end and figuratively dies there. Lulu dies in the present, and under no illusion of her fate. The reality of circumstance divides their physical deaths, but it is their reaction to the one conduit of memory (the portrait) that separates Lulu from her circle, arguably resulting in her more horrific and drawn-out death.

## **Musical Motives in *Lulu* as Memory Implementations**

*Lulu* is constructed as an opera in three acts, but it is designed as a narrative in two parts: a rise and a fall scenario of the title character. At the center of the opera, evenly bisecting the plot, Berg crafted the Film Music Interlude (FMI), which is a short silent film that exists outside of the opera's narrative time and depicts the events of Lulu's arrest, trial, incarceration, and ultimate escape from prison in the aftermath of her murder of Dr. Schön. Berg describes this duality of fortune within the FMI in a letter to Schoenberg dated 7 August 1930:

The orchestral interlude, which in my version bridges the gap between the last act of *Erdegeist* and the first of *Büchse der Pandora*, is also the focal point for the whole tragedy and—after the ascent of the opening acts (or scenes)—the descent in the following scenes marks the beginning of the retrograde. (Incidentally: the 4 men who visit Lulu in her attic room are to be portrayed in the opera by the same singers who fall victim to her in the first half of the opera. In reverse order, however.)<sup>32</sup>

The action prior to the FMI shows Lulu as a cunning and manipulative seductress who weaponizes memories to test the devotion of her helpless lovers. Her awareness that she wields power over others with impunity allows her to make absurd proclamations that do not deter the obsessive affections of those around her.

The FMI and what it represents is a narrative invention that Berg created entirely himself with no reference to the Lulu plays. George Perle describes Berg's musical organization of the FMI as follows:

The action and music are synchronized here with a precision that anticipates the pre-recorded soundtrack of a modern film. ... [T]he exact midpoint of the Film Music is marked by a fermata that divides m. 687 exactly in half. The meaning of the fermata as the representation of the period of Lulu's imprisonment is visually symbolized in the unconventional notation of m. 687. The second half of the bar, where the retrograde begins, mirrors the first half graphically as well as musically, so that the fermata, in the full score, stands between the last note of the first half of the Film Music and the first note of the second half.<sup>33</sup>

The palindromic features of the film, its music, and the function of the FMI as the pivotal epicenter of the opera does not only reverse fortunes; it redefines the essence of memory in the opera from one of idealized hope in the first half to one of nostalgia and irrational denial of truth in the second half. Memory is temporal, and since Berg's palindromes are "anti-temporal,"<sup>34</sup> as Adorno suggests, the post-FMI presence of memory formations takes on even more distorted characteristics for their complete lack of rooting Lulu's admirers in the present, especially in the opera's final scene, where illogical denial runs rampant.

A brief discussion of Berg's use of palindromes offers an engaging correlation to concepts of memory, as the palindromes serve to influence characters' perceptions and recollections of events. Essentially, the palindromes found in all of Berg's mature works are circular patterns that denote repetition. Berg does this by reaching an arrival point in the musical texture, after which a mirror image is initiated, usually with large-scale repetitions that turn back on themselves, resulting in the end point leading back to the beginning in a constant loop. However, the movement backwards is not an exact repetition, which is to say that the subsequent material is not an identical repetition but rather a reminiscent variation.<sup>35</sup> The palindromes are perceived as negating symbols, facilitating an erasure of progressive time.<sup>36</sup> The strategic use of these devices in *Lulu* allows Berg to influence the interpretation of events throughout the opera in non-linear ways. Indeed, the circular patterns of seduction, betrayal, and death show how collective memory confines the characters to repeating events that they are powerless to break free of. The erasing nature of the palindromes also reflects Assmann's concept of suppressing trauma, and therefore guaranteeing its repetition,

which is also tied to how the characters forget or ignore past events, causing them to react with oblivious detachment when events that they witnessed previously, with Lulu manipulating her husbands and bringing about their downfalls, now happen to them. Berg's palindromes reflect the intersection between an individual's memory and how it fits within the larger construct of archetypally derived group memories of Lulu as an object of constant desire. In this regard, *Lulu's* circular structures in both the libretto and music show how memory is not an unbroken chain of recollection but a repeating theme of reinterpretation for the characters. Kordula Knaus describes this feature of Berg's music thus: "Berg's extensive exploration of symmetrical and palindromic structures creates a new formal concept. This alone achieves a greater degree of dramatic clarity and plot coherence than in Wedekind's work, which can also be observed in the design of the individual scenes."<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Berg's manipulation of large-scale palindrome structures, particularly in the FMI, exemplifies how form itself becomes a mnemonic device. The FMI's perfect mirror symmetry—from its opening material through the central fermata and back—does not merely divide the opera into ascent and descent; it stages memory as reversal. Musical events are literally "remembered" in retrograde, underscoring the opera's structural preoccupation with the return of the repressed, a notion paralleled in trauma theory.

Leitmotifs in *Lulu* operate with a similar recursive logic. For example, the "Lulu" motif—introduced with her first entrance—returns in altered contexts, often fragmented, rhythmically displaced, or harmonically revoiced. These changes encode narrative memory: characters and the audience recall the motif's earlier iterations, while its transformations signify both temporal distance and interpretive reframing. The "Schön" motif's transformation into material for Jack the Ripper's scene epitomizes this process, collapsing temporal layers so that past and present coexist in a single musical gesture. This is evident in *Lulu* through Berg's musical treatment of Lulu's tone row. George Perle notes that the basic series that is found throughout the score is also Lulu's row.<sup>38</sup> Lulu's series is first heard in the opera's prologue, where it accompanies the animal tamer's declaration of Lulu's manipulative and corrupting nature. Her identity is one of elusiveness throughout the opera: she is at various times a temptress, wife, dancer, convict, and prostitute. Lulu's series is also important for being the prime row from which Berg derived several (but not all) other character rows. He did this by taking every second, third, fifth, and seventh note

of her series to produce the sets associated with the athlete, the schoolboy, Countess Geschwitz, and Alwa, respectively.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, Schigolch's trope is also extracted from Lulu's series.<sup>40</sup>

By giving Lulu's row the flexibility to merge with those of other characters, Berg developed a musical paradox through this fragmentation and row transformation that musically as well as narratively asks who Lulu really is. The music delays the resolution to this question indefinitely. By sustaining this uncertainty, Berg's opera aligns with what Assmann regards as the transformative dimension of cultural memory, where the past is not fixed but continually reinterpreted in the present. Lulu's mutable row operates at the intersection of storage memory—the score's preserved, unchanging set of pitches—and functional memory, in which those pitches are continually reactivated in new contexts to generate shifting meanings. By letting Lulu's row merge and fragment into the identities of other characters, Berg turns musical material into a living repository that both safeguards and reshapes the past. In this way, the opera's refusal to resolve Lulu's identity mirrors the open-endedness of memory itself, which for Assmann is defined not by closure but by its capacity for continual reconfiguration.

Continuing this thread of open-ended and reconfigured memory, an example found in the musical fabric of *Lulu* can be seen in Berg's subtle motivic treatment of Lulu's returning husbands, which Berg suggested at the end of his letter to Schoenberg cited above. After Lulu's introduction in the prologue, the animal tamer presents the tiger, who is the embodiment of Dr. Schön. Berg transformed Lulu's series to formulate the "tiger's leap" motif, which represents Dr. Schön's aggressive and controlling inclinations towards Lulu.<sup>41</sup> The last time the "tiger's leap" is heard is in the final scene of the opera with Jack's entrance. In both instances of the motif, the figure is notated in the celli with an upward chromatic movement that ends in a glissando leap up two octaves to a notated natural harmonic. The same spelled notes appear in both iterations, but with slightly different rhythmic contours until the verbatim glissando.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the two motifs appear in *Hauptstimme* voices that are rendered even more explicit by the fact that no other moving orchestral textures are present to even slightly obscure the forward audibility of the delicate passages. The clarity of expression, especially at the end, is meant to heighten the suggestive significance and impending doom that Jack has brought with him. With this motivic ploy, Berg at once creates a musical parallel between Dr. Schön and Jack through a circular return.<sup>43</sup> This

symmetrical process represents Berg's practice of mirroring characters using subtle signs and symbols in his music. This is particularly evident in the final act of the opera, the music of which recapitulates a considerable amount of music from the first act, especially in conjunction with dramaturgical associations connecting characters and situations.<sup>44</sup> In Assmann's terms, the "tiger's leap" motif preserves storage memory through its exact pitch content while activating functional memory when recontextualized from Dr. Schön to Jack. This transformation turns the motif into a conduit where past associations resurface and acquire new meaning, exemplifying cultural memory's capacity to bind temporal layers into a single, resonant gesture.

Bryan Simms and Charlotte Erwin capture the overarching significance of *Lulu's* music thus:

Berg could not have considered taking on such a difficult subject as *Lulu* without a deep engagement with the elusive central character. As the composer, his authorial voice would ultimately override Wedekind's in the opera. It would be in character with Berg's love of puzzles and ciphers for him to devise a complex musical agenda—mirroring Kraus's distinction of mask and face—through which the obvious, surface aspects of his material turn out not to be "real." What appears repulsive in *Lulu* could be made tragic, even sympathetic, by the music.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, in regard to the above phenomenon of *Lulu's* returning husbands, Simms and Erwin note that through this practice, "Berg conforms to Kraus's interpretation of the end of the drama. 'The great reprisal has begun,' Kraus writes, 'a man's world is brashly taking revenge for its own guilt.'"<sup>46</sup>

### **Kraus's Lecture on *Pandora's Box***

This section on Berg's attendance at and later remembrance of Kraus's lecture and performance of one of the *Lulu* plays serves to illustrate an integration of Assmann's theory on functional versus storage memory.<sup>47</sup> At the time of the lecture, it was an event of functional memory due to its status as a lived experience by a collective group of attending patrons. By virtue of Berg's engagement with his memories of the lecture decades later, he transformed that past event from its current state as a stored memory into functional memory again by reviving and reinterpreting that past event to inform his new conception of *Lulu* as an opera. Although it cannot be said that the Kraus event was necessarily forgotten, the priority Berg gave to the event certainly elevated it into the realm of functional memory, which is a larger microcosm

of how cultural memory functions as an evolving entity that adapts itself as needed when one imbues an artwork, as Assmann would say, with recollecting features of the past in order to give it a new meaning in the present. Kraus opened his 1905 lecture on *Pandora's Box* with the following extended text, which eloquently captures the ethos of both the drama and its time, as well as the central themes that Berg made synonymous in his *Lulu* opera:

'A soul rubbing the sleep out of its eyes in the next world.' A poet and lover, hesitating between love and the artistic projection of female beauty, holds Lulu's hand in his and speaks the words which are the key to this maze of femininity, the labyrinth in which many a man has lost the thread of his reason. ... In the last act of *Pandora's Box*, he [Alwa] will, delirious in the contemplation of Lulu's portrait, formulate these words: 'Looking at this portrait I find my self-respect again. It makes my fate comprehensible to me. Everything we have experienced becomes so natural, so inevitable, so crystal clear. He who still feels secure in his bourgeois attitudes when confronted with these full, rounded lips, these great, innocent, childlike eyes, this pink and white, healthy body, let him cast the first stone at us.'

These words are spoken as he gazes at the portrait of the woman who became the destroyer of everyone, because she was destroyed by everyone, and they encompass the world of the author, Frank Wedekind. A world in which woman, if she matures towards aesthetic perfection, is not condemned to take from man the cross of moral responsibility.<sup>48</sup>

Alwa's monologue mixes the familiar idealized frenzy that Lulu's portrait elicits from its viewers, replete with memory expressions regarding their collective path through the history of the narrative as an example of fate. What is more, however, Kraus admits that Alwa's sentiments and projections onto Lulu's womanhood are staples of Wedekind's world, suggesting that the metaphor of the play is palpably a mirror to reality. Berg shared this reality, and it is of little surprise that decades later, the composer reproduced in his libretto Alwa's entire monologue as Kraus quoted it. Crucially, Alwa's reflection comes in the final act, shortly before his death, when he spiritually feeds off of the portrait at his lowest point to imagine a resurgence of vitality. It is clear that such declarations are only in his imagination, yet it potently represents the duality between reality and illusion that the portrait still presents. It is particularly effective to note that Alwa first speaks of himself and his enhanced feelings but ends his reflection by sexually commodifying Lulu, applying his now-thematic listing of her physical attributes. This serves to remind onlookers that Lulu's essence, whether in body or portrait, is defined by an archetypal seduction that stems directly from her sexuality. The entrancing power of Lulu's portrait was, likewise, explicitly known to Kraus, Berg, and the other

attendees of that evening's performance, which featured Wedekind himself in the role of Dr. Schön. Moreover, the way that Kraus describes Lulu as the destroyer of everyone is reminiscent of the animal tamer's classification of Lulu's identity. These, then, are the conceptual foundations that conditioned Berg's interpretation of these characters and situations at the time of hearing them, as well as later when he remembered these internalizations and inserted them back into his operatic narrative.

Berg's attendance at the lecture was key because, as Astrid Erll notes, "we participate in a collective symbolic order; we can discern, interpret, and remember past events. ... [S]ocial frameworks, thus, form the all-encompassing horizon in which our perception and memory is embedded."<sup>49</sup> In Berg's youth, his social group, which embraced Kraus's views, facilitated the type of collective interaction required to ascribe meaning and to then transmit it into the future through memory recollection. However, it is "through individual acts of memory that the collective memory can be observed."<sup>50</sup> Berg's *Lulu*, therefore, is the expression of the composer's individual memory that speaks for the collective memory paradigm in which it was first conceived. As a form of collective memory (specifically, Berg's like-minded social circle), the way that Berg remembered and was influenced by Kraus's lecture speaks to the function of this experience as an identity-forming event that solidified Berg's connection to the group of similar-thinking individuals, as "participation in the collective memory indicates that the rememberer belongs to the group."<sup>51</sup> This is an important point, because it emphasizes a shared ideology that runs deeper than a circumstantial occurrence derived from a shared cultural milieu of emplacement in time and space. Some scholars view the collective component as essential, whereas Dessingué, in his interpretation of Maurice Halbwachs, the sociologist who pioneered the idea of collective memory, suggests that "without social frameworks, the individual is unable to remember 'in a correct way.'"<sup>52</sup> In this regard, there is a conflation between the individual and the group, as collective memory combines these entities as "an act of reconstruction of a past event and an act of individual remembering."<sup>53</sup> All of these theories serve to reinforce the extent to which *Lulu* is a testament to a collective remembrance as expressed by one future practitioner (Berg) who experienced a specific socio-cultural framework, of which the opera is an amalgamation.

The concept of belonging to a group cannot be overemphasized in regard to Berg's cultural presence and awareness. The Viennese writer and Berg

contemporary Stefan Zweig believed that there existed an essence of commonality and integration among Vienna's many socio-economic and ethnic groups, which was a byproduct of the city's rich cultural identity. All of this was punctuated by the desire to "be Viennese."<sup>54</sup> Kraus stood at the center of this recognition, because as Edward Timms writes, the satirist identified the culture of behavior in everyday Viennese life. The satire that Kraus promoted was for an initiated audience of people who belonged to the same experiential group and could therefore understand Kraus's subtleties of meaning.<sup>55</sup> Timms states that the primary element that separates Vienna's cultural circles from those of other cities is that in Vienna, they are all connected and interacted with one another.<sup>56</sup> Berg's presence in this multifaceted milieu, where he cited writers, painters, architects, and others among his circle of friends, gave him the context, support, and motivation to mirror these experiences in *Lulu*.

Kraus next invokes his own socio-cultural memory to describe the historic disparity between the sexes and the German literature that focuses on the controlling male gaze that is thrust upon women. Specifically, this sentiment centers around the trope of "the tragedy of lost virginity."<sup>57</sup> Wedekind, Kraus argues, was the first writer to break from the tradition of lamenting lost virginity. This is the start of Kraus's point advocating for the abolition of an orthodox sexual morality that not only constricts the freedom of female sexuality but hypocritically turns a blind eye to any sexually deviant acts made by men due to their perceived higher social and moral standing, which, in the court of public opinion, exonerates them from any wrongdoing. Berg was keenly influenced by the rhetoric of this contextualizing expression of Germanic cultural memory, and Kraus too is invoking his own revival of a storage memory into functional memory by drawing a correlation between these past ideals and the hypocritical nature of the present. It is a reflection of a cultural legacy that informs Berg in 1905, just as he informed his future public of the moralities of 1905 through his own storage memory restoration. Indeed, this realization is so important in connection with the distorting projection of the male gaze that Berg allowed Lulu to break character as a seductress to defend the authenticity of her womanhood in the first scene of the second act to the infuriated and emasculated Dr. Schön, when she states:

If people killed themselves for my sake, that does not diminish my value. You knew as well why you took me as your wife, as I knew why I took you as my husband. You had cheated on your best friends with me; you couldn't easily cheat on yourself with me too. If you sacrifice your twilight years to me, you have had all my youth for it. I have never wanted to appear in the world to be anything other than what I was taken for; and I have never been taken in the world for anything other than what I am.<sup>58</sup>

Kraus puts the play's sexual dichotomy between the genders into clear perspective when he writes:

The play depicts a woman running the gauntlet: a woman not intended by her Creator to serve the egotism of her possessor, who can only rise to achieve her true worth if allowed her freedom. ... A man may dream about having a free female companion; but reality will force her to belong to him as wife or mistress, because his need for social respectability will always take precedence over his dreams. Thus even the man who wishes to have a polyandrous wife wants her for himself. This simple desire must be regarded as the basis of all love tragedies: the man's desire to be chosen without allowing the woman the right to choose.<sup>59</sup>

Once again, Kraus is applying a memory exercise by conflating the dramatic impetus of this Lulu play with a standardized narrative procedure of hypocritical desire between men and women regarding the association between desire and choice. Following a further description of the destructive force of this gender dilemma, Kraus returns to Lulu's portrait, noting that "the tragic heroine of the drama is in fact her beauty: her portrait, the picture of her painted when at the height of her beauty, plays a more important role than Lulu herself."<sup>60</sup> This idea denotes the abstract unreality of idealized obsession, which also must have borne an impact on the young Berg. Certainly, if we look at the opera *Lulu*, Berg ascribed musical motives to the portrait that illustrate the significant allegorical meaning of its place in the narrative. Perle describes how Berg devised a set of musical "Picture Chords" that offer a variety of contexts in relation to the portrait. These include: "the picture itself; Lulu as the subject of the picture; the Painter as the maker of the picture. The portrait and its special music are present in every scene, providing both visually and aurally an element of continuity within the changing context of time and place of the drama."<sup>61</sup> Additionally, Silvio J. dos Santos concurs with the seminal impact that Kraus's lecture had on Berg, writing that "the passage [by Kraus] that addresses Lulu's portrait had the most profound influence on Berg's conception of the portrait's role in the formation of Lulu's identity in the opera."<sup>62</sup> Moreover, Santos argues, Kraus's view of the portrait was so striking to the young composer that "Berg gave Lulu's portrait a significance that goes

far beyond its role in Wedekind's plays. Indeed, he substantially amended Wedekind's text and changed the function of Lulu's portrait in the opera. These transformations reveal Berg's conception of Lulu, from the unfolding to the final development of her character."<sup>63</sup> Lulu's portrait is both narratively and musically a leitmotif that emphasizes and reinforces memory formations for every character who beholds it, because the portrait forces them to reengage with their idealized projections of Lulu, which continually accompany all the characters due to the portrait's constant presence in every scene. Therefore, following its introduction in the opera's first scene, the portrait is thereafter an endless catalyst for inciting past memories, which reaches its apex in the reminiscent nature of the dialogue in the opera's final scene.

The thrall of Lulu's portrait and its associated male gaze reflects wider perceptions of women in Kraus and Berg's time. Certainly, after World War I, "the so-called New Woman of Weimar was under considerable pressure to conform to traditional expectations."<sup>64</sup> In addition, as Karen Pegley notes, the conception of a woman as being ambiguous and incomprehensible was depicted by artists in Berg's time in order to illustrate their sexuality as originating from an innate essence that is at odds with a man's rational way of thinking. Femmes fatales used their sexuality to diminish men's logic, which turned these men into the seductress's victims in artistic narratives that represent sexualized dichotomies of engagement between the two genders.<sup>65</sup> Judy Lochhead offers a similar idealized view of Lulu, whose "character does not embody any essential feature of 'Woman.' Rather, the Lulu character depicts a social construction of 'Woman,' a construction which plays out to tragic and destructive ends in the opera."<sup>66</sup> This "construction" is projected onto Lulu directly, again, by the animal tamer, especially when he has her carried around in the prologue like an object without any real, self-governing agency. Lulu is an idea as much as a person, and this is made clear by Kraus's analysis of womanhood in Vienna in his and Berg's time.

The pressures imposed on women to conform to these culturally constructed ideals reveal a deeper memory structure within Viennese modernity itself. The "eternal feminine" of fin-de-siècle discourse—enshrined in art, literature, and social etiquette—functioned as a repository for Assmann's storage memory: an inherited archetype perpetuated across generations through repetition and ritual. Kraus's exposure of this ideal's hypocrisy activates it as functional memory in his own time, transforming inherited myths into active cultural critique. Berg, by internalizing this discourse in his portrayal

of *Lulu*, translates that same critique into musical-dramatic form. The opera thus stages the recollected persistence of gendered archetypes—the femme fatale, the prostitute, the temptress—as culturally transmitted memories whose continual reactivation ensures their endurance. In this respect, Berg's *Lulu* becomes not only a mirror of male projection but also a living archive of cultural memory through which the history of woman's representation is itself remembered and reenacted.

As mentioned in the previous section, Berg's invocation of musical memory (from an audience perspective) is evident in *Lulu* with the return of Dr. Schön in the guise of Jack the Ripper. Focusing now on the narrative component, a textual symmetry is evoked first, where following his murder of both *Lulu* and *Geschwitz*, Jack exclaims: "That was a good bit of work" ("Das war ein Stück Arbeit"), which was the precise phrase that Dr. Schön spoke in the second scene of Act I.<sup>67</sup> Jack's next text reads: "I'm such a lucky guy" ("Ich bin doch ein verdammter Glückspilz"), which contains the exact same six spelled notes, in a similar rhythmic contour but a different order, as the spelled notes and contour of Dr. Schön's text from the first scene of Act II, which reads: "These are my twilight years" ("Das mein Lebensabend").<sup>68</sup> These musical mirror images are also scored almost identically with the only moving instrumental line accompanying the two texts being that of the bassoon, which also has the same spelled notes in both cases, and in the same general rhythmic structure, but in different registers. A recapitulation of this nature is meant as a reminder of the past, that is, the restatement of a memory brought back to life. This example is also symbolically indicative of *Lulu's* general meaning as a large-scale allusion to the cultural memory of Kraus's lecture.

A main argument of the memory theme is that at the end of the opera only *Lulu* is firmly rooted in reality, while her companions languish in reveries of the past. Kraus isolates a narrative representation of this for *Lulu*, stating that "in order to escape from one blackmailer she has to throw herself into the arms of the next, becoming everyone's victim and sacrificing each one, until, exhausted, she encounters the ultimate and quintessential avenger of the male sex—Jack the Ripper."<sup>69</sup> *Lulu's* survival instincts, therefore, do not afford her the same luxuries of contemplation that her companions indulge in, especially in the final scene. At this point, Kraus once again delves into his memory to showcase Wedekind's innovative style by pointing out how it has evolved past the traditional tenets of naturalism, with its greater emphasis on geographically distinct speech patterns, toward a preoccupation with

characters' inner existential states.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, Susanne Rode notes that in his 1905 lecture, Kraus polemicized against the deplorable business environment of naturalistic dramas, while promoting a dramatic ethos that turns ideas into ideals.<sup>71</sup> Rode further argues that Kraus's criticism of naturalism, in favor of a more art-based reality, was important for demonstrating to Berg a more poetic manner of expressive thought rather than one based on materiality.<sup>72</sup> As such, "Berg, like Kraus, did not perceive Wedekind's *Lulu* tragedy as a naturalistic play."<sup>73</sup> Additionally, Rode observes that Kraus's belief in the way Wedekind represents women in his female roles—especially that of Lulu—was published in an issue of *Die Fackel* in 1907 that directly refers to Lulu and her depiction as a child-woman. Berg recorded the entire issue in his collection of quotes.<sup>74</sup>

The impact of Kraus on the young Berg at the time of the former's 1905 lecture is further evident in a letter Berg wrote to his friend Frida Semler on 18 November 1907, in which he reflects on Kraus's overall view of *Lulu*, writing to Semler that

sensuality is not a weakness, does not mean a surrender to one's will. ... [O]nly through the understanding of sensuality, only through a fundamental insight into the "depths of mankind" (shouldn't it rather be called the "heights of mankind"?) can one arrive at a real idea of the human psyche.<sup>75</sup>

Berg's expression here demonstrates his assimilation of Kraus's core values into his own, further exemplifying Berg's emplacement within the Kraus-nurtured group mentality, by way of their joint engagement with Vienna's socio-cultural aesthetics.

Kraus ends his lecture by returning again to Lulu's socio-culturally derived character. To begin, Kraus alludes to the familiar juxtaposition of reality versus illusion, when he states that "the events in *Pandora's Box* can be included in our discussion of woman from a moral as well as aesthetic standpoint."<sup>76</sup> He goes on to explain further:

In *Lulu* we see the depiction of a woman whom men think they are "having" while in fact they are being "had" by her, a woman who is something different for each of them, who shows each a different face and is more seldom unfaithful, more virginal, than the average domestic doll. In her I see the perfect vindication of immorality, in the depiction of a complete woman who has the inspired ability not to be able to remember, a woman who lives without inhibitions but also without the dangers of constant mental conception, and who swills away every experience into oblivion.<sup>77</sup>

This passage is crucial for exemplifying the earlier notion that Lulu does not

invoke memory, with which Kraus concurs when he states that she is unable to remember and is not influenced by her experiences, further reflecting Assmann's theory of trauma-derived forgetfulness. Kraus, therefore, justifies the earlier claim that sought to differentiate Lulu from her accomplices on the basis of their memory indulgences, or more specifically, Lulu's lack of giving in to the seductive capabilities of this reflexive thinking. As Kraus subsequently states, Lulu "cannot live by love, because her life is love."<sup>78</sup> In other words, she cannot be seduced by entrancing conduits like her own portrait, because she herself is the embodiment of seduction. And as such, at the end of the opera, she must meet her fate in a non-idealized reality that she herself helped to create by bringing those around her to their and ultimately her own doom. Lulu's immunity to the suggestion of memory crystalizes this outcome. Jarman eloquently describes the fate of Lulu's admirers as a byproduct of their fantasies:

It is the refusal of these other characters to accept Lulu as she is that eventually leads to their destruction. As the same situation recurs time and time again the work becomes an absurd and dream-like dance of death. The continual circular progression of the work and the absurdities of the plot reduce the characters to puppets, unable to control their own fates, unable to communicate with one another and unable to break out of the grotesque circle of events within which they find themselves trapped.<sup>79</sup>

Kraus's lecture made references to past cultural styles of the stage (such as naturalism), while citing the advancements that theater has made since. In this regard, both Kraus and Berg demonstrate their awareness of building upon creative legacies as forms of expression that they inherited, which they then modernized and adapted to better reflect the cultural values of their day. This recognition of the past is tied to the memory of a past experience (Assmann's stored memory) that Kraus and Berg revive and render into functional memory through a mutual adaptation in their relative times (1905 for Kraus and the 1920s for Berg). For both men, the result is the creation of works of art that reshape cultural memory through new reconstructions of shared experiences via the stage works that they both promoted. The *Lulu* opera that Berg started composing in the late 1920s was inspired in no small part by his attendance at Kraus's lecture and the performance of the play that followed. Indeed, Berg built his entire career around his awareness of the past, which tapped into his dependence on memory to facilitate his inspirations and interpretations. The temporal implications of this notion can be seen as a microcosm of Berg's

approach to composition, which, in its most pervasive general interpretation, is viewed as this cultural mechanism that synthesizes musical aesthetics of different epochs into the composer's unique style of creating works of simultaneous novelty and familiarity. Berg addresses this feature in relation to his view of himself as a composer within a larger Germanic musical framework when he writes the following in the context of his first opera, *Wozzeck*, which is nevertheless equally applicable here:

Only in music that is based on the great tradition of German music—with its moving harmony, its diverse rhythm, especially with its polyphony and immeasurable richness of forms and shapes—is there a straight path leading from Bach to our own time. The music of *Wozzeck* does not stray from this path of German music—and when I think of music pure and simple it is the only one, the only one that I find to be music at all—and this is what I have intended to show when I have underscored a traditional accordance with rules in my theoretical discussion.<sup>80</sup>

From these inherent preoccupations that harness the past to inform his present, Berg's indebtedness to Kraus's lecture as an indelible influence is evident. The memory of that experience shaped Berg's entire symbolic conviction concerning the duality between reality and imagination, which is at the heart of his second opera. Certainly, the extent of the enduring impact of Kraus's lecture is evident from the fact that in 1934, Berg sent a greeting to Kraus on the occasion of the satirist's sixtieth birthday, adding a musical line from *Lulu* and the exact words expressed by Alwa that Kraus quoted to open his 1905 lecture with.<sup>81</sup> Those memories were so important to Berg that he had even strongly contemplated dedicating *Lulu* to Kraus, but ended up dedicating the opera to his former teacher, Arnold Schoenberg.<sup>82</sup>

## Conclusion

As a fusion of music history and cultural memory studies, this article has sought to present a view of Berg's *Lulu* as an opera that was constructed using cultural memory formations. This was represented via Aleida Assmann's theories, chief among them being how Berg's personal history reflected the notion of functional versus stored memory, through which the composer adapted the stored memory of Karl Kraus's 1905 lecture into functional memory that informed the conception of *Lulu* as an opera. The representation of memory in Berg's opera was embodied by his characters through expressions of memory archetypes, the suppression and forgetting of trauma, memory-derived identity

through projection, and cultural artifacts as repetitions of memories, emotions, and events. These paradigms were further reinforced musically through Berg's deployment of palindromes and motivic recurrences, most vividly through the symbolic presence of Lulu's portrait.

By drawing upon his memories of the lecture and performance in 1905, Berg not only demonstrated his belonging to the collective memory of the lecture as a communal event of like-minded peers, but he also contributed to the formation of a new memory that could propel the group's remembrance into the future through artworks born of reflection and re-actualized in a new age. *Lulu* thus emerges as this actualization, a direct result of Berg's engagement with individual and shared memories. Furthermore, by integrating Kraus's critique, Wedekind's dramaturgy, and Berg's compositional innovation, *Lulu* emerges as a work in which memory operates as an active, evolving principle—shaping narrative, musical form, and ideological discourse. Through Assmann's framework, we can see that *Lulu* does not merely depict memory but enacts it: palindromic forms, leitmotivic recurrences, and symbolic artifacts like Lulu's portrait transform recollection into structural logic. This reading moves beyond biographical influence or thematic parallel to reveal *Lulu* as a modernist exploration of how cultural memory is created, mediated, and perpetually reimagined.

Ultimately, what emerges from this study is that memory theory provides more than a thematic overlay: it establishes an epistemological framework that reframes Berg's *Lulu* as a cultural memory project rather than merely a product of artistic influence. Whereas music-historical and dramaturgical approaches illuminate important contexts, memory theory demonstrates how remembered experiences—whether individual, collective, or suppressed—become structurally embedded in the opera's dramaturgy and music. Here, palindromes, leitmotivic recurrences, and Lulu's portrait function not simply as Berg's recollective markers but as active mechanisms that stage cultural memory as a living, cyclical process.

Building on this perspective, future research might trace how Assmann's theory of cultural memory—particularly the interplay between functional and storage memory—can further illustrate the cyclical dynamics of trauma, archetype, and identity that shape *Lulu*. Likewise, the findings here point toward the importance of examining how Berg's opera transforms Karl Kraus's 1905 lecture-performance from a historical act of reception into a cultural memory

process encoded at both structural and symbolic levels of the libretto and music. Taken together, these trajectories underscore that *Lulu* is not only an artwork shaped by memory but also a medium through which cultural memory itself is continually produced, staged, and reimagined.

Looking beyond Berg, future inquiry might expand this dialogue between opera studies and memory studies by considering how other works stage similar tensions between recollection, trauma, and identity. Wagner's *Parsifal* frames its characters through the burden of remembered misdeeds, while Korngold's *Die tote Stadt* renders memory as delusional fixation and nostalgic unreality. Britten's *Billy Budd* broadens the temporal field of remembrance through retrospective narration. Earlier modernist works such as Strauss's *Elektra* and Schoenberg's *Erwartung* also resonate here: both dramatize female subjectivities fractured by trauma and memory, anticipating the symbolic nexus of sexuality, violence, and recollection that *Lulu* radicalizes. Taken together, these operas open a wider horizon in which cultural memory becomes a central lens for rethinking how music theater stages social anxieties and reimagines the past.

In extending this comparative trajectory, what unites these composers across their historical span is not merely thematic resonance but a shared investment in the dramaturgy of remembrance as a formal principle. Wagner's synthesis of myth and ritual in *Parsifal* establishes the prototype for cultural memory as collective performance, where redemption is achieved through the reenactment of past suffering. Schoenberg's *Erwartung* radicalizes this principle by collapsing temporal distance altogether: the entire drama unfolds within the fractured temporality of post-traumatic recollection, a moment stretched to contain an entire history of loss and guilt. Berg inherits both traditions, yet transforms them by fusing their ritual and psychological dimensions into a dialectic of memory and structure—an interweaving of personal, cultural, and musical recollection that turns the act of remembering into compositional architecture. Britten, writing from another generation, reconfigures these modernist precedents through the lens of postwar humanism: in *Billy Budd*, memory functions as moral testimony, an ethical reencounter with the past that demands reevaluation rather than redemption.

Read through Assmann's framework, this continuum charts an evolving history of operatic memory in which the genre itself becomes a medium of cultural remembrance. Each composer transforms inherited conventions—mythic,

psychological, or moral—into vehicles of renewed meaning. Berg's *Lulu* stands at the intersection of these trajectories, mediating between Wagner's redemptive memory and Britten's testimonial memory, while refracting Schoenberg's inner temporality through its own palindromic, recursive form. The result is an opera that situates memory not only as theme but as method: a musico-dramatic process through which modernism remembers itself.

## Notes

1. For relevant sources, see Christopher Hailey, "Defining Home: Berg's Life on the Periphery," in *The Cambridge Companion to Berg*, ed. Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5–23; Christopher Hailey, "Between Instinct and Reflection: Berg, Opera, and the Viennese Dichotomy," in *The Berg Companion*, ed. Douglas Jarman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 221–34.
2. Martin Esslin, "Berg's Vienna," in *The Berg Companion*, ed. Douglas Jarman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 4, 6.
3. Douglas Jarman, *Cambridge Opera Handbooks: Alban Berg, Lulu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1–2.
4. Susanne Rode, *Alban Berg und Karl Kraus: Zur geistigen Biographie des Komponisten der 'Lulu'* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988), 204. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.
5. Theodor W. Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link*, trans. Juliane Brand and Christopher Hailey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 7.
6. *Ibid.*, 133.
7. Willi Reich, *Alban Berg*, trans. Cornelius Cardew (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1965), 156.
8. Rode, *Alban Berg und Karl Kraus*, 205. Rode also notes that Berg's library includes numerous Wedekind volumes displaying two distinct phases of intense engagement with the playwright: from 1905–10 and again in the early 1920s. This phenomenon exemplifies in the 1920s what had become stored memory for Berg, now turned into functional memory following his re-engagement with the *Lulu* narratives.
9. Kathryn Puffett and Barbara Schingnitz, eds., *Three Men of Letters: Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg, and Anton Webern, 1906–1921* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2020), 391.
10. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris, eds., *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 229.
11. Rode, *Alban Berg und Karl Kraus*, 206.
12. For a study tracing the influence Kraus's writings and lectures had on Berg's overall perception, see David P. Schroeder, "Opera, Apocalypse, and the Dance of Death: Berg's Indebtedness to Kraus," *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature* 25, no. 1 (1992): 91–105. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24780588?seq=1>
13. Carl Dahlhaus, "Berg und Wedekind: Zur Dramaturgie der 'Lulu,'" in *Von Musikdrama zur Literaturoper: Aufsätze zur neueren Operngeschichte* (Munich: Piper Verlag GmbH, 1989), 183.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, 185.

16. Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 217.
17. Rode, *Alban Berg und Karl Kraus*, 220.
18. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 236–37.
19. Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, trans. Sara B. Young (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 87.
20. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 4, 7.
21. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 396.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., 395.
24. Ibid., 400.
25. Alban Berg, *Lulu: Opera in 3 Acts (7 Scenes) after "Erdegeist" and "Büchse Der Pandora" by Frank Wedekind, English/German Libretto*, trans. Arthur Jacobs (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1978), 77. "Ist das noch der Diwan—auf dem sich—dein Vater—verblutet hat?"
26. Alexandre Dessingué, "From Collectivity to Collectiveness: Reflections (with Halbwachs and Bakhtin) on the Concept of Collective Memory," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Memory Studies*, ed. Siobhan Kattago (London: Routledge, 2015), 96.
27. Kordula Knaus, *Gezähmte Lulu: Alban Bergs Wedekind-Vertonung im Spannungsfeld von literarischer Ambition, Opernkonvention und 'absoluter Music'* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 2004), 154.
28. Berg, *Lulu Libretto*, 105. "Der ganze Appartement bekommt ein eleganteres Aussehen. Ihr Körper stand auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Entfaltung, als das Porträt gemalt wurde."
29. Ibid. "Der kindliche Ausdruck der Augen ist trotz allem, was sie seitdem erlebt hat, noch ganz derselbe."
30. Ibid. "Sie kann mit Selbstbewußtsein sagen: das war ich mal. Wem sie heute unter die Hände gerät, der macht sich keinen Begriff mehr von unserer Jugendzeit."
31. Ibid., 3. "Sie ward geschaffen, Unheil anzustiften, zu locken, zu verführen, zu vergiften. Und zu morden, ohne daß es einer spürt. Mein süßes Tier, sei ja nicht geziert! Du hast kein Recht, uns durch Miaun und Pfauchen die Urgestalt des Weibes zu verstauchen."
32. Brand, Hailey, and Harris, *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence*, 406.
33. George Perle, *The Operas of Alban Berg, Volume Two: Lulu* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 150.
34. Adorno, *Alban Berg*, 14.

35. Robert P. Morgan, "The Eternal Return: Retrograde and Circular Form in Berg," in *Alban Berg: Historical and Analytical Perspectives*, ed. David Gable and Robert P. Morgan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 123.
36. *Ibid.*, 146.
37. Knaus, *Gezähmte Lulu*, 79.
38. George Perle, *Lulu*, 93.
39. Douglas Jarman, *The Music of Alban Berg* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 124. A more thorough theoretical examination of this process of extraction can be found in Dave Headlam, *The Music of Alban Berg* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 305–8.
40. Jarman, *The Music of Alban Berg*, 123.
41. Perle, *Lulu*, 93.
42. See Alban Berg, *Lulu Partitur (I. und II. Akt)* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1963), 6; and Alban Berg, *Lulu Partitur (3. Akt)* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1985), 964, for these mirrored implementations of the "tiger's leap."
43. Perle, *Lulu*, 129.
44. Headlam, *The Music of Alban Berg*, 210.
45. Bryan Simms and Charlotte Erwin, *The Master Musicians: Berg* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021), 323.
46. *Ibid.*, 330.
47. Assmann makes a similar association to functional versus storage memory elsewhere when she describes "active" versus "archival" memory as elements of cultural memory. Active memory constitutes an explicit choice of selecting what is deemed important for the group to remember. Archival memory, conversely, is not readily available to the public but is only open to specialists. This separates archival memory from knowledge available to the wider group, promoting the interplay between that which is easily remembered and that which is not common and therefore risks being forgotten, although not permanently. See Aleida Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," in *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*, ed. Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 222.
48. Karl Kraus, "Pandora's Box," in Jarman, *Alban Berg, Lulu*, 102–103. For a German version of the 1905 lecture, see Karl Kraus, "Die Büchse der Pandora," in *Alban Berg "Lulu": Texte, Materialien, Kommentare*, ed. Attila Csampai and Dietmar Holland (Munich: G. Ricordi, 1985), 158–69.
49. Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 15.
50. *Ibid.*, 16.
51. *Ibid.*, 17.

52. Alexandre Dessingué, "From Collectivity to Collectiveness: Reflections (with Halbwachs and Bakhtin) on the Concept of Collective Memory," 96–97.
53. Ibid., 99.
54. Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 14–15.
55. Ibid., 3–4.
56. Ibid., 7.
57. Kraus, "Pandora's Box," 103.
58. Berg, *Lulu Libretto*, 61. "Wenn sich die Menschen um meinetwillen umgebracht haben, so setzt das meinen Wert nicht herab. Du hast so gut gewußt, weswegen du mich zur Frau nahmst, wie ich gewußt habe, weswegen ich dich zum Mann nahm. Du hattest deine besten Freunde mit mir betrogen, du konntest nicht gut auch noch dich selber mit mir betrügen. Wenn du mir deinen Lebensabend zum Opfer bringst, so hast du meine ganze Jugend dafür gehabt. Ich habe nie in der Welt etwas anderes scheinen wollen, als wofür man mich genommen hat; und man hat mich nie in der Welt für etwas anderes genommen, als was ich bin."
59. Kraus, "Pandora's Box," 104.
60. Ibid., 104–5.
61. Perle, *Lulu*, 109–10.
62. Silvio J. dos Santos, *Narratives of Identity in Alban Berg's Lulu* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 79.
63. Ibid.
64. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, "The Rise of the New Woman," in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, ed. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 195.
65. Karen Pegley, "Femme Fatale and Lesbian Representation in Alban Berg's *Lulu*," in *Encrypted Messages in Alban Berg's Music*, ed. Siglind Bruhn (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 253.
66. Judy Lochhead, "Lulu's Feminine Performance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Berg*, ed. Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 228.
67. Jarman, *Alban Berg, Lulu*, 89–90.
68. Ibid., 90.
69. Kraus, "Pandora's Box," 106.
70. Ibid.

71. Rode, *Alban Berg und Karl Kraus*, 209.
72. Ibid., 210.
73. Ibid., 211.
74. Ibid., 213.
75. Reich, *Alban Berg*, 22–23.
76. Kraus, “Pandora’s Box,” 110–11.
77. Ibid., 111.
78. Ibid.
79. Jarman, *The Music of Alban Berg*, 237.
80. Alban Berg, “Lecture on *Wozzeck*: The ‘Atonal Opera,’” in *Pro Mundo—Pro Domo: The Writings of Alban Berg*, ed. Bryan R. Simms (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 258.
81. Jarman, *Alban Berg, Lulu*, 2–3.
82. Simms and Erwin, *The Master Musicians: Berg*, 361. In addition, Schoenberg and Kraus knew each other well. For a recent study in English that contains their correspondence, with annotations, as well as testimonies from a wide range of mutual friends and acquaintances, see Therese Muxeneder, *Arnold Schönberg & Karl Kraus* (Vienna: Arnold Schönberg Center, 2024).