#### PART II

### Schoenberg, modernism, and modernity

# 6 Interpreting *Erwartung*: collaborative process and early reception

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In 1909 Arnold Schoenberg completed his first work for the stage, the monodrama *Erwartung* (Expectation), Op. 17, on a text by Dr. Marie Pappenheim (1882–1966), a recent graduate of the University of Vienna medical school. Composed immediately following his Five Orchestral Pieces, Op. 16, *Erwartung* figures among Schoenberg's early atonal works and stands as one of the most notable achievements of musical modernism. It was here, it is widely held, that Schoenberg attained his goal of unmediated emotional expression through music, attested by his rapid composition and the apparent lack of thematic repetition over the half-hour course of the work. In spite of the vicissitudes of its performance history, *Erwartung*'s spike in popularity in the 1990s demonstrates the emotional appeal and contemporary relevance of both its music and text.

The plot of the monodrama concerns a nameless Woman who has waited for her lover to visit and now seeks him. She traverses a dark, frightening forest, eventually finding his dead body near the house of another woman. The Woman experiences a wide range of emotions, including horror, jealousy, rage, forgiveness, and despair, finally leaving open the question of whether or how she can continue without her lover. The verbal and visual details of Pappenheim's libretto and Schoenberg's sensitive musical rendering of the text invest this simple plot with psychological depth and emotional salience.

With few exceptions, recent interpretations of *Erwartung* view it as a slice of Schoenberg biography or a Freudian portrait of female hysteria. Such interpretations discount the authorial role of the librettist, generate misunderstandings about the composer's creative processes, and invest authority in Freud's problematic theories of hysteria and gender. They also point toward a need to reconsider the roles of gender, women, and feminism in the production and consumption of Schoenberg's works and of modernist music more generally. This chapter will contest the prevailing psychoanalytic interpretation of *Erwartung* and show that Marie Pappenheim exercised considerable control in the writing and revision of the libretto: Schoenberg's composition complements rather than diminishes her authorial claims. Finally, I will argue that an interpretation of *Erwartung* as women's allegorical journey toward self-determination is

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consistent with both Pappenheim's political sentiments and the goals of contemporaneous Viennese feminist movements.

#### Erwartung's early reception

The view of *Erwartung* as a depiction of female madness or hysteria has become nearly canonic, invoked by such insightful and diverse scholars as Adorno (1949), Willi Reich (1971), Schorske (1981), McClary (1991), and Albright (2000). Few commentators have taken into account Pappenheim's aesthetic and political aims, while the operatic tradition of the "demented diva" informs others. Most tenaciously, Freud's presence in Schoenberg's cultural milieu has driven several scholars' interpretations, which take apparent validation from the fact that Marie Pappenheim shares her surname with Bertha Pappenheim, the real "Anna O" of Freud and Breuer's *Studies on Hysteria*. The hysteria interpretation overwhelms the authors' deliberate open-endedness in Robert Lepage's 1992 Canadian Opera production of *Erwartung*: a psychiatrist onstage suggests the entire story is a hallucination, and the Woman ultimately finds herself in a straightjacket.

Although a psychoanalytic reading of *Erwartung* may be interesting and productive, there are several reasons to question why the "hysteria" interpretation should be the preferred or default reading of *Erwartung*: such (psycho)analyses of the monodrama are based on the questionable assumptions that knowledge of Freudian psychoanalysis necessarily constitutes agreement with Freud's theories of hysteria, and that vernacular understandings of psychoanalysis are sufficient to sustain an analogy between *Erwartung* and clinical hysteria "according to Freud." There is no evidence that the authors or early audiences regarded the Woman as hysterical in that sense.

Schoenberg's only published statements about *Erwartung* are gender neutral and do not suggest pathology. In 1930 he wrote that his goal in *Erwartung* was "to represent in *slow motion* everything that happens during a single second of maximum spiritual excitement." Moreover, Schoenberg rejected the gendered inferences drawn by the music critic Paul Bekker in 1924. Bekker had asserted that, like Wagner's operas, *Erwartung* represents "a music of womankind, of sounds representing erotic feelings . . . a music of liberation, transformation, and redemption." Schoenberg's marginal annotation responds:

Not at all . . . What does *Erwartung* have to do with redemption? The woman may have been wrong in her fearful states of mind, or not (this is not

clear, but, all the same, there are only fearful imaginings and these become manifest). She is not at all redeemed by them.<sup>4</sup>

Although the Woman's perceptions may not be real, Schoenberg does not attribute them to madness.

Delayed by a world war and perceived performance difficulties, *Erwartung* received its premiere thirteen years after its composition at a modern music festival in Prague, with the Vienna Opera star Marie Gutheil-Schoder singing the role of the Woman and Alexander Zemlinsky conducting. Greeted enthusiastically by the Prague audience, the monodrama also received overwhelmingly positive press reviews. The approving tone of critic Max Unger is typical:

"Die Erwartung" is an unusual work in every respect; it is a stage genre by itself. In anguish about her lover, a woman wanders about in search of him driven by fear and longing, only to find him at the edge of the forest murdered by a rival for his love . . .

Maria Gutheil-Schoder portrayed the only dramatic role with a most powerful range of emotional changes and extraordinary virtuosity of the special type of Schönberg's Sprachgesang . . . Long ovations rewarded the composer and the performers. <sup>5</sup>

Other reviews comment on the emotionally moving qualities of the music, its close connection to the text, and its overall coherence. For example, the reviewer of the *Montagsblatt Prag* wrote:

The heart-wrenching persuasiveness with which the music makes these emotional processes come to life is the result of a creative ability which deserves our utmost admiration and which has no equal in modern music. But it is not the uncompromising boldness of Schönberg's music which . . . makes it come across as something unique, strong in character and profound: from this music flows such inner warmth and glowing passion, so much awareness of tender nuances of nature and emotions, such creative power . . . Every measure of *Erwartung* . . . is a testimony to the fact that the music does not develop randomly, but rather develops according to an inner law[.]<sup>6</sup>

#### And Adolf Aber wrote for the Leipziger neuste Nachrichten:

The close connection with the scene is also strictly maintained through the music, which fuses in a wonderfully successful way the sounds of the night forest with the dark emotional experiences of the woman as they are given musical expression . . . Only a Schönberg has the ability to transform into music even the most tender, innermost feelings of the human heart with all its nuances and changes at every single moment . . . The presentation . . . was a triumph for . . . [Gutheil-Schoder], who gave proof that it was wrong to push this Schönberg work aside for years as "impossible to perform."

Although many of the critics stated that Pappenheim's libretto was based upon Schoenberg's idea, which she disputed, most early reviews made no suggestion of poor literary quality or lack of coherence. Erich Müller's review in the *Dresdener Anzeiger* represents a minority opinion, and provides the unique reference to hysteria among reviews of the premiere. Significantly, Müller uses "hysteria" not as a clinical term, but rather as a term of feminine derogation to describe an incoherent libretto by a woman poet:

The arrangement of the [Woman's] accusations [against her lover] by Pappenheim was in no way able to satisfy literary claims. It is incoherent, almost hysterical . . . crying and calling.<sup>8</sup>

Most reviewers, for example "F. A.," sympathized with the Woman's internal struggle:

Essential . . . is the process in the soul, which runs through all stages of emotion from a restless apprehension of the unknown to visionary ecstasy. In between the hurrying uncertainty, courageous decision, tender longing, painful outcry at the sight of the dead man . . . there is comfort in remembering shared experiences and gentle forgiveness. Dr Maria Pappenheim, though no poetess by profession yet extraordinarily poetically gifted, has put all of this into concise words of a most moving intensity with great sensitivity to Schönberg's line of ideas. 9

Critics stressed *Erwartung*'s accessibility and viewed the monodrama as a harbinger of the future of opera, as this example from the *Arbeiterzeitung* shows:

Schönberg saturated this text with a music that is quite new. But the powerful experience is forced upon the listeners with such intensity that they are deeply moved, even sensing that this first attempt is important for the future of opera composition . . . Through totally new combinations of instruments new sounds of a hitherto unheard beauty are created . . . The gradual lyrical ebbing after the climax is an architectural wonder where the intensity of expression increases even as the volume decreases. Every measure is filled with a richness of thought and musically alive. <sup>10</sup>

By any measure, *Erwartung*'s premiere was successful, although Pappenheim did not receive the credit she was due, and Schoenberg's music was greeted with amazed admiration. Any suggestion of clinical hysteria was far from anyone's understanding of this plot.

The German premiere in Wiesbaden four years later met with popular success but mixed press reviews; the Berlin premiere at the Kroll-Oper in 1930, still applauded by audiences, was marked by a critical reception redolent of anti-modernist sentiment. *Erwartung* and *Die glückliche Hand*, which made its Berlin premiere on the same program, were labeled "totally

exhausted ... cacophonic mischief ... neurasthenic," "inept products of an isolated creator," "inorganic, synthetically-produced music ... meaningless" and completely lacking in "both healthy ethical power and imagination," "two atonal monsters" from which "the public turned away, shuddering." "These are abortions of an overheated imagination ... degeneration," declared one review. Some reviewers took the opportunity to condemn Schoenberg's twelve-tone method of composition (irrelevant to these works), to praise, in contrast, Pfitzner's *Palestrina*, to advocate for a "popular music practice" vis-à-vis the putative "l'art pour l'art" attitude of modernists, or to condemn the modernist inclinations of conductor Otto Klemperer and the Kroll-Oper, which was, in fact, shut down the following year. One reviewer made a veiled reference to Hebrew, and thus to Schoenberg's Jewishness, in describing the "incomprehensibility" of *Die glückliche Hand*, whose libretto "can be read either from the beginning or from the end."

These pejorative reviews of the music and texts of *Erwartung* and *Die glückliche Hand* do not merely register a change of musical taste; rather, terminology such as "healthy ethical power" and "degeneration," as well as some of the musical preferences critics expressed, suggest their alignment with the anti-modernist aesthetics of the growing National Socialist movement.

Nora Pisling-Boas's mixed review was unusual in its sympathy with *Erwartung*'s premise, her recognition of Pappenheim's authorial role, and her attention to gender:

Schönberg wants to show here, in the poetic work of the monodrama "Erwartung" by Marie Pappenheim, what happens in the emotional life of a person – in this case, a woman – at a moment of utmost tension, during the most extreme and most intense experience of an affect – what affect can equal the pain of expectation which is familiar to all sensitive and insensitive persons?!<sup>15</sup>

H. H. Stuckenschmidt, later Schoenberg's biographer, wrote the only unmixed positive review of the program, and his is the only review to mention hysteria, not in a pejorative way, as with Dr. Müller in 1924, but also not as a clinical term:

Using a work by Marie Pappenheim, Schönberg describes the feelings of a woman who is searching for her lover at night in the forest . . . Fear, anticipation, pain, despair, rage toward another woman overlap, rage unrestrained and hysterically against each other.

With tremendous sureness Schönberg found the musical form for this text, which is psychologically exaggerated and constantly in a sphere of emotional high tension . . . Though quite abstract, it is illustrative in a higher sense, that is, fits itself perfectly to the soul emotions of the text. <sup>16</sup>

Most of the reviews of the Kroll-Oper premiere had little to say about Pappenheim's libretto, perhaps because they saved their bitterest invective for *Die glückliche Hand*, but one review in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* labeled *Erwartung* "an example of unquestionably 'feminine' poetry," cautioning that one "should not analyze the text too critically," as though a woman's literary work could not stand up to scrutiny. Two reviews observed that *Erwartung* was a psychological study, pairing internal with external events. They were less kind to *Die glückliche Hand*: "If the monodrama [*Erwartung*] is concerned with psychological matters, then this work [*Die glückliche Hand*] apparently is pathological in nature, and can only have a revolting effect." None of these reviews labeled *Erwartung*'s Woman "mad" – that epithet was reserved for Schoenberg himself.

#### Erwartung and postwar neo-Freudianism

The Nazi regime suppressed Schoenberg's music as degenerate, and *Erwartung* was not staged again until after World War II. Following the war, psychoanalytic interpretations of the monodrama began to appear, evidently originating with Adorno's assertion that *Erwartung*'s Woman:

is consigned to music in the very same way as a patient is to analysis. The admission of hatred and desire, jealousy and forgiveness, and – beyond all this – the entire symbolism of the unconscious is wrung from her; it is only in the moment that the heroine becomes insane that the music recalls its right to utter a consoling protest.<sup>20</sup>

Subsequently, the Zurich premiere in 1949 elicited reviews naming *Erwartung* a "musical transposition of a psychoanalytic dream transcription," or linking it with Schoenberg's "expressionist" painting and "modern psychology." Citing the liner notes of Robert Craft's 1960 recording, Willi Reich's 1971 Schoenberg biography pointed up "the resemblances between the woman's ejaculatory and often incomplete remarks and the things said by patients during psychoanalysis." <sup>23</sup>

By the time of the US premiere in 1951 (Dorothy Dow, soprano; Dimitri Mitropoulos conducting the New York Philharmonic) the nexus of *Erwartung*, Expressionism, and hysteria seems to have been cemented, as this *New York Times* review suggests:

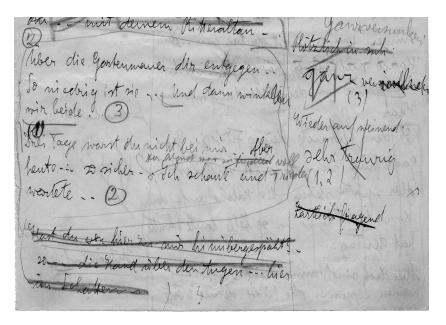
[I]f [Dorothy Dow] did not give the part the hysterical, neurotic intensity it should probably have, it could be because Miss Dow is too healthy for that sort of thing. No one can pick up the orientation implicit in this work during a sojourn in Europe; it has to be in the blood, and Miss Dow, happily for her, is from Texas.<sup>24</sup>

To summarize, the reception of *Erwartung* has been subject to the vicissitudes of political and intellectual trends, and the interpretation of the work as depicting a woman's hysteria is a late overlay with no demonstrated basis in the historical origins or early reception of the work. In the process of Freudianizing *Erwartung*, Pappenheim's authorship has been erased, and her Woman has been pathologized. Not coincidentally, Freudian psychology enjoyed a surge of popularity following World War II, particularly in the United States, when terms like "hysteria," "repression," and "penis envy" became part of everyday discourse, and neo-Freudian theory became a mainstay of the campaign to redomesticate women who had spent the war years working in traditionally male professions. The dictum "anatomy is destiny" informed the social sciences and popular culture, and women who were unhappy with their new, more "feminine" roles were sent to psychoanalysis for reprogramming.<sup>25</sup>

It is doubtful that Pappenheim would have embraced Freud's problematic theories of hysteria and gender, which were, in fact, contested by his own colleagues: Breuer, the actual analyst of Anna O., rejected Freud's insistence on the sexual origins of hysteria, and Adler split from Freud in 1911 over similar issues of sex and psychopathology. In Freud's view, it was women's passivity that predisposed them to hysteria, 26 but Pappenheim clearly questioned the binary division of active man/passive woman.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Pappenheim's professional experience and social activism were inconsistent with Freud's advocacy of a sexual division of labor and his opinion that women's demands for social justice were motivated solely by penis envy. If Erwartung were to portray female hysteria according to Freud's theories of its etiology, the Woman would experience both a relatively recent sexual precipitant (trauma) and a preconditioning infantile sexual experience or fantasy, such as seduction by her father. She would begin and *remain* passive, expressing her neuroses as somatic symptoms (paralysis or involuntary movement), rather than acting. That, however, is not the libretto that Pappenheim wrote. Rather, the Woman's emotional outpourings constitute an "energetic reaction" to a highly charged event, precisely the type of response that would, according to Freud, discharge the affect and prevent conversion of the trauma into hysterical symptoms.<sup>28</sup> Thus, Erwartung's Woman may be "hysterical" in some colloquial, non-clinical sense - the sense frequently used to discredit women who display discomforting levels of emotion – but not according to Freud.

#### Erwartung's collaborative authorship

The conventional account of *Erwartung*'s creation has Pappenheim surrender the manuscript libretto to Schoenberg, who modifies it freely to



**Figure 6.1** *Erwartung*, Ms. draft libretto, ASC archive no. 2415, demonstrating some of Pappenheim and Schoenberg's interactions in revising *Erwartung*. Arnold Schönberg Center

forge his own narrative, but the documents do not support this version of events.<sup>29</sup> The bottom layer of the manuscript draft libretto is entirely in Pappenheim's hand, with emendations by both the librettist and the composer, and Schoenberg drew his initial musical sketches into this source. In addition, three other sources – a typescript libretto, evidently prepared by a typist at Universal Edition;<sup>30</sup> an autograph reduced score; and an autograph fair copy – document the collaborative interactions between Schoenberg and Pappenheim, demonstrating that the librettist exerted considerable influence over the final form of the work. Correspondence between the two collaborators is short on specifics, yet it supports rather than contradicts a collaborative creative process.<sup>31</sup>

A portion of a page from the manuscript draft libretto demonstrates some of the authors' interactions (See Figure 6.1). The plot events on this page transpire after the woman has discovered her lover's dead body and immediately before her dramatic cry, "No, it's not true . . . how can you be dead?" Passages were deleted above and below the circled text, and these show characteristic marks the two collaborators used throughout the manuscript to demarcate text they considered deleting, relocating, or changing. For example, Pappenheim used question marks and parentheses (in black ink), as around the text at the bottom of the page, "Hast du von hier zu mir hinübergespäht?" (Have you watched me from here?). Schoenberg's marks include corner brackets (in red pencil), visible at the end of the passage above the circled text. Most deletions in the draft

libretto share these features: there are marks by Pappenheim, marks by Schoenberg, and the material is crossed out more than once, suggesting that the authors discussed and agreed upon emendations.

It is also evident that Pappenheim did not passively accept all of Schoenberg's revisions, but rather modified them or in some cases restored the original text. For example, in the second part of the circled text, Schoenberg penciled in, "Der Abend war so friedlich" (The evening was so peaceful), Pappenheim's words relocated from another page. In response to Schoenberg's amendment, Pappenheim crossed out the adjective "friedlich," and wrote "voll Frieden" (full of peace), apparently an aesthetic choice. Pappenheim's revised wording appears on the fair copy over the top of an erasure; thus Schoenberg evidently first inscribed "friedlich" into the manuscript, then changed it to conform to Pappenheim's revision.

Schoenberg used Arabic numerals to signal a reordering of the sung text, and the numerals in the right-hand column show Pappenheim's effort to match up the stage directions to Schoenberg's new ordering. The changes in this section delay the Woman's questioning attitude until a later scene in which she begins to deduce her lover's infidelity; the emotional rhythm of this portion of the drama changes to this: first, self-pity – "Drei Tage warst du nicht bei mir" (For three days you weren't with me); then reminiscence – "Über den Gartenmauer dir entgegen" (Over the garden wall toward you); then crisis – "How can you be dead?" (on the following manuscript page). These changes of dramatic pacing do not alter the character of the Woman or the trajectory of Pappenheim's narrative.

A Roman numeral VI appears (in blue pencil) to the right of the reordered passage: it is one of fourteen such numerals that appear throughout the manuscript in places where significant modifications of the original text were executed or contemplated. These numerals constitute an important piece of evidence for Pappenheim and Schoenberg's collaboration, although the key to their definitive meaning is not extant. Logically, the numerals relate to a list of some sort, very likely a list accompanying a letter that, according to Dika Newlin, Schoenberg sent to Pappenheim, waiting for a reply before he could finish the composition of the reduced score. 32 Moreover, it is likely that a "separate piece of paper" bearing the "last revisions," about which Pappenheim wrote to Schoenberg on a postcard of September 9, 1909, included her responses to this list of questions.<sup>33</sup> On September 11, 1909 Pappenheim sent the revised manuscript libretto to Schoenberg, perhaps with the "last revisions" keyed to the Roman numerals, 34 and he completed and signed the reduced score the following day, September 12. Schoenberg's care to

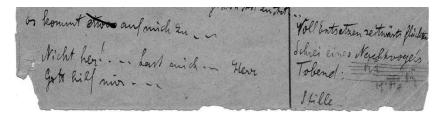


Figure 6.2 Erwartung, Ms. draft libretto, ASC archive no. 2403, Scene II, mm. 77–8: Schrei eines Nachtvogels (Cry of a night bird). Arnold Schönberg Center

Example 6.1 Transcription of Nachtvogel sketch, Figure 6.2



consult Pappenheim on proposed revisions and to await her response before completing the score clearly contradicts the standard narrative of *Erwartung*'s creation.

The manuscript draft libretto bears nearly all of Schoenberg's musical sketches for *Erwartung*, each inscribed near the text the sketch expresses musically; thus, as early reviews noted, Schoenberg's music is closely knit to Pappenheim's text. The sketches include suspense-building ostinati; a climactic vocal/orchestral arrival; austere, sustained harmonies depicting the desolate opening of Scene IV; and a verbal indication for a painterly effect to suggest dripping blood (harp with paper strips).

Figure 6.2 shows a portion of a manuscript page with Schoenberg's musical sketch added below Pappenheim's indication, "Schrei eines Nachtvogels" (cry of a night bird). At this point in Scene II, the Woman senses that she is under assault from the creatures of the forest; she feels something crawling on her hands and face, then hears rustling overhead.

Schoenberg's sketch effects the stylized "cry" through dissonant halfstep harmonies and appoggiaturas (Example 6.1). In the full score the cry is realized as a figure in oboes and clarinets passed only one sixteenth note later to trumpets, then bassoons, and descending in register with each "ragged" attack (Example 6.2). Pappenheim's "cry" and Schoenberg's musical translation make the Woman's frightening journey more palpable for the audience, helping us to hear and feel what she hears and feels.

The autograph sources make clear that Schoenberg responded creatively to Pappenheim's specific verbal indications, and that, far from appropriating her narrative to create his own, the composer largely agreed with the librettist on the content and interpretation of their collaborative work.



Example 6.2 Erwartung, Scene II, mm. 77–8. Realization of Example 6.1 sketch in published score, Universal Edition 13612 (copyright 1923, renewed 1950)

## Pappenheim's politics and Viennese feminism: rereading *Erwartung*

If Marie Pappenheim's authorial voice remained intact throughout the collaborative process of revision, we must ask what *Erwartung* meant to *her*. Pappenheim was an educated professional from a family of professional women and she entered the University of Vienna medical school only two years after it opened its doors to women. She was also a social activist, participating, for example, in the Conference for the Fight against White Slavery (that is, female sex slavery), and a political radical, joining the Austrian Communist Party – the only party advocating absolute gender equality – shortly after World War I, where she held several

leadership positions, including chair of the Women's Committee. While the mainstream of feminist activity in Vienna in the early part of the twentieth century was bourgeois in its origins and aims, Pappenheim's actions reflect goals across the feminist spectrum. For example, in 1928 she co-founded with Wilhelm and Annie Reich the Socialist Society for Sexual Reform and Sexual Research, an organization with a Marxist perspective on the common feminist goal of sex education. Pappenheim's sex reform work and published critique of abortion laws led to her arrest in 1934. Pappenheim regarded Engels's *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) – the "Urtext" of Marxist feminism – to be second only to *Capital* as a foundational text of Marxist-Leninism. The second of the second only to Capital as a foundational text of Marxist-Leninism.

Like other *fin-de-siècle* feminist literature, Pappenheim's literary works before and after *Erwartung* address contemporaneous gender issues, such as unwed motherhood, as well as modernist themes, such as alienation, and they experiment with modernist literary techniques, such as narrative fragmentation and internal monologue.<sup>38</sup> Imaginative literature was crucial to such *fin-de-siècle* Viennese feminists as Rosa Mayreder, the most significant feminist theorist of her milieu. In her 1905 collection of essays, *A Survey of the Woman Problem*, Mayreder set forth ethical and psychological goals for women because, she contended, economic and legal parity were not sufficient to guarantee women's personal freedom unless women were able to "transcend the norms of average femininity," to become self-determining subjects.<sup>39</sup> In her growth toward self-determination, women must pass through a transitional stage laden with conflict between their increasing awareness of self and "the demands of sexuality." This conflicted, transitional stage is the substance of *Erwartung*.

Erwartung's trajectory from passive dependency, through painful experiences to a state of heightened self-knowledge, informed by a "recognition of the contingency and uncertainty of experience" and "counterposed to the deceptive mythology of romance," describes a genre that feminist literary critics have called a "feminist Bildungsroman." Erwartung's Woman begins her journey as a stereotype of femininity, passive and emotionally dependent, but she exceeds "the norms of femininity" by undertaking physical and emotional risks when she decides to seek her lover. She struggles with nostalgia and romantic longing, which tempt her to return to her state of dependency, and she persists in questioning and truth-seeking in the face of horror and distress.

Pappenheim linked the Woman's fluctuating emotional states – bravery and resolve alternating with fear and retreat into reminiscence – to repeated, gender-laden verbal and visual images of "the path" and "the garden," and these also structure the musical ebb and flow of the monodrama: decisive declamation alternates with vocal lyricism, supported by *espressivo* orchestral

accompaniments and delicate timbres. Like much twentieth-century feminist fiction, *Erwartung* has no definitive conclusion, nor does its music resolve, but the Woman finally achieves awareness of her*self* as utterly alone in a world without meaning except what she imparts to it. This flicker of insight opens up the possibility for an independent and meaningful existence.

Many musical and textual details support a reading of *Erwartung* in terms of contemporaneous feminist thought. Indeed, such an interpretation is intuitive when we take the librettist's viewpoint into account, while the "hysteria" interpretation is only plausible when Pappenheim's voice is occluded, when we deny the collaborative nature of the work. Although we habitually think of Freud, Kraus, and other famous men as constituting the cultural context of Schoenberg's Vienna, Rosa Mayreder, Marie Pappenheim, and many other significant women were also constituents of that culture, exerting influence on the ways music and other arts were created and understood.