

Notes

1 The musical world of Strauss's youth

For their assistance in the preparation of this article, I am indebted to William Weber (California State University at Long Beach), Thomas Grey (Stanford University), Wolfgang Rathert (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich), Jürgen May (Richard-Strauss-Institut), and Charles Youmans (Pennsylvania State University).

1 Peter Gay, *Pleasure Wars: The Bourgeois Experience, Victoria to Freud* (New York: Norton, 1998), pp. 89–103.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

3 Carl Theodor Heigel, *Ludwig I: König von Bayern* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1872), p. 244.

4 Theodor von der Ammer [= Karl von Perfall], *Münchener Bilderbogen: Humor und Satire aus Isar-Athen* (Munich: Ph. Höpfner, 1878), p. 77.

5 Edward Wilberforce, *Social Life in Munich* (London: W. H. Allen, 1863), pp. 247–8.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 256.

7 Theodore Child, *Summer Holidays: Travelling Notes in Europe* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1889), p. 217.

8 Anon., *Maga Excursion Papers* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1867), p. 207.

9 Friedrich Kaiser, *Theater-Director Carl: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Vienna: Sallmayer, 1854), p. 20.

10 Adolf Ackermann, *München und Umgebungen: Illustrierter Wegweiser mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kunstschatze*, Grieben's Reise-Bibliothek 19, new edn. (Berlin: Albert Goldschmidt, 1867), p. 5.

11 W. H. K. Godfrey, *Three Months on the Continent* (Waterbury, CN: American Publishing Company, 1874); P. B. Cogswell, *Glints from over the Water* (Concord, NH: P. B. Cogswell, 1880); Curtis Guild, *Over the Ocean; or, Sights and Scenes in Foreign Lands* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1882); and Child, *Summer Holidays*.

12 By the late nineteenth century, German culture had well established itself in the United States, so that an American traveler to Europe may have already experienced a German beer garden or *Gesangverein* at home.

13 Gay, *Pleasure Wars*, p. 97, from Theodor Goering, "Das musikalische München zur Zeit Ludwigs II. Münchener Musikzustände und

ihre Ursachen: Das Konzertwesen," in *Dreissig Jahre München* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1904), pp. 145, 149.

14 Regarding the relationship between music and social status, see (among others) Derek B. Scott, "Music and Social Class," in Jim Samson, ed., *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 544–67; and William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris, and Vienna* (London: Croom Helm, 1975).

15 Ackermann, *München und Umgebungen*, p. 10.

16 Karl Baedeker, *Southern Germany and Austria*, 2nd edn. (Coblenz: Karl Baedeker, 1871), p. 49.

17 Regarding musical institutions in Munich of the nineteenth century before Ludwig II, see, above all, Anton Würz, "Münchener Oper- und Konzertleben im 19. Jahrhundert vor Ludwig II," *Musik in Bayern* 2 (1972): 273–84.

18 See *Chronicle*.

19 Richard Strauss, "Reminiscences of My Father," in *Recollections*, pp. 127–33 (p. 132).

20 The literature about the Munich Hofoper is sparse, in comparison with that about opera in Vienna and Bayreuth. See, above all, Franz Grandaur, *Chronik des Königlichen Hof- und National-Theaters in München* (Munich: Theodor Ackermann, 1878); Otto Julius Bierbaum, *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Münchener Hoftheater-Geschichte* (Munich: E. Albert, 1892); Karl von Perfall, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der königlichen Theater in München: 25. November 1867–25. November 1892* (Munich: Piloty and Löhle, 1894); Max Zenger, *Geschichte der Münchener Oper*, ed. Theodor Kroyer (Munich: F. X. Weizinger, 1923); Hans Wagner, *200 Jahre Münchener Theaterchronik, 1750–1950* (Munich: Lerche, 1958); and Hans Zehetmair and Jürgen Schläder, *Nationaltheater: Die Bayerische Staatsoper* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1992).

21 Franz Lachner has been the subject of German dissertations throughout the twentieth century, but on the 200th anniversary of his birth in 2003, a musicological symposium was held in Munich that resulted in the important essay collection edited by Stephan Hörner and Hartmut

Schick, *Franz Lachner und seine Brüder: Hofkapellmeister zwischen Schubert und Wagner* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2006).

22 The figures derive from a table of all Hofoper performances between late 1867 and late 1892, compiled by Perfall in *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte*, pp. 127–34.

23 Titles here follow the German of Perfall's table – the operas would have been presented in German translation.

24 Perfall's statistics base themselves on calendar years rather than seasons, and include performances of both *große Oper* and *Spieloper*, as well as incidental music that filled whole evenings of drama.

25 Perfall, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte*, pp. 136–8, provides statistics for composers as arranged into national categories. He counted Meyerbeer, Gluck, and Liszt among the German composers.

26 On the program were his *Die Stumme von Portici* (3), *Maurer und Schlosser* (3), *Fra Diavolo* (3), *Des Teufels Anteil* (2), and *Der schwarze Domino* (1).

27 For Meyerbeer: *Die Hugenotten* (19), *Robert der Teufel* (9), *Der Prophet* (5), *Die Afrikanerin* (1); for Lortzing: *Der Waffenschmied* (21), *Zar und Zimmermann* (18), *Die beiden Schützen* (7), *Undine* (7), *Der Wildschütz* (5).

28 *Chronicle*, p. 211.

29 Strauss's lifelong friendship with the composer and theorist Ludwig Thuille (1861–1907) began in 1872.

30 See the letters respectively dated early summer of 1878; June 6, 1878; and mid June of 1879 in Alfons Ott, ed., *Richard Strauss und Ludwig Thuille: Briefe der Freundschaft, 1877–1907* (Munich: Walter Ricke, 1969), pp. 166 (Auber), 169 (Boieldieu), 183 (Lortzing).

31 About the Musikalische Akademie, see Heinrich Bihrl, *Die Musikalische Akademie Münchens, 1811–1911: Festschrift zur Feier des hundertjährigen Bestehens* (Munich: E. Mühlthaler, 1911); Roswitha Schlötterer-Traimer, *Richard Strauss und die Musikalische Akademie in München* (Munich: HypoVereinsbank, 1999); and Karl Malisch, *500 Jahre im Dienst der Musik: Hofkapelle – Musikalische Akademie – Bayerisches Staatsorchester München* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 2001).

32 Frithjof Haas, *Zwischen Brahms und Wagner: Der Dirigent Hermann Levi* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1995).

33 Ott, *Richard Strauss und Ludwig Thuille*, pp. 160–1.

34 The scholarly literature about this ensemble (which still exists) is rather sparse: Franz

Trenner, “Richard Strauss und die ‘Wilde Gung’l,” *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 90 (1950): 403–5; Franz Trenner, *Orchesterverein Wilde Gung’l, 1864–1964: Festschrift* (Munich: Münchner Orchesterverein Wilde Gung’l, 1964); Hans Raff, *110 Jahre Münchner Orchesterverein Wilde Gung’l* (Munich: Münchner Orchesterverein Wilde Gung’l, 1975); and Nina Fischer, *Die “Wilde Gung’l”: Geschichte eines Amateurchesters* (Munich: Bayerischer Rundfunk, 1999).

35 Bryan Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 18.

36 Thomas Lange and Rudolf Rieser, “Geschichte,” in *Münchener Orchesterverein Wilde Gung’l e.V.*, www.wilde-gungl.de/47/Gungl.html (accessed December 20, 2009).

37 This list derives from Trenner, “Richard Strauss und die ‘Wilde Gung’l,” reprinted in Raff, *110 Jahre Münchner Orchesterverein Wilde Gung’l*, pp. 15–16.

38 Oft-cited reviews of the young Strauss's compositional efforts as performed by the Wilde Gung’l appeared in the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* and the *Süddeutsche Presse* (only the local daily press – and not the musical press – covered the ensemble's concerts).

39 Trenner, “Richard Strauss und die ‘Wilde Gung’l,” p. 16, goes so far as to speculate that Strauss's love for the waltz dates back to his Wilde Gung’l experiences.

40 Anonymous observer C. F. commented in 1841 how “recitals, where quartets, quintets are performed and presented by dilettantes, are much rarer than in other German cities.” C. F., *Münchener Hundert und Eins*, 2 vols., Vol. II (Munich: Georg Franz, 1841), p. 24.

41 “Wahrmond,” “Tagebuchblätter aus dem Münchner Concertleben des Jahres 1881/82,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 9 (March 1, 1882): 140.

42 *Chronicle*, p. 40.

43 Violinist Walter (1847–1901) was the first cousin of Franz Strauss, the concertmaster of the Court Orchestra, and Richard Strauss's first violin teacher. Pianist Bussmeyer (1853–1930) was a pupil of Liszt and a composition student of Rheinberger at the Königliche Musikschule, where he taught and (after 1904) served as director.

44 See the comments by “Wahrmond” in the “Tagebuchblätter . . .,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 17 (March 8, 1882): 156–7.

45 *Chronicle*, p. 30.

46 Large quantities of “easy” (*leicht*) chamber music were being produced at the time for the lucrative salon market. See, above all, Thomas

Christensen, “Four-hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999): 255–98.

47 The most authoritative publication about the institution is Stephan Schnitt, ed., *Geschichte der Hochschule für Musik und Theater: Von den Anfängen bis 1945* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2005).

48 William Weber, “Concerts at Four Conservatories in the 1880s,” in Michael Fend and Michel Noiray, eds., *Musical Education in Europe (1770–1914): Compositional, Institutional, and Political Challenges*, 2 vols., Vol. II (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), pp. 331–49.

49 Strauss to Thuille, April 4, 1878. Ott, *Richard Strauss und Ludwig Thuille*, p. 162

50 For a review, see Berthold Kellermann, “Berichte: München,” *Musikalisches Centralblatt* 2 (May 11, 1882): 194.

51 Strauss to Thuille, March 8, 1884. Ott, *Richard Strauss und Ludwig Thuille*, p. 191.

52 The most authoritative study of the many-faceted musical activities of Wüllner – primarily remembered today as the first conductor of *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre* – is Dietrich Kämpfe’s monograph *Franz Wüllner: Leben, Wirken und kompositorisches Schaffen* (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1963).

53 See for example the anonymous correspondence report “München, Ende Dezember 1877,” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 9 (January 25, 1878): 59.

54 Ernst von Destouches, “Geschichte der Sangespflege und Sängervereine in der Stadt München,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 9 (November 11, 1874): 710.

55 For Rheinberger’s full program, see Harald Wagner and Hans-Josef Irmen, eds., *Joseph Gabriel Rheinberger: Briefe und Dokumente seines Lebens*, 9 vols., Vol. V (Vaduz: Prisca Verlag, 1984), pp. 92–3.

56 Joseph Gungl remains little known, despite his significance for nineteenth-century musical culture. See Robert Rohr, “Musikgeschichtliche Beiträge ungarndeutscher Persönlichkeiten am Beispiel Joseph Gungls,” *Studia musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 36 (1995): 47–51.

57 Guild, *Over the Ocean*, p. 465.

58 “Münchener Musikleben,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 1/7 (February 14, 1866): 57.

59 Whereas “Träume” is one of the *Wesendonck Lieder* (1857–8) and thus a relatively recent composition by Wagner, the other two lieder are unusual choices for Gungl, since they are Hugo settings from

1839 and, while “Attente” was republished several times during the composer’s lifetime, “La Tombe dit à la rose” remained a fragment. The question arises, then, how did Gungl gain access to the work? I thank Thomas Grey for his insights into the source situation.

60 “b.,” “Kürzere Berichte: München,” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 3/4 (January 19, 1872): 58.

61 This reference is unclear, since Heinrich Marschner (1795–1861) was not a conductor of salon fare like either Strauss or Gungl were, yet there was no conductor in Europe with the name “Marchner.”

62 Henry Bedford, “A Vacation Ramble in Germany,” *The Month and Catholic Review* 4 (1875): 28.

63 *Chronicle*, p. 30.

64 Richard Strauss, “Reminiscences of my Father,” p. 132.

65 Georg Pschorr underwrote the printing costs, which convinced the publisher to take on the work. *Chronicle*, p. 48.

66 *Bayerische Gewerbe-Statistik (Aufnahme vom 1. Dezember 1875)*, Part I: *Die persönlichen Verhältnisse der Gewerbebetreiber* (Munich: Adolf Ackermann, 1879), p. xxxii.

67 See, above all, Hans Lenneberg’s pioneering document collection *Breitkopf und Härtel in Paris: The Letters of Their Agent Heinrich Probst between 1833 and 1840* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1990), for valuable insights into how important these networks were for the dissemination of music in Europe.

68 Stephen Powers, “German Newspapers,” *Harper’s* 36 (January, 1868): 232–41 (p. 240).

69 Henry A. Powell, “Newspaper,” in *Chambers’s Encyclopaedia*, rev. edn., 8 vols., Vol. V (New York: Collier, 1887), p. 587.

2 Strauss’s compositional process

1 See, for instance, the reports about the work on *Ein Heldenleben* in the *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* (Berlin) 25 (June 24/July 1, 1898): 380, as well as a few weeks later (July 29/August 5, 1898): 442. “As we have heard, Richard Strauss is working at the moment on a four-movement symphony with an heroic character, which will be named *Ein Heldenleben* and premiered next season in one of the museum concerts in Frankfurt am Main.”

2 First published in its entirety in Walter Werbeck, *Die Tondichtungen von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996), pp. 534–9.

3 Richard Strauss, *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, 3rd edn., ed. Willi Schuh (Zurich: Atlantis, 1981), 161–7; translated as “On Inspiration in Music” in Richard Strauss,

- Recollections and Reflections*, ed. Willi Schuh, trans. L. J. Lawrence (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953), pp. 112–17.
- 4 Carl Dahlhaus, *Zwischen Romantik und Moderne: Vier Studien zur Musikgeschichte des späteren 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1974), p. 40.
- 5 Otto Zoff, *Die großen Komponisten gesehen von ihren Zeitgenossen* (Bern: A. Scherz, 1952), p. 319.
- 6 Strauss, *Betrachtungen*, p. 190.
- 7 Max Marschall, “Gespräche mit Richard Strauss,” *Vossische Zeitung* (October 15, 1918, evening edn.).
- 8 The initial version of this song can be found at the end of Sketchbook 6 in the numbering after Franz Trenner, *Die Skizzenbücher von Richard Strauss aus dem Richard-Strauss-Archiv in Garmisch* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1977), p. 14. It is different from the final version of the song, however, in quite a number of details, including a much longer piano postlude.
- 9 Richard Strauss, “Zum 50. Geburtstag des Tondichters (11. Juni),” *Neues Wiener Journal* (June 6, 1914).
- 10 Theodor W. Adorno, “Richard Strauss. Zum Hundertsten Geburtstag: 11. Juni 1964,” in Adorno, *Musikalische Schriften*, 6 vols., Vol. III (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978), p. 569.
- 11 Stefan Zweig to Romain Rolland, December 18, 1932, in Waltraud Schwarze, ed., *Romain Rolland, Stefan Zweig: Briefwechsel 1924–1940* (Berlin: Rütten and Loenig, 1987), p. 484.
- 12 Charlotte E. Erwin, “Richard Strauss’s Presketch Planning for *Ariadne auf Naxos*,” *Musical Quarterly* 47 (1981): 348–65.
- 13 The conclusion of the *Zarathustra* particell, for instance, on July 17, 1896 (Sketchbook 3, p. 48) was confirmed in his calendar with the remark “Zarathustra sketch completed.”
- 14 See the remarks by Werner Breig in Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, eds., *Richard-Wagner-Handbuch* (Stuttgart: A. Kröner, 1986), pp. 393–8.
- 15 Trenner, *Skizzenbücher*, p. vi.
- 16 In addition to Erwin, “Richard Strauss’s Presketch Planning”; and Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*; see Bryan Gilliam, “Strauss’s Preliminary Opera Sketches: Thematic Fragments and Symphonic Continuity,” *19th-Century Music* 9 (1985–6): 176–88.
- 17 Page 6 is featured in *Richard Strauss: Autographen, Porträts, Bühnenbilder. Ausstellung zum 50. Todestag* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1999), p. 223.
- 18 Alfons Ott, ed., *Richard Strauss and Ludwig Thuille: Briefe der Freundschaft, 1877–1907* (Munich: Walter Ricke, 1969), pp. 15–150.
- 19 *Richard Strauss: Autographen*, pp. 222, 231.
- 20 Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss: Jugend und frühe Meisterjahre. Lebenschronik 1864–1898* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1976), p. 59.
- 21 Pictured in Kurt Pfister, *Richard Strauss: Weg, Gestalt, Denkmal* (Vaduz: Liechtenstein Verlag, 1950), illustration 29. The caption is misleading; when he composed the Violin Concerto, Strauss was not 14, but 17 years of age.
- 22 Schuh emphasizes as well that Strauss liberated himself from the piano early in his compositional career. See Schuh, *Jugend und frühe Meisterjahre*, p. 61 n. 18.
- 23 Trenner, *Skizzenbücher*, 7ff. The Sketchbooks 5–7 in Trenner’s numbering correspond to Books II–IV in Strauss’s count. Then follow Trenner 10 (= VI), 12 (= VIII), 16 and 18 (= IX). After IX Strauss seems to have abandoned the count in roman numerals. Sketchbook V is missing in the Garmisch collection. In the following the Garmisch sketchbooks will always be cited with Trenner’s arabic numerals.
- 24 Strauss picked up the idea of beginning a piece in this way again in *Don Quixote*. The rhythm of the first measure is even the same as in the first draft of *Till Eulenspiegel*.
- 25 Reprinted in Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 531ff.
- 26 In a letter to his wife of September 20, 1901 he writes: “I leafed through my sketchbook without receiving a significant inspiration ... and I played a few fugues by Bach.” Willi Schuh, “Das Szenarium und die musikalischen Skizzen zum Ballett *Kythere*” in *Richard Strauss Jahrbuch 1959–60* (Bonn: Boosey & Hawkes, 1960), pp. 84–98, esp. p. 86.
- 27 Gilliam, “Strauss’s Preliminary Opera Sketches,” p. 181.
- 28 Possibly meant for *Don Quixote*.
- 29 Sketchbook 1, p. 60.
- 30 Sketchbook 1, p. 32. See the transcription in Trenner, *Skizzenbücher*, p. 1. Strauss’s text is an excellent basis for an analysis – reason enough always to consult the sketches when studying Strauss’s music.
- 31 Sketchbook 1, p. 47. See also the transcription in Trenner, *Skizzenbücher*, p. 2.
- 32 The stormy conclusion, for instance, was replaced by a quiet coda.
- 33 Trenner classified them without differentiation as sketchbooks. Sketchbook 3 unifies the particells of *Zarathustra*, *Till Eulenspiegel*, and *Don Quixote*, while

the partcell of the *Alpensinfonie* takes up the entirety of Trenner's Sketchbook 31. The partcell for *Ein Heldenleben* is in the Mengelberg Collection in the Gementemuseum in The Hague.

34 There is a not entirely error-free transcription of the beginning by Manfred Hermann Schmidt, "Der Schluss des *Rheingolds* im *Zarathustra* von Richard Strauss," in Bernd Edelmann, Birgit Lodes, and Reinhold Schlötterer, eds, *Richard Strauss und die Moderne* (Berlin: Henschel, 2001), pp. 173–84, esp. p. 180.

35 Scott Warfield, "Neatness Counts: Orchestration in Richard Strauss's Compositional Method," unpublished paper read at the 13th Biennial Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music, University of Durham, July 6–9, 2004.

36 Richard Strauss, *Tod und Verklärung*, op. 24: *Faksimile-Reproduktion der Handschrift* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1923). One can also see that Strauss proceeded somewhat cavalierly here, because he used paper with twenty-four staves, even though it must have been clear that twenty-five staves would be needed for the complete orchestra (with second harp and tam-tam). Because it lacked its own staff, the tam-tam part was notated separately at the bottom of pp. 68–73.

37 Such an instrumentation list is pictured for *Friedenstag* in the catalogue of the *Richard-Strauss-Ausstellung zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz Grasberger and Franz Hadamowsky (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1964), p. 126. The illustration refers to the music two measures after rehearsal no. 126.

38 See Ulrich Konrad, "Die Deutsche Motette op. 62 von Richard Strauss: Entstehung, Form, Gehalt," in Edelmann, Lodes, and Schlötterer, *Strauss und die Moderne*, pp. 283–310, esp. p. 288. With Strauss, measure-counts thus can have several functions: as reference for use in other positions (mostly in the sketches), as symbols indicating the metric position (in sketches, rarely in partcells), and as measure numbers per system on a page of the score (only in partcells).

39 Ernst Krause, *Richard Strauss: Gestalt und Werk*, 4th edn. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1970), p. 110.

40 See n. 16, especially the studies by Erwin and Gilliam.

41 Krause, *Richard Strauss*, 122.

42 See Strauss's letter to Hofmannsthal of June 26, 1909, a facsimile of which appears in *Richard Strauss: Autographen*, p. 182.

3 Maturity and indecision in the early works

1 Max Steinitzer, "Richard Strauss' Werke für Klavier," *Die Musik* 24/2 (November, 1931): 105–9, quote from pp. 106–7.

2 In relation to Steinitzer's vision for a radio program, it should be noted that the recordings of many non-canonic Strauss works, including early compositions, have been released as part of an identically named series on the Koch Schwann label – *Der unbekannte Richard Strauss* ("The Unknown Richard Strauss").

3 Richard Specht, *Richard Strauss und sein Werk*, 2 vols., Vol. I (Leipzig: E. P. Tal, 1921), pp. 106, 127–8. Specht was fond of equating mechanical sound reproduction technologies with a lack of authentic inspiration; see, for example, the discussion of his reception of Strauss's score for the ballet-pantomime *Josephslegende* (1914), in Wayne Heisler, Jr., *The Ballet Collaborations of Richard Strauss*, Eastman Studies in Music (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009), pp. 49–50, 93.

4 Richard Strauss, "Recollections of My Youth and Years of Apprenticeship," in Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, ed. Willi Schuh, trans. L. J. Lawrence (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953), pp. 134–45.

5 Glenn Gould, "An Argument for Richard Strauss," in Gould, *The Glenn Gould Reader*, ed. Tim Page (New York: Knopf, 1984), pp. 84–92, quote from p. 88. See also Leon Botstein, "The Enigmas of Richard Strauss: A Revisionist View," in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 3–32, esp. pp. 14–15.

6 Bryan Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 13. On Meyer, see also Scott Warfield, "Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer (1818–1893): Some Biographical Notes on Richard Strauss's Composition Teacher," *Richard Strauss-Blätter*, new series 37 (June, 1997): 54–74.

7 Stephan Kohler, Preface to Richard Strauss, *Trio Nr. 1 A-Dur für Klavier, Violine und Violoncello*, 1st edn. (New York: Schott, 1996).

8 Translated in *ibid.* Kohler modified the error in Susan Gillespie's translation of this letter to Thuille, in which it was incorrectly stated that the novel modulation in the Adagio was from F major to E major. See Susan Gillespie, ed. and trans., "Selections from the Strauss–Thuille Correspondence: A Glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years," in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 193–236 (p. 200). The complete correspondence can be found in Franz Trenner, ed., *Richard Strauss, Ludwig Thuille: Ein Briefwechsel* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980).

9 Specht, *Richard Strauss*, Vol. I, pp. 105, 107.

- 10 Jürgen Schaarwächter, *Richard Strauss und die Sinfonie* (Cologne: Verlag Christoph Dohr, 1994), pp. 12–23.
- 11 Quoted in *Chronicle*, p. 52.
- 12 Erich Urban, *Richard Strauss* (Berlin: Gose and Tetzlaff, 1901), p. 13.
- 13 Steinitzer, *Richard Strauss* (Berlin: Schuster and Loeffler, 1911), pp. 208–9.
- 14 Urban, *Richard Strauss*, p. 13.
- 15 Ernest Newman, *Richard Strauss* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 30–1.
- 16 Steinitzer, “Richard Strauss’ Werke für Klavier,” p. 106.
- 17 Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, p. 19.
- 18 Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, 3 vols., Vol. I (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 20.
- 19 Steinitzer, *Richard Strauss*, p. 210.
- 20 Del Mar, *Richard Strauss*, Vol. I, p. 20; see also Specht, *Richard Strauss*, Vol. I, pp. 110–11.
- 21 Strauss to Thuille, January 6, 1884, quoted in *Chronicle*, p. 67.
- 22 Strauss to Thuille, March 8, 1884, in *ibid.*, p. 68.
- 23 Strauss, “Recollections of My Youth,” pp. 136–7.
- 24 R. Larry Todd, “Strauss before Liszt and Wagner: Some Observations,” in *New Perspectives*, pp. 3–40, quote from pp. 25–6.
- 25 Steinitzer, *Richard Strauss*, p. 210.
- 26 Arthur Seidl, “Richard Strauß: Eine Charakterskizze” [1896], in Seidl, *Straußiana: Aufsätze zur Richard Strauß-Frage aus drei Jahrzehnten* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1913), pp. 11–66, quote from p. 17.
- 27 Quoted in *Chronicle*, p. 99; see also Strauss, “Recollections of My Youth.”
- 28 Todd, “Strauss before Liszt and Wagner,” pp. 15–16, 25. On the influence of Brahms’s large choral works on Strauss and documentation of the reception of *Wandrer’s Sturmlied*, see also Heiner Wajemann, *Die Chorkompositionen von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986), pp. 179–89.
- 29 Newman, *Richard Strauss*, pp. 37, 35–6.
- 30 Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, pp. 38–9.
- 31 Strauss, quoted in Alan Jefferson, *The Lieder of Richard Strauss* (London: Cassell, 1971), p. 24.
- 32 Del Mar discusses Strauss’s Opp. 10, 15, and 17 in *Richard Strauss*, Vol. III, pp. 264–73, quote from p. 266.
- 33 Richard Specht, Preface to Richard Strauss, *Aus Italien, Sinfonische Fantasie für grosses Orchester, G dur, op. 16* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1904).

34 Romain Rolland, “Richard Strauss” [1899], in Rollo Myers, ed. and trans., *Richard Strauss and Romain Rolland: Correspondence, together with Fragments from the Diary of Romain Rolland and Other Essays* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1968), pp. 175–95, quote from p. 177.

4 The first cycle of tone poems

- 1 Strauss to his father, January 17, 1889 in Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss: Briefe an die Eltern 1882–1906* (Zurich and Freiburg: Atlantis, 1954), p. 104. Translations are my own except where otherwise indicated.
- 2 Strauss to Carl Hörburger, June 11, 1888, in Franz Grasberger, ed., “*Der Strom der Töne trug mich fort*”: *Die Welt um Richard Strauss in Briefen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1967), p. 41.
- 3 Richard Strauss, “Recollections of My Youth and Years of Apprenticeship,” in *Recollections*, p. 138.
- 4 Monacensia-Abteilung und Handschriftensammlung, Städtische Bibliothek, Munich (D-Mmb), Sammelstück No. 151; also reproduced in Walter Werbeck, *Die Tondichtungen von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996), pp. 527–30 (p. 528). This early account probably dates from January, 1898, and was sent to Eugen Spitzweg, Strauss’s publisher.
- 5 A sophisticated revisionist reading of Ritter’s contribution to Strauss’s intellectual development is given in Charles Youmans, *Richard Strauss’s Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition: The Philosophical Roots of Musical Modernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), pp. 35–48.
- 6 Strauss’s original enquiry and the receipt of his membership fee are found in Weimar, Klassik Stiftung, Goethe-Schiller Archiv, 70/37. He would later become president of this organization (1901).
- 7 Strauss to Hans von Bülow, March 11, 1887, in Gabriele Strauss, ed., *Lieber Collega! Richard Strauss im Briefwechsel mit zeitgenössischen Komponisten und Dirigenten* (Berlin: Henschel, 1996), p. 58.
- 8 Extensive discussion of both the programmatic and formal aspects of this work is to be found in my article “*Aus Italien: Retracing Strauss’s Journeys*,” *The Musical Quarterly* 92 (2009): 70–117.
- 9 Letter from Strauss to Karl Wolff, January, 1889, quoted in Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 25–6 n. 3.
- 10 Letter from Strauss to Carl Hörburger, March 4, 1887, quoted in Felix Hörburger, “Über einige Briefe von Richard Strauss an Franz Carl Hörburger,” in Hermann Dechant

- and Wolfgang Sieber, eds., *Gedenkschrift Hermann Beck* (Laaber: Laaber, 1982), pp. 201–8 (p. 203).
- 11 Strauss described the movement as having “the form of a large first movement of a symphony,” and he even labelled its constituent themes according to sonata-form practice. Richard Strauss, “*Aus Italien*: Analyse vom Komponisten,” *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 16/26 (June 28, 1889): 263–6 (p. 265).
 - 12 Strauss, “Recollections of My Youth,” pp. 138–9 (translation modified).
 - 13 Strauss to Hans von Bülow, August 24, 1888, in Willi Schuh and Franz Trenner, eds., *Correspondence of Hans von Bülow and Richard Strauss*, trans. Anthony Gishford (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1955), pp. 80–3.
 - 14 Strauss to Ján Levoslav Bella, December 2, 1888, in Dobroslav Orel, *Ján Levoslav Bella: k. 80. narodeninám seniora slovenské hudby* (Bratislava: Philosophy Faculty of the Comenius University of Bratislava, 1924), p. 567.
 - 15 Strauss to Bella, March 3, 1890, in *ibid.*, p. 570.
 - 16 Strauss to Carl Hörburger, June 11, 1888, in Grasberger, *Der Strom der Töne*, p. 41.
 - 17 Strauss to Hans Bronsart von Schellendorff, February 9, 1889, in G. Strauss, *Lieber Collega!*, p. 125.
 - 18 In one letter from Strauss to Eugen Spitzweg (December 7, 1889), he actually uses both terms without making any distinction between them. Musik Abteilung, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (D-Mmb), Sammelstück No. 30.
 - 19 Letter from Strauss to Carl Hörburger, January 11, 1888, quoted in Max Steinitzer, *Richard Strauss* (Berlin: Schuster and Loeffler, 1911), p. 60. The letter itself has not survived.
 - 20 The lack of counterpoint in Liszt’s music was something on which Strauss explicitly commented: “So little artistry and so much poetry, so little counterpoint and so much music.” Strauss to Alexander Ritter, probably May 1, 1890, quoted in *ibid.*
 - 21 John Williamson, *Strauss: Also sprach Zarathustra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 1, 16–17.
 - 22 Strauss to Ludwig Thuille, November 19, 1890, in Franz Trenner, ed., *Richard Strauss, Ludwig Thuille: Ein Briefwechsel* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980), p. 115.
 - 23 Rudolf Louis, *Die deutsche Musik der Gegenwart* (Munich and Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1909), p. 171; translated by Susan Gillespie in *Strauss and His World*, p. 309.
 - 24 *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 17/43 (October 24, 1890), quoted in Mark-Daniel Schmid, “The Tone Poems of Richard Strauss and Their Reception History from 1887–1908” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1997), p. 166. James Hepokoski cites a number of commentators down to the present day who adhere to this view. See “Structure and Program in *Macbeth*: A Proposed Reading of Strauss’s First Symphonic Poem,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 67–89 (pp. 68–70).
 - 25 Carl Dahlhaus, “Wagner’s Place in the History of Art,” in Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, eds., *The Wagner Handbook*, trans. Alfred Clayton, ed. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 99–117 (p. 110).
 - 26 In his sketchbooks, there is one additional, cryptic reference to a “grief melody” (*Schmerzsmelodie*; probably the cello figure in mm. 435–6, prefigured in m. 308), but still nothing comparable to the extensive programmatic indications found in sketches for later works; see Sketchbook 1, p. 27 and also Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, p. 111.
 - 27 James Hepokoski, “Fiery-Pulsed Libertine or Domestic Hero? Strauss’s *Don Juan* Reinvestigated,” *New Perspectives*, pp. 135–76 (pp. 136–7).
 - 28 Strauss, “Recollections of My Youth,” p. 139.
 - 29 Scott Warfield, “The Genesis of Richard Strauss’s *Macbeth*” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995), pp. 412, 350–1.
 - 30 Hepokoski, “Structure and Program,” p. 74 tentatively suggests that mm. 20ff. illustrate “the witches’ threefold prophecy to Macbeth (Act 1 scene 3).” Alternatively, one might associate these bars with Macbeth’s dark ambition, the fatal flaw that drives the plot and leads eventually to his downfall.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 75–6.
 - 32 This has been interpreted as the arrival of the unwitting King Duncan to Macbeth’s demesne, or (perhaps more plausibly) as Macbeth’s own coronation.
 - 33 Strauss to Hans von Bülow, August 24, 1888, in G. Strauss, *Lieber Collega!*, p. 81. In 1887, Bülow had reportedly ground his teeth in despair on hearing the subsidiary part of the “Macbeth” group (m. 20). “Tagebuch” Blau I, 18, Richard-Strauss-Archiv, Garmisch-Partenkirchen (RSA).
 - 34 There are no fewer than three versions of *Macbeth*, but the first survives in only fragmentary form. As a result, it is difficult to determine with exactitude just how extensive was the initial revision process (which certainly included a reworking of the ending). For detailed discussion of the extant materials,

- see Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 107–13; and Warfield, “Genesis,” pp. 293–367.
- 35 On hearing the work in 1890, he expressed himself satisfied with form and content, but determined to reorchestrate the whole. Strauss to Franz Willner, October 23, 1890, in G. Strauss, *Lieber Collega!*, p. 296.
- 36 “Sonata deformation” is a term coined by James Hepokoski to cover a number of standardized departures from a normative sonata structure. It has proved to be a particularly fruitful concept in analyzing music of the later nineteenth century (an early instance is Hepokoski’s “Fiery-Pulsed Libertine”), but has also been challenged on a variety of historical and philosophical grounds. See *inter alia* James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 614–21; and (as a sample critical view) Julian Horton, *Bruckner’s Symphonies: Analysis, Reception, and Cultural Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 152–60.
- 37 Hepokoski, “Structure and Program,” pp. 78–82.
- 38 One thinks of the important reprise of thematic matter in *Till Eulenspiegel* (m. 429), *Ein Heldenleben* (m. 631), and arguably also in *Also sprach Zarathustra* (m. 329).
- 39 See Schmid, “The Tone Poems of Richard Strauss,” pp. 148–71.
- 40 Bülow to Eugen Spitzweg, March 8, 1891, in Marie von Bülow, ed., *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften*, 8 vols., Vol. VII: *Briefe VI 1880–1886* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1908), p. 332.
- 41 Theodor W. Adorno, “Richard Strauss: Born June 11, 1864,” trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber, *Perspectives of New Music* 3 (1964): 14–32; 4 (1965): 113–29 (p. 120).
- 42 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 334.
- 43 Nikolaus Lenau, *Don Juan, in Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, 2 vols., Vol. I (Leipzig: Insel, 1970), pp. 893–940 (p. 939).
- 44 Sketchbook 1, 47, RSA and Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, p. 116.
- 45 Strauss to Karl Wolff, January, 1889, quoted in full in Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 25–6 n. 3; translation based on *Chronicle*, p. 136 (which uses a corrupt version of the text).
- 46 Strauss, “Recollections of My Youth,” p. 139 (translation modified).
- 47 Strauss acknowledged as much in a letter to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, February 20, 1908; see *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 14.
- 48 Wilhelm Mauke, “*Don Juan*,” reprinted in Herwarth Walden, ed., *Richard Strauss: Symphonien und Tondichtungen*, Meisterführer 6 (Berlin: Schlesinger, n.d. [c. 1908]), pp. 46–60. Mauke was the author of a composer-sanctioned guide to *Till Eulenspiegel*, so it is highly likely that his interpretation derives from Strauss. A useful summary of the main events in the poem is found in Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, 3 vols., Vol. I (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), pp. 65–9.
- 49 Richard Wagner, *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, 16 vols., Vol. V (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1912–14), p. 194.
- 50 See the correspondence between the two from February 25 to March 22, 1890, in Franz Trenner, ed., *Cosima Wagner, Richard Strauss: Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. with the assistance of Gabriele Strauss (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), pp. 26–37. See also Youmans’s discussion of these issues in *Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, pp. 54–6, 170–4.
- 51 Letter from Engelbert Humperdinck to Ludwig Strecker, June 26, 1890, in Eva Humperdinck, ed., *Der unbekannte Engelbert Humperdinck: Im Spiegel des Briefwechsels mit seinen Zunftgenossen*, 1 vol. to date, Vol. I: 1884–1893 (Vienna: Verlag Dr. Richard Strauss, 2004), pp. 72–3.
- 52 Hepokoski, “Fiery-Pulsed Libertine,” p. 150.
- 53 Support for this reading of the opening in terms of sonata form can be found in Strauss’s description of this section as a “glowing middle-theme” (*glühende Mittelthema*), this being his preferred designation for second themes. Strauss to Franz Strauss, November 15, 1889, in Trenner, *Eltern*, p. 121.
- 54 Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 323–86.
- 55 Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, pp. 331, 334.
- 56 Letter from Strauss to Eugen Spitzweg, November 19, 1890, in Grasberger, *Der Strom der Töne*, p. 56. In this context, Strauss is using “absolute” music to signify instrumental music.
- 57 *Chronicle*, p. 272.
- 58 Eduard Hanslick, *The Collected Musical Criticism of Eduard Hanslick*, 9 vols., Vol. VII (Farnborough: Gregg, 1971) p. 221.
- 59 *Chicago Daily Tribune* (February 24, 1895), quoted in Schmid, “The Tone Poems of Richard Strauss,” pp. 186–7.
- 60 Extract from letter from Strauss to Friedrich von Hausegger about his compositional process, c. 1895, first printed in its entirety in Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, 534–9 (p. 538). (Translation modified from *Chronicle*, p. 180.)

61 The official poem has been rather neglected in discussions of the work. It is symptomatic that in the Eulenberg edition it has been replaced by an abbreviated version of Del Mar's commentary. Various writers (including Mathias Hansen, *Richard Strauss: Die Sinfonischen Dichtungen* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003], p. 81) have erroneously maintained that Strauss did not take the poem seriously, whereas in fact Strauss told his publisher that Ritter's poem was an excellent guide to *Tod und Verklärung* ("Bitte ich dich, dich an Ritter zu wenden, von dem das Gedicht ist, ich weiß nichts besseres dafür!"). Strauss to Eugen Spitzweg, December 23, 1890, D-Mmb: Sammelstück, 48.

62 Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, p. 124. In addition to those concepts listed above, Werbeck states that the retrospective look at childhood and the emergence of the ideals theme were probably also formative elements. Other ideas to emerge early on were the reminiscences of infancy, boyhood, and youthful ardour. However, he demonstrates that the ordering and content of events did *not* remain unchanged from the beginning.

63 An expanded discussion of temporality in this work is found in Daniel G. Harrison, "Imagining *Tod und Verklärung*," *Richard-Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 29 (June, 1993): 22–52.

64 Gustav Brecher, *Richard Strauss: Eine monographische Skizze* (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, n.d. [1900]), p. 23.

65 For more on the concept of transfiguration, see Camilla Bork, "*Tod und Verklärung*: Isoldes Liebestod als Modell künstlerischer Schlußgestaltung," in Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler, eds., *Zukunftsbilder: Richard Wagners Revolution und ihre Folgen in Kunst und Politik* (Schliengen: Argus, 2002), pp. 161–78, esp. p. 163.

66 German original published in the score of *Tod und Verklärung* (London: Eulenberg, 1961).

67 Brecher, *Richard Strauss*, p. 22, trans. Schmid, "The Tone Poems of Richard Strauss," p. 198 (wrongly attributed to Romain Rolland in the text at this point).

68 Admittedly, *Tod und Verklärung* is in the minor mode, which of its nature tends to involve a greater incidence of chromaticism than does the major. Furthermore, *Don Juan* is hardly devoid of chromaticism (see mm. 1ff., 28ff., 38ff., 148ff., 482ff., and esp. 505ff.).

69 Roland Tenschert, *Straussiana aus vier Jahrzehnten*, ed. Jürgen Schaarwächter (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1994), p. 34 relates the trajectory of *Tod und Verklärung* to

Beethoven's Fifth and Ninth Symphonies and Brahms's Symphony No. 1, and acknowledges that it can be seen as a "companion piece" [*Pendant*] to Liszt's *Les Préludes*.

70 Letter from Strauss to Wilhelm Bopp, February 9, 1931, quoted in *Chronicle*, p. 181 (translation modified).

71 Strauss noted that "*Tod und Verklärung* bringt das Hauptthema erst als Culminationspunkt in der Mitte." "Tagebuch" Blau V, RSA, 8. See also Franz Grasberger and Franz Hadamowsky, eds., *Richard Strauss-Ausstellung zum 100. Geburtstag* (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1964), p. 127.

72 Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 363.

5 The second cycle of tone poems

1 Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, trans. Aaron Asher (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 86.

2 Much of the following discussion is based on material chronicled in Charles Youmans, *Richard Strauss's Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition: The Philosophical Roots of Musical Modernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005). Cf. also Charles Youmans, "The Private Intellectual Context of Richard Strauss's *Also sprach Zarathustra*," *19th-Century Music* 22/2 (1998): 101–26; and "The Role of Nietzsche in Richard Strauss's Artistic Development," *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004): 309–42.

3 Youmans, *Strauss's Orchestral Music*, p. 92.

4 His reading of Nietzsche, it seems, was preceded by an interest c. 1892 in the writings of Max Stirner, "anarchic individualist" and promoter of the "explicitly antimetaphysical view of sexual love" – such works as *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (*The Ego and His Own*). See *ibid.*, pp. 86, 91.

5 Nietzsche's first proclamations appeared in *The Gay Science*, Section 108 ("New Struggles"), Book 3: "God is dead; but given the way of men, there may still be caves for thousands of years in which his shadow will be shown. – And we – we still have to vanquish his shadow, too." More famously, the line is shouted out in the famous parable of the madman crying out the death of God in the marketplace (Section 125): "God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him." Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1974), pp. 167, 181. Kaufmann also provided (p. 167 n. 1) several references to the "God is dead" line in *Zarathustra*.

6 The temple/god image is adapted and recrafted from a well-known passage in Martin Heidegger, “The Origin of the Work of Art” (1935–6, 1950), in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), pp. 40–9. The passage dwells on art, being, and truth from a very different perspective.

7 An extreme but telling variant of this conservative, old-world charge may be found in the ever-indignant Adorno’s diatribes against Strauss for morally defiling the truth–content features of music (as posited a priori by the Frankfurt School writers) in favor of commercial success and bourgeois compromise. Among the reiterative *j’accuse*-indictments hurled by Adorno (and cf. n. 6 above, the Heideggerian image of the abandoned temple): “His work has the atmosphere of the Grand Hotel of childhood, a palace accessible only to money, yet not really a palace any more.” Or: “[Strauss’s music] thumbs its nose at inwardness ... [abandons itself to] unmitigated exteriority.” Theodor W. Adorno, “Richard Strauss: Born June 11, 1864,” trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber, *Perspectives of New Music* 3 (1964), 25–26, 16–17. Cf. n. 16 below.

8 Alexander Ritter to Strauss, January 17, 1893, in Youmans, *Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, p. 68.

9 Walter Werbeck, *Die Tondichtungen von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996), pp. 248–9, 255–9, 260, 262, 264. Several of these were collected and republished in Herwarth Walden, ed., *Richard Strauss: Symphonien und Tondichtungen* (Berlin: Schlesinger, n.d. [c. 1908]).

10 Arthur Seidl, “Richard Strauß: Eine Charakterskizze” [1896], in Seidl, *Straußiana: Aufsätze zur Richard Strauß-Frage aus drei Jahrzehnten* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1913), pp. 11–66 (p. 58; my translation). See also the more extended discussion of the *Till* program and its “esoteric” metaphor in James Hepokoski, “Framing Till Eulenspiegel,” *19th-Century Music* 30/1 (2006): 4–43; reprinted in Hepokoski, *Music, Structure, Thought: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 273–312.

11 Arthur Seidl remarked in 1896 (“Richard Strauß,” p. 62) that although Strauss’s forthcoming tone poem would bear the title *Also sprach Zarathustra*, its actual subject (*Gegenstand*) would be *Human, All Too Human* (Youmans, *Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, p. 90). The larger point is that Strauss was informed more broadly by the emancipatory spirit of Nietzsche in general. Even as key images from Nietzsche’s *Zarathustra* (1883–5) recur

prominently in the tone poem, the point-of-view and flavor of the earlier *Menschliches, allzumenschliches: Ein Buch für freie Geister* (1878) are also congruent with that of Strauss’s composition. The musician reprocessed what he needed from the philosopher to serve his own ends.

12 Friedrich Nietzsche, “Of Reading and Writing,” in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Penguin, 1961), p. 68.

13 Strauss to Gustav Kogel, quoted, for example, in Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, p. 262 n. 684.

14 Youmans, *Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, p. 204, where Ritter is described as a proponent of “unhappy [and ‘outmoded’] idealism” who “lived in semiretirement, buried in his books.”

15 In *Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, p. 181, Youmans provides an overview of these “interior” doubts, of Strauss’s “professional insecurity, reflecting persistent questions about the validity of his antimetaphysical views and the advisability of destroying a musical aesthetic so widely held by his peers” – a “multileveled insecurity” that was turning him into a “misanthrope.”

16 The charges of cynicism would be leveled most vituperatively in Adorno’s 1964 essay, “Richard Strauss”: “noncommittal *peinture* [that] denounces ... all absorption as boredom” (p. 22); “a bourgeois coolness, a lack of participation on the part of the aesthetic subject” (p. 31). See also n. 7 above. Adorno’s observations about Strauss and his style are by no means incorrect, nor can they be shrugged off by any current commentator on the composer. On the contrary, Adorno repeatedly put his finger on the most telling points of the style and its implications, often in unforgettable phrases that invite quotation and reflection. It is only that the moralistic Adorno, upholding his own variant of a by-then-eclipsed view of one’s absolute duty to the revelatory truth-bearing value of music (in this era, posited as resistance to capitalism and the desires of “the bourgeois subject,” non-accommodation with the culture industry, and so forth), had a visceral aversion to what he found in Strauss, and cast his observations in the form of repeated denunciations that current readers are likely to find exaggerated and self-indicting. Adorno’s remarks are brilliant, to be sure, but they are also strident and open to historicizing and deconstruction.

17 Seidl, “Richard Strauß,” p. 61.

18 Hans Merian, *Richard Strauß’ Tondichtung Also sprach Zarathustra: Eine Studie über die moderne Programmsymphonie* (Leipzig: Carl Meyer, 1899). Merian’s reading of *Zarathustra*

is more persuasive, more detailed, than the authorized (and somewhat cautious) version by Arthur Hahn.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9–11. In the Foreword, Merian noted that the two central questions still being debated among critics were “will and can program music express specific thoughts? and in what ways can this happen?” (p. 4). He devoted his monograph to laying out the case for the presence of philosophical, Nietzschean thought – “specific ideas” – in *Zarathustra*.

20 Morten Kristiansen, “Richard Strauss, *Die Moderne*, and the Concept of *Stilkunst*,” *The Musical Quarterly* 86/4 (Winter, 2002): 689–749 (“juxtaposing,” p. 702; “aesthetic,” p. 700; “contemporary zeitgeist,” p. 702; “culture of nerves,” p. 693). A central model for this detached, objective aesthetic of styles, remarked Strauss in a 1909 letter to Paul Bekker, was Mozart, “the incarnation of the pure artist, in comparison with the artists who also want to be confessors and starry-eyed idealists in their art” (*ibid.*, pp. 700–1). Kristiansen noted that he adopted the term *Stilkunst* from the literary history by Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand, *Deutsche Kunst und Kultur von der Gründerzeit bis zum Expressionismus*, 5 vols., Vol. IV: *Stilkunst um 1900* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967).

21 Leon Botstein, “The Enigmas of Richard Strauss: A Revisionist View,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 3–32 (“fragmentation in the use of the past and ... irony,” p. 18; “stylistic extraction,” p. 18; “disregard for consistency,” p. 19; “prefigured the aesthetics of postmodernism,” p. 17). “In the tone poems he perfected a language of musical illustration that played with the illusion of realism” (p. 24).

22 Herwarth Walden (based on Arthur Hahn), “Don Quixote,” in Walden, *Richard Strauss: Symphonien und Tondichtungen*, p. 130.

23 Youmans, *Strauss's Orchestral Music*, p. 205. The D–A_b–D swerve was noted and analyzed in Graham Phipps, “The Logic of Tonality in Strauss's *Don Quixote*: A Schoenbergian Evaluation,” *19th-Century Music* 9 (1986): 189–205 (pp. 192–4). As Phipps observed (p. 190), the initial slippage from D to A_b in the antecedent had been attacked by Heinrich Schenker in his *Harmonielehre* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1906), pp. 299–300 as “unnatural and therefore inadmissible ... [a] digression ... not artistically composed, but, on the contrary, with disregard for nature ... placed without proper linear working-out [*unmotiviert*] purely at the whim of a man who does not know what he wants, what is appropriate.”

24 Seidl, “Richard Strauß,” pp. 28–9.

25 On the format of a sentence, see n. 27 below.

26 Arthur Hahn, “*Also sprach Zarathustra*,” reprinted in Walden, *Richard Strauss: Symphonien und Tondichtungen*, pp. 113; Merian, *Richard Strauß' Tondichtung Also sprach Zarathustra*, p. 17.

27 A sentence is a forward-driving melodic shape based on the vectored principle of short–short→long (*aa'b*) in which the two short impulses may be perceived as either identical or closely related as variants. (How far-ranging the *a'*-variant can be and still be considered *a'* is a matter of individual judgment.)

The two *a*'s are called the presentation (or presentation modules); *b* is the continuation. The continuation is often (but not always) based on material from the presentation, and it typically drives towards an eventual cadence. When the continuation begins with its own complementary presentation modules, as here at the opening of *Ein Heldenleben*, that continuation is itself sentential (a “sentential continuation”), beginning another *aa'b* pattern. In turn its succeeding *b* can once again be initiated sententially, and so on. The result is a sentence-chain (*Satzkette*). Its effect is to produce a succession of presentational modules, paired short impulses, until a cadence is finally driven towards and attained. In *Heldenleben*, then, m. 5, nominally a continuation, begins with complementary *aa'*-style modules: mm. 5–6, 7–8; m. 9, nominally a new continuation, again begins presentationally with new complementary modules: mm. 9–10, 11–12. A non-sentential continuation (with its characteristic fragmentation and compression) and drive to cadence is reached only at m. 13.

An introduction to Classical sentence-formats is provided in William E. Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 35–48.

For a more flexible discussion extending further into the nineteenth century and including a consideration of *Satzketten*, see Matthew BaileyShea, “The Wagnerian Satz: The Rhetoric of the Sentence in Wagner's Post-*Lohengrin* Operas” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2003).

28 A delicious detail: at the beginning of the recapitulation (m. 631, rehearsal no. 77), the moment celebrating triumph over adversaries, the chromatic deformation from m. 7 is now straightened out into a confident diatonicism (m. 637).

29 Adorno, “Richard Strauss,” pp. 19, 30–1.

30 The most thorough guide through the evidence bearing on these programmatic questions in all of Strauss's tone poems remains Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 103–300.

31 Wilhelm Mauke, “Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche,” reprinted in Walden, *Richard Strauss: Symphonien und Tondichtungen*, pp. 92–108. English equivalents are adapted from *Chronicle*, p. 397. For a complete list of the Mauke labels see also Hepokoski, “Framing Till Eulenspiegel,” p. 13.

32 As is well known, the initial pitch-contour of all versions shown in Example 5.4 may allude to a familiar motive (tranquility or repose) from the love duet of *Tristan und Isolde*, Act II, while the jeering, tongue-protruding “Till chord,” *sforzando* at m. 47, is the “Tristan chord” differently spelled and resolved. See also the discussion of these and related matters in Matthew Bribitzer-Stull and Robert Gauldin, “Hearing Wagner in *Till Eulenspiegel*: Strauss’s Merry Pranks Reconsidered,” *Intégral* 21 (2007): 1–39.

33 Steven Vande Moortele, “Beyond Sonata Deformation: Liszt’s Symphonic Poem *Tasso* and the Concept of Two-Dimensional Sonata Form,” *Current Musicology* 86 (2008): 49. A more extensive treatment, including studies of *Don Juan* and *Ein Heldenleben*, may be found in Vande Moortele, *Two-Dimensional Sonata Form: Form and Cycle in Single-Movement Instrumental Works by Liszt, Strauss, Schoenberg, and Zemlinsky* (Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 2009).

34 Cf. Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 236–44, 360–8; and William S. Newman, *The Sonata since Beethoven* (New York: Norton, 1969), pp. 134–5, 373–7. The issue of potential multimovement-cycle implications (*Mehrsätzigkeit*) in the second cycle (particularly in *Zarathustra* and *Heldenleben*) has also been treated by David Larkin, “Reshaping the Liszt–Wagner Legacy: Intertextual Dynamics in Strauss’s Tone Poems” (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2006), pp. 289–90, 296–9. More generally, the dual-function possibility has long been a commonplace within the analysis of several nineteenth-century (and later) symphonic forms. See also, for example, Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 257, 304–6, 444–5; James Hepokoski, review of Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (1998): 603–25 (p. 613); and James Hepokoski, “Beethoven Reception: The Symphonic Tradition,” in Jim Samson, ed., *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 453–4. The likely eighteenth-century origins of the format are suggested in James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy,

Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 220–1.

35 On rotations as a general concept, see James Hepokoski, “Structure, Implication, and the End of *Suor Angelica*,” *Studi pucciniani* 3 (2004): 241–64, which contains (p. 242) a list of complementary articles on the topic; reprinted in Hepokoski, *Music, Structure, Thought*, pp. 143–66. Cf. Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, e.g. pp. 611–14.

36 For a more detailed study of the structure of this work, including the role and implications of its introduction (mm. 1–5) and epilogue (mm. 632–57), see Hepokoski, “Framing Till Eulenspiegel.”

37 Merian, *Richard Strauß’ Tondichtung Also sprach Zarathustra*, p. 39: “We could designate this melody as the *Weise des Ideals*. It is played in B major, the key of the achieved ideal. All dark and heavy instruments [now] lie silent.” In the Strauss-authorized commentary of Arthur Hahn, this B major theme suggested “an overflowing, anticipatory sense of the feeling of happiness[-to-come], with liberation from all doubts and spiritual needs. In its passionate flight the soul ascends higher and higher.” See Walden, *Richard Strauss: Symphonien und Tondichtungen*, p. 119.

38 Cf. the famous moment at the onset of the recapitulation of the first movement of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 9, m. 301.

39 See, for example, Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, pp. 233–4. Following remarks originally stated in the authorized guide by Arthur Hahn as well as evidence from Strauss’s own marked copies of Nietzsche, Charles Youmans (*Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, pp. 93, 101–8, 194–5) has discussed the significance of this important moment to Strauss himself and has also explicated its implicit intertextual link to Faust’s staggering confrontation with the Earth Spirit.

40 Having begun in an unambiguous C major (Nature), the piece’s final section is grounded in B major (humanity, the spirit of question and questioning). The key of B remains unreconciled to C. The “C” implication at the end involves an upper-neighbor, incomplete French-sixth chord with C in the bass (eight bars from the end), resolving back to B major. As the music evaporates, one is left only with the residue (“C”) of the upper-neighbor, surely not to be heard at the end as a convincing tonic.

41 I borrow the concept of referential sonata stations – touched upon as location-markers or “orientation-points” but then

abandoned – from Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, e.g. pp. 427, 447, 476.

42 The relevance of the sonata-form concept to the *Quixote* variations has been a matter of dispute. Arguments on behalf of three embedded sonata structures traversing the whole of *Don Quixote* have been made by Phipps, “The Logic of Tonality,” pp. 189–205, esp. pp. 203–5. My own view is that these sonata interpretations are unconvincing. This is also the conclusion of Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 383, 457. Similarly, Youmans, *Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, p. 203, considers *Quixote* to be the composition in which “Strauss for the first time completely abandoned this dialogue [with sonata-form conceptions].” On the other hand, Larkin, “Reshaping the Liszt–Wagner Legacy,” pp. 239–45, considers Phipps to have “established” the sonata-form basis of the introduction (with two secondary keys in the “exposition,” F \sharp minor and F major) but proceeds to offer an alternative, single-sonata (deformation) proposal for the whole, in which mm. 1–160 (through the “Tema”) constitute the exposition, Variations 1–10 form a huge and sprawling “set of variations (taking the place of the Development),” and the finale is a reversed recapitulation. Notwithstanding Larkin’s caveats, I find this interpretation, too, to be strained.

43 This conclusion is both similar to and different from that of Larkin, “Reshaping the Liszt–Wagner Legacy.” Larkin does propose a sonata-framing of the interior variations (see the note directly above), but after noting the difficulties with this assertion remarks (p. 242): “My alternative reading might be best described as an imaginative reconstruction of an imaginary entity, the sonata structure which ‘would’ have existed but for *Quixote*’s madness.”

44 Werbeck (*Tondichtungen*, p. 448) and others have argued that the entire primary thematic zone (P, mm. 1–117) itself constitutes a miniature sonata form: (small-scale) P, m. 1; secondary theme (S), m. 21; development, m. 45; reversed recapitulation starting with S in the tonic, m. 84 (86), and P following, m. 94. From the sonata point of view, it might be preferable to begin the small-scale recapitulatory space with P starting on E: I^6 at m. 76 (rehearsal no. 9), with P at m. 94 as coda (perhaps dissolving into a transition). A stronger reading would construe mm. 1–117 as rotationally based and perhaps only secondarily in dialogue with the sonata concept: Rotation 1, mm. 1–16; expanded Rotation 2, mm. 17–45; Rotation 3, mm. 45 (rehearsal no. 5)–75; Rotation 4, mm. 76 (rehearsal no. 9)–94; Rotation 5, mm. 94–117.

45 My own view is that the secondary theme proper does not begin until m. 205, six measures after rehearsal no. 23, with the onset of the Wooing motive in the bass instruments.

46 See the brief accounts, for example, in Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 446–7; and Larkin, “Reshaping the Liszt–Wagner Legacy,” p. 292.

6 Strauss’s road to operatic success: *Guntram*, *Feuersnot*, and *Salome*

1 For an overview of the post-Wagnerian libretto see Morten Kristiansen, “Richard Strauss’s *Feuersnot* in Its Aesthetic and Cultural Context: A Modernist Critique of Musical Idealism” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2000), pp. 95–172.

2 Strauss later noted that he would never have written an opera had it not been for Ritter’s encouragement; see Richard Strauss, “Reminiscences of the First Performance of My Operas,” in *Recollections*, pp. 146–67 (p. 146). For a detailed discussion of Strauss’s relationship to Ritter see Charles Youmans, *Richard Strauss’s Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition: The Philosophical Roots of Musical Modernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), pp. 35–48.

3 Willi Schuh documented the genesis of *Guntram* in *Chronicle*, pp. 269–97.

4 For an exhaustive discussion of Wagner’s presence in *Guntram*, see Charles Youmans, “Richard Strauss’s *Guntram* and the Dismantling of Wagnerian Musical Metaphysics” (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1996), pp. 242–342. For the Tristan remark, see Oskar Merz’s review of November 18, 1895 in Franzpeter Messmer, ed., *Kritiken zu den Uraufführungen der Bühnenwerke von Richard Strauss*, (Pfaffenhofen: W. Ludwig, 1989), p. 15.

5 Anonymous review in the *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 15 (1894): 142; cited in Youmans, *Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, p. 38.

6 Ernest Newman, “Richard Strauss and the Music of the Future,” *Musical Studies* (London and New York: John Lane, 1905): 249–304 (p. 254).

7 For detailed discussions of the music of each of Strauss’s operas see Normal Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, 3 vols. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).

8 A short extract from Ritter’s letter of January 17, 1893 along with Strauss’s responses appears in *Chronicle*, pp. 282–6; the entire letter is reproduced in Youmans, “Richard Strauss’s *Guntram*,” pp. 383–97. It also appears (untranslated) in Charles Youmans, ed., “Ten Letters from Alexander Ritter to Richard

Strauss, 1887–1894,” *Richard Strauss-Blätter* 35 (June, 1996): 10–16.

9 Max Stirner (1806–56) advocated egoism and anarchy in *The Ego and His Own* (1845), which Strauss had read.

10 See Youmans, *Strauss’s Orchestral Music*, pp. 59–99, for a thorough discussion of Strauss’s interest in Schopenhauer and Nietzsche and their relevance to *Guntram*.

11 Roy Pascal, *From Naturalism to Expressionism: German Literature and Society 1880–1918* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 58.

12 Eugen Schmitz, *Richard Strauss als Musikdramatiker* (Munich: Dr. Henrich Löwe, 1907), p. 24.

13 Richard Strauss, “Recollections of My Youth and Years of Apprenticeship,” in *Recollections*, pp. 134–45 (p. 140).

14 See Strauss’s letter to Cosima Wagner of April 10, 1893 in Franz Trenner, ed., *Cosima Wagner, Richard Strauss: Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. with the assistance of Gabriele Strauss (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), p. 155.

15 *Chronicle*, pp. 312–13.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 297.

17 Richard Strauss, “Betrachtungen zu Joseph Gregors ‘Weltgeschichte des Theaters,’” in Strauss, *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, 2nd edn., ed. Willi Schuh (Zurich: Atlantis, 1957), pp. 173–81 (p. 179). (The essay does not appear in *Recollections*.)

18 See Gustav Mahler to Richard Strauss, March 24, 1894, in Herta Blaukopf, ed., *Gustav Mahler–Richard Strauss: Correspondence 1888–1911*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 32.

19 For a more detailed discussion of *Feuersnot* see Morten Kristiansen, “Richard Strauss before *Salome*: The Early Operas and Unfinished Stage Works,” in Mark-Daniel Schmid, ed., *The Richard Strauss Companion* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), pp. 245–73.

20 Romain Rolland noted in his diary on March 1, 1900 that Strauss felt tragedy to have been exhausted by Wagner and was looking for comedy, even buffoonery; see Rollo Myers, ed., *Richard Strauss and Romain Rolland: Correspondence* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1968), p. 125.

21 See Strauss, “Betrachtungen zu Joseph Gregors ‘Weltgeschichte des Theaters,’” pp. 179–80; letter of November 17, 1901 in Gabriella Hanke Knaus, ed., *Richard Strauss, Ernst von Schuch: Ein Briefwechsel* (Berlin: Henschel, 1999), p. 47; and letter of October 30, 1901 in Trenner, *Cosima Wagner, Richard Strauss*, p. 243.

22 For a full profile of Wolzogen see Morten Kristiansen, “Strauss’s First Librettist: Ernst von Wolzogen beyond *Überbrettel*,” *Richard Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 59 (June, 2008): 75–116.

23 For reviews of the premiere see Messmer, *Kritiken zu den Uraufführungen*, pp. 20–9.

24 Even when Strauss clearly intends parody, such as the *Mittsommernacht* love duet between Kunrad and Diemut for which he directs the performers to sing “with exaggerated pathos throughout,” the music itself does not signal parody (and in this case performers usually ignore Strauss’s directions).

25 See Ernst Otto Nodnagel, *Jenseits von Wagner und Liszt* (Königsberg: Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1902), pp. 126, 186; and Wilhelm Raupp, *Max von Schillings: Der Kampfeines deutschen Künstlers* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1935), pp. 78–9.

26 Schmitz, *Richard Strauss als Musikdramatiker*, pp. 35–7, 56.

27 See Morten Kristiansen, “Richard Strauss, *Die Moderne*, and the Concept of *Stilkunst*,” *The Musical Quarterly* 86/4 (Winter, 2002): 689–749.

28 Leon Botstein, “The Enigmas of Richard Strauss: A Revisionist View,” in Bryan Gilliam, ed., *Richard Strauss and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 3–32 (p. 6).

29 Letter of January 14, 1907, in Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, 3rd edn., ed. Donald Mitchell, trans. Basil Creighton (London: John Murray, 1973), p. 284.

30 Oscar Bie, *Die moderne Musik und Richard Strauss* (Berlin: Bard, Marquardt and Co., 1906), p. 66.

31 Oscar Wilde, Preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891); and “The Soul of Man under Socialism” (1891), in Wilde, *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, ed. J. B. Foreman (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1966), pp. 17, 1091, 1093.

32 For details on Strauss’s cuts and alterations see Roland Tenschert, “Strauss as Librettist,” in Derrick Puffett, ed., *Richard Strauss: Salome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 36–50. This volume is a fine introduction to the background, analysis, and reception of the opera. Although it has often been claimed that Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1902) and Strauss’s *Salome* were the first to set a play directly, Russian composers Dargomizhsky and Mussorgsky had done this decades earlier in *The Stone Guest* (1872) and the original version of *Boris Godunov* (1869), respectively. Heinrich Zöllner’s direct settings of Goethe’s *Faust* (1887) and Gerhart

Hauptmann's *Die versunkene Glocke* (1899) provide a German precedent.

33 See Charles Bernheimer, "Visions of Salome," in T. Jefferson Kline and Naomi Schor, eds., *Decadent Subjects* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 104–38.

34 Some of the changes did have precedents; in Massenet's opera *Hérodiade* (1881) Salome and John the Baptist are in love, and she kills herself after his execution.

35 Review of the premiere in Leopold Schmidt, *Aus dem Musikleben der Gegenwart* (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1909), p. 116.

36 Letter of May 14, 1907, in Myers, *Richard Strauss and Romain Rolland*, p. 82; and Romain Rolland, *Jean-Christophe*, 10 vols., trans. Gilbert Cannan (New York: Modern Library, 1913), Vol. VII [1908], p. 407.

37 Thomas Beecham describes the episode in *A Mingled Chime* (London: Hutchinson, 1944), pp. 97–105.

38 Richard Batka, *Aus der Opernwelt* (Munich: Callwey, 1907), p. 202.

39 Strauss, "Reminiscences of the First Performance of My Operas," p. 150.

40 Lawrence Gilman, "Strauss's *Salome*: Its Art and Its Morals," in Gilman, *Aspects of Modern Opera* (New York: John Lane, 1909), pp. 65–106 (p. 73).

41 Otto Roesse, *Richard Strauss: Salome* (Berlin: Bard, Marquardt and Co., 1906), p. vii.

42 Strauss, "Reminiscences of the First Performance of My Operas," p. 152.

43 Gilman, "Strauss's *Salome*," pp. 88–9; Mahler, *Memories and Letters*, p. 275.

44 Batka, *Aus der Opernwelt*, pp. 197–8. See also Bie, *Die moderne Musik*, p. 69.

45 Heinrich Chevalley in Messmer, *Kritiken zu den Uraufführungen*, p. 48; letter of May 14, 1907, in Myers, *Richard Strauss and Romain Rolland*, p. 84.

46 Diary entry of May 22, 1907, in Myers, *Romain Rolland and Richard Strauss*, p. 155; letter of May 5, 1935, in Willi Schuh, ed., *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, 1931–1935*, trans. Max Knight (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), p. 90.

47 Gilman, "Strauss's *Salome*," pp. 77–9, 90–1; Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, rev. edn. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p. 209.

48 Willi Schuh, "Richard Strauss und seine Libretti" (1970), in Schuh, *Straussiana aus vier Jahrzehnten* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1981), p. 141.

49 Roesse, *Richard Strauss: Salome*, p. xi; Schmidt, *Aus dem Musikleben der Gegenwart*, p. 119.

50 Rudolf Louis, *Die deutsche Musik der Gegenwart* (Munich and Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1909), pp. 102–3.

51 Gilman, "Strauss's *Salome*," p. 82; Schmitz, *Richard Strauss als Musikdramatiker*, p. 46.

52 See Sander L. Gilman, "Strauss and the Pervert," in Arthur Groos and Roger Parker, eds., *Reading Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 306–27; and Anne L. Seshadri, "The Taste of Love: Salome's Transfiguration," *Women and Music* 10 (2006): 24–44.

53 See Lawrence Kramer, "Modernity's Cutting Edge: The Salome Complex," in Kramer, *Opera and Modern Culture: Wagner and Strauss* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 128–66; Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, "Staging the Female Body: Richard Strauss's *Salome*," in Mary Ann Smart, ed., *Siren Songs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 204–21; and Carolyn Abbate, "Opera; or, The Envoicing of Women," in Ruth A. Solie, ed., *Musicology and Difference* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 225–58.

54 Abbate, "Opera," p. 247.

55 Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 11.

7 The Strauss–Hofmannsthal operas

1 See Strauss/Hofmannsthal. The photograph can also be found in Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, 3 vols., Vol. I (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), plate facing p. 292.

2 Strauss/Hofmannsthal, p. 482 (translation modified, here and elsewhere in this essay).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

4 Strauss and Hofmannsthal first met in 1898 at a gathering at Richard Dehmel's home in Berlin.

5 Though *Kythere* was never realized, he used sketches in three later works by Hofmannsthal: *Ariadne auf Naxos*, *Der Bürger als Edelmann*, and *Josephslegende*.

6 Richard Strauss, "Ten Golden Rules for the Album of a Young Conductor," in *Recollections*, p. 38.

7 Michael Hamburger, "Plays and Libretti," in Hamburger, *Hofmannsthal: Three Studies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 111.

8 Carl Schorske, "Operatic Modernism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36/4 (Spring, 2006): 675–81 (p. 680).

9 Hofmannsthal to Strauss, mid July 1911, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 94.

10 Hofmannsthal to Strauss, June 15, 1911, in *ibid.*, p. 90.

- 11 One of the earliest discussions of the “allomatic,” or mutual, transformation in Hofmannsthal’s work is Judith Ryan, “Die ‘allomatische Lösung’: Gespaltene Persönlichkeit und Konfiguration bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 44 (1970): 189–207.
- 12 Hofmannsthal to Strauss, February 12, 1919, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 324.
- 13 Hofmannsthal to Strauss, March 20, 1911, in *ibid.*, p. 76.
- 14 This quotation comes from Hofmannsthal’s prose rewriting of the libretto, which has been published in English as *The Woman without a Shadow*, trans. Jean Hollander (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1993).
- 15 Strauss to Hofmannsthal, July 28, 1916, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 259.
- 16 Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 316–17; *ibid.*, p. 316.
- 17 Strauss to Hofmannsthal, June 5, 1916, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 250.
- 18 Strauss to Hofmannsthal, early September, 1916, in *ibid.*, p. 262.
- 19 Joseph Gregor’s libretto for *Die Liebe der Danae* was based on a 1920 scenario by Hofmannsthal; see below.
- 20 This passage is drawn from Hofmannsthal’s well-known *Ariadne-Brief*, which the poet sent to Strauss in July, 1911 and subsequently published in an expanded version in Leopold Schmidt’s *Almanach für die musikalische Welt* (1912). The full text can be found in Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Ariadne*, in Hofmannsthal, *Gesammelte Werke*, 10 vols., Vol. V: *Dramen V* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1979), pp. 297–300 (p. 297).
- 21 Strauss to Gerty von Hofmannsthal, July 16, 1929, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 537.
- 22 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag and de Gruyter, 1993), Part III, Chapter 56, No. 23, p. 264.
- 8 Opera after Hofmannsthal**
- 1 Strauss to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, March 11, 1906; April 21, 1909, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, pp. 3, 29.
- 2 Strauss to Gerty von Hofmannsthal, July 16, 1929, in *ibid.*, p. 537.
- 3 Bryan Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 137.
- 4 See Wayne Heisler, Jr., “‘To drive away all cloudy thoughts’: Heinrich Kröllner’s and Richard Strauss’s 1923 *Ballettsoirée* and Interwar Viennese Cultural Politics,” *The Musical Quarterly* 88/4 (Winter, 2005): 594–629; “Kitsch and the Ballet *Schlagobers*,” *The Opera Quarterly* 22/1 (Winter, 2006): 38–64; and *The Ballet Collaborations of Richard Strauss* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, 2009).
- 5 Strauss to Hofmannsthal, May 25, 1916, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 248.
- 6 Strauss to Hofmannsthal, July 28, 1916, in *ibid.*, p. 258.
- 7 Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, p. 119.
- 8 Bryan Gilliam, “Richard Strauss’s *Intermezzo*: Innovation and Tradition,” in *New Perspectives*, pp. 264–6.
- 9 Strauss to Hermann Bahr, January 1, 1917, quoted in Joseph Gregor, ed., *Meister und Meisterbriefe um Hermann Bahr* (Vienna: H. Bauer, 1947), pp. 99–100.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.
- 11 See Richard Strauss, “Preface to *Intermezzo*,” in *Recollections*, pp. 95–102. An earlier version of the *Intermezzo* “Preface” not originally appended to the score, and which appeared only in the first (German) edition of *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen* (ed. Willi Schuh [Zurich: Atlantis, 1949]: 135–9), has been subsequently reprinted (with a translation by Stewart Spencer) in Richard Strauss, *Richard Strauss Edition*, 30 vols., Vol. XI: *Complete Stage Works. Intermezzo: Ein bürgerliche Komödie mit sinfonischen Zwischenspielen in zwei Aufzügen, op.72* (Vienna: Dr. Richard Strauss, 1996), pp. xiv–xviii.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
- 13 Gilliam, “Strauss’s *Intermezzo*: Innovation and Tradition,” p. 263.
- 14 Strauss, “Preface to *Intermezzo*,” p. 102.
- 15 Gilliam, “Strauss’s *Intermezzo*: Innovation and Tradition,” p. 261.
- 16 Arnold Schoenberg, “On Strauss and Furtwängler (1946),” reprinted in H. H. Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His Life and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: Calder, 1977), p. 544.
- 17 Strauss, “Preface to *Intermezzo*” (earlier version), p. xiv.
- 18 Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, p. 122.
- 19 See Anna Amalie Abert, *Richard Strauss: Die Opern* (Velber: Friedrich, 1972), p. 74; and esp. Walter Werbeck, “Oper und Symphonie: Zu formalen Konzeption von *Intermezzo*,” *Richard Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 45 (June, 2001): 109–23.
- 20 Gilliam, “Strauss’s *Intermezzo*: Innovation and Tradition,” p. 279.
- 21 See Derrick Puffett, “‘Lass Er die Musi, wo sie ist’: Pitch Specificity in Strauss,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 138–63 (pp. 155–6); and Gilliam, “Strauss’s *Intermezzo*: Tradition and Innovation,” pp. 259–83, esp. pp. 272–9, 281.

- 22 Strauss to Stefan Zweig, June 24, 1932, in Willi Schuh, ed., *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, 1931–1935*, trans. Max Knight (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 10–11.
- 23 Strauss to Zweig, June 17, 1935, in *ibid.*, pp. 99–100.
- 24 Joseph Gregor, *Richard Strauss: Der Meister der Oper* (Munich: R. Piper, 1939), pp. 246–7.
- 25 Strauss to Stefan Zweig, May 17, 1935, in Schuh, *A Confidential Matter*, p. 91.
- 26 See Bryan Gilliam, “‘Friede im Innern’: Strauss’s Public and Private Worlds in the Mid 1930s,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57/3 (2004): 579–91.
- 27 The interpretation of *Friedenstag* (particularly its ending) has long been mired in controversy, with some commentators detecting distinctly pro-Nazi rhetoric in its dramaturgy and denouement while others claim covert resistance to the regime on the part of the work. For the most cogent expressions of the opposing camps, see Michael Steinberg, “Richard Strauss and the Question,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 164–89 (pp. 179–80); and Pamela M. Potter, “Strauss’s *Friedenstag*: A Pacifist Attempt at Political Resistance,” *The Musical Quarterly* 69/3 (1983): 408–24.
- 28 Richard Strauss, *Friedenstag*, CD, Collegiate Chorale and Orchestra, cond. Robert Bass (Koch International, 1991), 3–7111–2; *Friedenstag*, CD, Chor der Bayerischen Staatsoper and Chor und Symphonieorchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks, cond. Wolfgang Sawallisch (EMI Classics, 1999), 7243–5–56850–2–5; *Friedenstag*, Staatskapelle Dresden, cond. Giuseppe Sinopoli (Deutsche Grammophon, 2002), 463–494–2.
- 29 Strauss to Joseph Gregor, September 25, 1935; October 15, 1935, in Susan Gillespie, ed. and trans., “Selections from the Strauss–Gregor Correspondence: The Genesis of *Daphne*,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 237–70 (pp. 240, 242).
- 30 Quoted in Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, 3 vols., Vol. III (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1972), p. 111.
- 31 Gillespie, “Selections from the Strauss–Gregor Correspondence,” pp. 267–8.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 268 (emphasis in original).
- 33 See Bryan Gilliam, “Ariadne, *Daphne*, and the Problem of *Verwandlung*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 15/1 (2003): 67–81.
- 34 Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, p. 163.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 See Philip Graydon, “Richard Strauss’s *Die ägyptische Helena* (1927): Context and Contemporary Critical Reception” (Ph.D. diss., Queen’s University Belfast, 2004), pp. 174–215.
- 37 Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, p. 163.
- 38 Quoted in Ernst Krause, *Richard Strauss: The Man and His Music*, trans. John Coombs (London: Collett’s, 1964), p. 427.
- 39 Strauss to Clemens Krauss, September 14, 1939, in Günter Brosche, ed., *Richard Strauss, Clemens Krauss. Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), p. 240; quoted in Klaus Adam, liner notes, trans. Mary Whittall, for Richard Strauss, *Capriccio*, Symphonieorchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks, cond. Karl Böhm (Deutsche Grammophon, 1972), 445–347–2, p. 16.
- 40 The text for the sonnet, written by the sixteenth-century poet Pierre de Ronsard (of the *Pléiade*), was found and translated by the conductor Hans Swarowsky.
- 41 Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, p. 165.
- 42 As an instrument, the French horn held a special fascination for Strauss. Having written an early concerto for his father Franz (whom Bülow famously dubbed “the Joachim of the *Waldhorn*”) in 1883, Strauss composed a second concerto for the instrument in 1942 – no doubt in remembrance of his beloved father at a time when the composer himself was in his twilight years. However, the use of the horn for the “moonlight music” in *Capriccio* and the poignant presentation of the *Tod und Verklärung* theme in “Im Abendrot” from the *Four Last Songs* (1948) seem to be on a more personal level. The air of quiet yet content resignation (particularly in the latter) is thus the obverse of the youthful exuberance encoded in the Hero’s theme (for horn and strings) that opens *Ein Heldenleben*.
- 43 Willi Schuh, *Über Opern von Richard Strauss* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1947), p. 101.
- 44 See Leon Botstein, “The Enigmas of Strauss: A Revisionist View,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 3–32 (pp. 14–32).

9 “Actually, I like my songs best”:

Strauss’s lieder

- 1 Cited in Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 118.
- 2 The scholarly literature on Strauss’s songs includes Alan Jefferson, *The Lieder of Richard Strauss* (London: Cassell, 1971); the invocations of Strauss throughout Edward Kravitt, *The Lied: Mirror of Late Romanticism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); the many discussions of songs

and poets in *Chronicle*; Suzanne Marie Lodato, “Richard Strauss and the Modernists: A Contextual Study of Strauss’s Fin-de-siècle Song Style” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1999); Barbara Petersen, “Ton und Wort”: *The Lieder of Richard Strauss* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980); Ursula Lienenlücke, *Lieder von Richard Strauss nach zeitgenössischer Lyrik* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1976); Roland Tenschert, “Verhältnis von Wort und Ton: Eine Untersuchung an dem Strauss’schen Lied ‘Ich trage meine Minne,’” *Zeitschrift für Musik* 101 (1934): 591–5; Christine Getz, “The Lieder of Richard Strauss,” in Mark-Daniel Schmid, ed., *The Richard Strauss Companion* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), pp. 335–82; and Hans-Joachim Bracht, *Nietzsches Theorie der Lyrik und das Orchesterlied: Ästhetische und analytische Studien zu Orchesterliedern von Richard Strauss, Gustav Mahler und Arnold Schönberg* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993). The sources on the *Vier letzte Lieder* are cited later in the chapter.

3 The great accompanist Graham Johnson has recorded these songs, both of them representative of earlier approaches to lied composition – “Die Drossel” vaguely reminiscent of Schumann, “Der müde Wanderer” of Schubert – with the soprano Marie McLaughlin on Hyperion’s Helios series CDH55202 (1995 and 2005). The recollections of chorale, of Baroque walking bass, and of antique style in his early setting of “Lass ruh’n die Toten” on a poem by Adelbert von Chamisso are also striking; one remembers Schumann’s invocation of times gone by in songs such as “Stirb, Lieb’ und Freud!”, Op. 35, or “Auf einer Burg” from the Eichendorff *Liederkreis*, Op. 39. The bird-song in the piano at the beginning of “Die Drossel” would find its ultimate manifestation in “Im Abendrot” from the *Vier letzte Lieder* more than seventy years later.

4 Strauss wrote this song at the Palace Hotel in Montreux on November 23, 1948 for the great singer Maria Jeritza, his Octavian, Ariadne, and Helena. She did not allow anyone else to see it, perform it, or copy it; she did not even give Strauss a copy of his own autograph manuscript when he asked for one. Not until after her death without an heir in December, 1983 was it possible to go through her papers in search of the manuscript. Betty Wehrli-Knobel was a prolific novelist, writer about women’s issues, memoirist, travel writer, and poet; her poetic anthology *Zwischen Tag und Abend* (*Between Day and Evening*) was published in Chur by Moham in 1935. Her imagery of summer flowers that blow away gently in the wind is as delicate an invocation

of death as anyone might wish it to be; no wonder Strauss was drawn to it at the close. The soprano Jessye Norman and the pianist Geoffrey Parsons were the first to record the work on *Richard Strauss: Lieder* with Philips (416–298–2) in 1985. See also J. M. Kissler, “Malven: Richard Strauss’s letzte Rose!,” *Tempo* 185 (1993):18–25.

5 According to Strauss, he was waiting for his wife Pauline one day in 1895 and put the twenty-minute wait to use by composing this song. See Kennedy, *Richard Strauss*, p. 92.

6 Cited in *Chronicle*, p. 455.

7 Cited in Kennedy, *Richard Strauss*, p. 23.

8 See William Wilder Colson, “Four Last Songs by Richard Strauss” (D.M.A. thesis, University of Illinois, 1975); Aubrey Garlington, Jr., “Richard Strauss’s *Vier letzte Lieder*: The Ultimate Opus Ultimum,” *The Musical Quarterly* 73 (1989): 79–93; Jane Strickert, “Richard Strauss’s *Vier Letzte Lieder*: An Analytical Study” (Ph.D. diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 1975); and Timothy Jackson, “The Last Strauss: Studies of the *Letzte Lieder*” (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1988).

9 There is, of course, a long literary and artistic tradition of comparing women to flowers; modern women might well wince at the clinging-ivy and blue-eyed-cornflower female stereotypes in Dahn’s verses – this as the *Frauenbewegung* (women’s movement) was already underway in Germany. But “Ach Lieb, ich muss nun scheiden” (“Oh Beloved, I Must Now Depart”), the third song in Op. 21, is a lovely thing, a latter-day *Lied im Volkston*.

10 Cited in *Chronicle*, p. 451.

11 When the eminent accompanist John Wustman in his youth asked Elisabeth Schwarzkopf to explain to him what “Zueignung” was really all about, she replied, “Nothing! It’s about a high note!” Whether she meant to be dismissive about this first Strauss “chestnut” of them all or was pinpointing the source of the song’s charm is not altogether clear. My thanks to John Wustman for this anecdote in an email communication.

12 Strauss wrote this in a letter from the 1930s to his librettist Joseph Gregor, a letter that is fascinating for the thumbnail critiques of Brahms, Mendelssohn, and even Schubert.

A perfect Goethe poem doesn’t need any music; precisely in the case of Goethe, music weakens and flattens the words ... many songs owe their origin to the circumstance that the composer looks for a poem that will match a fine melodic idea and the poetically musical atmosphere – Brahmsian songs! If he *can’t*

find a poem you get a Song *without* Words (Mendelssohn). Or the *modern* Lied: the verse gives birth to the vocal melody – not as happens so often, even in Schubert, that the melody is poured over the verse without getting the cadence of the poem quite right! (Cited in Kennedy, *Richard Strauss*, p. 118.)

13 Martina Steiger, ed., *Richard Strauss, Karl Böhm: Briefwechsel 1921–1949* (Mainz: Schott, 1999), p. 122.

14 See Kennedy, *Richard Strauss*, pp. 71, 77, 216, 234, 357.

15 The Goethe settings published in his lifetime include “Pilgers Morgenlied,” Op. 33, No. 4; “Gefunden!”, Op. 56, No. 1; the *Drei Lieder aus den “Büchern des Unmuts”*, Op. 67, Nos. 4–6; and “Erschaffen und Beleben,” Op. 87, No. 2. The *pièces d’occasion* “Sinnspruch,” “Durch allen Schall und Klang” (dedicated to Romain Rolland), “Zugemessne Rhythmen” (a thank-you gift for the musicologist Peter Raabe), and “Xenion” are in a different category from songs gathered into an opus and meant for recital performance.

16 Schoenberg might call mm. 3–4 different forms of II: a borrowed supertonic seventh chord followed by a Neapolitan seventh. Strauss, having touched on the raised IV and flatted II moves to B in a way that recalls the interaction of B and C in *Also sprach Zarathustra* (a work that also tried to be in C much as this song does). I am grateful to the *echt* Straussian Charles Youmans for pointing out the tonal kinship to the great symphonic tone poem.

17 It is no wonder that Dehmel’s poetry was included in *Chorus eroticus: Neue deutsche Liebesgedichte*, ed. Karl Lerbs (Leipzig: Rainer Wunderlich, 1921). See also Fritz Horst, *Literarischer Jugendstil und Expressionismus: Zur Kunsttheorie, Dichtung und Wirkung Richard Dehmels* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1969).

18 Richard Dehmel, *Gesammelte Werke*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Fischer, 1916), Vol. I, from the collection *Erlösungen: Gedichte und Sprüche*, pp. 40–1. The poem immediately following “Leises Lied” on p. 41 is an exercise in the same sexing-up of a traditional trope, a *Ständchen* beginning “Das Rosenstöcklein steht in Flor; / O Gärtnerin, wie blüht’s empor! / Sie hat ihr Pfortlein zugemacht. / Tiefe Nacht” (“A little rosh bush is standing in bloom; / O Miss gardener, how it blooms forth! / She closed her little gate. / Deep night”).

19 Dehmel, *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. II, pp. 126–7.

20 Strauss uses F# major for a similar context in the “Presentation of the Rose”

(“Wie himmlische, nicht irdische, wie Rosen vom hochheiligen Paradies ...”) in *Der Rosenkavalier*.

21 In *Richard Strauss’s Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition: The Philosophical Roots of Musical Modernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), Charles Youmans discusses Strauss’s evolving opposition to all things metaphysical; by the time of this song’s composition his spirituality was firmly based in the physical world.

22 From the Strauss–Ludwig Thuille correspondence in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 196–7 (emphasis in original).

23 Strauss’s tonal shifts, carrying us from beginning to end in the most seamless manner, are roughly analogous to Dehmel’s enjambments; Strauss, one notices, tracks the poem as prose and therefore locates the final return to F# major *after* the start of the third stanza in Dehmel’s ordering.

24 Cited in *Chronicle*, p. 442.

25 Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Hans Zeller and Alfred Zäch (Bern: Benteli, 1963).

26 Noting the choice of key, one remembers Strauss’s letter to Clemens Krauss in 1941 regarding the newly completed *Capriccio*, his final opera: “Do you really believe that ... something better or even just as good can follow? Isn’t this D flat major the best conclusion to my life’s work in the theater?” See Kennedy, *Richard Strauss*, pp. 334–5.

27 In *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 27–8, Bryan Gilliam recounts the family crisis when Strauss’s mother was institutionalized in the famous sanatorium in Egfling on April 14, 1885 and its deep effect on the young composer. Kennedy, in *Richard Strauss*, pp. 10–11, quotes Strauss’s “Reminiscences of My Father” on the subject of his mother: Richard Strauss, “Reminiscences of My Father,” in *Recollections*, pp. 127–33 (p. 131).

28 William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, in *Shakespeare in deutscher Übersetzung*, trans. Karl Simrock and Ludwig Seeger, 10 vols., Vol. VI (Hildburghausen: Bibliographisches Institut, 1868).

10 Last works

1 See Bernd Gellermann, “Richard Strauss, *Die Donau*, AV 291, Symphonische Dichtung für großes Orchester, Chor und Orgel: Fragment,” *Sammelblatt des historischen Vereins Ingolstadt* 90 (1981): 7–69.

2 Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss: Briefwechsel mit Willi Schuh* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1969), pp. 50ff. He expressed himself in a similar vein

in letters to Schuh of December 22, 1943 (p. 57) and November 6, 1945 (p. 87). Skat is a popular card game in Germany.

3 Strauss to his grandson, Richard Strauss, October 3, 1944, in Franz Grasberger, ed., *“Der Strom der Töne trug mich fort”: Die Welt um Richard Strauss in Briefen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1967), p. 428.

4 Strauss to Willi Schuh, May 1, 1944, in Schuh, *Briefwechsel mit Willi Schuh*, p. 66.

5 Strauss to Willi Schuh, May 20, 1946, in *ibid.*, p. 89 (emphasis mine).

6 Leon Botstein has made a case for incipient postmodernism in Strauss’s works of the 1920s and 1930s. See Leon Botstein, “The Enigmas of Richard Strauss: A Revisionist View,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 3–32.

7 Clemens Krauss to Richard Strauss, May 12, 1943, in Günter Brosche, ed., *Richard Strauss, Clemens Krauss. Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), p. 501.

8 “Have you finished the second suite for winds?” asks Willi Schuh in a letter to Strauss of May 23, 1943. Schuh, *Briefwechsel mit Willi Schuh*, p. 40.

9 Strauss to Schuh, May 31, 1943, in *ibid.*, p. 40.

10 Strauss to Schuh, May 8, 1943, in *ibid.*, p. 38.

11 Strauss to Schuh, December 22, 1943, in *ibid.*, p. 57.

12 Strauss to Krauss, March 21, 1944, in Brosche, *Richard Strauss, Clemens Krauss. Briefwechsel*, p. 517.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 516.

14 Strauss to Krauss, November 27, 1944, in *ibid.*, p. 513.

15 See, among others, Birgit Lodes, “Eine ‘Urfassung’ der *Metamorphosen* von Richard Strauss?,” *Musica* 48 (1994): 275–9; and Birgit Lodes, “Richard Strauss’ Skizzen zu den *Metamorphosen* und ihre Beziehung zu *Trauer um München*,” *Musikforschung* 47/3 (1994): 234–52.

16 Jürgen May, “Bassoon’s Suicide and Quartettstyl: Strauss’s *Duet Concertino* in the Context of His Late Compositions.” Lecture given at the International Conference *Strauss among the Scholars*, University of Oxford, 2007.

17 Strauss to Karl Böhm, September 30, 1944, in Martina Steiger, ed., *Richard Strauss, Karl Böhm: Briefwechsel 1921–1949* (Mainz: Schott, 1999), p. 171.

18 There is a version for seven strings that is occasionally performed and also available on CD, but, far from an *Urfassung* – as it has been referred to many times – it happens to be a

posthumous arrangement by Rudolf Leopold, the cellist of the Vienna String Sextet.

19 Strauss to Ernst Reisinger, summer, 1945, in Grasberger, *Der Strom der Töne trug mich fort*, p. 440.

20 *Die Philharmonischen Konzerte* (Program Booklet) 112, Subscription Concert 8 (Vienna, April 24, 1954), p. 242. Cited after Müller von Asow, *Richard Strauss*, 3 vols., Vol. III: *Werke ohne Opuszahlen* (Vienna: Doblinger, 1974), p. 1327.

21 Heinrich Kralik, *Richard Strauss: Weltbürger der Musik* (Vienna: Wollzeilen, 1963), p. 337.

22 See n. 16.

23 Roland Tenschert, ed., *Richard Strauss und Joseph Gregor: Briefwechsel* (Salzburg: O. Müller, 1955), pp. 136ff.

24 For instance in the slow movement of the String Quartet, Op. 18, No. 1; in the first movement of Op. 18, No. 4; or, particularly striking, in the clarinet cantilena in the second movement of the Septet, Op. 20.

25 Hector Berlioz, *Treatise on Instrumentation*, rev. and enl. Richard Strauss, trans. Theodore Front (New York: Kalmus, 1948), p. 194.

26 Hermann Hesse to Ernst Morgenthaler, February 1, 1946, in Hermann Hesse, *Musik, Betrachtungen, Gedichte, Rezensionen und Briefe: Eine Dokumentation*, ed. Volker Michels (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978), pp. 178ff.

27 Photocopy of the autograph title page, Richard-Strauss-Archiv, Garmisch.

28 The change of pronoun from *das* to *dies* in the song bespeaks this personal dimension.

11 Strauss’s place in the twentieth century

1 For the quoted phrases, see Richard Strauss, “Is There an Avant-Garde in Music?,” in *Recollections*, pp. 12–17 (p. 12).

2 Charles Ives, *Essays before a Sonata, The Majority, and Other Writings*, ed. Howard Boatwright (New York: Norton, 1970), p. 83.

3 Aaron Copland, *Our New Music: Leading Composers in Europe and America* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1941), p. 36.

4 Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (New York: Doubleday, 1959), pp. 83–4.

5 Henry-Louis de La Grange, Günther Weiss, and Knud Martner, eds., *Gustav Mahler: Letters to His Wife*, trans. Antony Beaumont (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 258.

6 Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring. Russia and France, 1882–1934* (New York: Knopf, 1999), p. 194.

7 Claude Debussy, “Richard Strauss,” in Debussy, *Monsieur Croche the Dilettante Hater*,

- trans. B. N. Langdon Davies (New York: Dover, 1962), pp. 44–6.
- 8 Béla Bartók, “Autobiography,” in Bartók, *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 408–11 (p. 409).
- 9 See especially Walter Werbeck, *Die Tondichtungen von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996); Charles Youmans, *Richard Strauss’s Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition: The Philosophical Roots of Musical Modernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); and Bryan Gilliam, *Richard Strauss’s Elektra* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
- 10 Bryan Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 89.
- 11 Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 137.
- 12 Schoenberg to Webern, May 3, 1926, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.
- 13 Joseph Auner, *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 316–17.
- 14 Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg: His Life, World, and Work*, trans. Humphrey Searle (New York: Schirmer, 1978), p. 66.
- 15 Arnold Schoenberg, *Berliner Tagebuch* (Frankfurt: Propylaen, 1974), p. 25.
- 16 On *Pelleas* and other projects, see Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg*, pp. 61–6.
- 17 Walter Frisch, *The Early Works of Arnold Schoenberg, 1893–1908* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 222.
- 18 Willi Reich, *Schoenberg: A Critical Biography*, trans. Leo Black (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 25. Schoenberg’s copy of the vocal score of *Salome* can be seen at the Arnold Schönberg Center in Vienna; the first five pages are missing. There are several precise corrections of minor mistakes, suggesting that Schoenberg went through the score thoroughly.
- 19 See “Fremden-Liste,” *Grazer Tagespost* (May 18, 1906). Out of Schoenberg’s pupils at this time, only Webern and Egon Wellesz were unaccounted for. Webern could not make the trip because he was studying for his oral examinations at the University of Vienna; Wellesz seems to have gone to England in the summer of 1906.
- 20 Susan Gillespie, ed. and trans., “Selections from the Strauss–Thuille Correspondence: A Glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 193–326 (p. 214).
- 21 Maurice Ravel, “An Interview with Ravel,” in Arbie Orenstein, ed., *A Ravel Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 470–1 (p. 470).
- 22 Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 6 vols., Vol. IV: *Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 48.
- 23 Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg*, p. 525.
- 24 MS 77, III. Skizzenbuch, Sk 212, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.
- 25 Remarkably, Egon Wellesz’s 1921 book *Arnold Schönberg* (Leipzig: E. P. Tal, 1921; reprinted Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen’s Verlag, 1985) claims that it was Strauss who picked up the flutter-tonguing effect from Schoenberg, saying that *Die Frau ohne Schatten* showed the influence of Schoenberg’s *Five Pieces* (see p. 122).
- 26 Glenn Gould, “Strauss and the Electronic Future,” in Gould, *The Glenn Gould Reader*, ed. Tim Page (New York: Knopf, 1984), pp. 92–9 (p. 98).
- 27 Tethys Carpenter, “The Musical Language of *Elektra*,” in Derrick Puffett, ed., *Richard Strauss: Elektra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 74–106.
- 28 George Perle, *The Operas of Alban Berg*, 2 vols., Vol. II: *Lulu* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 94.
- 29 Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg*, p. 71.
- 30 For Erwin Stein’s involvement, see Stein to Alma Mahler, March 28, 1914, in the Mahler–Werfel Papers, University of Pennsylvania.
- 31 Schoenberg to unknown correspondent, April 22, 1914, in Arnold Schoenberg, *Arnold Schoenberg: Letters*, ed. Erwin Stein, trans. Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 50–1.
- 32 Leon Botstein, “Strauss and Twentieth-Century Modernity: A Reassessment of the Man and His Work,” in Bernd Edelman, Birgit Lodes, and Reinhold Schlöterer, eds., *Richard Strauss und die Moderne* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2001), pp. 113–37 (p. 119).
- 33 See Anne Shreffler, “The Coloratura’s Voice: Another Look at Zerbinetta’s Aria from *Ariadne auf Naxos*,” in Edelman, Lodes, and Schlöterer, *Richard Strauss und die Moderne*, pp. 361–90.
- 34 Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 255–306.
- 35 Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), p. 90.

- 36 I. Stravinsky and Craft, *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky*, p. 83.
- 37 Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), pp. 177–8.
- 38 For an excellent discussion of “Das Lied des Steinklopfers,” see Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 59–62.
- 39 Joan Peysner, *Boulez: Composer, Conductor, Enigma* (New York: Schirmer, 1976), p. 1.
- 40 Gabriele Strauss and Monika Reger, eds., *Ihr aufrichtig Ergebener: Richard Strauss im Briefwechsel mit zeitgenössischen Komponisten und Dirigenten* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 1998), p. 285.
- 41 Gould, “Strauss and the Electronic Future,” p. 99.
- 42 Copland, *Our New Music*, p. 35.
- 43 Robin Holloway, *On Music: Essays and Diversions* (New York: Continuum, 2008), p. 380.
- 44 Hans Werner Henze, *Bohemian Fifths: An Autobiography*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 208.
- 45 Helmut Lachenmann, “Richard Strauss, *Eine Alpensinfonie–Ausklang*,” essay included with the Ensemble Modern recording of Strauss's *Alpensinfonie* and Lachenmann's *Ausklang* (Ensemble Modern Medien, 2005), EMCD-003.
- 12 Musical quotations and allusions in the works of Richard Strauss**
- 1 Strauss to Willi Schuh, January 23, 1944, in Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss: Briefwechsel mit Willi Schuh* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1969), p. 61.
- 2 Roland Tenschert, “Musikalische Entlehnungen, Zitate und Selbstzitate,” in Tenschert, *Musikerbrevier* (Vienna: Wilhelm Frick Verlag, 1940), p. 211.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- 4 Günter von Noé, *Die Musik kommt mir äußerst bekannt vor: Wege und Abwege der Entlehnung* (Vienna: Doblinger, 1985), p. 78.
- 5 The word appears at rehearsal no. 60.
- 6 William Mann, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Study of the Operas* (London: Cassell, 1964), p. 202.
- 7 Act II, rehearsal no. 10.
- 8 One m. after rehearsal no. 11.
- 9 Measures 3–5 after rehearsal no. 36
- 10 Rehearsal no. 37.
- 11 One m. after rehearsal no. 12
- 12 Noé, *Die Musik kommt mir äußerst bekannt vor*, p. 65.
- 13 Trans. Peggie Cochran, reproduced in liner notes for Richard Strauss, *Ariadne auf Naxos*, Wiener Philharmoniker, cond. Erich Leinsdorf (Decca, 1958), 443–675–2, p. 50.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 After Denza filed a lawsuit protesting this unauthorized use, Strauss paid a royalty each time the work was performed.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- 17 *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 30.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 486–7 (translation modified).
- 19 Rehearsal no. 59; the published score gives no indication of the source.
- 20 Five mm. after rehearsal no. 34.
- 21 Günter Brosche, ed., *Richard Strauss, Clemens Krauss. Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), p. 240.
- 22 Reinhold Schlötterer, “Ironic Allusions to Italian Opera in the Musical Comedies of Richard Strauss,” in *New Perspectives*, pp. 77–91.
- 23 Giangiorgio Satragni, “Das ‘Lied des Piemontesers’ in der Oper *Friedenstag*,” in *Richard-Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 59 (June, 2008): 32–67.
- 24 Schlötterer, “Ironic Allusions to Italian Opera,” pp. 77–8.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- 26 Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss: Briefe an die Eltern 1882–1906* (Zurich and Freiburg: Atlantis, 1954).
- 27 Noé, *Die Musik kommt mir äußerst bekannt vor*, p. 81.
- 28 Willi Schuh, “Richard Strauss und ‘Freut euch des Lebens,’” in Schuh, *Straussiana aus vier Jahrzehnten* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1981), pp. 9ff.
- 29 See n. 1.
- 30 Richard Specht, *Richard Strauss und sein Werk*, 2 vols., Vol. I: *Der Künstler und sein Weg: Der Instrumentalkomponist* (Leipzig, Vienna, and Zurich: E. P. Thal and Co., 1921), pp. 338ff.
- 31 Rehearsal no. 46.
- 32 Ernst Krause, *Richard Strauss: Gestalt und Werk*, 5th edn. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1975), p. 490.
- 33 Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss, Stefan Zweig: Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1957), p. 128.
- 34 Measure 32 in the horn.
- 35 Measures 86–8, 93–5 in the organ.
- 36 Jürgen May, “Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Richard Strauss’ Festspiel *Die Ruinen von Athen* nach Ludwig van Beethoven: Mehr als ein Kuriosum?,” in May, *Richard Strauss und das Musiktheater: Bericht über die Internationale Fachkonferenz Bochum, 14. bis 17. November 2001*, ed. Julia Liebscher (Berlin: Henschel, 2005), pp. 45–60 (p. 55).

37 Noé, *Die Musik kommt mir äußerst bekannt vor*, p. 56.

38 Laurenz Lütteken, “Eine 3,000 jährige Kulturentwicklung abgeschlossen”: *Biographie und Geschichte in den Metamorphosen von Richard Strauss* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2004), p. 14.

39 *Ibid.*

40 *Ibid.*

13 Strauss in the Third Reich

1 Strauss to Lionel Barrymore, January 1, 1947, in O. Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet: Künstlereliten im Dritten Reich* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1991), pp. 179–80.

2 Pamela M. Potter, “Strauss and the National Socialists: The Debate and Its Relevance,” in *New Perspectives*, p. 111. See also Bryan Gilliam, “‘Friede im Innern’: Strauss’s Public and Private Worlds in the Mid 1930s,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57/3 (2004): 565–97.

3 See, for instance, Gerhard Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935: Ästhetik und Musikpolitik zu Beginn der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1987), pp. 21–41; and Potter, “Strauss and the National Socialists.”

4 Potter, “Strauss and the National Socialists,” pp. 110–11.

5 Strauss to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, August 5, 1918, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, pp. 310–11.

6 See Michael Walter, *Richard Strauss und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2000), pp. 323–44.

7 Strauss to Stefan Zweig, June 17, 1935, in Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss, Stefan Zweig: Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1957), p. 142.

8 Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, p. 81.

9 Strauss to his father, March 17, 1901, in Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss: Briefe an die Eltern 1882–1906* (Zurich and Freiburg: Atlantis, 1954), p. 242.

10 The publisher Hase in this case; see *ibid.*, pp. 244–5.

11 Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 251.

12 Werner Ekg, *Die Zeit wartet nicht: Künstlerisches, Zeitgeschichtliches, Privates aus meinem Leben*, rev. edn. (Munich: Goldmann, 1981), p. 342.

13 See Walter, *Richard Strauss und seine Zeit*, pp. 73–83.

14 See Friedrich von Schuch, *Richard Strauss, Ernst von Schuch und Dresdens Oper* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, n.d. [1952]), p. 143.

15 Strauss to Stefan Zweig, June 17, 1935, in Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, p. 219.

16 Strauss to Clemens Krauss, December 16, 1932, in Günter Brosche, ed., *Richard Strauss, Clemens Krauss. Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), p. 112.

17 Strauss to Clemens Krauss, March 30, 1934, in *ibid.*, p. 157. After becoming an Austrian citizen in 1910, Bruno Walter had his birth name “Schlesinger” officially deleted.

18 Franz Schalk to Strauss, November 9, 1922, in Günter Brosche, ed., *Richard Strauss, Franz Schalk: Ein Briefwechsel*, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983), p. 334.

19 Strauss to Schalk, January 4, 1922, *ibid.*, p. 267

20 Strauss to Schalk, January 4, 1919, *ibid.*, p. 84. Even here, Strauss misjudged the political implications. The difficulties in engaging Szell resulted from his being Hungarian rather than his Jewishness.

21 Diary entry by Rolland of May 28, 1907, in M. Hülle-Keeding, ed., *Richard Strauss, Romain Rolland: Briefwechsel und Tagebuchnotizen* (Berlin: Henschel, 1994), p. 187.

22 Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss: Die Biographie* (Munich: Europa, 1999), p. 489.

Pauline Strauss remarked in the same conversation with Klemperer that, when the Nazis went after him, he should just come to her: she would set the gentlemen “straight.” Strauss himself continued: “This would be the right moment to show support for the Jews!” Pauline’s remark shows that she clearly overestimated her husband’s position during the National Socialist regime; Strauss’s follow-up is typical of his political opportunism.

23 The original is in the archive of the Institute for Musicology at the Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz (Mojsisovics folder).

24 Strauss to Anton Kippenberg, March 29, 1933, in Willi Schuh, ed., “Richard Strauss and Anton Kippenberg: Briefwechsel,” *Richard Strauss Jahrbuch* (1959–60): 114–46.

25 Ekg, *Die Zeit wartet nicht*, p. 343.

26 Potter, “Strauss and the National Socialists,” p. 110.

27 See Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, pp. 220ff.

28 *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 19–20, 1933, in Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, p. 45.

29 In an article in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, quoted in Klaus K. Hübler, “Protest der Richard-Wagner-Stadt München: Ein Pamphlet und seine Folgen,” *Klangspuren* 2 (1989): 6.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

31 See also Walter, *Richard Strauss und seine Zeit*, pp. 363–4.

- 32 Strauss to Zweig, June 17, 1935, in Schuh, *Richard Strauss, Stefan Zweig: Briefwechsel*, p. 142.
- 33 Richard Strauss, “Ansprache anlässlich der Eröffnung der ersten Arbeitstagung der RMK,” in *Kultur, Wirtschaft, Recht und die Zukunft des deutschen Musiklebens: Vorträge und Reden von der ersten Arbeitstagung der Reichsmusikkammer*, ed. Presseamt der Reichsmusikkammer (Berlin: Parrhysius, 1934), pp. 9ff.
- 34 Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, pp. 97ff.
- 35 Personal note, September 24, 1935, in Hartmut Schaefer, ed., *Richard Strauss, Autographen, Porträts, Bühnenbilder: Ausstellung zum 50. Todestag* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1999), p. 154. (This exhibition was a collaboration of the Richard-Strauss-Archiv, Garmisch; the Theater Collection of the University of Cologne; and the Theater Museum, Munich.)
- 36 Strauss to Zweig, June 17, 1935, in Schuh, *Richard Strauss, Stefan Zweig: Briefwechsel*, p. 142.
- 37 Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, p. 190.
- 38 Strauss to Gustav Havemann, February 23, 1934, in Franz Grasberger, ed., “*Der Strom der Töne trug mich fort*”: *Die Welt um Richard Strauss in Briefen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1967), p. 352.
- 39 Strauss to Bruno von Nissen, June 11, 1935, in *ibid.*, p. 366.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 Strauss to Julius Kopsch, October 4, 1934, in Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, p. 135.
- 42 Strauss to Wilhelm Furtwängler, December 27, 1933, in Grasberger, *Der Strom der Töne*, p. 349.
- 43 Heinz Ihler to Hans Hinkel, the managing chair of the RMK, May 22, 1935, in Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, pp. 209ff.
- 44 Strauss to unknown recipient, April 30, 1935, in Schaefer, *Richard Strauss, Autographen, Porträts, Bühnenbilder*, p. 154.
- 45 Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, p. 160.
- 46 See *ibid.*, p. 212.
- 47 See Rosenberg’s letter to Goebbels regarding this issue (B. Drewniak, *Das Theater im NS-Staat: Szenarium deutscher Zeitgeschichte 1933–1945* [Düsseldorf: Droste, 1983], pp. 291ff); and Bernhard Adamy, “Richard Strauss im Dritten Reich: Randbemerkungen zum Thema bei Kurt Wilhelm,” in *Richard Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 14 (1985): 34–42 (p. 39).
- 48 Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, p. 175.
- 49 Maria Publig, *Richard Strauss: Bürger, Künstler, Rebell – Eine historische Annäherung* (Graz: Styria, 1999), p. 213.

- 50 Strauss to Manfred Mautner Markhof, November 24, 1944, in Alice Strauss, ed., “Richard Strauss, Manfred Mautner Markhof: Briefwechsel,” *Richard Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 5 (1981): 5–23.
- 51 Strauss to Rudolf Hartmann, June 7, 1945, in Roswitha Schlötterer, ed., *Richard Strauss, Rudolf Hartmann: Ein Briefwechsel mit Aufsätzen und Regiearbeiten von R. Hartmann* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1984), pp. 46–7.
- 52 With the quotation Strauss refers to Winston Churchill’s address to the academic youth, given at the University of Zurich on September 19, 1946. The speech has become famous because Churchill promoted the idea of a European Union. The passage to which Strauss alluded read as follows: “The first step in the recreation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany. In this way only can France recover the moral and cultural leadership of Europe. There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany.” Winston Churchill, “The Tragedy of Europe,” in Churchill, *His Complete Speeches 1897–1963*, 8 vols., Vol. VII, ed. Robert Rhodes James (New York: Chelsea House, 1974), pp. 7379–82 (p. 7381). (In the German translation “spiritually” became *geistig*, which is the term Strauss used.) Strauss to Hartmann, November 12, 1946, in Schlötterer, *Richard Strauss, Rudolf Hartmann*, pp. 73–4.

14 Strauss and the business of music

- 1 Quoted in Nicolas Slonimsky, *Lexicon of Musical Invektive: Critical Assaults on Composers since Beethoven’s Time* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), p. 195.
- 2 Theodor W. Adorno, “Richard Strauss: Born June 11, 1864,” trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber, *Perspectives of New Music* 3 (1964): 14–32 (p. 14).
- 3 Christopher Reynolds, “Musical Careers, Ecclesiastical Benefices, and the Example of Johannes Brunet,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 49–97.
- 4 Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1450–1505* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 203–4.
- 5 See Bach’s letter (No. 152) to Georg Erdmann in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, rev. and enlarged by Christoph Wolff (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), pp. 151–2.
- 6 Neal Zaslaw, “Mozart as a Working Stiff,” in James M. Morris, ed., *On Mozart* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 102–12.

- 7 William Drabkin, *Beethoven: Missa Solemnis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. Chapter 2: “Composition, Performance and Publication History,” pp. 11–18.
- 8 Jeffrey Kallberg, “Chopin in the Marketplace. Aspects of the International Music Publishing Industry in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: France and England,” *Notes* 39 (1983): 535–69; and “Chopin in the Marketplace. Aspects of the International Music Publishing Industry in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: The German-Speaking Lands,” *Notes* 39 (1983): 795–824.
- 9 Mosco Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1968), p. 225; and Julian Budden, *Puccini: His Life and Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 475.
- 10 Michael Walsh, *Andrew Lloyd Webber: His Life and Works* (New York: Abrams, 1989), pp. 111–12; and John Snelson, *Andrew Lloyd Webber, Yale Broadway Masters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 14–15, 18, *passim*.
- 11 Alfred Kalisch, “Richard Strauss: The Man,” in Ernest Newman, *Richard Strauss* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. xvii–xx. Kalisch’s essay has been reprinted in Bryan Gilliam, ed., *Richard Strauss and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 273–9.
- 12 Ernst Roth, *The Business of Music: Reflections of a Music Publisher* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 181.
- 13 See Mark-Daniel Schmid, “The Tone Poems of Richard Strauss and Their Reception History from 1887–1908” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1997), for the most extensive study of the critical reception of Strauss’s orchestral music in that era. Only two small items, both from after 1900, attack Strauss for his supposed interest in earning money. The earlier was a review by Paul Hiller of a 1901 performance of *Aus Italien* that appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on January 22, 1902 (*ibid.*, p. 76), and the latter item was a general article on Strauss by Richard Batka that appeared in his column “Der Monatsplauderer” in the *Neue Musik-Zeitung* 28/17 (1907): 372 (Schmid, “The Tone Poems of Richard Strauss,” pp. 438–9).
- 14 Richard Strauss, “Reminiscences of My Father,” in *Recollections*, pp. 127–33 (p. 131).
- 15 *Chronicle*, p. 7.
- 16 See *ibid.*, pp. 49–53, on these and other early public performances of Strauss’s works.
- 17 Franz Trenner, “Richard Strauss und die ‘Wilde Gung’l,” *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 90 (1950): 403–5.
- 18 See the facsimile edition: Richard Strauss, *Aus alter Zeit: Gavotte*, ed. with an introduction by Stephan Kohler (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1985).
- 19 Erich H. Mueller von Asow, *Richard Strauss: Thematisches Verzeichnis*, 3 vols., Vol. I (Vienna: Doblinger Verlag, 1959), pp. 4–5.
- 20 For an overview of Strauss’s relationship with Aibl Verlag, see Alfons Ott, “Richard Strauss und sein Verlegerfreund Eugen Spitzweg,” in Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm, *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag am 12. April 1968* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), pp. 466–75.
- 21 In addition to his fame as a horn player, Franz Strauss was a capable composer of solo pieces for his instrument, and also of marches, waltzes, and other simple dance pieces. Interestingly, one of the elder Strauss’s first two publications was issued in 1844 by Aibl Verlag, while the other appeared that same year in the catalogue of Falter und Sohn. Presumably, Falter und Sohn offered the better terms, since Franz Strauss did not deal again with Aibl until 1880, when he offered that publisher two light orchestral pieces. It seems curious that the elder Strauss turned to Aibl after a thirty-six-year hiatus, and also that he offered up dance pieces, a genre in which he had never published. Thus, Franz Strauss’s two marches may have been a small offering to Eduard Spitzweg as a means of opening the door for Richard’s music. On Franz Strauss’s compositions and publications, see Franz Trenner, “Franz Strauss (1822–1905),” in Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss Jahrbuch 1959/60* (Bonn: Boosey & Hawkes, 1960), pp. 33, 40–1.
- 22 See *Chronicle*, Chapter 3: “The Berlin Winter, 1883–84,” pp. 62–87, for a synopsis of this time, while Strauss’s letters to his parents (Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss: Briefe an die Eltern, 1882–1906* [Zurich and Freiburg: Atlantis, 1954], pp. 22–54) recount his Berlin activities in detail.
- 23 Schuh, *Eltern*, pp. 53–4. The letter is dated March 26, 1884.
- 24 Hans von Bülow, *Briefe und Schriften*, ed. Marie von Bülow (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1907), 8 vols., Vol. VII, pp. 287–8. (Also identified as *Briefe, VI. Band. Meiningen 1880–1886*.) “Reveal nothing to him of his market value up to now,” advised Bülow.
- 25 Franz Grasberger, ed., “*Der Strom der Töne trug mich fort*”: *Die Welt um Richard Strauss in Briefen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1967), p. 19.
- 26 *Recollections*, p. 135.

27 See Richard Strauss, *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, ed. Willi Schuh (Zurich and Freiburg: Atlantis, 1949), p. 163, for Strauss's own mention of the fees for his earliest works. This specific paragraph was excised when the English-language translation was issued four years later. See *Recollections*, p. 135 for the location of the excision.

28 See Grasberger, *Der Strom der Töne*, pp. 49–50, for Strauss's offer in a letter of December 7, 1889 to Spitzweg. Additionally, see Scott Warfield, "The Genesis of Richard Strauss's *Macbeth*" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995), pp. 147–222, for a detailed account of these negotiations, including English translations of all letters and other documents.

29 See, for example, the letter of December 20, 1889, from Strauss's boyhood friend and fellow composer Ludwig Thuille (Franz Trenner, ed., *Richard Strauss, Ludwig Thuille: Ein Briefwechsel* [Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980], p. 106); and Strauss's own unpublished letter of December 31, 1889, to his family (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 330, I, Strauss, no. 168), both of which are translated in Warfield, "Genesis," pp. 162–3.

30 Strauss's unpublished letter to Abraham and the reply are both held in the Leipzig Staatsarchiv, while English translations of both are in Warfield, "Genesis," pp. 175–6.

31 Strauss to Spitzweg, September 23 and October 23, 1890 (Munich, Städtische Bibliothek, Sammelstücke Nos. 40 and 39, respectively).

32 Strauss to Spitzweg, November 19, 1890, in Grasberger, *Der Strom der Töne*, pp. 55–6.

33 On the importance of piano reductions in general, see Helmut Loos, *Zur Klavierübertragung von Werken für und mit Orchester des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (München: Katzbichler, 1980), as well as the extensive lists of such arrangements in Marc André Roberge, "From Orchestra to Piano: Major Composers as Authors of Piano Reductions of Other Composers' Works," *Notes* 49 (1993): 925–36.

34 Mueller von Asow, *Richard Strauss*, Vol. I, pp. 83–4.

35 Strauss surely knew this, and one should remember that his offer of *Macbeth* to Max Abraham included both the full score and a piano reduction that the composer himself had already prepared.

36 Strauss to Thuille, April 4, 1890, in Trenner, ed., *Strauss, Thuille: Briefwechsel*, p. 113. Thuille was not the first person to discover this problem with Strauss's scores. An earlier review of the four-hand piano reduction of

Aus Italien noted that the arrangement did not sound very good because the mass of lower voices overwhelmed the melismatic upper lines (*Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 21/23 [June 7, 1889]: 238).

37 See the display ad for Aibl Verlag, *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 22 (April 16, 1891): 230.

38 *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 26 (September 19, 1895): 497.

39 See the list of performances of Strauss's orchestral music in Warfield, *Genesis*, Appendix B, pp. 451–66.

40 See n. 27 above for Strauss's comments on his own fees. For an example of the writing on the business aspects of Strauss's career, see Barbara A. Petersen, "Die Händler und die Kunst: Richard Strauss as Composers' Advocate," in *New Perspectives*, pp. 115–32.

41 *Chronicle*, pp. 93, 473.

42 Raymond Holden has written the most frequently about Strauss as a conductor, but has focussed primarily on his interpretations and repertoire, and the numbers of concerts, operas, recordings, and other appearances, without saying anything about fees. See Raymond Holden, *The Virtuoso Conductors: The Central European Tradition from Wagner to Karajan* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), Chapter 3: "Richard III: Richard Strauss," pp. 119–42, and the bibliography, which lists many of Holden's other writings on the topic.

43 The *Schreibkalender* have sometimes been described erroneously as Strauss's diaries, when in fact they are datebooks that Strauss used to record appointments, conducting engagements, and occasionally personal notes to himself. The first was given to him by his bride Pauline as a wedding present. The originals remain in the Strauss villa in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, while microfilm copies are held by the music department of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

44 Schuh, *Eltern*, pp. 270–3.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11.

46 Pauline Strauss to Richard Strauss and his response (September 1 and 3, 1897, respectively). See the original texts in Grasberger, *Der Strom der Töne*, pp. 106–8; and English translations in *Chronicle*, pp. 465–8. Note, also, that the couple's only child, Franz, had been born just a few months earlier on April 12, 1897.

47 Strauss's *Schreibkalender* for 1898 notes a royalty payment from Spitzweg after the twenty-fifth performance of *Don Quixote*. Later that same year, it includes a careful comparison of two competing offers for *Ein*

Heldenleben. The publishers Forberg and Fürstner each offered a different cash payment up-front, one including and the other without the performing rights, but, more importantly, each offered a different percentage of the performance royalties after a varying number of performances.

48 For example, both Matthew Boyden and Ernst Krause treat Sommer as almost an afterthought, which then inflates Strauss's role in the initiation of this cause. See Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1999), especially Chapter 14: "Protecting the Merchandise," pp. 136–9; and Ernst Krause, *Richard Strauss: The Man and His Work* (Boston: Crescendo Publishing, 1969), pp. 47ff.

49 For the most accurate and detailed account of the struggle to found a society for the protection of composers' rights in Germany, see Hans-Christoph Mauruschat, "The Appreciation of Music" (Parts 1–7), *GEMA News* (December, 1999–November, 2002): 160–6. Also see *Chronicle*, pp. 488–93, for an overview of the matter and extracts from many of Strauss's letters related to the issue.

50 The full text of Strauss's letter (in translation) is in *Chronicle*, pp. 488–91. Irina Kaminiarz, *Richard Strauss Briefe aus dem Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins (1888–1909)* (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), pp. 112–17, gives a German text of the letter based on a copy in the archives of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein* that includes some handwritten alterations.

51 *Chronicle*, pp. 489–90.

52 Peter Franklin, "Richard Strauss and His Contemporaries," in Mark-Daniel Schmid, ed., *The Richard Strauss Companion* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), pp. 45–6. On Strauss's well-known support of Schoenberg, see Günter Brosche, "Richard Strauss und Arnold Schoenberg," *Richard Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 2 (1979): 21–8.

53 See Lynda L. Tyler, "Commerce and Poetry Hand in Hand: Music in American Department Stores, 1880–1930," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 80–1 for one brief account of Strauss's performances in department stores.

54 Willi Schuh, ed., *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, 1931–1935*, trans. Max Knight (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 99–100.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 118–19.

56 See Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press,

2000), Chapter 8: "Richard Strauss: Jupiter Compromised," pp. 211–63, esp. pp. 216–19, 230–1, for Strauss's goals for copyright reform and the promotion of serious music during his term as president of the *Reichsmusikkammer*. 57 Among the more obvious acts was Strauss's conducting of the Berlin Philharmonic on March 20, 1933 in place of the deposed Bruno Walter. Strauss took to the podium only when he was convinced that the financially strapped orchestra would suffer further losses, and only on the condition that his fee would go directly to the orchestra. See Schuh, *A Confidential Matter*, p. 119; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, pp. 220–1; and Erik Ryding and Rebecca Pechesky, *Bruno Walter: A World Elsewhere* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 221–3, for varying accounts of the events surrounding that concert and its subsequent place in history.

58 Günter Brosche, ed., *Richard Strauss, Franz Schalk: Ein Briefwechsel* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983), p. 205. Also quoted in a slightly abbreviated form and different translations in Kurt Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. Mary Whittall (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), p. 161; and Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 216–17.

59 Richard Strauss, Igor Stravinsky, and Zoltan Kodály, "Correspondence with Dr. Roth," *Tempo* 98 (1972): 9–17.

60 Roth, *Business*, p. 182.

61 The three items that this previously unnoticed exchange comprises are held by the US Library of Congress, call no. ML 95.S968. Felix Greissle, Director of Publications for Edward B. Marks Music, wrote first from New York on September 21, 1948; Strauss responded from Montreux on October 16, 1948; and Greissle rejected Strauss's offer on November 3, 1948.

62 The official rates of conversion for post-war Deutschmarks were DM3.33 to the US dollar and DM13.4 to the British pound, making the British film offer worth DM268,000 and Strauss's requested honorarium worth DM33,300. See "Historical Dollar-to-Marks Currency Conversion Page," www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/projects/currency.htm (accessed December 1, 2009).

15 Kapellmeister Strauss

1 Franz Strauss was born in Parkstein in 1822 and died in Munich in 1905.

2 Felix Weingartner, *Über das Dirigieren* (1895), trans. Ernest Newman as *On Conducting* (London: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1906), p. 12.

- 3 Levi conducted the Symphony in D minor on March 30, 1881 and the Concert Overture in C minor on November 28, 1883 at the Munich Odeonssaal.
- 4 Richard Strauss, "Reminiscences of Hans von Bülow," in *Recollections*, pp. 118–26 (p. 119). The Odeonssaal was opened in 1828 and was one of Munich's principal concert halls. It was destroyed during World War II.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- 7 Strauss wrote his own cadenzas for the Mozart concerto at Munich in 1885 but they are now lost.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 118.
- 9 Strauss removed the trombones from both the *Lacrimosa* and *Quam olim Abrahae* in the Requiem; see Strauss's letter to his father, November 7, 1885, in Willi Schuh, ed., *Richard Strauss: Briefe an die Eltern 1882–1906* (Zurich and Freiburg: Atlantis, 1954), p. 69.
- 10 Letter from Strauss to his father, January 31, 1886, in *ibid.*, p. 85.
- 11 Strauss conducted *Così fan tutte* on November 12 and 17, 1886.
- 12 Alexander Ritter (1833–96), Estonian-born violinist and composer.
- 13 Franz Fischer (1849–1918), German conductor. After a brief period as Hofkapellmeister at Mannheim (1877–9), Fischer joined the staff of the Munich Hofoper, where he worked until his retirement in 1912.
- 14 Richard Strauss, "Reminiscences of My Father," in *Recollections*, pp. 127–33 (pp. 130–1).
- 15 Information concerning Strauss's Weimar period was kindly provided by Kenneth Birkin. For a detailed study of his activities in Weimar see Birkin, "Richard Strauss in Weimar," *Richard Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 33 (June, 1995): 3–36; 34 (December, 1995): 3–56.
- 16 Hans Bronsart von Schellendorf (1830–1915), German pianist, conductor, composer, and administrator, gave the premiere of Liszt's Piano Concerto No. 2, of which he is the dedicatee. He was Intendant at Weimar between 1888 and 1895. Eduard Lassen (1830–1904) was a Danish-born German composer, pianist, and conductor.
- 17 The statistic of sixteen subscription concerts does not include the concerts that Strauss directed for the Liszt Stiftung nor those that he performed on behalf of the Hofkapelle's fund for widows and orphans.
- 18 At Weimar, Strauss conducted Mozart's Symphony No. 41 ("Jupiter") on January 12, 1891. This was of particular significance because it was his first of a symphony by that composer and the first of a work with which he would later be closely associated.
- 19 See Raymond Holden, "Richard Strauss: The *Don Juan* Recordings," *Richard Strauss-Blätter* (new series) 40 (December, 1998): 52–70. Strauss conducted the premiere of *Don Juan* on November 11, 1889; the first performances of his tone poems *Macbeth* (first version) and *Tod und Verklärung* were on October 13, 1890 and January 12, 1891 respectively; a second reading of *Don Juan* on January 11, 1892; and a performance of his symphonic fantasy, *Aus Italien*, on December 4, 1893.
- 20 Operas that were conducted by Strauss as part of a double-bill have been counted separately.
- 21 Strauss conducted the world premiere of Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel* on December 23, 1893.
- 22 Strauss conducted *Wem die Krone?* and *Der faule Hans* on June 8, 10 and 17, 1890. The world premiere of *Guntram*, under Strauss's direction, took place on May 10, 1894.
- 23 Richard Strauss, "Reminiscences of the First Performance of My Operas," in *Recollections*, pp. 146–67 (p. 148); Kurt Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. Mary Whittall (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), p. 56.
- 24 Ernst von Possart (1841–1921) was a German actor and theater manager. He was manager of the Munich Theater from 1875 and Intendant of the Royal Theaters from 1895 to 1905. Strauss composed the melodramas *Enoch Arden* and *Das Schloss am Meere* for Possart, which they premiered at Munich and Berlin on March 24, 1897 and March 23, 1899 respectively.
- 25 Strauss conducted the premiere of the new production of *Don Giovanni* on May 29, 1896. He had conducted two performances of an earlier production on December 12 and 26, 1895.
- 26 The basis for these reforms was set out in Possart's 1896 article, *Ueber die Neueinstudierung und Neuinszenierung des Mozart'schen Don Giovanni (Don Juan) auf dem kgl. Residenztheater zu München (On the New Preparation and Production of Mozart's Don Giovanni at the Royal Residenztheater, Munich)*.
- 27 By performing the Prague version of *Don Giovanni*, Strauss and Possart reinstated the epilogue, which had fallen from favour during the nineteenth century.
- 28 Richard Strauss, "On the Munich Opera," in *Recollections*, p. 80 (translation modified).
- 29 At Berlin, Strauss conducted Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* for the first time. He

performed *Das Rheingold* on June 19, 1899; *Die Walküre* on June 20, 1899; *Siegfried* on June 22, 1899; and *Götterdämmerung* on June 24, 1899.

30 Julius Kapp, *Richard Strauss und die Berliner Oper* (Berlin-Halensee: M. Hesse, 1939), p. 39.

31 Strauss conducted *Guntram* at Weimar on May 10, 15, and 24, and June 1, 1894; and at Munich on November 16, 1895.

32 Some years later, Strauss erected a memorial to *Guntram* in his garden. The inscription leaves no doubt that the opera was, at least in Strauss's mind, "horribly slain," by "the symphony orchestra of his own father." A photograph of this marker can be found in Wilhelm, *An Intimate Portrait*, p. 56.

33 After the fall of Kaiser Wilhelm II at the end of World War I, the Berlin Hofkapelle became known as the Berlin Staatskapelle.

34 This figure excludes the performances in which Strauss programmed his tone poems in the same evening as either *Elektra* or *Salome* but includes the *Sonderkonzerte* (special events).

35 At Berlin, Strauss also conducted the Berlin Tonkünstler-Orchester between October, 1901 and April, 1903. With that orchestra, he gave a number of contemporary works.

36 Hofmannsthal to Strauss, August 1, 1918, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, pp. 307–9.

37 *Ibid.*

38 Strauss to Hofmannsthal, August 5, 1918, in *ibid.*, pp. 309–11.

39 *Ibid.*

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Salome* received its premiere at Dresden on December 9, 1905.

42 Player pianos could reproduce the duration of the notes with relative accuracy but could not replicate the player's articulation and dynamics fully.

43 Strauss was in the recording studio on December 5, 6, 13, 15, and 20, 1916; Franz Trenner, *Richard Strauss: Chronik zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Florian Trenner (Vienna: Dr. Richard Strauss, 2000), pp. 379–80.

44 Only sides 3 and 4 were recorded by Strauss. Sides 1 and 2 were recorded by his assistant, Georg (George) Szell, later famous as conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra.

45 On the labels of the 1921 gramophone recordings, the orchestra is anonymous. Strauss's 1921–2 tour of the United States was the third of his four visits to that country. His other tours of North America were in 1904, 1920, and 1923. In 1921, Strauss also made his first recordings as an accompanist. In Berlin, he recorded some of his songs with the tenor, Robert Hutt, and the baritone, Heinrich

Schlussnus, for Deutsche Grammophon. During Strauss's 1921–2 tour of the United States, he recorded the accompaniments to "Zueignung," "Allerseelen," and "Traum durch die Dämmerung" in December, 1921 on piano-rolls for the Ampico company. The accompaniments were intended for amateur singers, whose desire to be accompanied by the composer could be fulfilled in the comfort of their parlor. Each accompaniment was recorded twice in different keys.

46 Strauss conducted the last concert of his 1921–2 tour at the Hippodrome, New York, on January 1, 1922. The program included Beethoven's Symphony No. 5, Wagner's Overture to *Tannhäuser*, and his own *Till Eulenspiegel*.

47 Strauss recorded Beethoven's Symphonies Nos. 5 and 7 with the Berlin Staatskapelle in 1928 and 1926 respectively. He also documented Wagner's Overture to *Der fliegende Holländer* and the Prelude to Act I of *Tristan und Isolde*, Weber's Overture to *Euryanthe*, Gluck's Overture to *Iphigénie en Aulide* (ed. Wagner), and Cornelius's Overture to *Der Barbier von Bagdad* for Deutsche Grammophon in 1928.

48 Strauss had recorded *Ein Heldenleben* and *Tod und Verklärung* with the Berlin Staatskapelle in 1926.

49 Between 1942 and 1943, Austrian Radio also recorded Strauss accompanying some forty of his songs with leading singers from the Vienna Staatsoper.

50 Strauss and his cousin, the violinist Benno Walter, gave the premiere of his Violin Concerto at the Bösendorfersaal, Vienna, on December 5, 1882. For that performance, Strauss accompanied Walter at the piano.

51 Strauss conducted the Vienna Philharmonic on December 16, 1906; March 3 and December 1, 1907; and March 8, 1908.

52 The works that Strauss recorded with the Vienna Philharmonic in 1944 were *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, the suite from *Der Bürger als Edelmann*, *Don Juan*, *Ein Heldenleben*, *Symphonia domestica*, *Till Eulenspiegel*, and *Tod und Verklärung*. Along with his own works, Strauss recorded Wagner's Overture to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* with the orchestra that year. He regularly recorded his music for broadcast during the Third Reich. Many of these recordings have been released on CD.

53 Franz Strauss to his son, October 26, 1885, in Schuh, *Eltern*, p. 64.

54 Strauss, "On Conducting Classical Masterpieces," in *Recollections*, p. 44.

55 *Ibid.*

56 *Ibid.*

57 As found in *Recollections*, p. 38.

58 The present author has written extensively on Strauss's activities as a performer, and much of that research has been published in the *Richard Strauss-Blätter*, the journal of the *Internationale Richard Strauss-Gesellschaft* (Vienna). The present author is also preparing a book for Yale University Press on Strauss's work as an executant musician.

16 Strauss and the sexual body: the erotics of humor, philosophy, and ego-assertion

1 *Chronicle*, pp. 312–13.

2 Paul Bekker, *Das Musikdrama der Gegenwart: Studien und Charakteristiken* (Stuttgart: Streker and Schröder, 1909), p. 36. Translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

3 Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. E. F. J. Payne (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), pp. 326–7.

4 “Of the Despisers of the Body” is the title of Part I, Chapter 4 of *Also sprach Zarathustra*; Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzini Montinari (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag and de Gruyter, 1993), p. 39.

5 Arthur Seidl, “Richard Strauß: Eine Charakterskizze” [1896], in Siedl, *Straußiana: Aufsätze zur Richard Strauß-Frage aus drei Jahrzehnten* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1913), pp. 11–66 (p. 54).

6 Ernst Bloch, who once declared Strauss's “brilliant hollowiness” and “profound superficiality,” confessed, in his later years, to being duped by Strauss as a young philosopher. In a later conversation with literary critic, Marcel Reich-Ranicki, Bloch, in his seventies, described an evening with Strauss in Berlin (November, 1911). He told Reich-Ranicki that the two “spoke about *Elektra*, but Bloch did most of the talking while Strauss, who ate dumplings and drank beer, remained silent. Only once in a while did he mumble something in agreement. Bloch said it became a ‘horrible’ evening. He was suddenly struck by terrible thoughts: this Strauss, this Bavarian beer drinker, he did not at all understand the subtle, exquisite, wonderful music of *Elektra*. As [Bloch] thought about it, he laughed cheerfully – surely at himself” (Marcel Reich-Ranicki, *Mein Leben* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Antalt, 1999], p. 342).

7 Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra*, p. 49.

8 Richard Strauss, “On Johann Strauss,” in *Recollections*, p. 77.

9 Given the fragmentary nature of Strauss's scenario, discovered after the composer's death, it is not clear whether the work was to be one act or two; Seidl (“Richard Strauß,” p. 51) suggested that it was intended to be a two-act work.

10 Charles Youmans, *Richard Strauss's Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition: The Philosophical Roots of Musical Modernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), p. 184.

11 James Hepokoski, “Framing Till Eulenspiegel,” *19th-Century Music* 30/1 (2006): 4–43 (p. 9). Walter Werbeck, *Die Tondichtungen von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996), p. 128.

12 Ernst von Wolzogen to Strauss, March 18, 1899, in Franz Grasberger, ed., “*Der Strom der Töne trug mich fort*”: *Die Welt um Richard Strauss in Briefen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1967), pp. 120–1. The setting was changed to legendary timelessness (though a medieval setting, much like *Meistersinger*, is clearly stated in the stage directions).

13 Ernst von Wolzogen, *Wie ich mich ums Leben brachte* (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann, 1922), p. 147.

14 *Chronicle*, pp. 312–13.

15 Theodor W. Adorno, “Richard Strauss: Born June 11, 1864,” trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber, *Perspectives of New Music* 3 (1964): 14–32 (p. 24).

16 Richard Strauss, “Letzte Aufzeichnung,” in *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, 2nd edn., ed. Willi Schuh (Zurich: Atlantis, 1957), p. 182.

17 Franz Trenner, ed., *Cosima Wagner, Richard Strauss: Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. with the assistance of Gabriele Strauss (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), p. 255 n. 5.

18 Cosima Wagner to Strauss, February 25, 1890, in *ibid.*, p. 26.

19 Catharina von Pommer-Esche, “Siegfried Wagner gegen Richard Strauss,” *Der Turm* (October 16, 1911).

20 *Ibid.* The copyright stipulated that *Parsifal* could only be performed in Bayreuth, curiously a stipulation that Strauss supported all his life and was successful in extending through persistent personal lobbying.

21 Joris-Karl Huysman, *A rebours*, trans. Margaret Mauldon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 45.

22 Oscar Wilde, *De profundis* (1909), in Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray and Other Writings* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005), pp. 261–364 (p. 318).

23 Strauss to Stefan Zweig, May 5, 1935, in Willi Schuh, ed., *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, 1931–1935*, trans. Max Knight (Berkeley and

Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), p. 90.

24 Bekker, *Das Musikdrama der Gegenwart*, p. 44.

25 Alfred Heuss, review of the premiere of *Salome*, *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (Leipzig) 7 (1906): 426–8.

26 Gustave Samazeuilh, “Richard Strauss as I Knew Him,” trans. Robert L. Henderson, *Tempo* 69 (Summer, 1964): 14–17 (p. 16).

27 Strauss, “Reminiscences of the First Performance of My Operas,” in *Recollections*, pp. 146–67 (p. 154).

28 He served as director from 1910 until his death two years later.

29 Ernst Kris, review of *Freudianism and the Literary Mind*, by Frederick J. Hoffman, *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 15 (1946): 226.

30 Philip Ward, *Hofmannsthal and Greek Myth: Expression and Performance* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002), pp. 63, 94.

31 Strauss, “Recollections of the First Performance of My Operas,” p. 155 (translation modified).

17 Strauss and the nature of music

1 Cosima Wagner to Strauss, February 25, 1890; Strauss to Cosima Wagner, March 3, 1890. In Franz Trenner, ed., *Cosima Wagner, Richard Strauss: Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. with the assistance of Gabriele Strauss (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), pp. 26–9.

2 On Strauss’s parodic treatment of Jochanaan, see Bryan Gilliam’s comments above, pp. 276–7. The modernist dimension of historical elements in *Der Rosenkavalier* is treated in Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 89; and Lewis Lockwood, “The Element of Time in *Der Rosenkavalier*,” in *New Perspectives*, pp. 243–55. The classic treatment of incipient postmodernism in Strauss is Leon Botstein, “The Enigmas of Richard Strauss: A Revisionist View,” in *Strauss and His World*, pp. 3–32. James Hepokoski has offered a series of essays on formal deformation in Strauss’s tone poems, most notably “Fiery-Pulsed Libertine or Domestic Hero? Strauss’s *Don Juan* Reinvestigated,” in *New Perspectives*, pp. 135–75; and “Framing Till Eulenspiegel,” *19th-Century Music* 30/1 (2006): 4–43.

3 The most extensive scholarly treatment of *Musik über Musik* in Strauss is Anette Unger, *Welt, Leben und Kunst als Themen der “Zarathustra Kompositionen” von Richard Strauss und Gustav Mahler* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), pp. 20–1, 132–43.

4 Ernst Otto Nodnagel, *Jenseits von Wagner und Liszt* (Königsberg: Druck und Verlag der

Ostpreußischen Druckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1902), pp. 78–9; see the discussion by Morten Kristiansen in this volume, p. 112. Theodor Adorno, “Richard Strauss at Sixty,” in *Strauss and His World*, p. 414.

5 The most important recent studies of *Metamorphosen* are Timothy L. Jackson, “The Metamorphosis of the *Metamorphosen*: New Analytical and Source-Critical Discoveries,” in *New Perspectives*, pp. 193–241; and Laurenz Lütteken, “*Eine 3,000-jährige Kulturentwicklung abgeschlossen*: Biographie und Geschichte in den *Metamorphosen* von Richard Strauss (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2004). On the last songs see Jackson’s “The Last Strauss: Studies of the *Letzte Lieder*” (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1988).

6 Strauss’s youthful appropriations of other composers’ music is treated in R. Larry Todd, “Strauss before Liszt and Wagner: Some Observations,” in *New Perspectives*, pp. 3–40.

7 Walter Werbeck, Preface to *Richard Strauss Edition*, 30 vols., Vol. XXVII: *Werke für kleinere Ensembles* (Vienna: Dr. Richard Strauss, 1999), p. xii.

8 A concise summary without oversimplification can be found in Hepokoski, “Framing Till Eulenspiegel,” pp. 4–8. For a more extended treatment see Charles Youmans, *Richard Strauss’s Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition: The Philosophical Roots of Musical Modernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), pp. 29–113.

9 Jackson, “Metamorphosis,” pp. 198–202.

10 Engagement with Beethoven’s Fifth and *Tod und Verklärung* begins with large-scale tonal structure (C minor to C major) and its programmatic implications (especially considering the music’s collapse back onto C minor in *Metamorphosen*). The textural and harmonic idiom, on the other hand, are clearly drawn from *Tristan*, as though the Beethovenian precedent were being reprocessed by Wagner’s counterpoint. The most obvious allusion to *Heldenleben* is a negative one: the precedent of the Funeral March from the *Eroica* was deliberately avoided in the tone poem. On the latter point see Walter Werbeck, *Die Tondichtungen von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996), p. 158.

11 Charles Youmans, “The Twentieth-Century Symphonies of Richard Strauss,” *The Musical Quarterly* 84 (2000): 238–58.

12 See Gilliam’s remarks on dance and gesture above, p. 271.

13 Richard Strauss, “On Inspiration in Music,” in *Recollections*, pp. 112–17 (p. 116).

- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 Alex Ross, *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2007), p. 8.
- 16 The earliest source of this claim is an interview related in Henry T. Finck, *Richard Strauss: The Man and His Work* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1917), p. 181.
- 17 On Strauss's reading of Nietzsche before and during the genesis of the tone poem *Also sprach Zarathustra*, see Charles Youmans, "The Role of Nietzsche in Richard Strauss's Artistic Development," *Journal of Musicology* 21/3 (2004): 309–42.
- 18 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag and de Gruyter, 1993), pp. 274–5.
- 19 Normal Del Mar describes the musical connection, but passes over its dramatic significance, in *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, 3 vols., Vol. I (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), p. 409.
- 20 The parallels between the Marschallin and Hans Sachs, dramatically and in their emergence as central characters during the compositional process, are discussed by Del Mar, *ibid.*, p. 338.
- 21 Hugo von Hofmannsthal to Strauss, April 24, 1909, in *Strauss/Hofmannsthal*, p. 30 (translation modified).
- 22 On this contrast see David Murray, "Ariadne auf Naxos (ii)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O900173 (accessed November 11, 2009).
- 23 On stylistic heterogeneity in *Feuersnot*, see Morten Kristiansen, "Richard Strauss, *Die Moderne*, and the Concept of *Stilkunst*," *The Musical Quarterly* 86/4 (Winter, 2002): 689–749.
- 24 Werbeck demonstrates exhaustively that Strauss often adapted the programs of his tone poems to suit his evolving musical ideas during the compositional process. See Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, pp. 103–207. Regarding the libretto of *Capriccio*, Strauss of course collaborated with Clemens Krauss, though as in *Guntram* the ultimate responsibility for the text was his.
- 25 The Sextet had an independent premiere of sorts, on May 7, 1942 in the Vienna home of Baldur von Schirach, the city's Gauleiter; Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 340.
- 26 On the filmic qualities of *Intermezzo* see Bryan Gilliam, "Strauss's *Intermezzo*: Innovation and Tradition," in *New Perspectives*, pp. 259–83 (pp. 266–7).
- 27 Programmatic annotations in the sketches of this passage (*träumerisch* at m. 5; *es geht nicht weiter* at m. 11) are discussed in Werbeck, *Tondichtungen*, p. 179.
- 28 Arnold Schoenberg, "On Those who Stayed in Germany" (1946), in Joseph Auner, ed., *A Schoenberg Reader: Documents of a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 315–16 (p. 316).
- 29 In Hanslick's criticism it is easy to find passages such as this one on Brahms's First Symphony: "In the first movement, the listener is held by fervent emotional expression, by Faustian conflicts"; Eduard Hanslick, *Music Criticisms, 1846–99*, trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants (Baltimore: Penguin, 1950), p. 126. Alexander Ritter published his reductive reading of Hanslick's aesthetics in the satirical essay "Vom Spanisch-Schönen," *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 18/10 (1891): 128–9.
- 30 Strauss to Hans von Bülow, August 24, 1888, in Gabriele Strauss, ed., *Lieber Collega! Richard Strauss im Briefwechsel mit zeitgenössischen Komponisten und Dirigenten* (Berlin: Henschel, 1996), p. 82.
- 31 Hepokoski, "Framing Till Eulenspiegel," pp. 7–8.
- 32 For an introduction to Hepokoski's concept of sonata deformation, a practice widely applied in the music of the late nineteenth century, see James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 614–21.
- 33 Hepokoski, "Framing Till Eulenspiegel," pp. 28, 30–4.
- 34 Charles Youmans, "The Private Intellectual Context of Richard Strauss's *Also sprach Zarathustra*," *19th-Century Music* 22/2 (1998): 101–26 (pp. 119–20).
- 35 Strauss to Stefan Zweig, May 5, 1935, in Willi Schuh, ed., *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, 1931–1935*, trans. Max Knight (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 90 (translation modified).