

**RICHARD STRAUSS:**

**The Origin, Dissemination and Reception of his Mozart  
Renaissance**

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## **Abstract**

Richard Strauss holds an important place in the history of performance. Of the major musical figures active during the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, his endeavours as a Mozartian are of particular importance. Strauss' special interest in the works of Mozart was seminal to both his performance and compositional aesthetics. As a result of this affinity, Strauss consciously set out to initiate a Mozart renaissance that embodied a precise set of principles and reforms.

It was these principles and reforms, described as literalist, rather than those of artists such as Gustav Mahler, who edited Mozart's works both musically and dramatically, that found further expression in the readings of, amongst others, Otto Klemperer, George Szell, Sir John Pritchard and Wolfgang Sawallisch. It is the aim of this dissertation to investigate Strauss' activities as a Mozartian and to assess his influence on subsequent generations of Mozart conductors.

Accordingly, the dissertation is divided into an Introduction, five chapters, a Conclusion and thirteen appendices. These consider both the nature and ramifications of Strauss' reforms and performance aesthetic. Within this framework, the breadth of his renaissance; his choice of edition, cuts and revisions; his use of tempo, as a means of structural delineation; his activities with respect to the recitative, and his realization of sonata form are discussed.

Sources for this dissertation include: Strauss' own marked scores of Mozart's works, not previously considered; his recordings of Mozart; conversations and interviews between the present author and leading musical figures; unpublished extracts from his diaries, in the form of performance dates; articles written by Strauss on the performance of Classical music and, more particularly, that of Mozart; reviews from the period; recordings of later generations of Mozartians, some of which are not in the public domain, and, for the first time in print, the marked scores of Sir John Pritchard.

## Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank the following for their kind assistance in the preparation of this dissertation:

Felix Aprahamian, JoAnne E. Barry (The Philadelphia Orchestra), Edelgard Baumgärtel (Stiftung Weimarer Klassik), Dr. Otto Biba (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien), Philippe Blay (Conservatoire national supérieur de musique et de danse de Paris), Dr. Richard Bletschacher (Wiener Staatsoper), P. Buchholz (Landeshauptstadt Magdeburg), Arno Dittrich, Professor Cyril Ehrlich, Dr. Hans Ferwerda (Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra, Amsterdam), Bernd Gellermann (Berliner Philharmoniker), Eva Gnepf (Tonhalle-Gesellschaft Zürich), Barbara Haws (New York Philharmonic), Mary Holden, Dr. Monika Holl (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), Dr. Ann Kersting (Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main), Frau Laube (Senat der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg), Douglas Lorimer, Anna Pia Maissen (Stadtarchiv Zürich), Dr. Kurt Malisch (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv), Jon Mayled, Herta Müller (Staatliche Museen Meiningen), Laurette Mumper (The Pittsburgh Symphony Society), Dr. Michael Musgrave, Anthony Pollard (*Gramophone*), the late Sir John Pritchard, J. Rigbie Turner (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), Wolfgang Sawallisch, Karin Scheider (Deutschen Nationaltheaters und der Staatskapelle Weimar), Richard Strauss (grandson of the composer), Gabriele Strauss-Hotter, Carolyn Sturm, Annette Thomas (Deutsche Staatsoper Berlin), the late Dr. Franz Trenner, Frank Vilella (Chicago Symphony Orchestra), Nóra Wellmann (Magyar Állami Operaház, Budapest) and Margot Wössner (Oper der Stadt Köln).

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## Introduction

### Strauss: a Mozartian

At other times I would remember the enchanting Residenztheater<sup>1</sup> in which Mozart had conducted his *Idomeneo* and where, 120 years later, I was able to initiate a Mozart renaissance and particularly to interpret, with Possart as an inspired producer, *Così fan tutte*, previously so often misunderstood, to native and even foreign admirers.<sup>2</sup>

Strauss' Mozart renaissance was concerned with: the revival of operas that had fallen from the standard repertoire, such as *Così fan tutte*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Idomeneo*; the return to source and autograph materials in his readings of *Don Giovanni*, and the interpretation of the symphonic scores. The development of his Mozart 'style', described as 'literalist',<sup>3</sup> due to its attempt to be faithful to the composer's original intentions, his manipulation of sonata form and his reaction to contemporary performance trends in the realization of Mozart's operas, led to a reappraisal of that composer's works.

Strauss' widespread championing of Mozart in general, had its origins in his earliest years. As a young musician, Strauss was influenced by the musical environment in which he lived. Munich, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, witnessed a polarisation of musical thought:<sup>4</sup> the Classicism of Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert, as espoused by Franz Lachner,<sup>5</sup> and the Modernism of Wagner, represented by Hans von Bülow.<sup>6</sup> Strauss' father, Franz,<sup>7</sup> wanted his son to compose and perform in the tradition of the former. Himself a musical reactionary, Franz arranged for Richard to have lessons

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<sup>1</sup> Now known as the Alte Residenztheater or Cuvillies Theater, built in 1753, bombed during the 1939-45 war and reconstructed in 1958.

<sup>2</sup> Strauss responding to the announcement, by the Senior Burgomaster, of the establishment of a Richard Strauss scholarship at the University of Munich, in 1949. F. Trenner, 'Richard Strauss and Munich', *Tempo*, Summer 1964, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Pritchard's description of Strauss' Mozart style. Conversation with the author, Salzburg, July 1989.

<sup>4</sup> The effect of this polarisation was reflected in Strauss' compositional aesthetic. In a letter to Hans von Bülow, dated 24 August 1888, he noted: '[the difficulties I face with the] ever increasing contradiction between the musical-poetic content that I want to convey a[nd] the ternary sonata form that has come down to us from the classical composers.' R. Strauss, *Hans von Bülow and Richard Strauss: Correspondence*, eds. W. Schuh and F. Trenner, trans. A. Gishford, pp. 82-3.

<sup>5</sup> Franz Paul Lachner (1803-90). *Generalmusikdirektor* at the Munich Court Opera from 1852-68. A composer and conductor, he was personally acquainted with Schubert and Beethoven. His activities in Munich were curtailed with the arrival of Wagner and von Bülow. Lachner was referred to by Strauss in relation to tempo, in the article *Dirigenterfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerken*. see Appendix D. Franz Trenner notes that Strauss arranged Lachner's Nonet in F major (1875) for piano four hands (1880-1). F. Trenner, 'Selections from the Strauss-Thuille Correspondence: A Glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years', trans. Susan Gillespie, *Richard Strauss and His World*, ed. B. Gilliam, p. 230 note 26.

<sup>6</sup> Hans (Guido) Freiherr von Bülow (1830-94). Conductor of the Munich Court Opera 1864-9, where he premiered *Tristan und Isolde* (1865) and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1868), and *Hofmusik-Intendant* at Meiningen 1880-5. Strauss was engaged by von Bülow as his assistant at Meiningen in 1885, becoming his successor in 1886.

<sup>7</sup> Franz Strauss (1822-1905) was born in the Upper Palatinate and was for forty-two years a member of the Munich Hofkapelle. He was described by von Bülow as, 'the Joachim of the Waldhorn' and was a staunch anti-Wagnerian. More importantly, the relationship between Franz and Richard Strauss bears some resemblance to that of Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Leon Botstein notes: 'Ironically, Strauss's relationship to his father, a distinguished professional musician, has an important parallel in W.A. Mozart's relationship to Leopold Mozart. In both cases the aesthetic judgment of the father was a crucial force in terms of imitation and accommodation. It also served as a psychological impetus for subsequent innovation and rebellion.' L. Botstein, 'The Enigmas of Richard Strauss: A Revisionist View', B. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 10.

with Lachner's colleague, Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer.<sup>8</sup> This early grounding, with its direct links, through Lachner, to the tradition of Beethoven and Schubert, in concert with, as Franz Trenner noted, '[the] knowledge and understanding of Mozart [that] came from the practices of his family<sup>9</sup> and in particular his father',<sup>10</sup> awakened in Richard a love of Mozart that would remain with him for the rest of his life. From his letters to his friend, Ludwig Thuille,<sup>11</sup> one can see the impact that Mozart had upon Strauss.<sup>12</sup> The letter of 22 July 1879 is particularly rich in its praise of Mozart:

At the moment I'm very diligently playing the Mozart piano concertos from our Mozart edition,<sup>13</sup> and I can tell you it's wonderful, it's giving me enormous enjoyment. The abundance of the ideas, the harmonic richness, and yet the sense of proportion, the marvellous, lovely, tender, delightful ideas themselves, the delicate accompaniment. Yet one can't play anything like that any more! All you get now is drivel; either twittering or brash roaring and crashing or sheer musical nonsense. While Mozart, with few means, says everything a listener could desire to be refreshed and truly entertained and edified, the others use all the means at their disposal to say absolutely nothing, or hardly anything. The world is crazy! To blazes with it! But I've made a vow, when I appear at an important concert for the first time, where I shall be well and sensitively accompanied, I will play a Mozart concerto.<sup>14</sup>

Strauss was true to his word and, at his début as a pianist with Hans von Bülow, on 18 October 1885, he was to play Mozart's Piano Concerto in C minor, K491 (composing his own cadenzas, now lost).<sup>15</sup> Of the impending début, von Bülow wrote to the Berlin agent, Hermann Wolff, on 17 September 1885:

He [Strauss] is developing into an excellent musician in every way... he's going to make a success of the Mozart Concerto as of everything else the first time he tries.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer (1818-93). In 1854, he joined Lachner at the Munich Court Opera, becoming *Hofmusikdirektor* in 1858 and *Hofkapellmeister* in 1869. He taught Strauss between 1875 and 1880. The following works are dedicated to Meyer: *Serenade* (G major), WoO 32; *Overture* (A minor), WoO 62; and *Serenade* (E, major), Op. 7. cf. F. Trenner, 'Selections from the Strauss-Thuille Correspondence: A Glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years', trans. Susan Gillespie, *Richard Strauss and His World*, ed. B. Gilliam, p. 236, note 115.

<sup>9</sup> Strauss' cousin, Benno Walter, was the leader of the Munich Hofkapelle and Richard's violin teacher, giving the first performance of Strauss' Violin Concerto, Op. 8, in Vienna, accompanied, on this occasion, at the piano, by Richard, on 5 December 1882. Strauss' first piano teacher, August Tombo, was also a member of the Munich Hofkapelle. The origins of this ensemble can be found in the Mannheim Orchestra. When, in 1778, Karl Theodor succeeded Maximilian III Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, he brought with him to Munich, from Mannheim, his famous orchestra. Mozart worked with this ensemble, most notably during the composition of *Idomeneo*, an opera that Strauss both edited and conducted. The virtuosity of the Mannheim Orchestra is legendary and it was to this tradition that Strauss owed his readings of Mozart.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with the author, 13 May 1992. see Appendix G.

<sup>11</sup> Ludwig Thuille (1861-1907). Austrian composer. Joint author, with Rudolf Louis, of *Harmonielehre* (1907). Professor of Theory and Composition at the Königliche Musikschule, Munich from 1890 until his death. Strauss conducted the following works by Thuille: F major Symphony (23 February 1886, Meiningen); *Theuerdank* (12 March 1897, 23 March 1897, 27 March 1897 and 27 April 1897, Munich); *Gugeline* - Act III only (21 January 1902, Berliner Tonkünstler-Orchesters, Berlin).

<sup>12</sup> In an undated letter to Thuille, Strauss expresses his father's strength of feeling in this regard: '*Papa advises you to give up playing Chopin and to concentrate ONLY on classical music.*' F. Trenner, 'Selections from the Strauss-Thuille Correspondence: A Glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years', trans. Susan Gillespie, B. Gilliam, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>13</sup> Strauss' use of the term, 'our Mozart edition', is a reference, not to an edition compiled by the Strauss family but, one assumes from the date of the letter, to the *Œuvres complètes* of Breitkopf & Härtel. Trenner notes: 'Franz Strauss was one of the few private subscribers to the first edition of Mozart's collected works.' F. Trenner, 'Selections from the Strauss-Thuille Correspondence: A Glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years', trans. Susan Gillespie, *ibid.*, p. 236 note 124.

<sup>14</sup> W. Schuh, *Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years, 1864-1898*, trans. M. Whittall, p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Idem. [The cadenzas were composed at Munich in 1885, AV179. Schuh incorrectly gives the date of the concert as 20 October 1885.] see Appendix E.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

This performance took place in the first season of Strauss' tenure as *Hofmusikdirektor*<sup>17</sup> and assistant to von Bülow at Meiningen (1885-6). The début was apparently a success<sup>18</sup> and this would seem to have been the first of many distinguished, professional Mozart performances. Whilst there, he conducted Mozart's *Requiem* for the first time.<sup>19</sup>

In his first period at the Munich Court Opera (1886-9), where he held the post of *Musikdirektor*, the second work he conducted was *Così fan tutte*,<sup>20</sup> an opera that he championed throughout his life and, of which, in later years, he was to direct numerous performances at the Residenztheater in Munich. At Weimar, where Strauss was engaged as *Kapellmeister* (1889-94), he continued to develop his interest in these operas.<sup>21</sup> Here, he conducted a Mozart symphony for the first time.<sup>22</sup> However, it was really his second period at the Munich Court Opera (1894-8) that focused attention on Strauss as a major Mozart interpreter.

At the Munich Opera, between 1894, when he was engaged as *Kapellmeister*, (becoming *Hofkapellmeister* on the retirement of Hermann Levi,<sup>23</sup> in 1896), and 1898, Strauss conducted ninety-eight performances of Mozart.<sup>24</sup> This was the period, referred to by Strauss, that constituted a 'Mozart renaissance'. In 1896, Strauss collaborated with the *Intendant*,<sup>25</sup> Ernst von Possart,<sup>26</sup> for whom he wrote the melodrama, *Enoch Arden*, in a new production of *Don Giovanni*.<sup>27</sup> They also worked together on new productions of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*,<sup>28</sup> *Così fan tutte*<sup>29</sup> and *Die Zauberflöte*.<sup>30</sup> These productions

<sup>17</sup> In the German operatic house system, *Musikdirektor*, *Hofmusikdirektor*, *Kapellmeister* and *Hofkapellmeister*, refer generally to various ranks of conductor, some of which are now obsolete. *Generalmusikdirektor (GMD)* is a term that is associated with opera houses in major German cities and often has political connotations in the appointment; it was first used in Berlin in 1819 at the appointment of Gaspare Spontini.

<sup>18</sup> Bülow recorded in a letter to the publisher, Eugen Spitzweg, 20 October 1885: 'His playing - like his conducting début - downright breathtaking.' W. Schuh, *Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years, 1864-1898*, trans. M. Whittall, p.94.

<sup>19</sup> 6 December 1885. In preparation for this performance, Strauss revised Süßmayr's orchestration, removing the trombones from both the *Lacrimosa* and *Quam olim Abraham*. Letter to his father, 7 November 1885. R. Strauss, *Briefe an die Eltern 1882-1906*, ed. W. Schuh, p.69. *see* note 100 (i).

<sup>20</sup> *Così fan tutte* was the only Mozart opera which Strauss conducted during his first Munich period: 12 & 17 November 1886 and 3 November 1887.

<sup>21</sup> Strauss conducted: *Die Zauberflöte*, 22 September 1889; *Don Giovanni*, 11 February 1890, and *Bastien und Bastienne*, 7 January 1894.

<sup>22</sup> K551, 12 December 1891.

<sup>23</sup> Hermann Levi (1839-1900). German conductor. Conductor: Mannheim 1861; Rotterdam 1861-4; Munich 1872. Music Director: Saarbrücken 1859-61; Karlsruhe 1864-72; Munich 1894-6.

<sup>24</sup> *see* Chapter One note 1 & Appendix E.

<sup>25</sup> An *Intendant* is the equivalent of the General Manager of an opera house. This post can also encompass artistic concerns and, in some cases, the *Intendant* is also a conductor e.g. Heinz Tietjen (1881-1967), Breslau 1922-4, Berlin City Opera 1925-30, Prussian State Theatres 1930-45, Berlin City Opera 1948-54, or a producer e.g. Dr Michael Hampe, sometime *Intendant* of Cologne Opera.

<sup>26</sup> Ernst von Possart (1841-1921). German actor and theatre manager. Manager of the Munich Theatre from 1875; *Intendant* of the Royal Theatres from 1895-1905. Founder of the Prinz Regent Theatre and of Wagner and Mozart festivals held between 1893 and 1905. *see* Appendix K.

<sup>27</sup> Strauss conducted the première of the new production on 29 May 1896. He had conducted two performances of a previous production on 12 and 26 December 1895.

<sup>28</sup> Premiered 3 February 1897.

were influential in reawakening the interest of the public and the musical world to Mozart's operas, culminating in Munich being seen as a centre of Mozartian excellence. The theatrical and musical innovations, introduced by Strauss and Possart, have been referred to as the 'Munich Reforms'. The implications of these reforms will be further discussed in Chapters One, Two and Four. Gernot Gruber considers these activities, noting:

...Richard Strauss had taken the new ideas and techniques to cities other than Munich (Berlin in 1899).<sup>31</sup> That which had already emerged much earlier now became more apparent - innovative elements in the cultivation of Mozart's work were associated above all with southern Germany, whereas Berlin, above all, stuck to the old traditions.<sup>32</sup>

In an article written by Strauss in 1928, *Die Münchener Oper*, he relates his feelings of that time:

The Mozart Festivals, which I inaugurated together with Possart (*Figaro* was the only one taken by Levi), stand out among the truly wonderful memories of my life.<sup>33</sup>

In 1898, Strauss moved from Munich to Berlin, where he was first appointed *Hofkapellmeister* and, later, in 1908, *Generalmusikdirektor* at the Court Opera. The Court Opera was subject to the control of the Kaiser, whose views on opera and its production were conservative. Strauss wanted to incorporate the new theatrical techniques that had been pioneered in Munich into the productions at Berlin but his proposals were slow to be accepted. Musically, according to Kurt Wilhelm, Berlin was alive with talk of Strauss' interpretations of Mozart and, in particular, his playing of the harpsichord for the accompaniment of the recitatives.<sup>34</sup> As *Generalmusikdirektor*, he took responsibility for the Berlin Hofkapelle's subscription concerts. At these, he conducted many performances of Mozart's orchestral works.

From 1919 to 1924 Strauss was *Leiter* (Director) of the Vienna State Opera. In 1920 the Salzburg Festival was established in its current form with a performance of *Jedermann*, a play by Strauss' operatic collaborator Hugo von Hofmannsthal.<sup>35</sup> With Strauss, Max Reinhardt<sup>36</sup> and others, Hofmannsthal turned the Salzburg Festival into the

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<sup>29</sup> Premiered 25 June 1897. *see* note 20.

<sup>30</sup> Premiered 30 April 1898. He had previously conducted four performances of an earlier production at Munich: 7 October 1894, 13 December 1894, 7 October 1895 and 27 January 1896. Willi Schuh writes: '*Die Zauberflöte* entered the Munich repertory on 1 May 1898.' W. Schuh, *Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years, 1864-1898*, trans. M. Whittall, p. 388. This is, of course, incorrect. *see* Appendix E.

<sup>31</sup> *Così fan tutte*, Berlin, 12 October 1899.

<sup>32</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, p. 185.

<sup>33</sup> R. Strauss, 'Die Münchener Oper', *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, ed. W. Schuh, p. 97.

<sup>34</sup> (i) K. Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. M. Whittall, p. 82.

(ii) Kurt Wilhelm met Strauss in 1945. *Ibid.*, p. 292-3.

<sup>35</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929). Austrian poet, dramatist and librettist. Strauss' librettist for *Elektra* (1909), *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911), *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912), *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (1919), *Die ägyptische Helena* (1928) and *Arabella* (1933).

<sup>36</sup> Max Reinhardt (1873-1943). Austrian producer, administrator and actor. Collaborated with Alfred Roller on the première of Strauss' *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911). Staged the première of the original *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912).

single most important celebration of Mozart's work in the modern concert calendar. Later, in 1922, Strauss, and his fellow *Leiter*, Franz Schalk,<sup>37</sup> brought the Vienna State Opera to the Festival for performances of *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*.<sup>38</sup> Here, with the Vienna Philharmonic, he also conducted a number of concerts devoted to Mozart's orchestral works.<sup>39</sup> At Salzburg, he directed his last performance as a Mozartian.<sup>40</sup>

Even after his disgraceful treatment whilst *Leiter* and his subsequent resignation from the State Opera,<sup>41</sup> Strauss returned many times to Vienna, not only to direct his own works, but also those of Mozart. In 1941, Vienna staged a Mozart Festival in celebration of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the composer's death. This included a performance of Strauss' reworking of *Idomeneo*.<sup>42</sup> The first performance of this new arrangement had been given in Vienna, on 16 April 1931. The suggestion for the project seems to have come from Clemens Krauss<sup>43</sup> and was later supported by a commission from the publishers, Bote & Bock.<sup>44</sup>

Of the seven Mozart operas that Strauss directed during his career, only three - *Idomeneo*, *Così fan tutte* and *Don Giovanni* - give any clear impression as to his editorial intentions. Of these three, it is *Idomeneo* that is the most heavily edited, as Strauss created a new performing edition of the work. The scores of *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* avoid any major alterations, remaining close to the *Gesammtausgabe*<sup>45</sup> and, as such, reinforce an overriding principle of the Munich Reforms: the presentation of Mozart's works within the spirit of the eighteenth century. As a creative artist, Strauss was aware of the destructive effect caused by the indiscriminate use of cuts and, though a pragmatist, he fought against incisions, which he felt were not musically justified, in his own works. He noted, in relation to *Der Rosenkavalier*:

<sup>37</sup> Franz Schalk (1863-1931). Austrian conductor. Conductor: Reichenberg 1888; Graz 1890-5; Prague 1895-8; Berlin 1898-1900; Vienna Court Opera from 1900. *Leiter* (Director): Vienna State Opera from 1918-29 (shared the post of *Leiter* with Richard Strauss from 1919-24).

<sup>38</sup> *Don Giovanni* 14, 18, 22 & 23 August 1922. *Così fan tutte* 15 & 19 August 1922.

<sup>39</sup> 20 August 1922, 30 July 1933, 7 August 1942 and 6 August 1943. see Appendix E.

<sup>40</sup> 6 August 1943.

<sup>41</sup> Wilhelm writes, with regard to Strauss' treatment at the hands of the Viennese, that: 'By the end of three years there were loud grumbles: "That foreigner - he's never here, gets paid the earth, thinks of nothing but his own works - and now he's building himself a palace beside the Belvedere!"... They began to spin intrigues *à la Viennoise*, to agitate in the salons, in the newspapers, in the cafés where the press foregathered, in the opera house and everywhere else where agitation was possible.' K. Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. M. Whittall, p. 171.

<sup>42</sup> 3 December 1941.

<sup>43</sup> Clemens Krauss (1893-1954). *Protégé* of Richard Strauss and influential in the operatic and symphonic readings of Wolfgang Sawallisch. Conductor: début, Brno 1913; Riga 1913-14, Nuremberg 1915-16; Stettin 1916-22. Assistant Conductor: Vienna 1922-4. Music Director: Frankfurt 1924-9. Director: Vienna 1929-35; Berlin 1935-7; Munich 1937-44.

<sup>44</sup> N. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, (vol. II), p. 375.

<sup>45</sup> When referring to this edition of Mozart's works, the original spelling *Gesammtausgabe* is used. see Chapter Two note 1 & Appendix M.

After I had borne my annoyance at Schuch's<sup>46</sup> ineradicable cuts for some time, I wrote to him saying that he had forgotten one important cut; the trio in the third act only impeded the action, and I suggested the following cut: D major: 'Ich weiß nix, gar nix' to G major: beginning of the last duet. This offended him, but at last he was cured to some extent of the Dresden disease [Dresdner Krankheit]. Schuch's predecessor once came to Draeseke<sup>47</sup> and said: 'I hear, Herr Draeseke, that your new opera<sup>48</sup> is ready.' Draeseke: 'Well, the opera itself is ready, only the cuts have still to be composed...'<sup>49</sup>

In the case of *Idomeneo*, where it seemed that, in the revivification of the work, some drastic cuts, restructuring and the inclusion of newly composed material in his own style were prudent, Strauss stepped out of character and made the adjustments that he felt would fulfil this aim.<sup>50</sup> As such, his reworking has been the subject of critical comment. The pioneering spirit of the edition, and its contribution to the renaissance of the work, should not be diminished. Therefore, one must be cautious in dismissing the edition out of hand, as has been the case.<sup>51</sup> Even Gruber, a musicologist generally ambivalent towards Strauss' Mozart, notes:

...[Strauss'] version [of *Idomeneo*] was sharply criticized for being sacrilegious, a criticism which was exaggerated, even though not without basis.<sup>52</sup>

*Idomeneo*, Mozart's Munich masterpiece, languished in relative neglect for many years. It was first performed in the Munich Residenztheater, the scene of many of Strauss' most venerated Mozart performances, on 29 January 1781. A Viennese performance took place, the only other during Mozart's lifetime, in the Auersperg Palace, on 13 March 1786, with various revisions. Mozart refers to the opera in a letter to his father, dated 24 December 1783<sup>53</sup> and in a previous letter, 6 December 1783,<sup>54</sup> he asks his father to send this opera, along with his two violin [sic] duets, K423/4, and his arrangements of J.S. Bach's Fugues, K405, with the intention of performing the opera during Lent. *Idomeneo* was clearly of some importance to Mozart, as the Viennese performance succeeded the première of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, at the Burgtheater, on 16 July 1782. As the latter was a *Singspiel*, Mozart may have felt that *Idomeneo* was professionally more useful in

<sup>46</sup> Ernst von Schuch (1846-1914). Austrian conductor. Première Strauss' *Feuersnot* (1901), *Salome* (1905), *Elektra* (1909) and *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911). *Répétiteur*: Würzburg 1868-70, Graz 1870-1, Basel 1870-1. Music Director: Dresden 1873-1914.

<sup>47</sup> Felix (August Bernhard) Draeseke (1835-1913). German composer, writer and teacher.

<sup>48</sup> *Herrat*, première Dresden 1892.

<sup>49</sup> R. Strauss, 'Erinnerungen an die ersten Aufführungen meiner Opern', *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, ed. W. Schuh, pp. 191-2.

<sup>50</sup> see Chapters 1 & 2.

<sup>51</sup> Chris Walton notes: 'The performing version of *Idomeneo* by Strauss and Wallerstein may at first glance appear merely an example of a now *passé* pre-Harnoncourt aesthetic. Yet it no more deserves such criticism than does, say, Stravinsky's treatment of Pergolesi in *Pulcinella* - a work that has more in common with Strauss's *Idomeneo* than the artistic views of their respective creators might lead one to suppose. The musical and dramatic qualities of Strauss's *Idomeneo* cannot be denied.' C. Walton, 'The performing version by Richard Strauss and Lothar Wallerstein', W.A. Mozart: *Idomeneo*, ed. J. Rushton, p. 94.

<sup>52</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, p. 199. [Gruber does not provide any contemporary sources to support this comment].

<sup>53</sup> E. Anderson ed., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, pp. 864-5.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 860-2.

demonstrating his abilities as a serious composer of opera. The correspondence regarding the libretto between Gianbattista Varesco<sup>55</sup> and Mozart, with whom Mozart also collaborated in the composition of *Il rè pastore* and the ill-fated *opera buffa*, *L'oca del Cairo*, with Leopold Mozart acting as an intermediary, is in many ways similar to the correspondence between Strauss and his collaborators.

*Idomeneo* was resurrected a number of times during the nineteenth century and some of these performances modified the opera to meet the tastes of the day. According to Gruber, the impresario, Anton Wilhelm Florentin von Zuccalmaglio, transferred the action of the opera from Antiquity to the period of the Hundred Years' War, giving it the new title, *Der Hof in Melun*. He replaced the recitatives with dialogue but retained the remainder of the music. Zuccalmaglio boasted:

So no bar has been transposed, no note has been altered.<sup>56</sup>

Gruber notes that this edition met with little success and, during the early part of the twentieth century, the opera fared only marginally better. According to Gustav Kobbé,<sup>57</sup> *Idomeneo* was performed in Karlsruhe in 1917; Dresden in 1925<sup>58</sup> and Vienna and Munich in 1931.<sup>59</sup> The 1931 performances were the subject of revisions by two renowned operatic composers: the first by Strauss and the second by Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari.<sup>60</sup>

Strauss' edition, in a translation and adaptation, from rhymed verse to prose, by the producer Lothar Wallerstein,<sup>61</sup> is in German. This translation into German had a precedent during Mozart's lifetime, when, in 1780, Andreas Schachtner, with whom Mozart also collaborated on *Zaide*, translated the work.<sup>62</sup> Strauss' version of *Idomeneo* may be considered in the same terms as Mozart's editions of Händel's *Messiah*, *Acis and Galatea*, *Alexander's Feast* and *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*.<sup>63</sup> As in Mozart's famous

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<sup>55</sup> Gianbattista (Abbate) Varesco (1775-83).

<sup>56</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, pp. 130-1.

<sup>57</sup> Gustav Kobbé (1857-1918). American critic and author. Reviewed Strauss' performance of K551 for *The New York Telegraph*, 27 March 1904. see Appendix J.

<sup>58</sup> Both the Karlsruhe and Dresden productions used Ernst Lewicki's two-act version. J. Rushton, 'Idomeneo after Mozart', W.A. Mozart: *Idomeneo*, ed. J. Rushton, p. 86.

<sup>59</sup> Julian Rushton notes that there were also performances at Dessau and Brunswick as part of the 175th anniversary of Mozart's birth. Idem.

<sup>60</sup> Rushton describes Wolf-Ferrari's edition: 'Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari ...recomposed and orchestrated the recitative in collaboration with the theatre dramaturg Ernst Leopold Stahl; the performances were conducted by Hans Knappertsbusch. Despite his Italian origins, Wolf-Ferrari conformed to post-Wagnerian tastes by savage cutting of arias, sparing mainly Iliia's. His recitatives are a weird pot-pourri of Mozart's orchestral motives, taken from scenes otherwise omitted (notably Nos. 22 and 27) and combined with material of his own including, of course, new voice-parts, the result being occasionally reminiscent of Weber.' Idem.

<sup>61</sup> Lothar Wallerstein (1882-1949). *Répétiteur*: Dresden 1909. Conductor and Producer: Poznan 1910-14. Chief Producer: Breslau 1918-22; Duisburg 1922-4; Frankfurt 1924-6; Vienna 1927-38. Collaborated with Strauss on productions in both Vienna and Milan.

<sup>62</sup> A. Holden, 'List of Works', *The Mozart Compendium - A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music*. ed. H.C. Robbins Landon, p. 247.

<sup>63</sup> Mozart heard extracts from *Alexander's Feast* and *Acis and Galatea* for the first time, in London, at the age of eight. cf. O.E. Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, p. 36.

reworkings, Strauss' manner was reverential.<sup>64</sup> His admiration for Mozart was such that, according to Norman Del Mar,<sup>65</sup> when Strauss was approached to write a book, *Mozart and Munich*, he said:

I cannot write about Mozart, I can only worship him.<sup>66</sup>

Moreover, in the chapters that follow, it will be shown that Strauss' editorial activities, with respect to *Idomeneo*, reflect the concept of *pasticcio*.

As a direct result of Strauss' long relationship with the works of Mozart, his compositions were the beneficiaries of eighteenth century structural practices and principles. In his concerti, Strauss incorporated the structures of the Classical Era. Gruber notes the particular affinity between Strauss' *Konzert für Oboe* and Mozart's concerti.<sup>67</sup> Timothy L. Jackson develops this idea, arguing that the *Sinfonie für Bläser*, the *Konzert für Oboe* and the *Duett-Concertino* 'are spiritually related meditations on the music of Mozart'.<sup>68</sup> The aforementioned three works were composed in the twilight of Strauss' career, a period that has generally been associated with the influence of Mozart. Leon Botstein, however, argues that the, 'classical models [for the middle period works, such as *Burleske*, are of importance when considering Strauss' overall compositional output and] ...traditionally have been overlooked'.<sup>69</sup> In the tone poems, the influence of eighteenth century techniques and formal structures may be less obvious but is certainly present. Outwardly, these works have a similarity with the symphonic poems of Liszt.<sup>70</sup> However, Strauss, ever the pragmatist, would have been aware that a contributory factor in the failure of Liszt's symphonic poems to ignite and maintain the interest of the public<sup>71</sup> may have been their diffuse formal structure. To ensure a greater sense of unity within his own tone poems, Strauss uses structures associated with the eighteenth century, such as rondo

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<sup>64</sup> Mozart, too, had a respect for the composers of the past, transcribing not only Händel's oratorios but, also, some of the works of J.S. Bach. Mozart was heavily influenced by Gottfried van Swieten, the Prefect of the Imperial Royal Library and, from 1781, President of the Court Commission for Education. Before accepting this position, van Swieten was Ambassador for the Court of Vienna to Berlin and, according to H.C. Robbins Landon, spent seven years studying and being heavily influenced by the works of Händel and Johann Sebastian Bach. Mozart confirms the influence of van Swieten in a letter to his father, dated 10 April 1782. He writes: 'I have been intending to ask you, when you return the rondo, to enclose with it Handel's six fugues... I go every Sunday at twelve o'clock to the Baron van Swieten, where nothing is played but Handel and Bach. I am collecting at the moment the fugues of Bach - not only of Sebastian, but also of Emanuel and Friedemann. I am also collecting Handel's and should like to have the six I mentioned.' H.C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart: The Golden Years*, pp. 108-9. E. Anderson ed., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, pp. 799-800.

<sup>65</sup> Norman Del Mar met Strauss during the 1947 Strauss Festival, organised by Sir Thomas Beecham.

<sup>66</sup> N. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, (vol. II), p. 375.

<sup>67</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, p. 199.

<sup>68</sup> Jackson writes: 'The lighter works of the last period, the *Sinfonie für Bläser*, the *Konzert für Oboe*, and the *Duett-Concertino*, exhibit a serene delight in craftsmanship and in playful intellectual sophistication; these works are spiritually related meditations on the music of Mozart.' T.L. Jackson, 'Ruhe, meine Seele! and the Letzte Orchesterlieder', *Richard Strauss and his World*, ed. B. Gilliam, p. 94.

<sup>69</sup> L. Botstein, 'The Enigmas of Richard Strauss: A Revisionist View', *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>70</sup> see Chapter Four note 17.

<sup>71</sup> During the years 1907-42, the Royal Philharmonic Society of London programmed only nine performances of Liszt's symphonic poems but twenty-nine of Strauss' tone poems. Statistics kindly provided by Professor Cyril Ehrlich, author of *First Philharmonic*, the history of the Royal Philharmonic Society, London (unpublished).

form in *Till Eulenspiegel* and sonata form<sup>72</sup> in *Don Juan*, to add greater strength to the superstructure of these works.<sup>73</sup> Carl Dahlhaus considers this point:

...one can understand why Richard Strauss relinquished the term “program music”: “So-called program music does not actually exist. It is an epithet in the mouths of all those who have no ideas of their own.” ...Strauss insisted that it is narrowminded to dismiss unschematic works as “formless” instead of searching for the individual formal law, and that neither the existence or nonexistence of a program betrays anything at all about the inner musical logic of a work, or of its absence. “A poetical program may indeed suggest the creation of new forms; however, when music does not develop logically out of itself” — i.e., when the program is supposed to replace something — “it becomes ‘literature music.’” Thus it doesn’t matter whether or not a program operated as an impulse: in worthwhile pieces, musical logic appears as a context that is closed within itself, and that neither needs nor tolerates an external crutch.<sup>74</sup>

Inasmuch as Strauss’ compositions benefited from the structural practices of the eighteenth century, his reading of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte* was a direct result of his activities as a composer. To fully understand Strauss’ recording of this overture, one must look to the genesis of *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. In the correspondence between Strauss and Hofmannsthal, the latter linked that opera to *Die Zauberflöte*. In 1911, Hofmannsthal noted:

The whole idea [*Die Frau ohne Schatten*] as I see it suspended before my eyes (though it is still incomplete, with important links missing) would, incidentally, stand in the same relation to *Die Zauberflöte* as *Rosenkavalier* does to *Figaro* - not, in either case, an imitation, but bearing a certain analogy. One cannot, of course, hope to equal the enchanting naïvety of many scenes in *Die Zauberflöte*, but the whole conception is, I think, a very happy and very promising one.<sup>75</sup>

This thread of musical and dramatic thought was further touched upon in 1916, when Hofmannsthal again wrote:

There [*Der Rosenkavalier*] the situation is a sentimental one, here it is heroic and spiritual, akin to the atmosphere of *Fidelio* or *The Magic Flute*.<sup>76</sup>

Though *Die Frau ohne Schatten* is not a sequel, it does draw its inspiration from Mozart’s opera. Hofmannsthal divided his imaginary world, set in the East, which bears some similarity to Leibeskind’s play, *Lulu*,<sup>77</sup> on which Emanuel Schikaneder<sup>78</sup> based his libretto, into three planes of existence. Strauss accords each level of existence differing orchestrations, evoking Mozart’s delineation through genre. The recording session for the

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<sup>72</sup> Strauss regularly modified the sonata principle, which, of course, had numerous precedents in the eighteenth century. An obvious example of this can be found in the overture to *Le nozze di Figaro*, where Mozart omits the development section.

<sup>73</sup> see note 4.

<sup>74</sup> C. Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. R. Lustig, pp. 137-8.

<sup>75</sup> Letter from Hugo von Hofmannsthal to Richard Strauss, dated 20 March [1911]. R. Strauss, *The Correspondence between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, ed. F. & A. Strauss, arr. W. Schuh, trans. H. Hammelmann & E. Osers, pp. 75-7.

<sup>76</sup> Letter from Hugo von Hofmannsthal to Richard Strauss, dated 1 August [1916]. *Ibid.*, pp. 259-61.

<sup>77</sup> A. Holden, ‘List of Works’, *The Mozart Compendium - A Guide to Mozart’s Life and Music*, ed. H.C. Robbins Landon, p. 254.

<sup>78</sup> Emanuel Schikaneder (1751-1812). German theatre manager, singer, actor and playwright. According to Amanda Holden: ‘Schikaneder found the material for the story in Leibeskind’s *Lulu*, an oriental fairy story published in 1786-9, but made substantial alterations to it, when, after completing several scenes, he transformed the wicked magician (Sarastro) into the high priest of Isis and Osiris.’ *Idem*.

overture to *Die Zauberflöte* was the last occasion on which Strauss was to conduct this work, performing the whole opera only three times in the years following the première of *Die Frau ohne Schatten*.<sup>79</sup> It would seem that the musical and dramatic division of society, as represented in *Die Zauberflöte*, is developed by Strauss in his reading of the overture by the manipulation of tempo and this will be fully discussed in the relevant chapter.

Strauss' Mozart performances were of historic importance, yet, they have been a source of critical concern from that period to the present. Some critics considered Strauss' Mozart to be workmanlike but lacking in poetry and subtlety. It has also been suggested that he was both backward-looking and too 'modern'<sup>80</sup> in the realization of the scores. As a result, Strauss' activities in the revivification of Mozart's works have been overshadowed by those of Gustav Mahler.<sup>81</sup>

Vienna also saw a revival of interest in Mozart's operas during the first decade of the twentieth century. Mahler, with the stage designs of Alfred Roller,<sup>82</sup> to whom Strauss entrusted the sets for the premières of two of his own operas and his reworking of *Idomeneo*, conducted new productions of *Don Giovanni*, *Die Zauberflöte*, *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Così fan tutte*. These Viennese performances, heavily edited by Mahler, have been cited by Guido Adler<sup>83</sup> as bringing about 'the Mozart renaissance' and, later, by Ilsa Barea as 'revolutionary'.<sup>84</sup> Explicit in Adler's writings was the concept of an exclusively Viennese revival. Although Mahler instigated a renaissance in Vienna,<sup>85</sup> Adler and Barea overlooked Strauss' activities in Munich and Berlin. Both commentators lived and worked in Vienna, and Adler was a personal friend of Mahler; therefore, their views may be considered as somewhat partisan.

Strauss, as a literalist, strove to reflect the composer's intentions and it was this approach that found further expression in the performances of two generations of Mozart

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<sup>79</sup> Vienna State Opera, 10 October 1919.

<sup>80</sup> see Chapter One, note 183.

<sup>81</sup> Gustav Mahler (1860-1911). Conductor: début Bad Hall, 1880; Ljubljana 1881; Olomouc 1882-3; Kassel 1883-5; Prague 1885-6, Leipzig 1886-8; Budapest 1888-91; Hamburg 1891-7; Vienna 1897-1907; Metropolitan Opera and New York Philharmonic 1907-11.

<sup>82</sup> Alfred Roller (1864-1935). Austrian designer. Worked at the Vienna Court Opera, with Gustav Mahler, and, later at the State Opera. Chief Designer: Vienna Court Opera and State Opera 1903-9, 1918-34; Burgtheater 1918-34. Designed premières of Strauss' *Der Rosenkavalier* (Dresden, 1911) and *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (Vienna, 1919). He also designed the productions of Strauss' re-workings of *Die Ruinen von Athen* (1924) and *Idomeneo* (1931).

<sup>83</sup> Guido Adler (1855-1941), musicologist and Professor at the Universities of Prague and Vienna, writes in 1914: '*Così fan tutte*, *Die Zauberflöte*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* - each in succession was rejuvenated, and above all it was these performances in Vienna which brought about the Mozart renaissance.' G. Adler, 'Gustav Mahler', *Gustav Mahler and Guido Adler: Records of a Friendship*, E. R. Reilly, p. 27.

<sup>84</sup> I. Barea, *Vienna*, p. 361.

<sup>85</sup> Gruber notes Strauss' influence upon Mahler, saying: 'Inspired by Richard Strauss's success [Mahler] performed *Così fan tutte* in Vienna in 1900. ...Mahler chose his singers with a view to ensemble effects and preferred a production which concentrated upon the interplay of persons in changing configurations. And here he conformed to the Munich renaissance.' G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, pp. 185 & 187.

conductors who came under his influence: in particular, Otto Klemperer,<sup>86</sup> George Szell,<sup>87</sup> Sir John Pritchard<sup>88</sup> and Wolfgang Sawallisch.<sup>89</sup> Klemperer and Szell were personally and professionally acquainted with Strauss, with the latter, after a period as Strauss' assistant in Berlin, being successfully appointed to the Strasbourg Opera on the recommendation of the composer. Klemperer heard Strauss conduct Mozart on a number of occasions and frequently sought the older musician's advice on matters of performance. Klemperer and Szell recorded in the early part of the century with the Berlin Staatskapelle,<sup>90</sup> the orchestra with whom Strauss made his Mozart recordings. Klemperer described his memories of Strauss as a Mozartian to Peter Heyworth:

I especially liked his Mozart. I have an unforgettable memory of the performances he conducted at the old Residenz theatre in Munich. They were enchanting. He accompanied the recitative himself on a harpsichord, and made delightful little decorations. *Don Giovanni*, *Figaro* and *Così fan tutte* were all excellent.<sup>91</sup>

Sawallisch and Pritchard encountered Strauss as listeners in Munich and London respectively. Sawallisch's musical training was similar to that of Strauss and he was sometime President of the *Richard Strauss Gesellschaft*.<sup>92</sup> The young Wolfgang Sawallisch attended a performance of *Così fan tutte*,<sup>93</sup> conducted by Strauss and, like Klemperer, was particularly impressed by his cembalo playing, where Strauss quoted many of his own works in the recitatives. Sawallisch said that there was nothing brash about the inclusion of these quotations but, 'done with the greatest respect for the music of Mozart.'<sup>94</sup> John Pritchard was assistant to Sir Thomas Beecham<sup>95</sup> and Fritz Busch,<sup>96</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Otto Klemperer (1885-1973). Conductor: German Theatre, Prague, 1907-10; Hamburg, 1910-12; Barmen, 1913-14; Strasbourg, 1914-17. Music Director: Cologne, 1917-24; Wiesbaden, 1924-7; Berlin, 1927-33; Budapest, 1947-50. Chief Conductor of the [New] Philharmonia, London, 1959-72.

<sup>87</sup> George (György) Szell (1897-1970). Assistant Conductor: Berlin Court Opera, 1915. Conductor: Strasbourg, 1917; Darmstadt, 1921; Düsseldorf, 1922; Berlin State Opera, 1924-9. Music Director: Prague, 1929-37; Metropolitan Opera, New York, 1946, 1953-4; Cleveland Orchestra, 1946-70.

<sup>88</sup> Sir John Pritchard (1918-89). Glyndebourne Festival Opera: assistant to Fritz Busch 1950-1; *répétiteur*; chorus master; conductor; and later, Music Director, 1947-76. Chief Conductor: Royal Liverpool Philharmonic, 1957-63; Cologne Opera, 1978-89; BBC Symphony Orchestra, 1982-89. Musical Director: London Philharmonic, 1962-6; Belgian National Opera, 1981-7; San Francisco Opera, 1986-9.

<sup>89</sup> Wolfgang Sawallisch (b.1923). *Répétiteur* and later Chief Conductor: Augsburg, 1947-53. Music Director: Aachen. 1953-8; Bayreuth, 1957-62; Wiesbaden, 1958-60; Cologne, 1960-4; Munich, 1971-; The Philadelphia Orchestra 1993-. Chief Conductor: Vienna Symphony Orchestra, 1961-73; Orchestre de la Suisse Romande, 1972-80. *Generalmusikdirektor*: Hamburg Philharmonic 1960-70.

<sup>90</sup> The terms Staatskapelle and Staatsoper were used following the downfall of the German and Austrian monarchies at the end of the First World War (1914-18). Previously, these institutions were known by the generic names: Hofkapelle, Hofoper and, in the case of Berlin, also as Königliche Oper.

<sup>91</sup> P. Heyworth, *Conversations with Klemperer*, p. 47.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with author, London, 12 December 1991.

<sup>93</sup> see Chapter One note 74.

<sup>94</sup> Interview with author, London, 12 December 1991.

<sup>95</sup> Sir Thomas Beecham, Bt., (1879-1961). Founded the London Philharmonic Orchestra in 1932, and the Royal Philharmonic in 1946. As an operatic conductor, he gave the English premières of Strauss': *Elektra*, *Salome*, *Feuersnot*, *Ariadne auf Naxos* and *Der Rosenkavalier*. In 1947, Beecham brought Strauss to Britain for the last time to participate in a festival of the latter's works.

<sup>96</sup> Fritz Busch (1890-1951). Music Director, Dresden, 1922-33; Artistic Director, Glyndebourne Festival Opera 1934-9, 1950-1. A close associate of Strauss, he conducted the premières of *Intermezzo* and *Die ägyptische Helena* at Dresden, in  
(continued on next page)

both of whom were strong personal and musical supporters of Strauss. Busch brought the reforms that Strauss championed in Munich to the Glyndebourne Festival Opera and had the greater influence on the young Pritchard.<sup>97</sup> Frances Dakyns<sup>98</sup> wrote to Busch in November 1933, regarding his future involvement at the Sussex opera house, and alluded to the Munich Reforms, stating:

...stage about the size of the Residenztheater in Munich, but no revolving stage.<sup>99</sup>

These reforms were central to the development of opera at Glyndebourne, colouring the later operatic performances of Sir John Pritchard. Pritchard is a central figure in the genesis and development of this dissertation. Not only did he inter-act with the artists mentioned above but, also, it was his comments to the present author, relating to the tradition of which he was a part, that prompted the investigation of these claims. He suggested that there was a direct line of musical thought from Strauss to the present day. This argument is developed in the following chapters.

This dissertation draws upon Strauss' scores, housed at the Villa Strauss in Garmisch,<sup>100</sup> and his commercial recordings. There are markings in his scores of K201/K186a, K385, K504, K550, K551, *Requiem*, *Così fan tutte*, *Don Giovanni* and *Idomeneo*. Strauss conducted from the *Gesamtausgabe* of Breitkopf & Härtel. The four commercial symphonic recordings, and that of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*, were all recorded with the Berlin Staatskapelle and have, in recent years, been re-released by Polydor Brunswick, Deutsche Grammophon and Koch International. The information gleaned from this material is supplemented by recollections of Strauss' work as a Mozartian from scholars and colleagues who participated in, or observed his performances of Mozart. His diaries and letters, also kept at the Villa Strauss, are an invaluable source of information. Strauss wrote a number of articles pertaining both to the performance of music from the Classical Period and, more particularly, Mozart's operas, which give a clear insight into his concept of these works. As Strauss was *Hofkapellmeister*, *Generalmusikdirektor* and *Leiter* of several important opera houses, these institutions, amongst others, were approached but, due to the wide spread

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1924 and 1928 respectively and that of *Parergon zur Symphonia domestica für Klavier (linke Hand) und Orchester* Op.73 in 1925.

<sup>97</sup> Busch shunned all aspects of the Viennese Mozart Style, which he clearly considered lacking the literalism of Strauss. He even applied this to the use of appoggiaturas in Mozart's operas. Spike Hughes notes: 'The first Susanna I ever heard was Elisabeth Schumann; she sang her aria with the appoggiaturas... But Elisabeth Schumann was at the Vienna Opera and sang according to the Viennese tradition, and the fact that the appoggiatura was associated in Fritz Busch's mind with Vienna may well have been his reason for abolishing it... the Glyndebourne tradition started by Fritz Busch persists.' S. Hughes, *Glyndebourne*, p. 66.

<sup>98</sup> A friend of Fritz Busch's brother, Adolf. Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>99</sup> Idem.

<sup>100</sup> (i) Strauss' score of Mozart's *Requiem*, containing a number of annotations, was given to Franz Trenner by Strauss' daughter-in-law, Alice. Interview with the author 13 May 1992. see Appendix G, p. 168.

(ii) Strauss' working score of *Idomeneo* is housed at the British Library, London. Shelfmark (Music Library): K5C19.

devastation caused by the Second World War, their information, relating to both artists and performances, is incomplete. However, what information still exists was important in assessing the sheer volume of Mozart performances undertaken by Strauss. Reference is also made to reviews of the period and those of the present day. The author was for many years the assistant to Sir John Pritchard and, as such, has drawn on his recollections and conversations with Sir John throughout. He is also in possession of Sir John's music library and sound archive. Further reference will be made to Szell's (CBS) and Sawallisch's (Supraphon) commercial recordings of K543, K550 and K551. Pritchard's live and commercial operatic and symphonic recordings, along with Klemperer's EMI recordings of Mozart's operas, were used in the assessment of Strauss' influence on these conductors.

To reflect the bias of Strauss' Mozart repertoire and the division of the source material available, the dissertation is divided into five chapters, followed by a conclusion and appendices. Each of the chapters is subdivided, drawing information from the relevant works and dealing with the various aspects of interpretation that are the basis of the conductor's art.

The subsections consider: the operatic and symphonic performances; the influence of Strauss' performances on Klemperer, Szell, Pritchard and Sawallisch; the recordings; the existing climate; Strauss' performance aesthetic; the reviews (of his recordings and performances); the symphonic scores and the use of the *Gesamtausgabe*; *Don Giovanni* and the restoration of Mozart's intentions; *Così fan tutte* and the use of cuts; Strauss' edition of *Idomeneo*; *Urtempo* and related tempi; the Minuet and Trio; tempo and form; musical characterisation through tempo manipulation; rubato; Strauss' choice of continuo instrument; Strauss' continuo style; Strauss' use of cuts in the recitativi secci of *Così fan tutte*; *Idomeneo* and the realization of the recitativo accompagnato; Strauss' realization of the second subject; Strauss' treatment of the first subject, and the influence of Strauss' annotations on the readings of Sir John Pritchard.

## Chapter One

### A Survey of the Performances, Recordings & Reviews

#### The operatic & symphonic performances

During his career, Strauss conducted Mozart whilst engaged as *Hofkapellmeister*, *Generalmusikdirektor* or *Leiter* of three major opera houses: Munich (1894-8), Berlin (1898-1918) and Vienna (1919-24); and with the *Hofkapellen* of Meiningen, Weimar, Berlin and Munich. He continued to programme Mozart when, as guest conductor, he worked with many of the leading orchestras, including: the Vienna Philharmonic; the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam; the New York Philharmonic Orchestra; the Queen's Hall Orchestra of London, and the BBC Symphony Orchestra. Strauss toured widely and conducted this composer's works in eight countries: Austria; Germany; Great Britain; Italy; the Netherlands; Spain; Switzerland and the United States of America, and in most of Europe's and America's major cities: including Amsterdam; Barcelona; Berlin; Den Haag; Frankfurt; London; Munich; New York; Rome; Vienna and Zürich.

In the operatic posts that Strauss held in Munich, Berlin and Vienna, he was to conduct his share of repertory works and, due to his senior position as *Hofkapellmeister*, *Generalmusikdirektor* or *Leiter*, he was also able to première many new productions of Mozart's operas, which were to form the basis of his Mozart renaissance. Equally, as part of his function as *Generalmusikdirektor* in Berlin (1908-18), he undertook many of the regular subscription concerts that formed the basis of the concert calendar of the Berlin Hofkapelle, the orchestra of the Berlin Court Opera. Later, in Vienna, Strauss, as *Leiter* of the Vienna State Opera, was again able to conduct premières of Mozart's operas. The nature of concertising in Vienna is different from that of other German speaking cities, with senior members of the Vienna State Opera Orchestra becoming members of the Vienna Philharmonic for part of the year. Strauss worked with this orchestra on many occasions, conducting some Mozart symphonies that were relatively unknown by the public at that time. This was a conscious act designed to develop and propagate his Mozartian ideals, which he effectively began during his second Munich period, 1894 to 1898.

As part of this renaissance, one of Strauss' aims was to raise public awareness of the works of Mozart. One of the most effective means of achieving this end was his participation in new productions of Mozart's operas: at Munich, in the period 1894 to 1898, Strauss conducted ninety-eight performances of these works, from a total of two

hundred and eighty-seven.<sup>1</sup> It is unusual and, therefore, significant for a conductor to devote more than a third of his performances to one composer and the importance of them was reinforced by the nature of the productions that he directed. During the final three years of this period, he conducted new productions of *Don Giovanni*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Così fan tutte*, and *Die Zauberflöte*.<sup>2</sup> For these, Strauss and the producer, the *Intendant* of the Munich Court Opera, Ernst von Possart, undertook musical and theatrical revisions that were to prove influential to future Mozartians. Strauss scheduled twenty piano rehearsals<sup>3</sup> for the 1896 production of *Don Giovanni* before allowing the singers to work with the orchestra.<sup>4</sup> Even today, and particularly for a German theatre, this is an extensive period of preparation. Edward J. Dent<sup>5</sup> notes that these productions were the basis of, ‘the new outlook on Mozart’.<sup>6</sup> Dent comments upon the ‘exceptional’ nature of these performances, singling out the reforms pertaining to the recitative.<sup>7</sup> Strauss reinstated the fortepiano as the continuo instrument (and, when this was unavailable, a harpsichord). Previously, in some productions, the recitatives were accompanied on a contemporary piano, or, on other occasions, they were dispensed with completely, being replaced with dialogue in the vernacular. Strauss and Possart, in realizing their reforms: used the revised translations of Strauss’ predecessor in Munich, Hermann Levi; employed a revolving stage for the first time in Europe;<sup>8</sup> restored material that had been traditionally omitted; carefully considered the size of the orchestra and chorus; chose the Residenztheater as the appropriate size and type of theatre; stipulated appropriate costume and set design, and returned the rôle of the continuo player to the conductor.<sup>9</sup> These innovations, known as the Munich Reforms,<sup>10</sup> ensured a delivery of the drama that was

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<sup>1</sup> The total number of performances at Munich is derived from F. Trenner, ‘Richard Strauss am Pult der Münchner Oper’, *Richard Strauss Blätter*, pp. 6-15, and the author’s researches into Strauss’ diaries. This figure excludes two performances of *Così fan tutte* on 9 and 22 December 1898, which appear in Strauss’ diaries but post-date his last official engagement at Munich (Beethoven’s *Fidelio*, 18 October 1898). The first of these has ‘München’ marked beside it in Strauss’ hand. Schuh, conversely, records that Strauss conducted 75 performances of Mozart, 46 of Wagner and 24 others, totalling 145 in all. W. Schuh, *Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years, 1864-1898*, trans. M. Whittall, p. 389. see Appendix E.

<sup>2</sup> The only new production of a Mozart opera that Strauss did not première during his second Munich period was *Le nozze di Figaro*, which was conducted by his predecessor, Hermann Levi. E.J. Dent, in the Preface of the second edition of his book, *Mozart’s Operas: A Critical Study*, and, later, in Chapter One, credits only Hermann Levi as the conductor of the Munich Mozart Festivals. see Introduction notes 27-30.

<sup>3</sup> W. Schuh, op. cit., p. 388.

<sup>4</sup> This style of rehearsing was also common to Strauss’ colleague, Fritz Busch. John Pritchard, Busch’s assistant, noted: ‘Fritz Busch who taught me so much about Mozart here was an exception - he would rehearse and rehearse at the piano.’ J. Higgins, *The Making of an Opera*, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Edward J. Dent (1876-1957). English musicologist and Mozart scholar.

<sup>6</sup> E.J. Dent, op. cit., p. XIII.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> P. Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, (vol. 1 - 1885-1933)*, p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> see Chapter 4 & Appendix G.

<sup>10</sup> see Appendix K.

both musically satisfying and dramatically efficient and, in the process, attracted the attention of the musical world.

Strauss continued his activities as a Mozartian in Berlin. During the period 1898 to 1918, he held the posts of *Hofkapellmeister*, and, later, *Generalmusikdirektor* at the Berlin Court Opera. In the twenty years that he was under contract at this house, he continued to develop the innovations that he began in Munich. Again, Strauss adopted the techniques that had proved successful in the Bavarian capital. In the Introduction, it was noted that Gruber and Wilhelm felt that Berlin remained reactionary in its views on Mozart, and that the conservatism of the Kaiser restricted the propagation of Strauss' Mozart style in the capital. Even within this more conservative environment, he was able to devote many of his performances to Mozart's operas, incorporating, where possible, the Munich Reforms.

In the years 1898 to 1918, Strauss conducted at least four hundred and forty-nine<sup>11</sup> operatic performances at the Berlin Court Opera:<sup>12</sup> of these, sixty were of Mozart's operas.<sup>13</sup> This ratio of Mozart operas to other repertoire is less than in his second Munich period. However, during his tenure in Berlin, Strauss began to compose operas in earnest and, of the above total, one hundred and sixteen performances were of his own works. As in Munich, Strauss conducted new productions of Mozart's operas,<sup>14</sup> with the first new production, on 12 October 1899, being *Così fan tutte*,<sup>15</sup> the first Mozart opera that Strauss had conducted during his initial Munich period, 1886 to 1889.

At the turn of the century, *Così fan tutte* was not enthusiastically greeted by either the critics or the public.<sup>16</sup> Strauss, by programming this opera, was confronting Mozart's critics head-on, ensuring, with a new production by a freshly appointed *Hofkapellmeister*, that as much attention as possible was focused on the work and, as such, carved a place for the opera within the repertoire of the Berlin Court Opera. *Don Giovanni*, again with Strauss in the rôle of conductor-continuo player, was the second new production of a Mozart opera at this house. The production received its première on 24 November 1901. In addition to *Così fan tutte* and *Don Giovanni*, Strauss also conducted new productions

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<sup>11</sup> This figure includes eight double-bills which have been counted as individual performances.

<sup>12</sup> The second half of 1913, 1914 & 1918 are missing from the files of the Berlin State Opera. The records for December 1913, and from 18 October - December 1918, however, are extant.

<sup>13</sup> However, from the date of Strauss' first performance as *Hofkapellmeister* in Berlin, 5 November 1898 (*Tristan und Isolde*), until the end of 1918, he conducted 131 performances of Mozart's operas in various locations. *see* Appendix E.

<sup>14</sup> A notable exception to this was *Die Zauberflöte*. Strauss conducted four performances of existing productions of this opera in Berlin: 19 October 1908, 8 March 1913, 4 June 1913 and 4 January 1920, (this last performance is found in Strauss' diaries but not in the incomplete files of the Berlin State Opera).

<sup>15</sup> Strauss premièred a further production on 7 March 1905.

<sup>16</sup> 'This libretto was denounced throughout the nineteenth century as being intolerably stupid, if not positively disgusting...' E.J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*, p. 190.

of *Le nozze di Figaro*,<sup>17</sup> and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.<sup>18</sup> Both of these premières were met with a favourable critical response. One review of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* recounted his achievements in the preceding productions of *Così fan tutte* and *Le nozze di Figaro*. His critical success in the contemporary press served his purpose well: heightening public awareness of his reformist techniques in Mozart's opera.<sup>19</sup>

Strauss continued to conduct new productions in Berlin even after his resignation as *Generalmusikdirektor*.<sup>20</sup> A new production of *Don Giovanni* was premièred on 25 April 1919, with the critics commenting on the inclusion of Levi's translation and its relationship to the Italian original; the benefit of a revolving stage; the inclusion of the *Scena Ultima*; and, in a second critique, Strauss' treatment of the recitatives.<sup>21</sup> The points raised by the critics were all pillars of his Munich Reforms and all adopted by younger colleagues in later years. Strauss' final Mozart première in Berlin, on 24 March 1933, was *Idomeneo*.<sup>22</sup> This production, in his own edition, followed his first set of Viennese performances in 1931 and, again, one sees Strauss championing a work by Mozart that had fallen into neglect. Strauss, by adding this work to his repertoire, carried his task forward with a missionary zeal.<sup>23</sup>

Strauss also presented Mozart's operas in the cities that he visited as a guest conductor. More importantly, some of these productions employed the Munich Reforms. Strauss conducted in Zürich between 1898 and 1939, performing with both the Tonhalle Orchestra and the Zürich Opera.<sup>24</sup> For the latter, he conducted *Don Giovanni* and *Die Zauberflöte*, on 17 and 20 May 1917 respectively. Both productions used singers of world renown,<sup>25</sup> the Meininger Hofkapelle, the first orchestra with whom Strauss performed Mozart in 1885, and the Dessau Orchestra.<sup>26</sup> It is the production, however, that is of the greatest interest, for, on the poster promoting the performance of *Don Giovanni*, not only

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<sup>17</sup> Premièred 20 January 1906.

<sup>18</sup> Premièred 5 December 1917. Strauss first conducted an existing production on 17 January 1906.

<sup>19</sup> Unidentified review, dated, in the hand of a librarian, 6 December 1917, provided by courtesy of the Berlin State Opera. *see* Appendix J.

<sup>20</sup> After his resignation in 1918, Strauss accepted the post of *Intendant* for an interregnum period of one year.

<sup>21</sup> Unidentified reviews, the first dated, in the hand of a librarian, 25 April 1919, whilst the second has no supplementary information. Reviews provided by courtesy of the Berlin State Opera. *see* Appendix J.

<sup>22</sup> The first German performance of *Idomeneo*, in Strauss' new edition, was given in Magdeburg on 24 April 1931.

<sup>23</sup> *see* p. 66.

<sup>24</sup> For the Tonhalle Orchestra, Strauss conducted eight concerts, though no Mozart, and, for the Zürich Opera, seventeen performances of Strauss, Wagner and Mozart. In addition, on 16 July 1926, he conducted, in the Stadttheater, the music that accompanies the film of *Der Rosenkavalier*. Strauss also took part in a recital, playing the piano part of his Violin Sonata Op.18, on 29 November 1932.

<sup>25</sup> The singers included: Josef Geiss, Lillian von Granfeldt, Hans Erwin Hey, Barbara Kemp, Paul Knüpfer and Elisabeth Schumann-Puritz.

<sup>26</sup> The presence of the Dessau Orchestra is mentioned in the *Zürcher Post* review of the performance, 19 May 1917, but does not appear on the poster. *see* Appendix J.

is Levi's translation mentioned but, also, Possart's production. The poster states that the production was first seen at the Munich Court Opera. Therefore, Strauss' dissemination of the Munich Reforms<sup>27</sup> and, indeed, his Mozart renaissance, was not simply restricted to the opera houses of Munich, Berlin and Vienna but found wider expression in other European centres.

Strauss did not restrict his championing of Mozart's works to the operas but actively pursued a policy of presenting Mozart's symphonic works to the public on a regular basis. He frequently conducted his works side-by-side with those of Mozart, both in his Berlin subscription concerts and at his many engagements abroad. During the years in which Strauss conducted the Berlin Hof[Staats]kapelle, 1908-35, he directed one hundred and sixteen concerts with this orchestra,<sup>28</sup> and, of these, twenty-nine contained a work by Mozart. At his first concert after being appointed *Hofkapellmeister*, on 27 October 1901, a joint concert with the Meininger Hofkapelle, a work by Mozart was included.<sup>29</sup> Other composers represented in this programme were: J.S. Bach, Brahms, Schubert, Strauss and Wagner.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, this seems to be an overview of the German orchestral tradition, of which Strauss was to prove one of the last remaining exponents. During his tenure in Berlin, he never conducted an all-Mozart programme<sup>31</sup> but preferred to present Mozart as an integral part of Germanic symphonic development, underlining the contextual nature of his Mozart reforms.<sup>32</sup>

In the years following his appointment in Berlin, Strauss began to conduct Mozart's last three symphonies on a regular basis. Previously, he had only given one performance of K550 and two of K551, the former in 1895 and the latter two in 1891 and 1897. Until his Berlin years, Strauss preferred to direct *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*, giving

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<sup>27</sup> The *Zürcher Post* review, of 19 May 1917, notes that Strauss did not play the continuo himself at this performance but engaged, himself, a lady accompanist. see Appendix J.

<sup>28</sup> This figure includes the subscription and *Sonder* (extra) concerts but excludes the performances in which Strauss programmed his tone poems in the same evening as either *Elektra* or *Salome* and, also, the performances of the Flute and Harp Concerto K229 (late 1913) and of the *Gran Partita* (11 February 1920), which appear in his diaries. While it is likely that these latter two were performed with the Berlin Hof[Staats]kapelle, in the absence of corroborative evidence, this can only be an assumption.

<sup>29</sup> This concert, and that of 28 February 1902, where he shared the conducting with Karl Muck, are not included in these statistics.

<sup>30</sup> At this concert, where Strauss shared the podium with Fritz Steinbach, his successor at Meiningen, the programme was J.S. Bach, 'Brandenburg' Concerto No.3; J. Brahms, 'Variations on a Theme of Haydn'; F. Schubert, Entr'acte and Ballet Music, *Rosamunde*; W.A. Mozart, four movements from the *Gran Partita*; R. Strauss, Closing Scene from *Guntram*; R. Wagner, Overture to *Die Meistersinger*.

<sup>31</sup> In later years Strauss made very occasional exceptions to this practice, in particular, the concerts which he gave at the Mozarteum during the Salzburg Festivals: 20 August 1922, 30 July 1933, 7 August 1942 and 6 August 1943. see Appendix E.

<sup>32</sup> Of the twenty-nine Berlin Hof[Staats]kapelle subscription and *Sonder* concerts that contained a work by Mozart, at only five did he programme works other than those of the Austro-Germanic tradition. At these five concerts - 28 February 1913; 4 December 1913; 9 March 1914; 9 March 1916; and 30 November 1917 - the only non-Germanic composers were Berlioz, Cherubini, Scontrino and Dvorák.

three performances during 1897 in Amsterdam, Barcelona and London.<sup>33</sup> It seems that his heightened interest in Mozart's symphonies, particularly the last three, grew concurrently with his promotion of the operas.<sup>34</sup> This is not surprising, as these symphonic works were written during the period that Mozart composed his Da Ponte operas and share many orchestrational and melodic similarities. Equally, the development of universal principles of Mozart interpretation, cross-fertilising his readings with operatic and symphonic techniques, was a central feature of Strauss' Mozart style.

According to his grandson, Richard Strauss, K551 was Strauss' favourite Mozart symphony.<sup>35</sup> The sheer volume and detailed nature of the markings found in the composer-conductor's score,<sup>36</sup> taken with the statistical evidence, seem to verify this claim. Strauss first conducted the work in Weimar on 12 January 1891 and, as his career developed, the number of performances of K551 increased. He directed nineteen performances of the work throughout his career, the greater body of which were performed during his Berlin years. As a guest conductor, he regularly programmed this symphony alongside his own works. Strauss conducted nineteen concerts with the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam, at six of which he performed works by Mozart and, of these, three were of K551.<sup>37</sup> He also conducted the symphony as part of the second of two Museum Concerts in Frankfurt.<sup>38</sup> This was a prestigious concert series and an ideal arena for him to promote his approach to Mozart.<sup>39</sup> The other work in the programme was Beethoven's Symphony No. 9. In the previous concert, the same Beethoven symphony was performed, this time with K550.<sup>40</sup> He conducted K551 widely and, in addition to the three occasions on which he performed it with the Concertgebouw Orchestra, he also

<sup>33</sup> Strauss conducted *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* in Amsterdam on 10 October 1897, in Barcelona on 14 November 1897, and in London on 7 December 1897. In 1942, as part of a concert, promoted by the Munich Broadcasting Station, he included *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*. (Schuh gives the Amsterdam date as 11 October 1897. *Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years, 1864-1898*, trans. M. Whittall, p.428.)

<sup>34</sup> However, Strauss' interest in K551 spanned his artistic life. His high regard for the work dates back to his fourteenth year, where, in a letter to his friend, Ludwig Thuille, dated 6 February 1878, he describes his feelings: 'the *Leonore* Overture, as wonderfully beautiful as it is, is *never* greater than the *Jupiter* Symphony. For me Beethoven is *never* greater than Mozart'. F. Trenner, 'Selections from the Strauss-Thuille Correspondence: A Glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years', trans. Susan Gillespie, *Richard Strauss and His World*, ed. B. Gilliam, p. 200.

<sup>35</sup> Conversation with author, Garmisch, April 1992.

<sup>36</sup> Scores housed at Villa Strauss, Garmisch. *see* Introduction note 100 and Appendices L and M.

<sup>37</sup> 5 & 6 October 1904, 14 March 1918.

<sup>38</sup> 11 November 1906.

<sup>39</sup> Strauss, in a letter to Friedrich Sieger, in 1906, in whose house he stayed when conducting at the Frankfurt Museum Concerts, mentions the works of Mozart as part of his preferred repertoire: 'I would much prefer to conduct as little Strauss as possible, because I find that very boring. What I enjoy conducting: all Beethoven (especially the *Eroica* and VII and IX) - Mozart (G minor, *Jupiter*) and Haydn - Liszt: all the symphonic poems and the *Faust* Symphony - Berlioz and Wagner of course - Brahms IV (authentically, as it was first done in Meiningen, under Brahms and Bülow) - Weber overtures - Elgar's *Variations*, the new symphony of Hermann Bischoff - Bruckner III and IX - Spohr's *Jessonda* overture - overture of Rheinberger's *Widerspenstige* (pretty and harmless) etc. etc.'. K. Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. M. Whittall, p. 201.

<sup>40</sup> 9 November 1906.

directed it in Berlin, Rome, Switzerland and New York.<sup>41</sup> His final performance of this symphony was given with the Vienna Philharmonic at the Salzburg Festival on 7 August 1942, sixteen years after his 1926 recording.

The other works that Strauss regularly conducted on important occasions were K543 and K550, both of which he performed in London. He performed K550 thirteen times during his career and toured with the work. Sir Adrian Boult<sup>42</sup> heard Strauss perform this symphony in London<sup>43</sup> and commented that Strauss' devotion to Mozart was such that he dispensed with his own work in the first hour of the six hour rehearsal and spent the remainder of the time preparing, in detail, K550. Boult considered Strauss, along with Bruno Walter,<sup>44</sup> the greatest Mozart conductor that he ever encountered.<sup>45</sup> Strauss gave a further performance of K550 with the orchestra of the Dresden State Opera, during their visit to London in 1936.<sup>46</sup> The performance was part of a *matinée* held at the Queen's Hall on 7 November, taking place two days after Strauss had received the Gold Medal of the Royal Philharmonic Society of London.<sup>47</sup> It is unclear from his score as to which version of K550 he conducted at the Queen's Hall in 1914 and 1936, or, for that matter, any of his other live performances. However, it would seem safe to assume that he conducted from the first version, without the clarinets, as this was his choice for his two recordings of the work.

Strauss' performances of K543, K550 and K551 occupy a special place in the performance history of these symphonies but his interest in Mozart's symphonic works also included K201/K186a, K385 and K504. From his diaries and other sources, Strauss appears to have conducted K201/K186a three times, directing it at a *matinée* concert in Vienna, on 8 March 1908, in Berlin on 30 March 1918 and at the Salzburg Festival on 7

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<sup>41</sup> K551 was the first work that Strauss conducted with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, on 26 March 1904. He had conducted a public rehearsal of the same programme on 25 March 1904, which was reviewed by the critics. *see* Appendix J.

<sup>42</sup> Sir Adrian (Cardiac) Boult (1889-1983). Chief Conductor: City of Birmingham Orchestra 1924-30. Musical Director of BBC and Conductor-in-Chief of BBC Symphony Orchestra 1930-50. Principal Conductor: London Philharmonic Orchestra 1951-62.

<sup>43</sup> The Queen's Hall, London, with the Queen's Hall Orchestra, on 26 June 1914.

<sup>44</sup> Bruno Walter (1876-1962). *Répétiteur*: Cologne 1893-4. Conductor: Hamburg 1894-6; Breslau 1896-7; Pressburg 1897-8; Riga 1899-1900; Berlin 1900-1. Music Director: Munich 1913-22. Artistic Adviser: Vienna State Opera 1936-8. Musical Adviser: New York Philharmonic Orchestra 1947-9.

<sup>45</sup> (i) A. Boult, *Boult on Music*, p. 117.

(ii) A fuller description of the above concert, 26 June 1914, is found in a letter to Michael Kennedy, dated 20 February 1974. Boult writes: He [Strauss] did... [the] Mozart G minor. I was told that [at rehearsal] he polished off his three in an hour and spent the remaining five hours on the Mozart. It sounded like it — the end movements were amazing: for 10 bars you thought it was slow; it was, but you forgot it after 10 bars because the rhythm and accentuation were so astonishingly light and lively.' M. Kennedy, *Adrian Boult*, p. 58.

<sup>46</sup> Strauss gave his final performance of K550 at the Salzburg festival, with the Vienna Philharmonic, 6 August 1943.

<sup>47</sup> The programme for the RPS concert, 5 November 1936, was: Bliss, *Music for Strings*; Brahms, Violin Concerto in D, solo violin, Joseph Szigeti; Strauss, *Also Sprach Zarathustra*. The London Philharmonic Orchestra was conducted by Dr. Adrian Boult and the Gold Medal was presented by Sir Hugh Allen. *The Musical Times* of December 1936 (p. 1081) contains a transcript of Sir Hugh Allen's speech and Richard Strauss' reply.

August 1942. Strauss performed K504, in Bremen, on 7 February 1899, and on 8 December 1916, as part of the fourth subscription concert in Berlin, with the Berlin Hofkapelle. At that performance, the other works in the programme were by Händel, Georg [George] Szell and Schubert. He gave a further performance at the Salzburg Festival, with the Vienna Philharmonic, on 30 July 1933. K385 was performed as part of the fourth subscription concert with the Berlin Hofkapelle, on 4 December 1913.<sup>48</sup> The detail with which Strauss marked the scores of these symphonies indicates that he did not treat them as curiosity pieces. Rather, he lavished the same care on these works as the final two symphonies of Mozart. There are no markings in Strauss' score of K543, the absence of which is a conundrum, for he conducted the work on seven occasions, including a concert at the Queen's Hall, London, with the BBC Symphony Orchestra, on 21 October 1931. K543 was the first of Mozart's works that he recorded. The exposure of the lesser known works, such as K201/K186a and K385, prepared in detail, was in keeping with Strauss' renaissance, allowing the public to savour works by Mozart that had fallen from the standard repertoire.

To understand fully the breadth of Strauss' efforts in revivifying and promoting the works of Mozart, one must consider his performances in relation to contemporary musical trends. At the Paris Opéra, Mozart was all but ignored and, during the years 1885 to 1914, only two performances of Mozart were heard: *Don Giovanni* 26 October 1896 and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* 4 December 1903.<sup>49</sup> At the opera house in Cologne, which was later to be led by Klemperer, Sawallisch and Pritchard, there were only three Mozart operas performed between 1902 and 1912: *Don Giovanni* during the 1905-6 season; *Le nozze di Figaro*, 1904-5, 1907-8, 1908-9, 1911-12; *Die Zauberflöte*, 1905-6.<sup>50</sup> During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, Mozart was rarely performed at London's major concert and operatic venues. Between 1886 and 1914, the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, mounted ninety-six performances of Mozart's operas, of which, sixty-seven were of *Don Giovanni*; twenty-

<sup>48</sup> (i) The symphony is mentioned some years earlier in a letter to his friend, Ludwig Thuille, undated, from the end of March 1878, where he states, after hearing a performance of the work at the II Subscription Concert in Munich, 20 March 1878, that: 'A wonderful symphony in D major by the divine Mozart. The first movement was passionate and dashing, the second (*Andante*) wonderful; these lovely strains delighted my ears and [I] could have heard this wonderful *Andante* ten more times; then came a friendly, easy-going minuet and then a graceful *Presto*. The symphony was ravishingly beautiful.' F. Trenner, 'Selections from the Strauss-Thuille Correspondence: A Glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years', trans. Susan Gillespie, *Richard Strauss and His World*, ed. B. Gilliam, p. 202.

(ii) Strauss notes in his 1913 diary, on the pages for October 26 - November 1, five concerts. The concerts containing a work by Mozart are as follows: I Mozart, Flute and Harp, Haydn and Beethoven; IV Mozart D major symphony, Reger and one other [illegible]; VIII Mozart G moll, Strauss (*Don Juan*) and Weber *Oberon*. Only the second and third of these can be verified from the records of the Berlin State Opera: 4 December 1913 and 9 March 1914. *see note 12*.

<sup>49</sup> C. Dupêchez, *Histoire de L'Opéra de Paris*, pp.331-406.

<sup>50</sup> G. Hagen, *Die Cölner Opera seit Ihrem einzug in das Opernhaus 1902/03-1911/12*, pp.17 & 48. The archive of Oper der Stadt Köln was destroyed during the 1939-45 war, letter to the author 30 November 1993.

five were of *Le nozze di Figaro*; one was of *Die Zauberflöte*; and three were of *Bastien und Bastienne*.<sup>51</sup>

During the same period, Strauss gave two hundred and fifteen performances of Mozart's operas. The vast majority of these were at Munich and Berlin, centres where he held senior positions. Strauss, as an individual, gave more than twice as many performances of Mozart's operas as the combined conducting staff of London's major international opera house. Interestingly, the repertoire of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden and that of the opera houses at which Strauss worked, were remarkably similar. However, his personal Mozart repertoire was greater than that of the Royal Opera House: for, whilst the number of performances of *Don Giovanni* are comparable, Strauss directed sixty-five performances of *Don Giovanni* to the Royal Opera's sixty-seven, he gave considerably more performances of *Le nozze di Figaro*, forty-four to Covent Garden's twenty-five, and of *Die Zauberflöte*, thirty-two to Covent Garden's one. Curiously, *Bastien und Bastienne*, a rarity even today, could be heard at both Covent Garden, where three performances were given in 1907, and at Weimar, under Strauss' direction, where he conducted a performance on 7 January 1894.<sup>52</sup>

Further, Strauss extended his personal repertoire to include *Così fan tutte* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. The Royal Opera House, Covent Garden abstained from performing these operas, which received, at the hands of Strauss, forty-five and twenty-eight performances respectively. His flurry of activity in performing these two operas was in step with his rejuvenation of Mozart's works. The general disregard for *Così fan tutte* at the turn of the century can receive no better expression than in the statistics for the Royal Opera House for that period. Indeed, the first performance of the opera at Covent Garden was not given until 1947<sup>53</sup> and, even then, this performance was not part of that season's general repertoire but was given by the Vienna State Opera in its visit to that house. Its first performance, as part of the standard repertoire of the Royal Opera House, was delayed until 1968, when the première was directed by George Solti. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* fared only marginally better, receiving its première there in 1827. However, it then remained unperformed at that house for a century, until revived in 1927.<sup>54</sup> Dent, writing in 1947, and reflecting his views set out in 1913, was dismissive of

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<sup>51</sup> H. Rosenthal, *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden*, pp. 716-62. see Appendix F.

<sup>52</sup> *Bastien und Bastienne* was heard on that occasion in a double bill with E. Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel*. The production of *Bastien und Bastienne* at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, London in 1907, was also coupled with *Hänsel und Gretel*. These performances were a direct result of the Weimar productions, which Strauss conducted. cf. H. Rosenthal, *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden*, pp. 322 & 364.

<sup>53</sup> *Così fan tutte* received its British première at the Haymarket Theatre, London, in 1811, and was revived by Sir Thomas Beecham at His Majesty's Theatre, London, in 1911.

<sup>54</sup> G. Kobbé, *Kobbé's Complete Opera Book*, pp.79 & 103.

*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and his opinions may be seen as a barometer of public taste at that time. He writes:

All the same, there can be no doubt that the libretto of *Die Entführung* was the very worst that he ever had to set to music, and the whole story of Mozart's operatic life is a synopsis of what perpetually happens always and everywhere in the operatic world - making alterations in a hurry at the last moment. Nobody could think Mozart a great composer just for having composed *Die Entführung*, but most people are content to accept it uncritically as a great opera merely because it was the work of Mozart.<sup>55</sup>

If one continues by comparing the number of performances of Mozart's symphonies given in London with those given by Strauss, one is again struck by his activities as a Mozartian. The Royal Philharmonic Society was active as a concert promoter throughout Strauss' conducting career. Between 1891 and 1932, Strauss conducted thirty-nine performances of Mozart's symphonies. In the same period, twenty-two performances of these works were given under the auspices of The Royal Philharmonic Society.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, Strauss, as an individual, had conducted seventeen more performances than the combined artists engaged by that Society.<sup>57</sup>

One can draw the conclusion, therefore, that Strauss, in contrast to contemporary trends, strove to promote the works of Mozart in a manner that befits the term 'renaissance'. The use of such a label is appropriate, when one considers his activities with specific reference to *Così fan tutte* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. These works had been sadly neglected by opera houses and the public alike. Today, *Così fan tutte* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* appear as standard repertoire but, at the turn of the century, they were still relatively unknown. One must remember that Strauss, throughout this period, was also active as a composer and was primarily known, at least outside of Germany, in that rôle. Therefore, to champion the work of another, was not only an act of faith in the music that he was directing, but, also, the means by which to express that faith.

### **The influence of Strauss' performances on Klemperer, Szell, Pritchard & Sawallisch**

Later generations of conductors were influenced by Strauss' activities as a Mozart interpreter. His literalist style, and the musical and theatrical reforms, first heard in Munich, were seminal in the development of a school of Mozartian thought. This manifested itself in the readings of the following two generations: amongst others, Otto

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<sup>55</sup> E.J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*, p. 87. [Quote taken from the 1947 edition. Dent's study was first published in 1913].

<sup>56</sup> Statistics kindly provided by Professor Cyril Ehrlich, author of *First Philharmonic*, the history of the Royal Philharmonic Society, London, (unpublished).

<sup>57</sup> This figure excludes both Strauss' recording activities and concerts where the work cannot be identified, but includes the public rehearsal of K551 in New York.

Klemperer and George Szell who came into direct contact with Strauss; and Wolfgang Sawallisch and Sir John Pritchard who observed him in the concert hall and the opera house.

Strauss' influence on Klemperer, particularly as a Mozart conductor, dates back to the latter's student days in Berlin. Strauss' approach, with its emphasis on Mozart's printed intentions and clarity of musical vision must have been of great interest to Klemperer. He had the opportunity, in April 1907,<sup>58</sup> to hear a performance of *Don Giovanni* under Strauss at the Berlin Court Opera's second theatre, the Kroll.<sup>59</sup> Many years later, Klemperer became Music Director of the Kroll Opera<sup>60</sup> and continued the innovations that he first encountered in the early years of the century under Strauss.

Klemperer not only experienced Mozart's Da Ponte operas under the direction of Strauss at Berlin but, also, at the Munich Court Opera. These performances were to prove fundamental to Klemperer, who incorporated and developed many of the reforms he witnessed in Munich into his own performances and productions. He was particularly impressed by Strauss' continuo style, as mentioned in the Introduction, noting his use of embellishment on a number of occasions.<sup>61</sup> At Barmen, in 1914, for his own new production of *Così fan tutte*, Klemperer incorporated a number of the Munich Reforms, including: Hermann Levi's translation; the use of a *Stilbühne*,<sup>62</sup> which, like the revolving stage used in the 1896 Munich production of *Don Giovanni*, allowed the scenes to flow without a break; and playing the harpsichord continuo himself.<sup>63</sup> At that time, some twenty years after Strauss' reinstatement of this rôle to the conductor, it was, as it remains today, the exception rather than the rule. Later, in performances of *Così fan tutte*, first at Cologne in 1919, and, then, at the Berlin State Opera in 1931, Klemperer again occupied the dual rôles of conductor and continuo player.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> P. Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, (vol. 1 - 1885-1933)*, p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> The performance that Klemperer heard would have been on 6 April 1907. There were a cluster of Mozart performances directed by Strauss, around that time at the Berlin Court Opera. These were: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 4 April 1907; the aforementioned *Don Giovanni*; *Le nozze di Figaro*, 7 April 1907; and *Così fan tutte*, 8 April 1907. Heyworth writes that Klemperer encountered *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Così fan tutte* under Strauss' direction in Munich in 1911. However, it is likely that he would have heard them in Berlin in 1907.

<sup>60</sup> The Kroll Opera became artistically independent of the Berlin State Opera in 1927, though continued to share the same administration.

<sup>61</sup> P. Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, (vol. 1 - 1885-1933)*, p. 60; *Conversations with Klemperer*, p. 47.

<sup>62</sup> A *Stilbühne* is an arrangement of curtains which divides the stage into various depths, allowing an opera with short scenes to be performed without interruption.

<sup>63</sup> Heyworth notes that *Così fan tutte* was poorly received in Barmen. He recorded that the *Barmen Frei Presse*, 16 March 1914, stated: '[*Così fan tutte* was] cold, empty, rationalistic *Weltanschauung*... in which deep feelings have no place'. P. Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, (vol. 1 - 1885-1933)*, p. 86. [This review is at odds with Strauss' perception of the work.]

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.149 & 386.

During Strauss' Berlin period, George Szell worked as his assistant at the Court Opera (1915-17), where, according to Alan Sanders, he 'modelled his conducting technique on Strauss's economic method.'<sup>65</sup> Szell confirmed Strauss' influence, describing him as, 'the nearest to a commanding influence in my formative years.'<sup>66</sup> In 1916, along with K504, Strauss conducted a work by Szell<sup>67</sup> in one of the Berlin Hofkapelle's subscription concerts.<sup>68</sup> Szell, born in 1897, must have shown considerable talent as a composer for Germany's leading composer-conductor to perform one of the younger musician's works. Moreover, Szell, in the course of this concert, was able to witness Strauss prepare a Mozart symphony that he himself was to record.<sup>69</sup>

In 1917, Szell prepared the Berlin Hofkapelle for Strauss in one of the latter's recordings of *Don Juan*<sup>70</sup> and, as a result of his activities as Strauss' assistant, was appointed the same year to the Strasbourg Opera, replacing Klemperer, on Strauss' recommendation.<sup>71</sup> Szell returned to Berlin in 1924, remaining there until 1929. He worked as first conductor to Erich Kleiber,<sup>72</sup> conducting the Berlin première of Strauss' *Intermezzo* in 1925.<sup>73</sup> It will become clear, in Chapter Three, that Szell was heavily influenced by Strauss, having the opportunity to attend his Mozart performances and, as his assistant, having responsibility for their preparation. Further, as Szell was again in Berlin for a second period, during which time Strauss made his commercial Mozart recordings, it is not unreasonable to assume that he was aware of, if not actually in attendance at, these sessions.

Sawallisch encountered Strauss at first hand in Munich in 1936,<sup>74</sup> where he heard him conduct a performance of *Così fan tutte*. Here, again, Strauss performed the opera in

<sup>65</sup> A. Sanders, sleeve note: P. Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 4, G. Szell, LSO. Decca 425 972-2.

<sup>66</sup> J. Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini*, p. 380.

<sup>67</sup> Variations Op.4.

<sup>68</sup> 8 December 1916.

<sup>69</sup> K504, first movement only, unreleased Columbia recording, 15 October 1965. H.J. Hirsch & J. Saul, 'A George Szell Discography', *Le Grand Baton*, vol. 9, Numbers 1 & 2, 1972, p. 105.

<sup>70</sup> Strauss' influence on Szell's musicianship was so pronounced that when the former arrived late for the recording of *Don Juan*, Szell recorded the first part of the tone poem in his place. This fragment remains in what is the finished recording. Strauss also recorded *Don Juan* with the London Symphony and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestras. According to Jack Saul, 'A Personal Account of George Szell': 'He [Szell] also wanted me to locate performances of Mozart's Symphony No. 39 and two sides of *Don Juan*, released under Richard Strauss' name by the Polydor Company of Germany. These works were recorded by George Szell in 1917, but being an apprentice conductor he received no credit on the labels for them. The Berlin State Opera Orchestra was listed as being conducted by its chief conductor, Richard Strauss. It is my regret that to this day I have as yet not located them.' *Le Grand Baton*, vol. 9, Numbers 1 & 2, 1972, p. 86.

<sup>71</sup> P. Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times*, (vol. 1 - 1885-1933), p. 115.

<sup>72</sup> Erich Kleiber (1890-1956). Austrian conductor. Conductor: Darmstadt 1912-18; Wuppertal 1919-21; Mannheim 1922-3. Music Director: Berlin State Opera 1923-34, 1954.

<sup>73</sup> G. Kobbé, *Kobbé's Complete Opera Book*, p. 832.

<sup>74</sup> In an interview with the author, 12 December 1991, Sawallisch recalled that he heard Strauss conduct *Così fan tutte* in either 1934 or 1935. The performance which he would have heard was on 16 August 1936. Strauss did not conduct this work in either 1934 or 1935.

the manner of his second Munich period, incorporating the techniques that had proved so effective some forty years earlier. Strauss' most noteworthy influence on Sawallisch was his style of continuo playing, which will be dealt with in some detail in Chapter Four.

Sawallisch regards Strauss' performances at Munich as essential to both his Mozart style and that of the Bavarian State Opera. In his autobiography, he notes:

I once had the experience of hearing Richard Strauss on the podium in Munich... In the Residenztheater, today the Cuvilliés-Theater, I heard a performance of *Così fan tutte*. After Knappertsbusch and Furtwängler, I thought, better still, Richard Strauss, a composer as a conductor - wonderful, I thought. I didn't know, what was in store for me... It was - and to this day is my memory - the first moment that I fully understood the art of interpretation: Mozart interpretation.<sup>75</sup>

In an interview with the author,<sup>76</sup> Sawallisch confirmed the above and further noted that Strauss' activities as a Mozartian increased the Munich public's interest in the works of Mozart and prepared the way for the 'next Mozart period' under Bruno Walter. Strauss' efforts were, according to Sawallisch, to result in a tradition that still remains central to the activities of the Bavarian State Opera. This tradition is based on the innovations that Strauss and Possart instigated at the turn of the century.

The young John Pritchard observed Strauss on the podium before and after the Second World War. Pritchard, who attended Strauss' performances at the Queen's Hall, on 21 October 1931 with the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and 7 November 1936 with the orchestra of the Dresden State Opera, was able to hear Strauss conduct K543 and K550, works that the younger musician was to perform many times throughout his career. These were the first occasions on which the future Music Director of the Glyndebourne Festival Opera encountered the musician he so admired. He was later able to observe Strauss on the podium in 1947, as part of a Strauss Festival, supervised by Sir Thomas Beecham, a conductor with whom Pritchard also worked. Aside from the musical similarities between Strauss and Pritchard, the latter, like Szell, modelled his conducting technique on that of Strauss.<sup>77</sup>

### **The recordings**

Strauss' recordings of Mozart were made over a period of three years: 1926 to 1928. Other than Beethoven's Symphonies Nos. 5 and 7,<sup>78</sup> these were the only major symphonic recordings that Strauss made of a composer other than himself. During his conducting career, he directed performances of major symphonic works by many other leading

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<sup>75</sup> W. Sawallisch, *Im Interesse der Deutlichkeit: Mein Leben mit der Musik*. p. 29.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with the author, 12 December 1991.

<sup>77</sup> The similarity is demonstrated in extant film footage and publicity photos of both Strauss and Pritchard.

<sup>78</sup> Koch 3-7115-2H1.

composers but failed to record any of these. The recordings of his own works were considered, at the time and to this date, as definitive performances. Strauss, who, by the time of his Mozart recordings, had reduced his conducting to a minimum, was not in need of any financial gains that these records may have realized. Therefore, his participation in these recordings can only be viewed as a means by which to promote his Mozart style. Equally, he would have been aware of the permanency that recordings secured. This considered, he grasped the opportunity to set down his thoughts for future generations. Indeed, the recordings are testaments to Strauss' Mozart interpretation. The sound archivist, Peter Morse, notes that, in these recordings, Strauss:

...cut away a great deal of romantic excess which had accumulated during the nineteenth century and restored to Mozart's music the coolness and clarity of the original. In this he was ...one of the modern founders of the new orchestral style.<sup>79</sup>

This considered approach, discussed in the following chapters, and a cornerstone of Strauss' Mozart style, was commented upon by the British composer, Colin Matthews, who noted:

I well remember the first time I heard his recording of Mozart's G minor symphony, and compared it directly with a supposed modern master of Mozart (though only Strauss's junior by 30 years). There *was* no comparison, the later interpretation sounding merely mechanical and unimaginative.<sup>80</sup>

Previously, Mozart's symphonic works were only poorly represented in recorded sound. At the time of Strauss' recordings, the only available versions of Mozart symphonies in the United Kingdom catalogues<sup>81</sup> were: K543, Felix Weingartner<sup>82</sup> and the London Symphony Orchestra, 1925;<sup>83</sup> K551, no conductor listed, Symphony Orchestra, 1926;<sup>84</sup> K385, Hamilton Harty<sup>85</sup> and the Hallé Orchestra, 1927;<sup>86</sup> K543, K550 & K551, Frieder Weissmann<sup>87</sup> and the Berlin Staatskapelle, 1927-8;<sup>88</sup> K551, Sir Dan Godfrey<sup>89</sup> and

<sup>79</sup> P. Morse, 'Richard Strauss' Recordings: A Complete Discography', *Journal of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections*, (vol IX, no. 1) (USA, 1977), p. 16.

<sup>80</sup> C. Matthews, sleeve note: R. Strauss, *Eine Alpensinfonie* Op.64, R. Strauss, Bavarian Staatskapelle. EMI CDC 7546102.

<sup>81</sup> Material obtained from the incomplete listings held by the National Sound Archive, London. The record companies themselves were unable to provide any supplementary material.

<sup>82</sup> Felix Weingartner (1863-1942). Austrian conductor and composer. Conductor: Königsberg 1884-5; Danzig 1885-7; Hamburg 1887-9; Mannheim 1889-91. Chief conductor: Berlin 1891-8; Vienna Court Opera 1908-11; Hamburg 1912-14; Darmstadt 1915-19; Vienna Volksoper 1919-24, Vienna State Opera 1935-6.

<sup>83</sup> Columbia L1563-4-5.

<sup>84</sup> HMV D942-3-4-5.

<sup>85</sup> Sir (Herbert) Hamilton Harty (1879-1941). Permanent Conductor Hallé Orchestra 1920-33.

<sup>86</sup> Columbia L1783-4-5.

<sup>87</sup> Frieder Weissman (1898- ). German conductor. Conductor: Berlin Staatskapelle 1920-5; Münster & Königsberg 1925-8; Dresden Philharmonic 1927-31; Buenos Aires 1934-7; Cincinnati & New York 1937-9; Scranton Philharmonic 1943-50; Havana Philharmonic 1950- . According to the 1925 Parlophone catalogue, he made, in conjunction with Edward Moerike, who recorded Symphony No. 7, the first complete recording of the Beethoven symphonies.

<sup>88</sup> (i) K543, Parlophone E10392-3-4; (ii) K550, Parlophone E10366-7-8; (iii) K551, Parlophone E10433-4-5-6 (including the overture to *Idomeneo*).

<sup>89</sup> Sir Dan(iel Eyers) Godfrey (1868-1939). Conductor Bournemouth Municipal Band and Orchestra 1893-1934.

Symphony Orchestra, 1928.<sup>90</sup> Strauss was the first conductor to record Mozart's last three symphonies as a group. The orchestra for each of these sessions was the Berlin Staatskapelle, the ensemble with whom he conducted the majority of his Mozart symphonic performances.

As in the case of his performances of K543, K550 and K551, Strauss recorded the symphonies side-by-side with his own compositions. If Morse is to be believed, Strauss recorded K543<sup>91</sup> in early 1926,<sup>92</sup> in the same session as *Ein Heldenleben*. He went on to record K551,<sup>93</sup> in the same sessions as *Tod und Verklärung* and selections from *Intermezzo* and *Der Rosenkavalier*, in late 1926. Immediately after these sessions, in early 1927, Strauss conducted his first recording of K550,<sup>94</sup> coupled with a re-recording of the above selection from *Intermezzo* and *Der Rosenkavalier*. He re-recorded K550<sup>95</sup> in early 1928, followed by his final Mozart recording, the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*, in mid 1928.<sup>96</sup>

The recording of K543 was made using the Brunswick 'light-ray' method. This technique involved a mirror and a photoelectric cell. The method, with its greater acoustic sensitivity should have proved ideal for recording Mozart. Unfortunately, this sensitivity also recorded extraneous studio noises and, therefore, the sound is disappointing. Moreover, the orchestra is noticeably less well prepared than in any of Strauss' other commercial recordings. According to the matrix numbers, this symphony was recorded between Beethoven's Symphony No.7 and *Ein Heldenleben*. With commercial considerations of time and money firmly to the fore, one suspects that Strauss' rehearsal time was severely restricted. This becomes apparent by the string players' seemingly random use of portamenti, a technique not heard in Strauss' other recordings of Mozart, which, along with a number of misreadings, suggests that the performers had insufficient time to cement their performance. This is not to say that this was simply a recording of a 'read-through', for it is too detailed for such a consideration but, it is the contention of the

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<sup>90</sup> Columbia L1938-39-40-41.

<sup>91</sup> Deutsche Grammophon Matrix 347bg-352bg; single side nos. B20640-1-2-3-4-5; Polydor 69833-69835; Heliodor LP re-issue 88022. P. Morse, 'Richard Strauss' Recordings: A Complete Discography', *Journal of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections*, (vol ix, no. 1), pp. 19-20. For CD re-issues see Bibliography.

<sup>92</sup> The exact dates of the recording sessions are not known. However, in Strauss' diaries, the word 'Grammophon' appears against the dates 28 March 1927, and 6, 11 & 17 December 1928. Possibly, these are references to recording sessions.

<sup>93</sup> Deutsche Grammophon Matrix 180bm-186bm; Polydor 69845-69848; US Brunswick 25017-25020. P. Morse, op. cit., p. 24. For CD re-issues see Bibliography.

<sup>94</sup> Deutsche Grammophon Matrix 250bi-255bi; single side nos. B20858-20863; Polydor 69864-69866; Thomas L. Clear's vol. 1; LP re-issue TLC-2584. Ibid., p. 26. For CD re-issues see Bibliography.

<sup>95</sup> Deutsche Grammophon Matrix 296be-302be; single side nos. B20974-20980; Polydor 69869-69872; Polydor re-issue 95442-95445; US Brunswick 90082-90085; Deutsche Grammophon LP re-issue 642.010; Heliodor LP re-issue 88022; Deutsche Grammophon LP re-issue sets 2721.070 & 2563.248. Ibid., p. 28. For CD re-issues see Bibliography.

<sup>96</sup> Deutsche Grammophon Matrix 1406bmI-1407bmI; Polydor 66826; US Brunswick 90255; English Decca CA.8106; Heliodor LP re-issue 2548.736. Ibid., p. 30. For CD re-issues see Bibliography.

author, that this was not Strauss' ideal finished product. He seems to have taken steps to prevent such an eventuality repeating itself, for, in all future sessions involving a symphony by Mozart, he recorded that work, according to the matrix numbers, as the first, or only, item in the session.<sup>97</sup> This ensured adequate rehearsal time to develop the playing according to his principles.<sup>98</sup>

The feeling that the above recording is not quite the finished product is not repeated in Strauss' next Mozart recording: K551. Here the playing is of the most virtuosic kind. The tempo relationships match his articles and correspond to the markings found in his score. Whilst still using the light-ray method, the recorded sound is different from that of his first Mozart recording. The sound has a greater sense of focus and has less extraneous studio noise. Morse believes that the recording was made in a more confined space,<sup>99</sup> which the increased acoustic quality seems to verify. Due to the contrapuntal nature of this symphony's last movement, it was imperative that the recorded sound be well defined and one must therefore assume that Strauss was instrumental in securing this change of venue. Whilst the recorded sound of K543 was not as poor as that of the first of the two recordings of K550, it still lacked definition and, as Strauss was most particular that the counterpoint in the last movement of K551 should sound as distinct as possible, noting this in one of his articles and employing a number of tempo and balance adjustments to meet this end, he would have taken action, avoiding a repeat of the problems encountered in the recording of K543. The use of a more confined recording space would have been beneficial in achieving many of his objectives. As a result, the sound is comparable with that of the second recording of K550.

The questions surrounding the recording of K543, in terms of its preparedness, are overshadowed by those raised in relation to Strauss' two recordings of K550. He first recorded the work in 1927 and again, a year later, in 1928.<sup>100</sup> These recordings remain an enigma to the student of recorded sound. No concrete reason has been put forward as to why he re-recorded the work. Morse considers this question but comes to no firm

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<sup>97</sup> An exception to this practice was the recording of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte* which, according to the matrix numbers, was recorded after the last movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5.

<sup>98</sup> Sir John Pritchard also felt that a Mozart symphony, when pitted against a major symphonic work by Strauss, should be the first item in the programme. Thus, according to Pritchard, ensuring a clarity of approach befitting the work's stature. Conversation with the author during the 1989 *Strauss-Mozart Festival* at the Royal Festival Hall, London.

<sup>99</sup> P. Morse, 'Richard Strauss' Recordings: A Complete Discography', *Journal of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections*, (vol ix, no. 1), p. 25.

<sup>100</sup> The information regarding the date of the recording, accompanying the Deutsche Grammophon CD, 431874-2, seems to be incorrect. The date given on the sleeve note is 1927. However, according to Peter Morse, in the 1927 recording, the timing of the last movement was 4' 25", compared to 4' 45" in the 1928 version. The timing given on the CD is 4' 55". This considered, and allowing for the period of silence which follows each track on a CD, it seems likely that the recording, re-released by Deutsche Grammophon, is from 1928. The timings on the Koch International versions of these two recordings support this view: 1927, KOCH 3-7076-2HI [4' 25"]; 1928, KOCH 3-7119-2HI [4' 50"].

conclusions as to Strauss' motives.<sup>101</sup> The first recording would have been favoured by the record company, as it fits on to six sides of a 78 rpm gramophone set. Morse states that, due to the slower tempo of the last movement in the second version, the later recording had to be issued on seven sides and that no other set of this symphony was ever issued in this format.<sup>102</sup> The answer to this riddle may lie partly in the recording technique used in the 1927 recording and Strauss' expectations as to how these recordings would promote his Mozart style.

Morse notes that Deutsche Grammophon abandoned the use of the 'light-ray' method at the beginning of 1927. Immediately after his first recording of K550, Strauss re-recorded the excerpts from *Intermezzo* and *Der Rosenkavalier* with the same artists. This, combined with the knowledge that Deutsche Grammophon re-recorded a number of performances that had been made using the 'light-ray' method after the beginning of 1927, suggests that his first recording used this method, whilst the subsequent recording was made by the Western Electric microphone method. Acoustically, there is a clear difference between the two recordings. The first lacks clarity and definition, suggesting that, unlike K551, it was recorded in a large hall, whilst still using the 'light-ray' method, picking up the surrounding studio noise. The second has a greater sense of acoustic focus, which is best found in the orchestral balance in the opening bars of the first movement. In the 1928 recording, the celli and bass function is clearly defined: support for the melodic material found in the violins. In the earlier reading, the basses 'boom', sounding ponderous against Strauss' contoured melodic line. This lack of clarity abounds in the first recording, restricting the impact of his reading and, as such, denies the performance 'the coolness and clarity' that Morse noted as Strauss' hallmark. Equally, the tempo relationships found in the first recording are less well defined than in the second. These relationships are discussed in greater detail in the chapter on tempo. It seems, therefore, that for Strauss, who used these recordings as means of propagating his Mozartian ideals, the only solution was to re-record the work.

In both the 1927 and 1928 recordings, Strauss chose the first version of K550. To this day, the version preferred by most conductors has always been the second, with the clarinets. He was cunning in his choice. Recorded sound, at that time, was primitive and to achieve maximum clarity, the adoption of the leaner first version, whilst underlining its inherent classicism, makes greater acoustic sense. It has been noted throughout this

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<sup>101</sup> P. Morse, 'Richard Strauss' Recordings: A Complete Discography', *Journal of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections*, (vol IX, no. 1), p. 29.

<sup>102</sup> Idem.

chapter that Strauss actively championed the lesser known aspects of Mozart's output; to record the lesser known first version of K550 is in step with his Mozart renaissance.<sup>103</sup>

His final Mozart recording was that of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*. This was recorded as a 'filler' for his recording of Beethoven's Symphony No.5. As in the case of some of his other sessions, Strauss' recordings of Mozart were tonally related to the surrounding works: K543 shared the same key as *Ein Heldenleben*; K551 is in the key of the tonic major of *Tod und Verklärung*, while the overture to *Die Zauberflöte* is in the relative major of the first movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5. These tonal relationships are an important feature of Strauss' readings and, indeed, these recordings. It was noted earlier that he often presented his works side-by-side with those of Mozart. By linking the tonalities of the recordings, Strauss adds a concert-like air to the performances, presenting both works within a greater musical context. The contextual nature of his reading of the overture, in terms of its place within the opera, will be discussed later but the very act of linking Mozart's music with later generations of composers in this manner, reinforces the sense of stylistic unity that is a feature of Germanic music.

### **The existing climate**

Much of Strauss' performance aesthetic, set out below, was a reaction to the prevailing climate. Specifically, he responded to: the re-orchestration of Classical works; the random use of tempo fluctuations; the generalised use of portamenti, and contemporary trends in the realization of Mozart's operas.

A technique popular during the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth was the re-orchestrating of works by earlier composers. Felix Weingartner, Strauss' predecessor at the Berlin Court Opera,<sup>104</sup> argues that Wagner, 'laid the foundation for a new understanding of the function of the conductor'.<sup>105</sup> It would seem that, as part of this function, the conductor was 'obliged to have recourse to instrumental interference'.<sup>106</sup> Weingartner's amendments to Beethoven's orchestration were made 'partly in accordance with the proposals made by Wagner, and partly on my own responsibility'.<sup>107</sup> For

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<sup>103</sup> Following Strauss' recordings of Mozart's final three symphonies, Sir Thomas Beecham, an admirer of Strauss, also recorded the works. He, too, recorded K550, on 4 February and 2 September 1937 for EMI, in the original version, without the clarinets. *see* Introduction note 95.

<sup>104</sup> 1891-8. *see* note 82.

<sup>105</sup> F. Weingartner, *Über das Dirigieren*, trans. E. Newman as *On Conducting*, p. 5.

<sup>106</sup> F. Weingartner, *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven*, trans. J. Crosland as *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies*, p. VII.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

example, in the last movement of Symphony No. 5, bars 107 (with the anacrusic crotchet) to 112, Weingartner notes:

The thematic part entrusted to the violoncellos and contrabassos often sounds strangely weak in spite of the fact that they are accompanied by the contra-bassoon. As the character of the basses is here evidently intended to be very weighty and powerful, I have often reinforced them with the third trombone.<sup>108</sup>

In relation to Symphony No. 9, he states:

Wagner first recognised the necessity of an occasional interference with the text either by means of markings, or by the introduction of moderate changes, in those places where literal rendering of the piece would only produce a confused image, and would fail to fulfil the intention of the composer as clearly evidenced by a reading of the score.<sup>109</sup>

One such passage is to be found at the beginning of the last movement, where Weingartner adopts and extends Wagner's suggestions:

Wagner was conscious that the effect of the two "Schreckensfanfaren" did not correspond to the impression obtained on reading the score... In the first "Fanfare" Wagner leaves the original untouched from the fifth bar onwards. ...In the second "Fanfare"... Wagner lets the trumpets play in unison melodically to the end, it is true... Acting again on my oft repeated principle, that an alteration is only of use when it is thorough and goes to the root of the matter, I extended Wagner's changes in the trumpet parts by letting them accompany the melodic upper-part to the end in the first "Fanfare". Then I brought the horns to the support of the harmony, and this gave the true meaning to the strengthening of the soprano [sic] by means of the trumpets.<sup>110</sup>

Weingartner was in the circle of Mahler,<sup>111</sup> with whom he shared 'a number of interesting conversations and found much in common from both an intellectual and a musical point of view'.<sup>112</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that Mahler, too, should make similar revisions. His amendments, however, were not restricted to Beethoven but extended to, amongst others, Schumann. Of Schumann's symphonies, Mahler's assistant and acolyte, Bruno Walter, writes:

There are scores which, as it were, resist live realization by the orchestra since they are written by an unskilled hand or have not sprung from the spirit of the orchestra; this is the case with Schumann's symphonic work. ...Here, instrumental retouching becomes an unavoidable duty...<sup>113</sup>

During that period, this form of instrumental revision was also common in the performances of Mozart. Freider Weissman,<sup>114</sup> altered Mozart's orchestration in the overture to *Don Juan* [*Giovanni*]. In his recording with the Berlin Staatskapelle,<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> F. Weingartner, *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven*, trans. J. Crosland as *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies*, p. 82.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>111</sup> Weingartner was Mahler's successor at the Vienna Court Opera, 1908-11. *see* note 82.

<sup>112</sup> F. Weingartner, *Buffets and Rewards: A Musician's Reminiscences*, trans. M. Wolff, p. 120.

<sup>113</sup> B. Walter, *Of Music and Music-making*, trans. P. Hamburger, p. 140.

<sup>114</sup> *see* note 87.

<sup>115</sup> Parlophone E10568.

Weissman employs trombones. Their inclusion is confirmed in the 1927-8 Parlophone catalogue:

In Mozart's day the use of the trombones was usually connected with supernatural happenings so that their employment here, at the start of the overture, directs attention to the weird appearance of the statue at Don Juan's banquet in the Second Act, while the violins and wood wind depict the terrors and end of the dissolute hero.<sup>116</sup>

This performance is particularly instructive. As Weissman's recordings<sup>117</sup> of Mozart appeared shortly after those of Strauss, his use of the trombones is a valuable indication of contemporary performance practice. In Chapter Two, Strauss' activities with regard to these instruments in this opera are discussed, but, from the evidence there and in Appendix K, it is clear that Strauss did not share Weissman's vision of the opera or its overture.

Whilst Weissman's recording was made in the early years of the century, Bruno Walter carried this tradition forward. In his CBS recording,<sup>118</sup> Walter alters the orchestration of the coda in the Finale of K551. Between bars 388 and 399, he doubles the first subject theme, which rises through the strings, with an additional horn player. This distorts Mozart's counterpoint, creating, by overstressing the first subject material, a sense of homophony. According to Walter, Mahler 'stressed the obligation on the conductor to let the voices soar out clearly'.<sup>119</sup> Walter seems to have adhered to this principle to the letter. Conversely, Strauss simply applies Mozart's printed intentions, marking each of the strings' first subject entries fortissimo, giving the theme strength, whilst recognising its function within the context of the surrounding counterpoint.

The question of rhythmic discipline, in the readings of conductors from both the last century and the early part of the twentieth century, has been a source of critical concern. Robert Philip writes that, to auditors in the latter part of the twentieth century, 'recordings from the early part of the century at first sound rhythmically strange in a number of ways'.<sup>120</sup> He goes on to note that this impression is fuelled by:

...fast tempos, partly by a tendency to underemphasise rhythmic detail compared with modern performance. A slapdash impression is given by a more casual approach to note lengths and a more relaxed relationship between a melody and its accompaniment. Lack of control is suggested by flexibility of tempo, particularly a tendency to hurry in loud or energetic passages.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> 1927-8 Parlophone catalogue, p. 19.

<sup>117</sup> Along with the recordings listed in note 88, Weissman also recorded for Parlophone the overtures to *Don Juan* [Giovanni] (E10568), *Così fan tutte* (E10232), *Der Schauspieldirektor* (E10232), *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (E10273) and *Le nozze di Figaro* (E10621).

<sup>118</sup> W. A. Mozart, Symphonies K551 & K385, B. Walter, Columbia Symphony Orchestra. CBS 333583.

<sup>119</sup> Mahler's adjustments to Classical symphonies were met with a hostile response in Vienna, particularly his retouching of the instrumentation of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9. cf. B. Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, p. 77 & H-L. de La Grange, *Mahler (vol. I)*, p. 609.

<sup>120</sup> R. Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, p. 6.

<sup>121</sup> Idem.

Again, it would seem, many of the rhythmic and tempo devices used by conductors at the turn of the century had their origins in the writings of Wagner, who states:

We may consider it established that in classical music written in the later style modification of tempo is a *sine qua non*.<sup>122</sup>

Wagner's thoughts were transmitted to subsequent generations through Bülow. Weingartner argues that the former's principles were seminal to the conducting of the younger musician, writing:

A few young musicians associated themselves with him [Wagner], ...Of these, the oldest is the most significant — his intimate friend, at that time his most faithful champion, his *alter ego*, as he himself once called him — the master-conductor Hans von Bülow.<sup>123</sup>

Weingartner observed that Bülow regularly modified tempi to suit his taste, leading to a sense of freedom that influenced both his contemporaries and subsequent generations. However, for Weingartner, a worrying feature of this style was the arbitrary nature of these modifications. He continues:

But Bülow's work had also its harmful features, ...Where a modification of the tempo was necessary to get expressive phrasing, it happened that in order to make this modification quite clear to his hearers he *exaggerated* it.<sup>124</sup>

As a result of Bülow's musical personality and standing within the profession, 'A whole tribe of "little Bülows" sprang up'.<sup>125</sup>

Whilst Weingartner was clearly at odds with certain aspects of Bülow's conducting style, the latter's influence was, nonetheless, of significance. Strauss was Bülow's *protégé* but random rhythmic freedom was not a feature of the former's Mozart style, rather, he had an organised approach, designed to underline the architectonics of sonata form. Conversely, Mahler, by his own admission, seems to have been a willing disciple of Wagner's thesis, stating:

Tempo, is for me a matter of feeling ...the real art of conducting consists of transitions.<sup>126</sup>

This aspect of Mahler's performance aesthetic is confirmed by his contemporaries. Natalie Bauer-Lechner<sup>127</sup> recalls in her memoirs that:

Conducting, according to Mahler, should be a continual elimination of the bar ...In Mahler's conducting, it is often impossible to distinguish what beat he is using. ...Consequently, he often glides completely over the first beat of the bar, ...'[Bauer-Lechner quoting Mahler] What makes it even harder to play under me, and what people complain about, is that I cannot bring myself to take the same tempi time after time.'<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> R. Wagner, *Über das Dirigieren*, trans. E. Dannreuther as *On Conducting*, p. 43.

<sup>123</sup> F. Weingartner, *Über das Dirigieren* (1895), trans. E. Newman as *On Conducting*, p. 12.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p.13.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>126</sup> H-L. de La Grange, *Mahler (vol. I)*, p. 314.

<sup>127</sup> Natalie Bauer-Lechner (1858-1921). Austrian violist and friend of Mahler.

<sup>128</sup> N. Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler*, trans. D. Newlin as *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, p.109.

A tangible realization of this philosophy could be heard in his reading of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*. Bauer-Lechner recalled that Mahler, during a performance of this work at the Vienna Court Opera,<sup>129</sup> altered his tempi at the overture's first Allegro in order to clarify the articulation of the repeated quavers. She writes:

On the way home, I remarked how wonderful and how different from all other performances this one had been. 'Did you notice?' he exclaimed 'right away I took the overture nearly twice as slowly as the others do. And yet, it sounds faster because you hear the quavers ...most conductors don't understand how to distinguish what is unimportant from what is important. They put the same emphasis on everything, instead of passing more lightly over what is less significant.'<sup>130</sup>

From this documentary evidence, it would appear that the above conductors applied the principle of rhythmic freedom in their readings of both the symphonic repertoire and the operatic overture. Whilst the exact nature of their manipulations may never be fully known, the activities of their later colleagues has been secured by recordings.

In his book,<sup>131</sup> Robert Philip draws attention to the concept of a slower second subject, most notably, in the recordings of artists from the early years of the twentieth century. He notes that, in the first movement of K550:

The other four pre-war recordings [other than Beecham's 1937 recording] have a substantial relaxation of tempo into the second subject at bar 44, and those conducted by Walter and Koussevitsky<sup>132</sup> also speed up considerably at the *forte* passage from bar 28.<sup>133</sup>

The use of a slower second subject in Strauss' recordings is considered at length,<sup>134</sup> both later in this chapter and, again, in Chapter Three. Whilst Strauss' use of this device is strictly regulated, applying it in the first movements of his recordings of K543, K550 (1927 & 1928) and K551, as well as in the last movement of both his recordings of K550, its adoption by other conductors is less than universal. Philip gives the following tempi for the first movement of K550:<sup>135</sup> Sir Malcolm Sargent,<sup>136</sup> with the Royal Opera House Orchestra,  $\text{♩}=116$  to  $\text{♩}=110$ ;<sup>137</sup> Bruno Walter, with the Berlin State Opera Orchestra [Berlin Staatskapelle],  $\text{♩}=90$  to  $\text{♩}=92$ ;<sup>138</sup> Sergey Koussevitsky, with the London Philharmonic

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<sup>129</sup> 29 May 1897.

<sup>130</sup> N. Bauer-Lechner, *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler*, trans. D. Newlin as *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, pp. 94-5.

<sup>131</sup> R. Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*.

<sup>132</sup> Sergey Koussevitsky (1874-1951). Russian conductor and impresario. Music Director: Boston Symphony Orchestra 1924-49.

<sup>133</sup> R. Philip, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>134</sup> Philip gives 1926 as the date of Strauss' recording [sic] of K550. As already noted, he recorded K550 twice: 1927 & 1928. It would seem, allowing for differences in the metronomic speeds given by Philip and the present author, that the recording to which the former is referring is that from 1928. Strauss made no recording of K550 in 1926. Idem.

<sup>135</sup> Idem.

<sup>136</sup> Sir Malcolm Sargent (1895-1967). Conductor: Royal Choral Society from 1928. Chief Conductor: BBC Symphony Orchestra, 1950-7.

<sup>137</sup> HMV C1347-9.

<sup>138</sup> Columbia DX31-3.

Orchestra,  $\text{♩}=92$  to  $\text{♩}=108$ ,<sup>139</sup> and Sir Thomas Beecham, with the London Philharmonic Orchestra, a constant  $\text{♩}=104$ .<sup>140</sup>

Philip states that each of the above increase their pulse at bar 28.<sup>141</sup> However, it is the tempo relationship that exists between the first and second subjects that is of the greatest interest. It will be shown below that Strauss was most particular about this relationship. From both his writings and recordings, it is clear that this was a central feature of his performance aesthetic. It would seem from the above metronome marks that Strauss' concept of a slower second subject in fast movements was not universally applied by the other conductors. This becomes increasingly apparent when one looks to the speeds adopted by Freider Weissman in his recording of Mozart's overtures. At the time of Strauss' recordings of Mozart's symphonies, Weissman was the only other conductor to have recorded Mozart's last three symphonies as a unit. Along with these, he recorded a number of overtures. From these recordings, one is aware, even within the performance aesthetic of a single conductor, that the concept of rhythmic freedom was still being practised in the late 1920s. Weissman's speeds are as follows:

- overture to *Don Juan* [*Giovanni*]: Introduction (bars 1-4)  $\text{♩}=46$ , (from bar 5)  $\text{♩}=54-6$ ; first subject (bar 31)  $\text{♩}=120$ ; second subject (bar 56)  $\text{♩}=126$ ; codetta (bar 120)  $\text{♩}=138$ ; development (bar 121)  $\text{♩}=126$ ; first subject (recapitulation)  $\text{♩}=126$ ,
- overture to *Le nozze di Figaro*: first subject  $\text{♩}=80$ ; second subject theme I (bar 59)  $\text{♩}=80$ ; second subject theme II (bar 107)  $\text{♩}=76$ ,
- overture to *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*: first subject  $\text{♩}=76-75$ ; second subject (bar 65)  $\text{♩}=76-74$ ; Andante  $\text{♩}=66$ ; second subject (recapitulation)  $\text{♩}=72$ .<sup>142</sup>

Unlike Strauss' highly organised approach to tempo, Weissman's tempi, and those of the conductors considered by Philip, leave the impression that their tempo manipulations are of a more random kind. Strauss' reaction to this practice is discussed more fully below.

The use of the portamento was popular, both in the readings of soloists and orchestras, during the last century and the early years of this century. By the 1930s, however, this technique began to fall from favour. Robert Philip writes:

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<sup>139</sup> HMV DB2343-5.

<sup>140</sup> Columbia LX656-8.

<sup>141</sup> According to Philip, the following conductors raise their respective pulses at bar 28 to: Strauss  $\text{♩}=116$  [sic]; Sargent  $\text{♩}=120$ ; Walter  $\text{♩}=108$ ; Koussevitsky  $\text{♩}=120$ , and Beecham  $\text{♩}=108$ . R. Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, p.20.

<sup>142</sup> Recordings kindly provided by Mr. Douglas Lorimer. Weissman's recordings of Mozart's last three symphonies appear no longer to be extant. Neither the National Sound Archive nor the EMI Archive have copies. The EMI archivist stated that the matrices were destroyed during the Second World War. Conversation with the author, July 1994.

One would expect orchestral players at the turn of the century to play with frequent portamento and sparing vibrato, but by the 1930s with more vibrato and less portamento.<sup>143</sup>

Philip cites numerous examples of portamenti, noting its frequent use by British orchestras; specifically in Elgar's 'Enigma' Variations. In works of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, Philip argues that 'fewer opportunities for portamento' present themselves; yet, 'quite frequent and prominent portamentos are nevertheless heard in British recordings of Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, and J.S. Bach from the 1920s'.<sup>144</sup> Sir Malcolm Sargent continued this practice as late as 1937. In his recording of K459,<sup>145</sup> with the London Symphony Orchestra and Artur Schnabel<sup>146</sup> as soloist, his use of portamenti is striking. In the opening fourteen bars, and subsequent repetition of the material, the first violins, later joined in bar 9 by the second violins, engage in portamenti. At the rising fifth - *f*<sup>n</sup> (bar 1 beat four) to *c*<sup>m</sup> (bar 2 beat one) - Sargent uses a portamento as a means by which to balance the descending triplet semi-quavers at the end of bar 2.

In both Berlin and Vienna, the portamento continued to be used as late as the 1940s. In this regard, Philip's comments have a bearing on the existing climate and Strauss' reaction:

Compared with British orchestras, continental orchestras do not show quite such an extreme change in the use of portamento between the 1920s and the 1940s. ...but it is clear that prominent portamento was still part of the string style of Berlin and Vienna around 1930. ...The Orchestra of the Berlin State Opera plays in a similar style at this period, though sometimes with a more casual approach to portamento, like British orchestras of the late 1920s.<sup>147</sup>

Earlier in the chapter, the use of portamenti in Strauss' recording of K543 was noted. As the portamenti in that recording appeared to have been implemented at random, in line with Philip's comments regarding portamenti in the performances of British orchestras and those of the Berlin State Opera, and no examples of this technique are to be heard in Strauss' other recordings of Mozart, it would seem that Peter Morse's comment that '[Strauss was] one of the modern founders of the new orchestral style'<sup>148</sup> has some merit.

Mozart's operas were also the subject of revision during this period. According to Gernot Gruber, Mahler inserted a whole scene of Beaumarchais into Act 3 of *Le nozze di Figaro*, which he himself set to music; he added new recitatives to supplement the originals; altered the orchestration and dynamics; inserted and omitted passages, and used

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<sup>143</sup> R. Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, p. 179.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>145</sup> World Record Club SH142.

<sup>146</sup> Artur Schnabel (1882-1951) Austrian pianist and composer. Schnabel played Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 with Strauss and the Berlin Hofkapelle on 30 March 1918.

<sup>147</sup> R. Philip, *op. cit.*, p191.

<sup>148</sup> *see note 79.*

parts of the overtures and other works as intermezzi. This form of interpretation was also the basis for Mahler's reading of *Così fan tutte* in 1905,<sup>149</sup> where his amendments were in the tradition of Wagner.<sup>150</sup>

In *Così fan tutte*, Mahler revised the opera thoroughly. In the Overture, he marks a cut from bars 79-175 and alters both the orchestra's dynamics and articulation. This form of manipulation is carried through into the subsequent arias and ensembles. In the Trio, Act 1, Number 2, *È la fede delle femmine*, he alters the string articulation, in bars 14-18, from arco to pizzicato. While, in the forte episode, bars 19-26, he strengthens the first flute and bassoon with the second flute and bassoon. Mahler continues to manipulate the orchestration and articulation in this fashion throughout the opera. Moreover, he inserts music, both from other works and from material already heard earlier in the opera. At the beginning of Act 2, he adds a short introduction: the Finale of the Divertimento K287/271H. Later, following the recitative, *Vittoria padroncini*, and before the Finale, Act 2, Number 31, he includes fourteen bars from the Andante of the Overture. Further, many of the recitativi secci are heavily cut. The recitative following the Chorus, Act 1, Number 8, *Bella vita militar*, is cut until *Abbracciami, idol mio!*, removing ten of its twelve bars. Similarly, the arias and ensembles have a number of incisions. In the Quintet, Act 1, Number 6, *Sento, o Dio*, he cuts bars 40-69, eliminating more than a quarter of the whole Quintet; while, in the Finale, Act 2, Number 31, he cuts bars 36-57, 85-143, 149-153, 372 (second half) to 387 (second half), 483 (second half) to 489 (second half), 570-574 and 603-647. Along with these, Mahler makes many other incisions.

As Director of the Vienna Court Opera, Mahler preferred to end *Don Giovanni* at the conclusion of Act 2, Scene XV, Number 11, which precedes the *Scena Ultima*. Some conductors still conclude the opera in this manner.<sup>151</sup> At the first Viennese performance, in the Burgtheater, on 7 May 1788, conducted by the composer, the epilogue was omitted. In Prague, where the work was premièred on 29 October 1787, at the National Theatre, the opera concluded with the final sextet. Mahler's omission of the *Scena Ultima* may be viewed in two ways. First, it may be considered within the tradition of Mozart's Viennese performances of the opera and, as such, may be considered to be part of the Viennese classical tradition. Secondly, it can be argued that, by concluding the opera with Don Giovanni's descent into the flames, Mahler was performing the work in the preferred

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<sup>149</sup> see Appendix I.

<sup>150</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, pp. 185-6.

<sup>151</sup> Klaus Tennstedt, a well-known Mahler conductor, when approached by the Glyndebourne Festival Opera to conduct *Don Giovanni* as part of the 1991 season, wished to exclude the *Scena Ultima*. Tennstedt did not appear at that year's festival. Conversation between the author and the former Casting Director of Glyndebourne, now Artistic Director of the Canadian Opera, Felicity Jackson. The influence of Mahler upon Tennstedt is confirmed by the conductor in an article in *The Times*, 14 August 1993, where the writer, Richard Morrison, notes that Tennstedt, 'championed an unashamedly romantic approach to Beethoven'. Morrison goes on to quote Tennstedt, who stated: 'Mahler was the last genius'.

manner of the nineteenth century. Gruber argues that the artists and aestheticians of that century, placed great store on the demonic aspects of *Don Giovanni*.<sup>152</sup> This view has some merit when considering Mahler's vision of the opera and, by concluding the opera at this point, it can be assumed that his actions simply reinforce Gruber's view. The demonic elements of *Don Giovanni* would certainly have appealed to Mahler, whose personality, if Bruno Walter is to be believed, was 'demoniac'.<sup>153</sup> Strauss' reinstatement of the *Scena Ultima* is discussed in Chapter Two.

The complex and varied nature of the existing aesthetic appears to have been the stimulus that encouraged Strauss to formalise his approach to the performance of eighteenth century music. There is a clear divide between Strauss' activities in Munich, and, later, in Berlin, and those of Mahler in Vienna. While Strauss was, for a period, heavily influenced by both Bülow and Cosima Wagner,<sup>154</sup> it seems that he largely avoided Wagner's ideals in his readings of Mozart. This, more than any other single issue, was the polemic that divided the Viennese and Munich styles of Mozart interpretation.

### **Strauss' performance aesthetic**

In developing his Mozart style, Strauss set in place an aesthetic that took into consideration the available source material and his understanding of the structures and interpretative practices of the eighteenth century. In particular, he manipulated sonata form and the Minuet and Trio and reassessed existing operatic trends as the basis of his argument. In his readings of the symphonies and operas, as is demonstrated in the following chapters, Strauss drew upon the autographs of K201/186a, K550 and *Don Giovanni* in his realization of these works.<sup>155</sup>

Strauss' approach is pragmatic and literalist, looking to the score as the basis of his hermeneutic argument. His manipulation of sonata form and of the Minuet and Trio, in terms of tempo and dynamics, were an integral feature of his recordings of K543, K550 and K551. In relation to sonata form, Strauss clarified the architectonics of the structure with adjustments in tempi, coupled with suitable complementary dynamic, expression and articulation marks. In his recordings of the symphonies, Strauss often differentiates between the first and second subjects by adding a 'meno mosso' at the arrival of the latter. This practice was strictly observed in the first movements of K543, K550 (1927 & 1928)

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<sup>152</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, pp. 189, 206-7.

<sup>153</sup> Bruno Walter writes: 'It was the source of the very strong impression of something demoniac in him [Mahler] which made him interesting to everybody and terrifying to many.' B. Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, pp. 114-5.

<sup>154</sup> Cosima Wagner (1837-1930). Daughter of Franz Liszt; married Hans von Bülow (1857), and, later, Richard Wagner (1870).

<sup>155</sup> see Chapter Two.

and K551, and in the last movement of both of his recordings of K550. However, in the Finales of K543 and K551, Strauss maintains the original tempo at the second subject. In slow movements, he also adopts a unified tempo for the first and second subjects, but manipulates the bridge passage instead. In the Minuet and Trio, Strauss, again, uses tempo as a means of structural demarcation, adopting a slower speed at the onset of the Trio. On a broader scale, he looks to the tempo relationships in the symphonic macrocosm, often integrating tempi to produce a cohesive whole. Further, he contextualised Mozart's orchestral works within the greater Germanic symphonic tradition, programming them side-by-side with those of later composers. He regularly placed Mozart's works at the beginning of the programme, in order that they should be heard in, what he considered to be, the most beneficial light. He then constructed the remainder of the programme by balancing various formal structures.<sup>156</sup>

Whilst the above are tangible realizations of Strauss' performance aesthetic, he supplements and complements these concepts in his writings. Above, it was noted that he often applied a 'meno mosso' at the arrival of the second subject. In *Dirigentenerfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerken*,<sup>157</sup> Strauss makes special mention of this technique, where he considers its application in not only purely symphonic music, but, also, the operatic overture. He states:

In Mozart we must distinguish between (usually fast) pieces which present a lively pattern of sound - in these the *cantabile* subsidiary subject should generally be taken a little more quietly [*ruhiger*]<sup>158</sup> (*Figaro* overture, first movement of the G minor symphony) - and (usually slow) movements...

The concept of a 'meno mosso' at the second subject in fast movements is an important feature of Strauss' Mozart style. The application of this technique was a source of critical concern. In the critiques that follow, his use of a slower second subject has sometimes been mistaken for a random adjustment, both on the part of the conductor and, in some instances, individual orchestral members. It will be shown later in this chapter, and again in Chapter Three, that he also applied this device in his reading of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*. From the above quote, however, one is aware that he also inserted a 'meno mosso' at the second subject of the overture to *Le nozze di Figaro*. This implies a consistency of approach that supports the view, put forward earlier, that Strauss actively set out to manipulate sonata form in an organised manner and influenced the readings of later generations of conductors.

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<sup>156</sup> For example, at a concert in London, on 7 December 1897, Strauss programmed: Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*; his own *Tod und Verklärung* and *Till Eulenspiegel*, and excerpts from Wagner's operas.

<sup>157</sup> Richard Strauss: extracts from *Dirigentenerfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerken* from *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, trans. L.J. Lawrence as 'On Conducting Classical Masterpieces' from *Recollections and Reflections*, ed. W. Schuh, pp. 45-50. *see* Appendix D.

<sup>158</sup> In these circumstances, a more appropriate translation would be 'calmer'. *see* Chapter 3.

It has already been noted that he avoids the use of a ‘meno mosso’ at the second subjects of symphonic slow movements. As his article implies, this concept is applied in a consistent manner. Whilst the non-application of a ‘meno mosso’ in itself would not distinguish Strauss from other conductors, the manner in which he prepares the subject is worthy of consideration. In Chapter Three, it will be shown that he avoids any tempo fluctuation at the second subject in a Mozartian slow movement. However, in each of the slow movements considered - K543, K550 (1927-8 recordings) and K551 - he increases the tempo at the preceding bridge passage. As in the application of a ‘meno mosso’ at the fast movements’ second subjects, the use of a modified tempo at the bridge passage is a concept applied in all the examples considered. While his thoughts regarding tempo modification seem cursory, they are techniques to which he adheres strictly in each of his commercial recordings.

In *Dirigenterfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerkén*, Strauss addresses the issue of pulse. However, his thoughts on this matter, specifically those related to the slow movements of K543, K550 and K551, raise further questions:

The slow movements of the last three great symphonies (G minor, E flat major, C major) should be interpreted and if possible conducted in four.

Whilst the pulse adopted by Strauss in K543’s Andante con moto can be determined with relative ease,<sup>159</sup> the pulse in both K550’s and K551’s slow movements can only be fully determined from his recordings. Clearly, neither the Andante of K550, nor the Andante cantabile of K551, can be beaten in four, as the former is in compound duple time, while the latter is in simple triple time. However, if one looks to the tempi that he adopts in his recordings, which are discussed later in the dissertation, then one may assume that he was advocating a quaver pulse in each of the above symphonic slow movements.

As there is no known surviving operatic recording of Mozart by Strauss, the only indication of his tempi for Mozart’s late operas are those found in *Dirigenterfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerken*. Whilst he merely notes that ‘the two great finales, *Così fan tutte*, Act 1, *Figaro*, Act 2, are usually played too fast’,<sup>160</sup> his own speeds for these finales, and the overture to both these operas, may be defined, at least in part, by the tempi that he gives in this article. He writes:

The following tempi should not be exceeded:

*Così fan tutte* finale: metr.  $\text{♩} = 136$  (D-major [Presto bar 657])

*Figaro* finale: metr.  $\text{♩} = 128$  (E-flat major [Allegro assai bar 697])

<sup>159</sup> The movement is in simple duple time. This, along with the opening tempo in his 1926 recording -  $\text{♩} = 92$  - and his written thoughts, leads one to assume that he beats the movement in four.

<sup>160</sup> From this quote, Strauss, as an experienced opera conductor, seems to be implying that some of his younger colleagues may have been applying Wagner’s belief that ‘Mozart’s allegros “should be played as fast as possible”’ too literally. see Appendix D.

These tempi also assist one in assessing the kind of speeds that Strauss may have applied earlier in these operas, both in the finales and the overtures. In Chapter Three, it will be shown that he carefully integrates his tempi within the greater symphonic whole. As Strauss describes these finales later in *Dirigentenenerfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerken* as ‘pure concert music’, one may assume that he manipulated his speeds in these movements in a similar fashion. Therefore, his tempo at the Presto in *Così fan tutte*’s Act 1 Finale, provides a bench-mark by which to measure not only the preceding Allegro but, also, the Presto in the overture. This principle is also true for the tempo relationships within the Act 2 Finale of *Le nozze di Figaro*. Again, the speed given by Strauss has implications for, not only the subsequent tempo changes in the Finale, but, also, the overture. From the speeds stated, it seems likely that his tempo for the overture to *Le nozze di Figaro*<sup>161</sup> would be in line with his speed at the Presto in the Act 1 Finale of *Così fan tutte*.

Strauss develops the question of tempo in opera later in the article. Whilst the following suggestions are less specific than those found above, they provide a clue to his preferred speeds. He continues:

Special rules: *Andante* or *Adagio* (♩) to be carefully observed: Introduction of *Don Giovanni* overture, *Andante con moto* [sic], a fairly lively tempo: Cherubino’s second aria. No change in tempo in the second half of Zerlina’s two arias, above all no allegro, the first half therefore to be taken comparatively fast. This applies also to the duet ‘Reich mir die Hand, mein Leben’.

As he considered the above ‘Special rules’, one may assume that they could, in part, be considered a reaction to contemporary trends. If that is the case, his comments are a valuable insight into performance practice during the last years of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries. From Possart’s article,<sup>162</sup> one is aware of the many theatrical and musical modifications to which *Don Giovanni* was subjected during the nineteenth century. Strauss’ hermeneutic argument was that of a literalist. Therefore, it is not surprising that he should look to Zerlina’s arias, *Batti, batti, o bel Masetto* and *Vedrai, carino*, along with the duet, *Là ci darem la mano* [*Reich mir die Hand, mein Leben*], in advocating his views.

In both Zerlina’s Act 1 aria, *Batti, batti, o bel Masetto*, and the duet *Là ci darem la mano*, the metre changes from simple duple to compound duple time: in the former, at bar 60 and, in the latter, at bar 50 (with the anacrusic quaver). It would seem that the forward motion, afforded by the change of metre, may have led some of Strauss’ colleagues to underline this change by an increase in pulse. Whilst Zerlina’s Act 2 aria, *Vedrai, carino*, retains the same metre throughout, the structure of the aria may have tempted some

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<sup>161</sup> The superscription for the overture to *Le nozze di Figaro* is Presto.

<sup>162</sup> see Appendix K.

conductors to apply a similar technique. It would seem that Strauss adhered to the principle of a unified tempo in his reading of the above in *Don Giovanni* at the Vienna State Opera. Leo Wurmser<sup>163</sup> recalls:

Contrary to the prevailing custom, Strauss took both the Zerlina-Giovanni duet and her F major aria ('Batti, batti') in one basic tempo — the 2/4 sections comparatively quickly, in two, and the 6/8 sections very steadily so that the ♩ of the 2/4 equalled the ♩ of the 6/8: he maintained that Mozart indicated no change of tempo. Thus the 6/8 of the duet had a dainty gracefulness which particularly benefitted [sic] the end, and in the 6/8 section of 'Batti' the cello was able to play all the notes clearly.<sup>164</sup>

From the suggestions that Strauss makes about the overture to *Don Giovanni* and Cherubino's Act 2 aria, *Voi, che sapete*, one is made aware of his concern as to what he considered to be the correct character of an andante. In Chapter Three, it will be shown that he was most particular when applying the various subdivisions of the generic term. Here, however, he is less specific, as he gives no metronome mark. Whilst both the examples that Strauss cites are in simple duple time, it is apparent from his comments that he wishes them to be beaten in, or, in the case of the overture, to have a sense of being beaten in two rather than four. What is more important, however, is that his written thoughts leave the impression that he considered an andante to be a relatively fast tempo, a view that was not fully supported during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Strauss continues by discussing his preferences regarding orchestral balance. Each of his comments are again realized in his scores. As in many of his annotations, the adjustments often have a practical base. For example, in passages that require the orchestra to be both supportive, yet unobtrusive, he writes:

In Mozart and in his symphonic opera orchestra the first violins should always 'lead' and should never be allowed to lapse into an inexpressive 'accompanying piano', which in Mozart is usually mistaken for 'orchestral discretion'. Almost invariably in performances of Mozart's operas the sustained middle parts of the woodwind and the high horns in A and G are too loud, thus drowning the quick parlando of the singers. It is therefore impossible to mark too many *pianissimos* in these woodwind parts, which should moreover be observed. The symphonic texture of the string quartet must not be obscured or bungled, since the singer must not only be accompanied but also supported.

The above suggestions are implemented in his marked score of *Don Giovanni*. Whilst many of the points considered have a wider application, they are particularly appropriate for the *buffo*-aria's speech-like, *parlando* character.

In both Leporello's and Masetto's Act 1 arias, *Madamina, il catalogo* and *Hò capito*, Strauss makes a number of adjustments that are in keeping with his comments. For example, in *Madamina, il catalogo*, he reduces the winds and horns to *pianissimo* in the following passages: bars 18-19; 22-3 and 26-7. In each of these bar groupings, the

<sup>163</sup> Leo Wurmser (dates unknown) met and worked with Strauss at the Dresden State Opera. He also observed him at work at the Vienna State Opera.

<sup>164</sup> L. Wurmser, 'Richard Strauss as an Opera Conductor', *Music and Letters* (Vol. 45, 1964), p. 6.

singer is engaged in *parlando* on a monotone, whilst the material in the winds and horns is of greater melodic interest. Therefore, by reducing the orchestra at these points in this manner, Strauss clarifies the vocal material, a necessary adjustment, if the dramatic flow is not to be impeded. In *Hò capito*, he maintains this pattern. For example, in bars 13-16 he reduces the dynamic of the winds, horns and lower strings to *pianissimo*, whilst the upper strings retain the printed dynamic, *piano*. In these bars, the first violins complement the vocal line, adding support, whilst still functioning as an accompaniment.

However, from the content and tone of his article, one may mistakenly assume that Strauss, when making reductions in the orchestral dynamic, veered towards the extreme. When stating that 'It is therefore impossible to mark too many *pianissimos* in these woodwind parts', he was not suggesting that one should insert multiple 'molto pianissimi' [*ppp*]; rather, he was reinforcing his musical argument. In his marked score of *Don Giovanni*, Strauss only uses this dynamic on three occasions,<sup>165</sup> each of which serve to underline a dramatic moment on stage. In the Act 1 Finale, bars 317-329, the inclusion of a 'molto pianissimo' is designed to colour the asides between Don Giovanni, Zerlina, Leporello and Masetto. In Don Giovanni's and Leporello's Act 2 Duet, *O statua gentilissima*, the 'molto pianissimi', first, in the winds and horns in bar 100 and, later, as a general dynamic reduction in bar 107, colour Don Giovanni's and Leporello's hasty exit.

Strauss expands this theme to include symphonic music. He writes:

In Haydn's and Mozart's symphonic works the *forte* passages are subconsciously conceived as *tutti* in the manner of the *concerti grossi*, in which the passages played piano by the solo instruments alternate almost automatically with *forte* passages repeated by the whole orchestra.

Here, he is not advocating that Haydn's and Mozart's symphonic works be played in an anachronistic fashion but, rather, he is setting out the method by which he interprets the greater sonata structure. What he appears to be describing, is the dynamic structure often applied by Mozart to the relationship that exists between the component parts of the symphonic sonata movement. Mozart often precedes the quieter second subject by *forte* material. It will be shown in Chapter Five, that Strauss, at the second subject, regularly inserts an *espressivo* in these passages. This characteristic marking is a tangible expression of what he describes as the 'emotional passages', which are framed by the '*forte-tutte...architectonic pillars*.'

Strauss' and Possart's activities at the Munich Opera during the period 1894-8, led to a reassessment of Mozart's operas. In addressing these works afresh, their reforms not only stripped away many of the musical practices that had accumulated during the nineteenth century but, also, lead to a re-examination of the theatrical and dramatic

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There are no other examples of a 'molto pianissimo' to be found in Strauss' marked scores of Mozart.

elements of these operas. Possart, in his article on *Don Giovanni*,<sup>166</sup> considers the textual, as well as the historical evidence, in forming his theatrical argument. This, then, is the basis of Strauss' comments:

But the worst thing of all is if in *The Magic Flute* the sets are made to clash stylistically with the work especially by the use of lavishly modernised décor. Such new décor, properly speaking, would involve rewriting the libretto in the 'modern' style and re-orchestrating in the style of the *Götterdämmerung*.

This line of argument is also to be found in *Mozart's Così fan tutte*,<sup>167</sup> where Strauss challenges views widely held during the nineteenth century regarding *Così fan tutte*. His thoughts find expression in his marked score. During the last years of the eighteenth century and more frequently during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many productions of this opera used completely new libretti: Christoph Friedrich Bretzner's<sup>168</sup> *Weibertreue oder die Mädchen sind von Flandern* (1794); Treitschke's *Mädchentreue* (1805) and *Die Zauberprobe* (1814);<sup>169</sup> Carl Alexander Herklots' *Die verfängliche Wette* (1820); Schneider's *So machen es alle* (1846), and Schneidemantel's (after Calderón) *La dama duende* (1909). On other occasions, as Strauss points out, some productions simply fell 'prey to "intelligent" directors and producers'. As a result, *Così fan tutte* was subjected to many cuts, both in the recitativi secci and the arias and ensembles. The suggested cuts, found in Strauss' marked score, are considered in Chapter Two. Moreover, as there are no incisions to be found in his score of *Don Giovanni*, it would seem that he, in contrast to contemporary trends, avoided the use of cuts where possible.<sup>170</sup> Further, by retaining the recitativi secci intact, he developed the psychological elements of the plot. His activities in this area are considered more fully in Chapters Two and Four.

Whilst Strauss maintains a largely practical stance in the above, in *Über Mozart*,<sup>171</sup> however, his discussion of Mozart is more subjective. In the opening paragraph, his thoughts as to how Mozart should be considered are of interest. Here, he denies the contemporary - 'customary' - view that Mozart was a "rococo artist", simply composing works of 'grace and playfulness'. Strauss believed Mozart to be a composer of great depth, and one who touched upon the very essence of humanity. In noting the variety of emotions that Mozart embraces in works such as *Don Giovanni*, *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Così fan tutte*, he argues that, due to this variety, it is 'superficial to postulate a uniform Mozartian style for the performance of these infinitely delicate and highly articulate

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<sup>166</sup> see Appendix K.

<sup>167</sup> Richard Strauss: *Mozart's Così fan tutte* from *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, trans. L.J. Lawrence as 'On Mozart's *Così fan tutte*' from *Recollections and Reflections*, ed. W. Schuh, pp. 72-4. see Appendix B.

<sup>168</sup> Christoph Friedrich Bretzner (1748-1807). German librettist and dramatist.

<sup>169</sup> Carl Alexander Herklots (1759-1830). German librettist.

<sup>170</sup> see Introduction p. 10

<sup>171</sup> Richard Strauss: 'Über Mozart' from *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, trans. L.J. Lawrence as 'On Mozart' from *Recollections and Reflections*, ed. W. Schuh, pp. 75-6. see Appendix C.

psychological studies'. Whilst to some extent this may be true, Strauss, in practice, employs similar interpretative devices in his scores of both *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*, as well as in the symphonies.

In the remaining lines of *Über Mozart*, Strauss compares Mozart's melodies to the writings of Plato. Outwardly, this may seem at variance with the more practical elements of music-making discussed above; however, his more philosophical stance is understandable when one considers the chronology of this article. Strauss had already given his last Mozart performance; was deeply troubled by the Second World War, and had reverted to a style of composition that owed much to the spiritual and aesthetic language of the eighteenth century. Along with this re-evaluation, he once again turned to philosophy for solace.<sup>172</sup> Therefore, these comments must be considered against his prevailing state of mind.

Whilst the above is an overview of Strauss' performance aesthetic, the detailed nature of his activities need to be considered in greater depth. In the chapters that follow, it will become apparent that his adherence to the practical principles of music making set out above, directly influenced the artists who fell within the light of his renaissance.

### **Reviews I: the recordings**<sup>173</sup>

Strauss makes clear his feelings about music critics in *Ein Heldenleben*. His distaste for them can also be found in his letters to Hofmannsthal. Even so, the reviews of his performances of many of his own compositions were generally favourable, while it was in the reviews of his performances of Mozart, in Britain and America, that he was most heavily criticised. Within this dialectic, however, many issues relating to Strauss' Mozart style emerge.

For example, the earliest review of a Mozart recording by Strauss,<sup>174</sup> K543, which appeared in the August 1926 issue of *The Gramophone*,<sup>175</sup> raises a number of questions concerning his activities as a Mozartian.

*The Gramophone* review states:

The new process is at work in the recording, and a rather too ancient one, I think, in the conducting. This seems to me a workmanlike performance, but not a very poetical one. Strauss is not subtle here. ...Some of the tone-levels are ill-considered — that at the start of the slow movement, for example. This is not *piano* playing. The players are a bit

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<sup>172</sup> Strauss attended Munich University for the winter semester of 1882-3. There, he studied philosophy, aesthetics, cultural history and Shakespeare.

<sup>173</sup> see Appendix J.

<sup>174</sup> At the time of Strauss' recordings of Mozart, there was no record magazine similar to [*The*] *Gramophone* being published in Germany.

<sup>175</sup> *The Gramophone* became the *Gramophone* from the issue of June 1969.

careless, rhythmically, in several places. The delicacy of this movement's step is not well caught. Fineness matters immensely in such a work. It is possible, for example, to get much more out of the last movement than Strauss does. The best one can say of this is that the march-discipline is good - better than one often finds it; but the finer dynamic shades are not attempted. There is enough musicianship in the playing to make the records acceptable, especially as the music is bodied forth so much more than ever before (this is the first "new process" recording of the symphony). But I wish Strauss had treated it more thoughtfully and "inwardly." It has not the dramatic life of the *G minor*, but there is a lot of sweetness and emotion in it, for the right man to awaken.<sup>176</sup>

The 'new process' referred to by the reviewer is, in fact, the 'light-ray method'. Earlier, it was mentioned that this process proved less than satisfactory and was superseded by the Western Electric microphone method. This may account for the comments relating to the 'tone-levels'. Moreover, the critic writes that 'The players are a bit careless, rhythmically, in several places'. These observations add weight to the hypothesis, put forward earlier in the chapter, that this reading was less well prepared than Strauss' other recordings of Mozart. By comparison with other recordings of this period with the same orchestra, it is not, however, a poor recording. One must remember the primitive conditions under which these recordings were made, where the 'first take' was often the last.

The language used by the critic is worthy of consideration. In this review, the writer's style can be described as extra-musical. The use of such terms as, 'thoughtfully and "inwardly"' and 'sweetness and emotion ...for the right man to awaken' reflect the thoughts and ideas of the nineteenth century, rather than those of the twentieth. This kind of usage is in keeping with the writings of E.T.A. Hoffmann, who, along with his fellow Romantics, viewed this symphony in an extra-musical manner.<sup>177</sup> This tradition was carried forward into the twentieth century by Bruno Walter, who made similar allusions.<sup>178</sup> Conversely, Strauss, at this time, seems to have adopted a pragmatic approach. In *Dirigentenverfahren mit klassischen Meisterwerken*,<sup>179</sup> he looks to the practical aspects of interpretation, considering, in detail, areas central to his performance aesthetic. In his

<sup>176</sup> *The Gramophone*, August 1926, p.122. The review is signed 'K.K.'. According to Anthony Pollard, at the *Gramophone* offices, this was probably a pseudonym for Compton Mackenzie.

<sup>177</sup> Gernot Gruber notes this and reflects on the poetic nature of their interpretations: 'The same kind of imagery is found when [E.T.A.] Hoffmann, as a critic and a writer, evokes Mozart's E flat major symphony, a work which he loved; in the essay 'Beethovens Instrumental-Musik' we hear the following: "Love and sadness sound in a sweet chorus of ghostly voices; night rises in a gleaming purple radiance and, in inexplicable longing, we follow those forms which, beckoning us in their friendly ranks, fly in an eternal dance through the heavenly spheres." And in the *Abenteuer der Silvester-Nacht* (*Adventures of New Year's Eve*) we read: "Berger sat again at the piano: he played the andante from Mozart's sublime E flat major symphony, and all the love and the joy of my highest, most radiant life, soared upwards on the downy wings of song." Both pictorial descriptions latch on to the epithet "Swansong" which contemporaries gave to the E flat major symphony: the function is, of course, different according to the context.' G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, pp. 92-3.

<sup>178</sup> Walter's use of language is evocative of the Romantic view prevalent at the turn of the century. He writes: 'I merely note their [religion and music] frequent association in visual art and how naturally music appears in the works of Bellini and kindred painters. Here the Giorgione 'Concerto' comes again to mind. [Mahler had a copy of Giorgione's 'Concerto' hanging in his office at the Vienna Court Opera.] Not angels, to be sure, are making here the lovely music, filled with a happy sense of the goodness of God, which sounds in Mozart's or Schubert's melodies: ...Here is a human eye that seems longingly to search the heavenly distances: here are fingers that might produce tones like Beethoven's. Mahler's nature was of this order: he looks out from the earth, whose suffering is his, and seeks God.' B. Walter, *Gustav Mahler*, p. 116.

<sup>179</sup> see Appendix D.

final years, this objectivity gave way to a more subjective view of Mozart, as found in *Über Mozart*.<sup>180</sup>

The critic also touches upon the polemic that was emerging as a result of Strauss' performances of Mozart's symphonies. He notes that Strauss adopts an 'ancient [style] ...in the conducting'. From the content and nature of the review, and the observations of other commentators, one may assume this to mean anti-Romantic.<sup>181</sup> The thread of ancient and modern, in terms of Strauss' readings of Mozart, was also addressed by Alfred Kalisch.<sup>182</sup> In his article, written in 1908, he notes that 'some quarters' considered Strauss' Mozart 'too modern'.<sup>183</sup> To the ears of the public and critics alike, his Mozart style must have been a source of great interest, with the axis of ancient and modern revolving around his literalist approach.

This sense of literalism may also account for the reviewer's comment regarding the Finale. Here, the critic notes that Strauss could afford to 'get much more out of the last movement' but 'the march-discipline is good - better than one often finds it'. Strauss treats the movement as a 'perpetuum mobile', avoiding, in this instance, any modification of tempo at the second subject. This is discussed more fully in Chapter Three.

In the December 1991 *Gramophone*, Lionel Salter takes up the question of pulse, writing:

His [Strauss'] approach is certainly unsentimental - he makes no easing-up into the recapitulation of the G minor Symphony's first movement, for example (though he does into that of the *Jupiter* finale) - but there is nothing bandmasterly about his readings. On the contrary, a good deal stricter discipline would have been very welcome... its ['Jupiter's'] *Andante* is taken very slowly, though immediately faster at the second subject (1'26") and with a most unconvincing suddenly slower tempo at bar 39 (2'50"); the very much slower coda to the finale could be attributable to a side-break in the original set.<sup>184</sup>

The reviewer's comments seem to reinforce Robert Philip's view that, 'recordings from the early part of the century at first sound rhythmically strange in a number of ways'.<sup>185</sup> This, in part, may be true, but, in this instance, many of the rhythmic and tempo manipulations considered can be found annotated in Strauss' marked scores. Each of these annotations will be considered in Chapters Three and Five; however, a brief comment is

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<sup>180</sup> see Appendix C.

<sup>181</sup> A point considered by Schonberg who notes: 'Strauss was ...a musical literalist with a tiny beat and an anti-romantic approach.' H.C. Schonberg, *The Great Conductors*, p. 236.

<sup>182</sup> Alfred Kalisch (1863-1933). English music critic of German origin.

<sup>183</sup> Kalisch notes: 'One of the cardinal dogmas in his musical faith is his love of Mozart, whom he claims as a "modern" in the sense that his music expresses ideas which appeal to men of this day more than Beethoven's work. His interpretations of Mozart are criticized in some quarters as being too modern because they impart into his compositions these very ideas.' A. Kalisch, 'Richard Strauss: The Man', [taken from E. Newman, *Richard Strauss*, pp. ix-xxi, John Lane, (London, 1908)], *Richard Strauss and His World*, ed. B. Gilliam, p. 274.

<sup>184</sup> L. Salter, *Gramophone*, December 1991, p. 158.

<sup>185</sup> R. Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, p. 6.

appropriate here. It has already been mentioned that Strauss underlined the component parts of the sonata structure with tempo adjustments. These, he supplements with complementary dynamic and articulation marks in his scores. For example, in K551, he marks ‘agitato’ at bar 19 in the second movement (here, the critic is mistaken: bar 19 (1'26") is the beginning of the bridge passage, not the second subject); a tenuto, followed by a diminuendo, in the upper strings at bar 39 in the Andante cantabile; a ‘poco calando’ in the bars preceding the recapitulation in the Finale, and a ‘poco meno mosso’ at that movement’s coda.<sup>186</sup> These annotations, and Strauss’ realization of them, seem to have prompted the critic’s comments. The reviewer also raises the issue of the character of an andante. Earlier, it was noted that Strauss implied that an andante should not be played too slowly. His speed in the Andante cantabile of K551 is ♩=84-88. As his pulse in the first movement (♩=84-8) is quicker than that of many of his colleagues, this may account for the critic’s remarks regarding the tempo of the second movement.

Since the recording of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte* was first released, it has aroused diverse opinions as to its musical worth. These opinions have centred largely on Strauss’ chosen tempi. In the November 1932 issue of *The Gramophone*, the review was generally favourable:

..he [Strauss] makes a capital *Flute* record, mellow and yet youthful, as the music must sound. There is a moment or two of slackish rhythm, which pulls us up, apparently for the instruments’ sake, in clear speaking. This should not be necessary. Though one feels the players are on their toes, the recording, for once, does not quite convey the mountain-top spirit.<sup>187</sup>

By contrast, in 1967, Harold C. Schonberg<sup>188</sup> wrote:

His recording of the *Magic Flute* Overture is also taken at a terrific clip. The only thing that explains such conducting is the suggestion that Strauss considered those sessions merely a paying assignment...<sup>189</sup>

More recently, in the December 1991 issue of *Gramophone*, Lionel Salter states:

Not only are there ragged entries galore - one is the change to the *Allegro* in the *Zauberflöte* Overture - but ensemble is conspicuously touch-and-go throughout... (...the Overture, taken so fast that it almost falls over itself - though the flute solo, 2'00", has his own ideas about the proper tempo)...<sup>190</sup>

Within this dialectic, the critics raise a number of issues that are central to Strauss’ Mozart style. Both of the reviews found in [*The*] *Gramophone* refer, either explicitly or implicitly, to the entry of the flute at the second subject. Earlier, it was mentioned that Strauss argued in favour of a ‘meno mosso’ at this section. He applies this technique here. In the chapter on tempo, there is a detailed study of his reading of this overture. There, his

<sup>186</sup> see Appendix L.

<sup>187</sup> W.R. Anderson, *The Gramophone*, November 1932, p. 211.

<sup>188</sup> Harold C(harles) Schonberg (1915- ) American critic and writer.

<sup>189</sup> H.C. Schonberg, *The Great Conductors*, p. 241.

<sup>190</sup> L. Salter, *Gramophone*, December 1991, p. 158.

use of tempo, as a means of structural demarcation, is considered. Unlike his readings of the symphonies, where his activities are in line with the concept of Absolute Music, his manipulations in this overture have wider theatrical implications. The reduction in pulse is central to both his musical and theatrical theses.

Whilst Strauss' tempo manipulations within a sonata movement are an issue that dominates his activities as a Mozartian, the critics broaden this theme to consider the overture's overall tempo. In Robert Philip's analysis of tempi in the first movement of K550,<sup>191</sup> it emerges, from the performances considered, that Strauss' speed in bar 1, in his 1928 recording, is second only to that of Sir Malcolm Sargent, in his recording of the same year. Of Strauss' performance of K550 at the Queen's Hall, on 7 November 1936, with the orchestra of the Dresden State Opera, the critic for *The Times* noted, 'He [Strauss] always played Mozart rather fast; he does so still'.<sup>192</sup> This evidence suggests that Strauss, again, may have been reacting to contemporary trends. Whilst this may be true, for him, however, the speed of the overture's Allegro is determined, at least in part, by the pulse of the Introduction. Earlier, his thoughts on the character of an andante, when beaten in two, were discussed. He also applied this principle to an adagio in simple duple time [♩]: the Introduction's time signature. From his tempi in this overture, considered in Chapter Three, it appears that the speed of the Allegro is a consequence of the tempo relationship that exists between it and the Introduction.

## Reviews II: the concert performances

Writing about Strauss' concert, at the Queen's Hall, London, on 7 December 1897, *The Times*'<sup>193</sup> critic describes Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* as 'delicious'. This label was also applied in *The Musical Times*' review of 1 January 1898, although the critic continued by mentioning Strauss' 'very refined and expressive performance.' A thread common to both reviews was the critics' implicit perception of Mozart's work within the greater structure of the concert, treating *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* as if it were a 'filler'. This may well have been a result of *The Times*' concert listing, which appeared on 7 December 1897. Here, the concert was described as a 'Grand Wagner Concert'. Strauss, who directed *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* at a number of concerts throughout this period,<sup>194</sup> placed great store in the musical worth of this serenade, and its juxtaposition, in relation both to his works and to those of Wagner, was in keeping with his renaissance. On this

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<sup>191</sup> R. Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, p.20.

<sup>192</sup> *The Times*, 9 November 1936.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 December 1897.

<sup>194</sup> *see note 33.*

occasion, in the first half of the programme, Strauss pits a serenade, structured in the manner of a Classical symphony, against two of his own tone poems, *Tod und Verklärung* and *Till Eulenspiegel*. This, as has been shown earlier, was typical of his approach to Mozart and his integration of German music as a whole. Here, Strauss balances three works that employ eighteenth century musical structures. Mozart's serenade is set against works that use either a modified sonata form or a rondo as the basis of their construction. Strauss, by manipulating the programme in this way, reinforces the importance that he placed upon eighteenth century structures in the construction of his own works.

From the reviews of Strauss' performances at the Frankfurt Museum Concerts in 1906, one becomes aware that Mozart's symphonic music had yet to reach the eminence that it enjoys today. Strauss conducted two concerts for this prestigious series that year: 9 and 11 November. At the first of these, he conducted K550, while, at the second, he performed K551. Both concerts were reviewed by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Of the first, the critic writes:

...An unspoilt pleasure emanated from the performance of the Mozart symphony, along with the cantabile elements, the passionate, serious basic undertone was satisfactorily conveyed. An interesting comparison was between the contrasting main movement and the trio in the Menuett.<sup>195</sup>

In relation to K551, he notes:

...In general, a pleasingly constructed account of the 'Jupiter' symphony. On the other hand, in the slow movement, a certain academic coolness was at work.<sup>196</sup>

At both concerts, the other work in the programme was Beethoven's Symphony No. 9. In the two reviews, the greater part of the criticism was given over to Beethoven's symphony. Whilst this may be understandable within the context of the first concert, to do so in the review of the second reflects the relative standing of both Beethoven and Mozart at the turn of the century. Beethoven's symphonies were more frequently performed than those of Mozart and, from Strauss' writings considered earlier, one becomes aware that the contemporary view of Mozart was that of a "rococo artist".<sup>197</sup> This may account for the relatively small amount of copy given over to the performances of the two Mozart symphonies. Even so, within this cursory discussion, the critic has touched upon a number of issues that are of importance when considering Strauss' Mozart style.

In reviewing the performance of K550, the critic notes Strauss' activities regarding the Minuet and Trio. He seems to have made a distinction between the character of the Minuet and that of the Trio. In Chapter Three, Strauss' predilection for a slower

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<sup>195</sup> *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 10 November 1906.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 November 1906.

<sup>197</sup> *see* Appendix C.

Trio will be discussed. If he had applied this technique here, it may account for the critic's comments.

When one examines Strauss' score of K551, one is struck by both the number and nature of his annotations. These were reflected both in his recordings and performances. If one looks to the reviews of his 1904 New York performance,<sup>198</sup> many of these annotations were commented upon. It would seem, therefore, that the somewhat perfunctory nature of the Frankfurt review may have more to do with the contemporary perception of Mozart's works, rather than Strauss' standing as a Mozartian. However, the critic's comments, as to his 'certain academic coolness' in the slow movement, are of interest. As already mentioned, Strauss manipulated the tempo at architectonically important passages. In light of the random use of rhythmic freedom that was prevalent at the turn of the century, one wonders whether his reaction to these trends prompted the reviewer's remarks. From the writings of Strauss' contemporaries quoted earlier, this hypothesis cannot be ruled-out.

Strauss' return to Britain in 1914 saw him conduct a Mozart symphony for the first time in this country.<sup>199</sup> The reviews of this concert, at the Queen's Hall, London, with the Queen's Hall Orchestra, on 26 June 1914, are not unlike those discussed above, reflecting the polemic that was emerging in relation to Strauss' advocacy of Mozart's works. For example, the critic for *Musical Opinion* writes:

But the great Richard, however, was reticent to the verge of boredom; indeed, he seemed to lack interest in these works of his youth [*Don Juan* and *Tod und Verklärung*]. In conducting Mozart's Symphony in G minor, he did not win one's admiration, for he ended the famous Minuet with the trio and he tampered with the tempo of the last movement quite unnecessarily.<sup>200</sup>

If one compares the above review with that found in *The Musical Times*, one becomes aware of the critical gulf that surrounded Strauss' performances of Mozart at that time. The critic for *The Musical Times* notes:

...Mozart's G minor Symphony a master-work of a master of whom Strauss is well known to be an ardent admirer and a specially gifted exponent. The performance of the Symphony was perfect in its rhythm and graceful phrasing. We could not fully approve of the liberties taken with the tempo of the last movement, but another individual idea - the finishing of the Minuet with a repetition of the G major Trio - was much to our taste.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> see Appendix J.

<sup>199</sup> In a review, found in the November 1931 edition of *Musical Opinion*, (pp. 141-2) the critic recalls a performance that Strauss gave at the Queen's Hall, London in November 1904. At that concert, the reviewer states that Strauss conducted K385 and the *Symphonia domestica*. Unfortunately, no mention of this concert can be found in *The Times*' concert listings for that month. Equally, no reviews can be found in either *The Musical Times* or *Musical Opinion*. The concert to which the reviewer is referring, appears to be that which took place at the Queen's Hall, with the Queen's Hall Orchestra, on 4 November 1905. Strauss conducted the *Symphonia domestica*, whilst the remainder of the concert, including Mozart's serenade, K361, was conducted by Sir Henry Wood. see note 48. The *Symphonia domestica* received its UK première on 13 September 1905 under Sir Henry Wood.

<sup>200</sup> *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, August 1914, p. 905, 'Capriccio'.

<sup>201</sup> *The Musical Times*, 1 August 1914, p. 541.

The critic for *The Times*, on the other hand, treads a more central path, preferring a discussion of Strauss' activities as both a composer and a conductor. The reviewer attempts a more balanced musical assessment of Strauss' performance. He states:

A large audience was attracted by the prospect of hearing three of Strauss's best known works conducted by the composer, and by the unusual interest of hearing Mozart interpreted by Strauss — Mozart, the master of swift resource, of Flaxman-like<sup>202</sup> economy of touch, of never-failing melody, of absolute music, and Strauss, a wielder of the mass, of cumulative effect, of fierce cogent outline, of downright "programme." They came expecting, perhaps, that the G minor Symphony would have some new wild energy infused into it, ...It cannot exactly be said that any of these things happened. Each work spoke as pure music. ...Beyond a few touches which not quite anybody would have thought of, there was nothing unusual in the Symphony. A little more clearness in the development passage, a statelier sweep in the Andante, the third movement taken as the Minuet which it is, and not as a Scherzo. He seemed to be working with the orchestra rather than ruling over them, and to assume that of course they would understand than to lead them to any different understanding.<sup>203</sup>

Both *Musical Opinion's* review and that found in *The Musical Times* make mention of Strauss' repetition of the Trio after the Minuet. Del Mar notes that Strauss commented: 'such music should be heard more than once.'<sup>204</sup> Del Mar cites K543, as well as K550, as examples of Strauss' use of this technique. However, the critic, Felix Aprahamian,<sup>205</sup> who was present at Strauss' 1931 performance of K543, at the Queen's Hall, London, with the BBC Symphony Orchestra, recalled nothing untoward about the structure of the Minuet and Trio on that occasion. Indeed, concluding this movement with the Trio, would have involved Strauss playing an orchestrally modified version of either the first chord of the Minuet, or the Trio, as a harmonic and melodic resolution. In K550 however, where the Trio has a greater degree of independence, this technique would present few difficulties.

As to when Strauss implemented this technique, one can look to the reviews of his New York concert, on 26 March 1904. Gustav Kobbé, reviewing the concert for *The New York Telegraph*, notes:

One point about it [K551] was worth noticing. Strauss looked less frequently at the score than when he is leading one of his own works and, in the repeats, didn't even take the trouble to turn back the pages.<sup>206</sup>

On this occasion, Kobbé makes no note of any adjustments to the Minuet and Trio, but makes special mention of Strauss' use of repeats. Within his recordings of these symphonies, Strauss abstains from repeats, with the exception of those in the Minuets and Trios and, even then, due, one suspects, to restrictions of recording techniques in the early

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<sup>202</sup> William Flaxman (1753-95). English artist.

<sup>203</sup> *The Times*, 27 June 1914.

<sup>204</sup> N. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works* (vol. II), p. 375.

<sup>205</sup> After the Second World War, Felix Aprahamian met Strauss having been given a letter of introduction by Dr. Berta Geissmar, personal assistant to both Wilhelm Furtwängler and Sir Thomas Beecham. Interview with the author, 7 September 1993.

<sup>206</sup> 27 March 1904.

years of this century, does not repeat the second half of the Minuet at its first hearing in either K543 or K551. One might assume, therefore, that Strauss introduced this technique between the 1904 New York concert and his performance in London in 1914. Furthermore, Kobbé's review implies that Strauss employed the repeats in movements other than in the Minuet and Trio. As a 'da capo', and the internal repeats within the Minuet and Trio, would have been considered standard practice at that period, it would appear that Kobbé is referring to the repeats found in the other three movements. However, the only definite indications as to Strauss' implementation of repeats in Mozart's symphonies are to be found in: bar 356a of the Finale to K551, where he crosses through the first-time bar in his score, and in bars 58a and 58b of the Andante of K504, where he marks pianissimi in both the first and second-time bars.

Strauss' use and choice of tempo is examined by the three critics who attended the concert. *The Times*' critic noted, in somewhat general terms, Strauss' treatment of the Andante, whilst both the critic for *The Musical Times* and that for *Musical Opinion* commented specifically upon Strauss' tempi in the last movement. Here, they have touched upon areas central to Strauss' readings of Mozart's symphonies. Both the use and choice of the relevant degree of andante within the greater generic term, and the subtle shadings of tempo within the last movement of K550, were issues to be explored by Strauss in his recordings of these works. Sir Adrian Boult, as noted earlier, commented specifically upon Strauss' treatment of the final movements of K550 at his 1914 concert, apparently referring to a tempo fluctuation at the beginning of the last movement.<sup>207</sup>

Aside from the issues discussed above, one of the central concerns, expressed, both implicitly and explicitly, in the reviews of the 1914 concert, was Strauss' literalist stance. Sir Adrian Boult takes a different position to that adopted by *Musical Opinion*. Whilst Sir Adrian noted that Strauss completed the preparation of his works in an hour, he went on to say that Strauss spent five hours preparing K550 in detail. It would seem that the critic may have confused Strauss' manner on the podium, which, it is true, was very controlled, with his dedication to the works he was directing. The critic for *Musical Opinion* clearly found his demeanour distressing, whilst *The Times* pursued a more considered approach to both Strauss' podium and interpretative manner, noting that the audience, if they had attended the concert with the intention of hearing Mozart conducted '[with] some new wild energy', would have been disappointed. For, he continues: 'Each work spoke as pure music.' Strauss' rejection of the Romantic trends, still prevalent at the turn of the century, is of importance when considering the nature of his Mozart style.

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see note 45.

This issue was developed in the reviews pertaining to Strauss' performance of K543, with the BBC Symphony Orchestra, at the Queen's Hall, London, on 21 October 1931. The critic for *Musical Opinion* noted:

On October 21<sup>st</sup>, Dr. Strauss conducted the B.B.C. Symphony Concert, ...On this occasion the Mozart symphony was the famous E flat. Strauss, a Mozart worshipper, regards the composer from a broad human point of view, so that the performance was singularly warm and intimate, with little of that elegance and finicking refinement indulged by several Mozart interpreters.<sup>208</sup>

Similarly, in *The Times* of 22 October 1931:

Dr. Richard Strauss was the hero of the symphony concert given by the B.B.C. at Queen's Hall last night. As a conductor of Mozart his reputation has always stood high, and he began the programme, which otherwise consisted of his own works, with Mozart's lovely Symphony in E flat (No. 39). His view of the function of a conductor of the classics is the very opposite of that of the modern virtuoso conductor. He has no personal interpretation to impress on the players, and he makes no appeal to the eyes of the audience. He believes in time, which his right hand indicates with precision. He uses his left hand chiefly to turn the pages of his score. Most of all, he believes, as a musician should, in Mozart's power to create his own impression if his music is played aright, and that the conductor is there to secure rightness of time, of tone, of phrasing - an unprofitable servant who, when all had gone right, has done only what it was his duty to do.

### Reviews III: the operatic performances

The polemic that emerges from the above reviews is less apparent in the critiques of Strauss' Mozart performances in the German-speaking countries. Nonetheless, these latter raise a number of key issues relating to his activities as a Mozartian. For example, the critics make specific mention of the Munich Reforms: a central theme in their writings.

Of the new production of *Don Giovanni* at the Munich Court Opera, premièred on 29 May 1896, *The Musical Times*' correspondent writes:

The long-prepared model performances of Mozart's "Don Giovanni," at the Royal Residenz-Theater, which commenced on May 29, are likely to prove one of the principal attractions in the special operatic scheme now annually presented to visitors of the Bavarian capital during the summer months. The immortal work is a typical one. Originally described as "dramma giocoso," it has been practically the forerunner of the romantic opera, whereas, in the course of time, fashion and operatic *impresarios* combined have invested it more and more with the character of what is known as "grand opera." In the present Munich performances the individuality of the work has been restored, and it is being presented as closely as possible in accordance with the original production, under the composer's direction, in 1787, at Prague; divided into two acts, with an orchestra of only twenty-six performers, and under the more intimate local conditions offered by the small Residenz-Theater... The German version of Da Ponte's libretto has been specially revised for the occasion by Capellmeister Levi. Herr Richard Strauss conducted the first performance.<sup>209</sup>

Many of the issues raised in the course of this review are considered in Possart's article, which outlines the principles upon which this production is based.<sup>210</sup> The gradual

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<sup>208</sup> *Musical Opinion*, November 1931, p. 141.

<sup>209</sup> *The Musical Times*, 1 July 1896, p. 476.

<sup>210</sup> see Appendix K.

transformation of *Don Giovanni* into a grand opera during the nineteenth century is discussed by him. He notes that, throughout that century, the Berlin Court Opera continued to perform the version by Friedrich Rochlitz and Friedrich Schröder.<sup>211</sup> As the century progressed, the work adopted the demeanour of, at first, an opera seria; later, a romantic opera, and, finally, a grand opera with choruses.<sup>212</sup> Gernot Gruber confirms this transformation, citing the version by Meyerbeer, who, in his 1856 edition, arranged the *recitativi secci* for string quartet.<sup>213</sup>

The critic also recognises Strauss' and Possart's choice of the 1787 Prague version, in preference to that from 1788: a pillar of their reforms. Possart argues that: the inclusion of Mozart's additional material written for the later Viennese production, along with the omission of the *Scena Ultima*, weakened the dramatic flow of the opera; the use of an orchestra of only twenty-six players was in accord with that used at the first performance, and that the Residenztheater was in the style of Prague's National Theatre. These issues were developed by Strauss and Possart in their subsequent new productions of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Così fan tutte* and *Die Zauberflöte*.

Hermann Levi's new German translation, another of the Munich Reforms, was also mentioned in this review. Levi was to have conducted the new production of *Don Giovanni*, but was prevented from so doing by ill-health. However, as Possart notes, Levi translated this opera during his indisposition. He also translated *Così fan tutte*.

Strauss' status as a conductor is also reflected in this review. At this stage of his career, he was still *Kapellmeister*. Only after Levi's retirement was Strauss promoted to the post of *Hofkapellmeister*. It might be assumed from this review that Strauss' participation in this production was that of a house conductor. However, from the critiques considered below, and his own writings, it is apparent that he was an active participant in the formulation and dissemination of what were to become known as the Munich Reforms.

It would appear that the Berlin Court Opera was slow to adopt these reforms. Whilst Strauss was active as a Mozartian in Berlin from 1899, it was to be another twenty years before his innovations were fully realized. During the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries, Mozart's operas were heavily cut. This not only applied to *Così fan tutte* but, also, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. As noted earlier, Strauss was active in championing these operas, both of which had fallen from the standard repertoire. He conducted a new production of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* at the Berlin Court Opera

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<sup>211</sup> Friedrich Schröder (1744-1816). The first German *Don Giovanni*.

<sup>212</sup> see Appendix K.

<sup>213</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, p. 133.

on 5 December 1917. This production, and the avoidance of cuts in its realization, are central themes in the following review:

...Yesterday, in the Royal Opera House, "Entführung" reappeared on the programme for the first time since the departure of Hempel<sup>214</sup> ...Richard Strauss, from whom we have already had such an exquisite "Figaro" and "Cosi fan tutte", returned to the podium, and in whose refined hand, with his tender love of Mozart, created some interesting effects. The aria, "Marten aller Arten", could, once again, be heard without its customary cuts.<sup>215</sup>

The notion of Strauss as a Mozartian begins to emerge at this time. One can see from this review that his performances of both *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Così fan tutte* received a positive critical response.

His status as a Mozart conductor continued to grow in Germany during the second decade of the twentieth century. By the time of his new production of *Don Giovanni* at the Berlin Court Opera, on 25 April 1919, his position was such that he was able to implement more fully the reforms that he pioneered in Munich some twenty years earlier. This is reflected in the following reviews:

The poster noted the revised translation of Hermann Levi ...Levi has, in undertaking this task, attempted to transmit the original Italian as closely as possible. The frequent scene-changes that are required here are made simple by the revolving stage ...the lighter Finale (Sextett) concludes the work within a Buffo context ...Dr. Richard Strauss is an accomplished Mozart interpreter.<sup>216</sup>

Now that the obstacles and dangers which have gradually become so inevitable in the Opera House have been overcome, the new production of *Don Giovanni* finally appeared yesterday. We had been threatened with the new prize-winning translation, but then heard no more of it; Hermann Levi's edition was finally used, a version which preserves with the greatest care what is to be regarded, to judge by the model before us, as the intention of the author of the text and also of the composer. Musical direction was under Richard Strauss, so that there came from the orchestra an abundance of most exquisite sound quite impossible to describe. Indescribable in the truest sense of the word were all the fine features of nuance, the changes of tempo and the muting and swelling of the orchestra. In addition there was the inimitable [*'unnachahmliche'*] style of accompaniment of the secco recitative, a sheer pleasure to listen to in itself. ...But the orchestra also demanded its share of attention with its fine strings and glorious wind instruments and over them all the magic baton wielded by Richard Strauss.<sup>217</sup>

From each of the reviews so far considered, it is clear that Strauss' standing as a Mozartian rose as the years progressed. While the language used by some of the German critics is subjective, there is no doubt that they considered him to be an innovative interpreter. In the two reviews pertaining to *Don Giovanni*, four key issues of Strauss' Mozart style are considered: the use of Levi's translation; the utilisation of a revolving stage; the inclusion of the *Scena Ultima*, and his realization of the recitativi secchi.

Strauss conducted *Don Giovanni* for the first time at the Berlin Court Opera on 24 November 1901. It seems that the reforms that were pioneered in Munich some five years

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<sup>214</sup> Frieda Hempel (1885-1955). German soprano.

<sup>215</sup> Unidentified review, dated, in the hand of a librarian, 6 December 1917. Review by courtesy of the Berlin State Opera.

<sup>216</sup> Unidentified review, dated, in the hand of a librarian, 25 April 1919. Review by courtesy of the Berlin State Opera.

<sup>217</sup> Unidentified and undated review. Review by courtesy of the Berlin State Opera.

earlier were not fully implemented until 1919. From the reviews of the 1919 production of *Don Giovanni*, it appears that: Levi's translation was not heard in Berlin until that date; nor was the use of a revolving stage a regular feature at the Berlin Court Opera until the second decade of the twentieth century; the reinstatement of the *Scena Ultima* led to a new perception of the Act 2 Finale, underlining the *buffo* elements of the opera, and that Strauss' use of personal interpolations in the recitativi secci, discussed at length in Chapter Four, produced a style of continuo playing that proved both unique and influential. The critic's use of the term, inimitable [*'unnachahmliche'*], when referring to this style, is in line with the recollections of Franz Trenner and Wolfgang Sawallisch, underlining the distinctive character of Strauss' improvisations.

The general tone of the above reviews is reflected in the critiques of Strauss' performances in cities other than Munich and Berlin. Of *Don Giovanni*, at the Municipal Theatre in Zürich, on 17 May 1917, the critic for the *Zürcher Post* writes:

If anyone has penetrated right into the soul and spirit of Mozart, it is Richard Strauss ... For the correct rendition of Mozart's works a particular blend of instruments is necessary. This must be neither too strong nor too weak. The right balance between strings and wind instruments is of the utmost importance, for only thus do the nuances emerge as they should without any danger of the dramatic emphases being weakened. In this respect the conductor has had, thankfully, the most fortuitous touch, as his inspired excellence was perceptible at every possible stage. If one can say of a Mozart performance that not one single word was lost, then this is just as much praise for the orchestra as for the singers. The orchestra, about 50 strong, played with an accuracy and purity which could not be surpassed ... the lady accompanist, engaged by Maestro Strauss himself, of the secco-recitatives at the console piano [*'Pultklavier'*], which followed the flow of words with the very finest understanding of the natural intonation, and on the other hand succeeded in giving many places a quite particular contour by magical shades of sound, as for example the flattery in the ninth scene of the first act with which Don Giovanni attempts to turn Zerlina's head. Never before has one felt so strongly that Mozart's greatness and depth speak to us most powerfully precisely in his simplicity. However there has never yet been anyone who has understood how to reveal this secret as convincingly in the theatre as Richard Strauss.<sup>218</sup>

Of the four German language reviews considered above, this is the most subjective. The reviewer clearly believes Strauss to be a leading Mozart interpreter. While many of the issues of Mozart performance are less well defined than in the other reviews, the writer touches upon two areas that were central to Strauss' and Possart's activities at the Munich Opera: the correct balance of the orchestra and the accompaniment of the recitative secci.

Possart, in his article on *Don Giovanni*,<sup>219</sup> specifically mentions the importance of the correct balance between the orchestra and the stage. In the 1896 production at the Residenztheater, Strauss directed an orchestra of twenty-six players. Here, he seems to have increased the number to fifty. As this performance was part of a Swiss tour,<sup>220</sup> an increase in the size of the orchestra may have been necessary in meeting the acoustic

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<sup>218</sup> *Zürcher Post*, 19 May 1917.

<sup>219</sup> see Appendix K.

<sup>220</sup> see Appendix E.

needs of some of the theatres visited. From the content of the review, however, Strauss seems to have been no less vigilant in balancing the orchestra. Earlier, his thoughts on the correct balance of the winds and brass were considered. There, he noted that the conductor should control the dynamics of these instruments, so that the *parlando* of the singers may be heard.<sup>221</sup> If the critic's description of this performance is correct, then Strauss seems to have applied this principle here.

Strauss preferred to play the continuo himself. From this review, though, it appears not to be the case on this particular occasion. The critic mentions a 'lady accompanist, engaged by Maestro Strauss himself'. From the description of the accompaniment, it is possible that Strauss may have been influential in determining its nature and content. Whilst it would be inappropriate for the 'lady accompanist' to have quoted Strauss' personal interpolations in the realization of the recitatives, the description of her continuo style raises a question about the extent of his involvement. The answer may never be fully known.

In the reviews of Strauss' reworking of *Idomeneo*, the emphasis shifts from Strauss the performer to Strauss the artistic collaborator. While many of the reviews considered below are indulgent of Strauss, his version of *Idomeneo*, composed at the suggestion of his younger colleague and friend, Clemens Krauss, was not universally accepted by the critics. In the Introduction, Gernot Gruber's comment that Strauss' 'version was sharply criticized for being sacrilegious' was quoted. Gruber gives no contemporary source for this assertion, but its tone reflects Alfred Einstein's view that the new edition was a 'gross act of mutilation'.<sup>222</sup> This theme, though less forcefully stated, was developed by other critics. One considered Strauss' edition to be 'Mozart with whipped cream';<sup>223</sup> while a second wrote, 'It is no advantage that one constantly recognises when it is Mozart's turn to speak and when Strauss's - it is one of the weaknesses of this version'.<sup>224</sup> The comments of the latter add weight to the premise that Strauss' edition conforms to the concept of *pasticcio*. This is considered more fully in Chapter Two. This line of thought, however, can be found in other critiques of his 1931 Viennese performances and those of the first German production. Of the première at the Vienna State Opera, on 16 April 1931, one critic wrote:

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<sup>221</sup> see Appendix D.

<sup>222</sup> L. von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts*, 3rd edn., revised by A. Einstein (Leipzig, 1937), p. 445, as found in C. Walton, 'The performing version by Richard Strauss and Lothar Wallerstein', W.A. Mozart: *Idomeneo*, ed. J. Rushton, p. 89.

<sup>223</sup> Review by 'Hamel' [held at the Richard Strauss Institute, Munich, identified as DAZ. 13/11 32, precise source unknown], *ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>224</sup> *Dresdner Nachrichten*, 15 November 1932. *Idem.*

### “Idomeneo” by Mozart and Strauss

...“Idomeneo” is the boundary between the early works of Mozart and his masterpieces. It is Mozart’s summation of the important operatic styles of his day: *opera seria* and the music dramas of Gluck. “Idomeneo” has remained unknown to the public. The audience does not warm to the Cretan King. ...The music is magnificent. There are moments of both passion and solemnity, but this does not move us personally, nor grip us in the manner of “Figaro”, “Don Juan [Giovanni]” or “The Magic Flute”. “Idomeneo” is a product of the eighteenth century, rather than an individual creation of Mozart. But now Richard Strauss has come on the scene. He replaces all the recitativi secci throughout with recitativi accompagnati. The latter make use of motifs. He writes an intermezzo [*Interludio*], bringing forth a sea monster, and adds a brilliant new finale. Strauss does not try to disguise himself as Mozart, he composes as Richard Strauss, quoting his “ägyptische Helena”. His style is often chromatic, using modulations that would have terrified the eighteenth century. This aspect of the current “Idomeneo” is very intellectual. This change of style, from that of Mozart’s, will aggravate most music historians. More importantly, however, Strauss binds Mozart’s arias tightly together, though these linking passages are often more substantial than the subsequent aria ...Strauss conducted and Elisabeth Schumann proved to be an expert Mozartian ...The audience experienced this work as an interesting experiment and expressed their respect for both Mozart and Strauss.<sup>225</sup>

The question of Gluck’s influence on Mozart’s score is an important issue when assessing Strauss’ contribution. The nature of Gluck’s reforms, addressed by Strauss in his Preface to *Capriccio*, opened the way for him to apply many of the techniques used in realizing his contribution to the opera as a whole. Along with these reforms, he applies the concept of *pasticcio*. The idea of two discrete artists, contributing to a single project, was apparent to both the audience and critics alike. The notion that Strauss composed in his own style and did ‘not try to disguise himself as Mozart’ is of singular importance. This, along with the idea that, by collaborating in this manner, the risk of failure is diminished, is in line with Reinhard Strohm’s definition of *pasticcio*.<sup>226</sup>

Alfred Kalmus, writing from Vienna, further considers the issue of Strauss’ involvement.

Mozart’s “Idomeneo,” in the revised Strauss-Wallerstein version, has at length been given at the State Opera, and with great success... Probably the libretto hindered previous success. In the Wallerstein version, many secco recitatives are omitted and others added: changes which have given Strauss an opportunity for the display of his art and the incorporation of much new music. Only a musician such as Strauss could attempt a like task with any hope of success, and he has achieved it. The arias remain for the most part unchanged, though they do not always retain their original position. The ensembles and choruses are retained, though sometimes interwoven skilfully by Strauss with his own work.<sup>227</sup>

If one looks forward to the reviews of the first German performance of the work in Magdeburg, on 24 April 1931, this theme is developed:

#### *Idomeneo* by Mozart-Strauss

The performance of Mozart’s first major opera, *Idomeneo*, on Friday was an unparalleled success. *Idomeneo*, an *opera seria*, was composed for Munich in 1781. In Magdeburg, it

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<sup>225</sup> Unidentified review, dated 18 April 1931. Review by courtesy of the Landeshauptstadt Magdeburg.

<sup>226</sup> see Chapter Two note 67.

<sup>227</sup> *Musical Opinion*, June 1931, p. 799.

was performed in an energetic revision by Richard Strauss (libretto: Lothar Wallerstein). Strauss, through his modern reshaping of this work, has restored it to the German stage.<sup>228</sup>

#### *Idomeneo* by Mozart-Strauss

...The Magdeburg Theatre gave the German première ...the world's attention was focused on the new version by Richard Strauss and the Vienna State Opera's producer, Lothar Wallerstein. Strauss' goal in this revision is to challenge historical preconceptions and to create a new entity. Strauss, an experienced man of the theatre, did not wish to conserve or change a museum piece. His god is the living theatre, not an historical experiment. He can see the eternal power of Mozart's music. However, it was necessary to completely revise this work, if it is to be made relevant to our time. The work had to be polished and concentrated. Wallerstein accomplished this with a feeling for language and an excellent sense of drama.<sup>229</sup>

A central theme of the two Magdeburg reviews is the notion of revivification. It would seem that the critics' were questioning *Idomeneo*'s relevance to contemporary audiences. From the reviews, there emerges a feeling of expectation, based on the hope that Strauss' and Wallerstein's efforts would secure a place for this work in the repertoire in its revised form.

This sense of expectation was expressed somewhat earlier by Strauss, who wrote:

If we succeed in putting this unique *opera seria* back on to the German stage, I will personally answer for my impiety to the divine Mozart if I ever actually get to Heaven!<sup>230</sup>

Whilst the 1931 performances of this work were part of the festivities celebrating the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of Mozart's death, Strauss' hope was that his edition would take its place in the standard repertoire. He gave further performances at the Berlin State Opera in 1933<sup>231</sup> and, later, at the Vienna State Opera in 1941.<sup>232</sup> In a letter to Karl Böhm,<sup>233</sup> described by Strauss as his 'artistic legacy', he included, in the paragraph devoted to Mozart, along with *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, *Così fan tutte* and *Die Zauberflöte*, his edition of *Idomeneo*. It has not been accepted into the repertoire. It seems ironic that Strauss' and Wallerstein's revisions and additions are now perceived as anachronistic, in much the same way as Mozart's original was viewed during the first half of this century. Yet, at least one of their aims has been fulfilled. Whilst, *Idomeneo* does not occupy a similar place in the repertoire as, for example, *Le nozze di Figaro*, it is now performed on a regular basis.

If one considers the reviews of Strauss' performances in their entirety, there seems to be a clear divided between the German language reviews and those from Britain and America. The critiques of Strauss' performances from the German-speaking countries are

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<sup>228</sup> Unidentified review, dated 25 April 1931. Review by courtesy of the Landeshauptstadt Magdeburg.

<sup>229</sup> *Magdeburgischen Zeitung*, 26 April 1931.

<sup>230</sup> M. Kennedy. Sleeve note: W.A. Mozart, Symphonies K550, K551 and the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*, R. Strauss, Berlin Staatskapelle. Deutsche Grammophon, 431874-2.

<sup>231</sup> 24 March 1933.

<sup>232</sup> 3 December 1941. *see* Introduction p. 10.

<sup>233</sup> Letter from Richard Strauss to Karl Böhm, dated 27 April 1945. K. Böhm, *A Life Remembered: Memoirs*, trans. J. Kehoe, pp. 157-163.

generally favourable, while those from the English-speaking world range from hostile to positive. The critical gulf that emerged in the USA and England may, in part, stem from the perception of Strauss as a musician in those countries. Until he became active as a composer of operas, he was known in Middle Europe as both a conductor and a composer. In fact, his training as a performer followed the traditional pattern: rising through the ranks of the German opera house system. On the other hand, in Britain and America, his fame was largely due to the success of his tone poems. As a result of this success, orchestras outside of the German-speaking countries engaged him as a guest conductor. At the concerts where he included works by other composers, it seems that the critics' interest was primarily focused on Strauss' readings of his own compositions. Even so, these reviews are important in assessing his activities as an interpreter. From them, one is able to confirm many of the reforms and techniques discussed in his writings and realized in his recordings and scores.

## Chapter Two

### Performance I: Editions, Cuts & Revisions

#### The symphonic scores and the use of the *Gesamtausgabe*

Strauss conducted Mozart from Breitkopf & Härtel's *Gesamtausgabe*<sup>1</sup> and what remains of his set of scores is housed at the Villa Strauss in Garmisch.<sup>2</sup> Neal Zaslaw recently noted the *Gesamtausgabe*'s importance, linking the edition with the Köchel catalogue and reaffirming its scholarship.<sup>3</sup> The significance of the *Gesamtausgabe* in relation to Strauss' Mozart renaissance should not be overlooked. The publishing of Mozart's works in one critical *œuvre*, allowed Strauss to assess each work in relation to its predecessors and successors. The implications for Strauss were legion, manifesting themselves in the manner by which he dealt with questions of melody, structure, balance, bowing and articulation. In the case of Mozart's melodic style, it allowed Strauss to see the melodic material, such as the first subject of K551's Finale, in a more universal context. Here, Strauss was able to cross-reference the use of this theme, noting its religious connotation, with Mozart's previous use of the material in his earlier works.<sup>4</sup> As a result of this knowledge, the theme was later utilised by Strauss in *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, where the composer acknowledges its religious origin.<sup>5</sup> He was able to assess Mozart's use of sonata form, determining his treatment of, amongst others, the nature and importance of the second subject. This consistency of approach will become clearer as the argument progresses, with these two issues being dealt with in some detail in later chapters.

As laudable as the *Gesamtausgabe* was in its pioneering spirit, there are a number of errors in the edition that require correction. Strauss, in the last movement of K550, corrects bars 251 to 252 in the first violins, altering the printed score, 1880-2 edition, from the second half of bar 251 to: *c''* dotted crotchet followed by *b<sub>b</sub>'* quaver and,

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<sup>1</sup> Breitkopf & Härtel's *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe* was issued between January 1877 and December 1883 in twenty-four series. The edition was conceived by Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, the editor of the *Köchel Verzeichnis*. The editors included Brahms, Joachim, Reinecke and Wüllner. The last of these editors, Franz Wüllner, conducted the premières of *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Don Quixote* with the Gürzenich Orchestra, the orchestra of the Cologne Opera, of which Sir John Pritchard was *Chef Dirigent* for eleven years 1978-89.

<sup>2</sup> see Introduction note 100 and Appendix M.

<sup>3</sup> Zaslaw notes: 'Thus the canon of Mozart's symphonies as transmitted in the *GA* and the Köchel Catalogue may, apparently, not be toyed with lightly'. N. Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*, p.154.

<sup>4</sup> Mozart's use of the first subject material from the Finale of K551 can be traced back to K16, Anh.214, and K319. Zaslaw also links this theme with the *Credo* in the *Missa Brevis*, K192, and the *Sanctus* of the Mass, K257. *Ibid.*, p.88. [The theme can also be heard in the Finale of Haydn's Symphony No.13].

<sup>5</sup> Strauss uses a derivative of the first subject theme, from the Finale of K551, firstly, between the 36th and 38th bar and, later, between the 43rd and 45th bar of Figure 2 in *Also Sprach Zarathustra*. Under the first inclusion of the theme, Strauss notes, '*Magnificat*'.

on the second half of the following bar; *b<sub>b</sub>'* dotted crotchet followed by quaver *a'*.<sup>6</sup> [see Appendix A: Examples One & Two] Conversely, in his score, Strauss failed to correct the error in bar 190 of the first movement, where the flute, in the full score, has a printed *d'''* on the first beat of the bar but *f'''* can be found in the parts. However, in his recordings of this work, the flute plays *f'''*. In the score of K201/K186a, there is a misprint in bar 96 of the Finale, where the first quaver in the cello and bass should read: *e* and not *g<sub>♯</sub>*. He corrects the error, allowing *d<sub>♯</sub>* to resolve to *e*.<sup>7</sup> [see Appendix A: Example Three]

Strauss' revisions are based on the autograph and are in keeping with corrections that he made to some of the other scores discussed in this chapter. In attempting to return to Mozart's original intentions, his use of available source material is a thread which runs through his activities as a Mozartian; and these revisions, using Mozart's autograph as their basis, are an integral part of his activities as an interpreter.<sup>8</sup> The revisions to K550, found in both his recordings, seem to reinforce Morse's claim that Strauss evoked, in these recordings, 'the coolness and clarity of the original'. Strauss' practice of referring to the autograph, to clarify points of interpretation, is a precursor to the ever increasing musicological activity that followed the Second World War.

Pritchard, who never met Strauss, shared his choice of edition. He was proud of the instruction that he received from Fritz Busch. The influence of Busch on Pritchard was seminal and Busch's relationship with Strauss is well documented. This line of musical thought manifests itself, not only in the performances of the three maestri, but, also, in the way Strauss and Pritchard approached their scores. The similarity in manner and choice of marks, found in both Strauss' and Pritchard's scores, is remarkable and defies coincidence. One can only assume that Pritchard either used his association with Busch to gather as much information as possible about the working practices of Strauss, or, and this seems more likely, on one of his many visits to Munich and Garmisch, Pritchard may have visited the Villa Strauss and, like the author, examined Strauss' Mozart scores.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Strauss' corrections match those found in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* [NMA] and the Eulenburg Edition, both of which are based on the autograph. No published facsimile of the autograph of K550 is currently available and the author was unable to gain access to the autograph itself. see note 8.

<sup>7</sup> The autograph clearly shows *e* rather than *g<sub>♯</sub>*. The correction in K201/K186a's last movement can also be found in the Eulenburg Edition score, though not in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*. The Eulenburg Edition editor, Charles Cudworth, was formerly the librarian at the Pendlebury Library, Cambridge. He was an associate of Edward J. Dent, who was in contact with the Mozart scholar, Alfred Einstein. The implications of Strauss' interaction with Einstein will be dealt with more fully later in the chapter. (Information provided by courtesy of Ernst Eulenburg Ltd. and the facsimile of the relevant bars from the autograph by courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.)

<sup>8</sup> When Strauss accessed the autographs of these symphonies may never be known but, as the autograph of K550 is kept by the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*, Strauss, both as a conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic and *Leiter* of the Vienna State Opera, would certainly have been granted access to it.

<sup>9</sup> Pritchard was a regular guest conductor with the Munich Philharmonic, which was formerly named the Kaim Orchestra. Strauss conducted the orchestra in 1903. Pritchard conducted the orchestra in both Munich and Garmisch. Pritchard's final concert with the orchestra was on 1 January 1989. During these visits, Pritchard may have had the opportunity to visit the Villa Strauss.

When Pritchard approached works by Mozart, such as the *Requiem* and the re-orchestrated *Messiah*, for the first time in later life, he always worked from the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* [NMA].<sup>10</sup> However, when conducting works that had been part of his repertoire from the beginning of his career, when the influence of Strauss through Busch was most potent, or, a work that he had heard Strauss conduct either in the concert hall or on record, Pritchard always preferred to use the *Gesammtausgabe*, or a reprint thereof. Pritchard, like Strauss, rarely conducted K201/K186a<sup>11</sup> and K385, but when he did, he conducted from, in the case of the former, a copy of the Broude Bros.' Edition, and, in the latter, a copy of the Goodwin & Tabb Edition.<sup>12</sup> Pritchard's choice of score reinforces the importance that he placed on Strauss' readings of these works. The use of an identical edition allowed Pritchard to assess Strauss' reforms and, in particular, the nature and manner of his dynamics, phrasing, bowing and articulation, within the context of the printed score, in much the same way as Strauss' use of the *Gesammtausgabe* allowed him to place Mozart's symphonies within a more universal context.

Strauss' influence was not simply restricted to the choice of edition used by the conductors who acted within the shadow of his renaissance but, also, to the more technical aspect of score preparation. Pritchard's scores reflect a remarkable similarity between his thought processes and those of Strauss. This similarity of process finds expression in the manner and nature of the markings found in the scores of both artists. One could understand an accusation of coincidence, if simply considering the duplication of Strauss' and Pritchard's choice of edition, or, for that matter, any markings that may be found in the latter's scores of K550 and K551, for these works are now standard repertoire and were recorded by Strauss. However, if one compares the markings contained in their scores of K201/K186a, such an accusation can be refuted.

Strauss, as has been noted in the previous chapter, conducted this work three times, while Pritchard performed it only on very rare occasions. The former never conducted the symphony in the presence of the latter and, as there is no recording of Strauss conducting this work, the only reasonable assumption can be that Pritchard referred to Strauss' score. Both artists mark their scores in detail, sharing many dynamic and expression indications. For example, both conductors, in bars 53 and 54, the second half of the second subject of the first movement, indicate an *espressivo* in both the first

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<sup>10</sup> The *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* first began to appear in 1955. The first Editor-in-Chief was Ernst Fritz Schmid.

<sup>11</sup> Pritchard performed K201/K186a at the Royal Festival Hall, London, on 2 May 1954. This concert was described, on the record sleeve of Pritchard's commercial recording of Haydn's Symphony 80, as the Royal Festival Hall's 'birthday concert'. The concert, in fact, took place the day before the anniversary of the opening of the Royal Festival Hall. No concert was given on 3 May 1954. Concerts that coincided with that date in other years were not referred to as 'birthday concerts'.

<sup>12</sup> The Broude Bros.' score matches that of Breitkopf & Härtel bar by bar, page by page and has the same misprint in bar 96 of the Finale. The Goodwin & Tabb score also matches the German edition bar by bar and page by page.

and second violins; whilst, in bars 57 and 58, they mark a crescendo, cutting the bar line in an identical manner. In bar 147, both conductors cross the grace note, altering its articulation from an appoggiatura to an acciaccatura. In the Andante, the similarities are even more marked. Here, both conductors, in the first violins, add crescendi to the tied dotted rhythm on the second half of bars 10 and 11 and mark an increased dynamic at the beginning of the development, bar 39, from piano to mezzo forte. Similar examples can be found elsewhere in the scores of the two conductors, and will be dealt with more fully in Chapter Five. For example, Pritchard, as a follower of Strauss, articulates the first subject theme in the coda of K551, discussed earlier in Chapter One, in the manner of the latter, adding accents to each of the four notes of the theme. Pritchard reinforces the influence of Strauss, denying the methods of Mahler, realized in the readings of Walter, preferring dynamic adjustment to reorchestration.<sup>13</sup>

The nature of Pritchard's markings suggest that he was concerned that his readings should be considered in the context of Strauss' renaissance. The duplication of so many details aligns his interpretations with those of Strauss, evoking, in tangible terms, and in a later generation, Strauss' principles.

The attempt to return to Mozart's intentions, a moving force behind Strauss' reforms, was also of paramount importance to Pritchard, who, like Busch,<sup>14</sup> not only recognised their importance in realizing Mozart's symphonic music but, also applied them to the operas.

### ***Don Giovanni*: the restoration of Mozart's intentions**

In his extant *Gesamtausgabe* score of *Don Giovanni*, Strauss makes a number of corrections and insertions. The markings found in this score can be divided into two blocks: dynamic adjustments, phrasing and articulation, designed to meet the rigours of a live performance; and those based on his access to material found in the autograph.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the annotations based on the autograph may again be divided into two areas:

<sup>13</sup> Both Strauss and Pritchard were disparaging about Bruno Walter. Pritchard considered his Mozart too sumptuous, linking Walter's interpretations with Mahler's Viennese models. Strauss' relations with Walter were strained and, in a letter to Hofmannsthal, 17 August 1915, he remarks: 'Having allowed myself to be pacified with excuses and tricked with empty promises by him [Baron Clemens von Frankenstein (1875-1942), *Intendant*: Munich Court Opera, 1912-18] and Bruno Walter for the past three years... I shall not enter the Munich Hoftheater so long as its present directors are in office.' R. Strauss, *The Correspondence between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, ed. F. & A. Strauss, arr. W. Schuh, trans. H. Hammelmann & E. Osers, p.232.

<sup>14</sup> Busch, as Music Director of the Glyndebourne Festival Opera, rejected, what he considered, the Viennese Mozart Style. Spike Hughes notes: 'It was the avowed intention of both Busch and Ebert to avoid any suggestion of what Ebert described to me with undisguised contempt as the "velvet-and-chocolate" Mozart of Vienna.' S. Hughes, *Glyndebourne*, p.66. Szell, Strauss' assistant during his Berlin years, expressed a similar sentiment, and 'When chided for his reserved performance of Mozart, he replied, "I cannot pour chocolate sauce over asparagus."' P. Hart, 'Szell, George', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, p. 492. see Introduction note 97.

<sup>15</sup> The autograph of *Don Giovanni* is currently held at the Département de la Musique de la Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

those that conform to Alfred Einstein's research, as found in his revised 1930 edition, for the publishers, Ernst Eulenburg; and those not confirmed by the scholar. The partial revisions made by Strauss and Einstein, and ascribed to the autograph, may be due to the incomplete nature of the material from which they worked. This, therefore, raises a number of issues as to Strauss' access to the autograph material.

According to Einstein, the autograph of *Don Giovanni* remained in private hands until it was bequeathed to the Paris Conservatoire in 1910. In 1923, the Munich publishers, *Drei Masken Verlag*, at the instigation of Einstein, intended to publish a facsimile of the autograph, a project which remained unfinished at the time of the Eulenburg score's publication.<sup>16</sup> However, Einstein did have access to a number of facsimile pages, on which he partially based his new edition. As Strauss' reference to the autograph is restricted to the two Finales; Act 2, Scene VII, Number 6,<sup>17</sup> the Sextet, *Sola, sola in bujo loco*; the recitative, Act 2, Scene X<sup>c</sup>, *In quali eccessi, o Numi*; the recitative, Act 2, Scene XI, *Ah ah ah ah, questa è buona!*, and the placement of the personal pronoun, *mia*, in bar 11 of the recitative and aria, Act 2, Number 10, *Crudele!*; one must assume that he, like Einstein, had access to the facsimile pages held in Munich. If Strauss had accessed the autograph during his visits to France after the score was placed in the public domain, it would be reasonable to assume that he would have inserted a more complete set of amendments. This, however, appears not to have been the case and the only assumption one can draw is that Strauss worked from incomplete autograph material. This being so, the material held in Munich would seem to be the most likely source and, as he was living only a short distance away in Garmisch, would have been easily available to him from 1923 onwards.

In the Act 1 Finale, Scene XX, bar 408, Strauss writes that, in the autograph, notes similar to those played by the violas are missing. He is not specific as to which instrument or voice he is referring but adds the same material, down the octave, to the stave sung by Don Giovanni. Below this inclusion, he notes: '*fällt in Autograph*'. In bars 412 to 413, with the quaver anacrusis, Strauss pencils in another addition to the bass line. Again the material is notated in the stave sung by Don Giovanni and corresponds harmonically to the material of that bar. Strauss adds: anacrusic quaver *d'*, followed by dotted crotchet-quaver *g*,<sup>18</sup> with the third and fourth beats leaping from *a* to that an octave lower, and the resolution of the phrase on *d*, at the first beat of the new bar. Strauss' reference to the autograph pertains to these two musical insertions in Don Giovanni's stave; therefore, it is safe to assume that these were to be found in the performing material of one of the opera

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<sup>16</sup> A. Einstein (ed.), *Mozart: Don Giovanni*, Ernst Eulenburg (London, 1930), p. xxvi.

<sup>17</sup> The numbering used in this subsection is derived from the Edition Eulenburg.

<sup>18</sup> This is clearly a mistake by Strauss. The insertion should read: dotted quaver-semi-quaver.

houses in which he directed this opera and that he used the autograph to clarify the origins of this material.<sup>19</sup> In bars 411 to 412, Strauss notes: '*Bemerkung von Mozart fehlt bei Da Ponte*', [Remark by Mozart missing from Da Ponte]. Possart writes<sup>20</sup> that F.P. Lyser, at a meeting with Mozart's son, Wolfgang, in Dresden, in 1834, was able to copy a fragment of a German translation of *Don Giovanni*, produced and written by Mozart himself.<sup>21</sup> Possart's comments specifically relate to the Finale of Act 2, however, it appears, from Strauss' annotations, that Mozart may have made a similar insertion at this point. [see Appendix A: Examples Four (a), (b) & Five]

The majority of Strauss' markings pertaining to the autograph appear in Act 2. Following Donna Elvira's B $\flat$  major recitative and aria, Act 2, Scene X, Number 8c, *Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata*, Strauss adds a further point of information to his score. He notes: '*fehlt in Autograph bis No 24*'<sup>22</sup> [missing in the autograph until No. 24]. This reference applies to the recitative, Act 2, Scene XI, *Ah ah ah ah, questa è buona!*, which Einstein notes as missing in its entirety from the autograph.<sup>23</sup> This recitative, as found in both Einstein's edition and the *Gesamtausgabe*, and based, according to Einstein, on material found in the Donaueschingen copy,<sup>24</sup> is an essential link between the surrounding musical material.

Strauss queries the personal pronoun, *mia*, in bar 11 of Act 2, Number 10, corresponding with Einstein's note in the preface of his Eulenburg Edition. Einstein raises the point that this is an oversight by Mozart and inhibits the flow of the recitative.<sup>25</sup> Unlike the other corrections contained in Strauss' score that correspond to Einstein's researches, this insertion would appear to have been used for information only, as Strauss' performances regularly used Hermann Levi's translation. However, Strauss and Einstein again agree, at least in part, on the German, as the latter also consulted Levi's translation in refining the text accompanying his edition of *Don Giovanni*.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Strauss had conducted *Don Giovanni*, for the first time in Vienna after 1930, on 27 January 1931 and, it is possible, therefore, that these markings were to be found in the house parts there. The Viennese records of this period were destroyed by enemy bombing during the Second World War. Letter to the author from the Chief Dramaturg of the Vienna State Opera, 14 September 1993.

<sup>20</sup> E. von Possart, *Ueber die Neueinstudierung und Neuinszenierung des Mozart'schen Don Giovanni (Don Juan) auf dem kgl. Residenztheater zu München*. see Appendix K, p.196.

<sup>21</sup> F.P. Lyser, 'Mozart's eigene Berdeutschung des Textes „Don Giovanni“, nebst zwei Proben daraus', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 32, 19 April 1845, pp. 173-5, and 'Zweier Meister Söhne (Schluß)', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 44, 28 November 1844 [sic], pp. 133-4.

<sup>22</sup> This numbering [No. 24] relates to the *Gesamtausgabe* score.

<sup>23</sup> A. Einstein (ed.), *Mozart: Don Giovanni*, p. xx.

<sup>24</sup> The Donaueschingen copy, made by Anton Grams, under the supervision of Mozart, is of some importance, as it resolves the question of the trombones in Act 2; these instruments can be found in this copy. Einstein notes that his attention was drawn to the Donaueschingen copy by Dent but fails to say when this took place. *Ibid.*, p. xxviii. see note 7.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xx.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

In the Act 2 Finale, one is immediately struck by the similarities between Strauss' and Einstein's markings.<sup>27</sup> In the first of the three *Tafelmusik*, based on Martini's<sup>28</sup> *Una Cosa rara*, bars 47 to 117, Strauss adds phrasing to the wind parts. Each of these phrase and articulation marks corresponds with those of Einstein, who accredits their reconstruction to Bernhard Gugler.<sup>29</sup> In the *Gesamtausgabe* score, the viola, cello and bass material, found between bars 867 and 869 of the autograph, which, in the latter, is in the hand of a copyist, is omitted. Einstein, in his edition, inserts this material in small print: it is also inserted by Strauss, in his own hand, and accredited to Gugler, and was clearly intended for implementation.

The question of the use of the trombones in Act 2, Scene XV, Number 11 is commented upon by Strauss in *Dirigentenerfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerken*,<sup>30</sup> where he notes that they should be omitted. Possart, Strauss' artistic collaborator in the 1896 production of *Don Giovanni*, at the Munich Court Opera, also states that the trombones should be omitted, as they cannot be found in Mozart's original score.<sup>31</sup> Possart, and therefore Strauss, used Gugler's researches as the basis for their assertions.<sup>32</sup> Einstein writes that although the trombones are missing from the autograph, they can be found in the Donaueschingen copy, and, therefore, should be used.<sup>33</sup> The fact that Strauss, in line with Einstein's comments, does not delete the trombones from Act 2, Scene XV, Number 11, in the extant score, suggests that it is a later copy than that used for the 1896 production.<sup>34</sup>

The 1896 production of *Don Giovanni* was notable for the restoration of the *Scena Ultima*, which, in many productions, had fallen from favour. The reinstatement of this scene cannot be considered in either of the terms which were applied to Mahler, for Strauss' readings reflect a tradition peculiar to Munich, rather than that of Vienna. His use of the *Scena Ultima*, rather than reinforcing the demonic preoccupation of the nineteenth

<sup>27</sup> An exception to this can be found in bar 109, where Strauss notes that the piano dynamic is missing in the autograph; this is not mentioned by Einstein. In the preparation of the Eulenburg Edition score, Einstein consulted the *GA*, Gugler's edition, the autograph and the Donaueschingen copy.

<sup>28</sup> Martini (Vicente Martin y Soler) (1754-1806).

<sup>29</sup> B. Gugler, *Mozarts Don Giovanni*, (first edition based on the autograph), F.E.C. Leuckart (Leipzig, 1869). Possart makes reference to this edition in his comments on the historic 1896 Munich production. *see* Appendix K.

<sup>30</sup> The date of the article, 'Dirigentenerfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerken', found in *Richard Strauss: Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, p. 51, is missing. The editor, Willi Schuh, notes that the article is taken from manuscript material. *see* Appendix D.

<sup>31</sup> E. von Possart, *Ueber die Neueinstudierung und Neuinszenierung des Mozart'schen Don Giovanni (Don Juan) auf dem kgl. Residenztheater zu München*, pp. 12 & 13. *see* Appendix K.

<sup>32</sup> *see* note 29.

<sup>33</sup> A. Einstein (ed.), *Mozart: Don Giovanni*, pp. XXI & XXVIII.

<sup>34</sup> The date of the score of *Don Giovanni*, held at the Villa Strauss, is not known and may indeed be that of the 1931 Vienna production. Not all of Strauss' marked scores are housed at Garmisch, e.g. *Tristan und Isolde*, *Guntram*, *Hänsel und Gretel* and *Lohengrin*, are to be found in the archive of the Deutschen Nationaltheater, Weimar; therefore, it is possible, that the score used for the 1896 production has been lost or mislaid. *see* Introduction note 100 and Appendix M.

century, was more to do with the concerns of symmetry and balance. This had implications for both the musical and dramatic structure of the opera. Within the context of a multi-movement Finale, Mozart applied the principle of tonal symmetry, concluding each of the Finales of his late operas in the key in which they began. The inclusion of the *Scena Ultima*, reinforces the tonal symmetry of the Finale, by the more resolute and sustained use of D major,<sup>35</sup> and, by concluding the opera with this scene, Strauss underlines the tonal core of the opera: D major. The nature of the tonal relationships within the Finale strengthen the argument for the inclusion of the *Scena Ultima*. Mozart does not maintain D minor to the end of Act 2, Scene XV, Number 11, but, from bar 594, employs the tonic major in a transitional manner. The relationship with the ensuing tonalities, by this shift to the tonic major, is symphonic in nature. At the Allegro assai, bar 603, Mozart moves the tonal centre to the subdominant, G major, moving to the dominant of the key of the Presto, A major, in a transitory fashion, at the end of the ensuing Larghetto. These modulations act in a preparatory manner for the key of the Presto, D major. Thus, these relationships, in the context of the Finale's greater tonal structure, effectively create a tonal arch, with Scene XV, as its fulcrum, a device commonly used by Mozart in his symphonic output. The interactive nature of these tonal relationships was seminal to Strauss' readings of Mozart's Finales, for he noted that whole passages of the Finales 'are pure concert music'.<sup>36</sup> Strauss' assertion that Mozart's Finales were symphonic in nature is reflected in the writings of present day musicologists, including H.C. Robbins Landon and Charles Rosen,<sup>37</sup> both of whom consider the symphonic elements of these movements.

As opera relies heavily on the successful interaction of both its musical and dramatic elements, the balance employed within its musical framework must be complemented by an equal sense of symmetry within its dramatic structure. By concluding the opera at the end of Act 2, Scene XV, Mozart and Da Ponte effectively dispose of Don Giovanni but leave a number of dramatic questions in need of resolution. The *Scena Ultima* rationalises some of these issues. In this scene, Mozart and Da Ponte resolve the questions of: the status of Donna Anna's and Don Ottavio's future marriage; the rustic and, somewhat, pragmatic reconciliation of Masetto and Zerlina; the emotional future of Donna Elvira, and Leporello's future employment. The last of these is particularly apt in the discussion of symmetry, as both acts begin with Leporello

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<sup>35</sup> Mozart retains the key of D major for the first 116 bars of the Allegro vivace, with only transitory excursions, and balances this with 115 bars of D major in the Presto, bars 756-871.

<sup>36</sup> see Appendix D.

<sup>37</sup> cf. H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn in England 1791-1795*, p. 526. Further, Rosen states: 'the sense of form in the finales is very similar to that in the symphonies and chamber music.' C. Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, p. 304.

postulating his dissatisfaction with *Don Giovanni*. For Strauss, these aspects of dramatic symmetry would have required resolution and would have been a necessary complement to his musical aims. The reinstatement of the *Scena Ultima* fulfils this function, whilst, as Dent notes, it concludes the opera within the Italian *opera buffa* tradition.<sup>38</sup> When one combines the above musical and theatrical criteria for the restoration of the *Scena Ultima*, Strauss was not only assured of restoring Mozart's intentions of 1787 but, also, of creating a sense of symmetry and balance, which permeated his readings of Mozart.

The dissemination of Strauss' musical and theatrical aims, in relation to this scene, are alluded to by Gruber, who links the achievements of the Glyndebourne Festival Opera with those of the Kroll Opera,<sup>39</sup> houses led by Strauss' followers: Klemperer, Busch and Pritchard. These artists rejected the influence of Mahler and employed the *Scena Ultima* in their productions. Further, Gruber's assertions reinforce part of the premise of this dissertation that: the work of these artists was interrelated with and directly connected to that of Strauss. This is best reflected by Klemperer's restoration of the *Scena Ultima*, which he included in his productions after first witnessing the revivification of the material by Strauss. Heyworth links the restoration of the *Scena Ultima* at Strasbourg, where Klemperer was Music Director between 1914 and 1917, to the activities of Strauss and Possart and their Munich Mozart Festivals.<sup>40</sup> The importance of this inclusion by Klemperer, in terms of his position within Strauss' Mozart renaissance, should not be underestimated, for, in his early years, Klemperer was heavily influenced by Mahler, in much the same manner as Bruno Walter.<sup>41</sup> However, where Walter continued to pursue Mahler's Mozartian ideals, Klemperer rejected them, preferring to adopt the reforms of Strauss. This applies equally to Pritchard and Sawallisch. Pritchard always included the *Scena Ultima* in the productions that he conducted in Europe, Australia and the United States. While Sawallisch, in keeping with his claim that Strauss' reforms are still an integral feature of the Bavarian State Opera's Mozart style, included the *Scena Ultima* in the production of *Don Giovanni*, performed at that house, during the 1991-1992 season.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> E.J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*, p. 174.

<sup>39</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, pp. 206-7.

<sup>40</sup> P. Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times (vol. 1 - 1885-1933)*, p. 117.

<sup>41</sup> Mahler made a deep impression on the young Klemperer, resulting in the latter arranging the former's Second Symphony 'Resurrection' for the piano, which he then played to the composer. Mahler later gave Klemperer a recommendation, written on a calling-card, that the latter retained to the end of his life. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>42</sup> The 1991-2 production was conducted, in the first instance, by Wolfgang Sawallisch, with the final performances being conducted by Gustav Kuhn.

### *Così fan tutte* and the use of cuts

With *Don Giovanni*, Strauss was editorially concerned with the restoration of material from the autograph and the revivification of the *Scena Ultima*. In *Così fan tutte*, he strove to present the opera as a whole, avoiding cuts that would weaken the dramatic impact of the score.<sup>43</sup> Strauss was reluctant to make cuts to the recitatives of *Così fan tutte* and, his dictum, ‘that the blue pencil’ should not be ‘allowed to run amok’,<sup>44</sup> also extended to the libretto and the other musical numbers of this opera.

Strauss felt that, in his experience, works which were traditionally considered theatrically weak, as indeed *Così fan tutte* was and still is, had always been at the mercy of ruthless directors and producers. For Strauss, the most distressing excesses of such people manifested themselves in, what he referred to as, “‘making’ a play”.<sup>45</sup> This is where producers and directors manipulated material, often cutting complete scenes, to create, what they considered, a stronger theatrical unit.<sup>46</sup>

This practice is not confined to *Così fan tutte*, but has also been applied to *Le nozze di Figaro*. Robert Moberly and Christopher Raeburn suggested that Mozart and Da Ponte originally intended the arrangement of the scenes in Act 3 to be in a different order than traditionally performed. Moberly and Raeburn argue that the traditional order of these scenes was influenced by the casting restrictions at the première of the opera. This considered, the two musicologists see no reason as to why their suggested alteration should not be implemented.<sup>47</sup> Alan Tyson’s research has shown that the autograph precludes any such change.<sup>48</sup>

Strauss would have been in agreement with Tyson. For, as has been shown by Strauss’ treatment of the symphonic works and *Don Giovanni*, he referred to the autographs of these compositions as the basis of his readings. What distressed him still further was the habit of conductors, tradition bound, of cutting material that they deemed below Mozart’s best work.<sup>49</sup> Strauss cites the E<sub>b</sub> major aria of Dorabella, Act 1, Number

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<sup>43</sup> Karajan, an artist of wide experience, dismisses the dramatic qualities of *Così fan tutte*, saying: ‘I would not stage it at all! Wonderful music, but in the theatre - well, I must say it is not to my taste.’ R. Osborne, *Conversations with Karajan*, p. 43.

<sup>44</sup> see Appendix B.

<sup>45</sup> Idem.

<sup>46</sup> Dent notes: ‘This libretto [*Così fan tutte*] was denounced throughout the nineteenth century... various attempts were made in Germany and elsewhere to “improve” it, or even to substitute an entirely fresh libretto on a totally different subject... There is not the least necessity for such a proceeding.’ E.J. Dent, *Mozart’s Operas: A Critical Study*, p. 190.

<sup>47</sup> R. Moberly & C. Raeburn, “Mozart’s ‘Figaro’: The Plan of Act III”, *Music and Letters* vol. 46 (1965), pp. 134-6.

<sup>48</sup> A. Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores*, pp. 114-24.

<sup>49</sup> see Appendix B.

11; Ferrando's B $\flat$  aria, Act 2, Number 24,<sup>50</sup> and Guglielmo's aria in G, Act 2, Number 26, with, what he describes as, 'their connecting and extremely charming recitatives' as being 'invariably cut', because they were considered to be 'musically inferior'. Strauss, conversely notes that, 'in reality they are all the most interesting and important from the dramatic point of view.'<sup>51</sup>

The salvaging of the above material was central to Strauss' revivification of *Così fan tutte*. He believed that this opera, far from being a theatrical absurdity, was a psychological examination of human nature. Donald F. Tovey<sup>52</sup> noted that it was Strauss' efforts at the turn of the century that led to the opera being regarded as 'a masterpiece of parody and irony'<sup>53</sup> and, in developing this sense of parody and irony, Strauss maintained that the development of these aspects of humanity could be best considered if the opera was left largely uncut.

Thus, in developing the psychological nature of the plot, Strauss refrained from making large cuts to the opera. The action in this opera, unlike *opera seria*, is developed not only through the recitatives but, also, through the arias and ensembles. In Strauss' score, he marks the traditional cuts, some of which can also be found in the Peters Edition score, with the letters 'vi—de' in pencil above the stave.<sup>54</sup> The appearance of these marks appears to contradict the above. However, when conducting an opera at a house for the first time, the cuts that a conductor encounters are often those that are considered 'traditional'<sup>55</sup> and it is these cuts that Strauss marks. It is the belief of the author that Strauss did not apply these cuts but marked them for reference only. This belief is based on Strauss' writings and the alternative method by which he indicates cuts in the Rondo, *Per pietà*, Act 2, Number 25, bars 81 to 89.<sup>56</sup>

Strauss makes it clear that Dorabella's aria, *Smanie implacabili*, Act 1, Number 11, is indispensable. In that aria, he marks, in pencil, the cut between the second half of bar 15 and the second half of bar 55 with 'vi—de' above the stave. If this cut were used,

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<sup>50</sup> Mozart notes, in the autograph of *Così fan tutte*, housed in Berlin, that the aria may be cut. Strauss was either unaware of this instruction, or, perhaps, felt, due to the nineteenth century's propensity for dismembering this work, that it should be included.

<sup>51</sup> see Appendix B.

<sup>52</sup> Donald F. Tovey (1875-1940). Analyst, writer, pianist and composer. Tovey was a friend of Fritz Busch, who was introduced to the former by his brother, Adolf, in 1913. The dissemination of Strauss' thoughts to the English analyst, may have been heightened by this relationship. cf. F. Busch, *Aus dem Leben eines Musikers*, p. 93.

<sup>53</sup> D.F. Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* (vol. vi), p. 30.

<sup>54</sup> G. Shünemann & K. Soldan, editorial notes to their 1941 edition of *Così fan tutte*, based on the autograph and reprinted by Dover (trans. S. Appelbaum).

<sup>55</sup> The use of traditional cuts was not only a problem faced by Strauss in his readings of Mozart but the former also suffered from this type of cut in his own works. This traditional method of cutting material has survived to this day and can be found in Bernstein's CBS recording - M3K 42564 - of Strauss' *Der Rosenkavalier*. cf. Introduction p.10.

<sup>56</sup> Strauss indicates a cut in an identical manner in Ferrando's aria, *Ah lo veggio quell' anima bella*, Act 2, Number 24, bars 23 to 33, and in *Idomeneo*, Quartet, Act 2, Scene X, bars 105 to 114 [*Edition Strauss*].

more than a third of the aria would be lost, contradicting Strauss' writings. The author's theory that Strauss did not use the cuts marked 'vi—de' in pencil is supported by his treatment of the aforementioned Rondo, sung by Fiordiligi, in Act 2. Here, Strauss marks the cut between bars 80 and 94 with 'vi—de' above the stave, but only bars 81 to 89 are crossed through in pencil. As any conductor will testify, the indication of a cut in a score must be clear and unequivocal, for, in performance, the conductor's clear understanding of his own indications is essential. When one looks at the scores of Sir John Pritchard, whose markings have been shown to bear a striking resemblance to those of Strauss, he, too, marks cuts in the manner of bars 81 to 89, as any indecision may be critical. Therefore, it would seem that Strauss did not cut bars 80 to 94, but only bars 81 to 89 and, if one applies this method to *Smania implacabili*, the implied cut would also not be used.

Strauss' use of 'vi—de' above the stave can be found in Number 6, bars 46 to 75; from the end of Number 6 to the end of Number 7; Number 11, bars 15 (second half) to 55 (second half); Number 14, bars 101 (second beat) to 109 (second beat); Number 18, bars 23 to 54; Number 24, bars 23 to 33 and bars 57 to 92, here Strauss also marks alternative endings at bars 80 and 92; Number 25, bars 80 to 94; Number 26, bars 108 (second half) to 136 (second half); Number 28, bars 32 to 63 and bars 79 to 91; and Number 29, bars 39 to 57 and bars 105 (second half) to 115 (second half). Substantial gaps would have resulted if Strauss had sanctioned the above cuts and, as already mentioned, would have been contrary to his writings and detrimental to his reforms. The use of these cuts would also have impeded the dramatic flow of Da Ponte's libretto, which, as Schünemann and Soldan note, Mozart follows closely, particularly in the conversational use of punctuation.

In discussing cuts pertaining to the recitatives, in Chapter Four, it will be seen that both Klemperer<sup>57</sup> and Pritchard<sup>58</sup> cut the material between the end of Number 6 and the end of Number 7, tightening the scene leading to the arrival of the barque which 'transports' Ferrando and Guglielmo to 'war', highlighted as a possible cut by Strauss. Pritchard, in addition to the above cut, omits Number 8, bars 1 to 25 (beat four); Number 18, bars 461 (beat 2) to 476 (beat 2); Number 28, bars 69 (beat four) to 100 (beat four); and Number 29, bars 121 to 131, while, in the Andante of Number 31, he cuts from bar 83 (second half) to bar 141 (second half), an incision that he retained until the end of his career.

It seems probable that Strauss, like Klemperer and Pritchard, would have omitted Number 15a, as he, too, would have realized that Number 15 was Mozart's preferred

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<sup>57</sup> W.A. Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, O. Klemperer, New Philharmonia, EMI SLS961.

<sup>58</sup> W.A. Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, J. Pritchard, 1959 Glyndebourne Festival Opera production, author's private collection.

aria.<sup>59</sup> All three conductors either cut the whole or part of Ferrando's aria, Act 2, Number 24. Strauss mentions it specifically in his article, linking the deletion of this aria with that of the surrounding recitativi accompagnati. Although Klemperer and Pritchard, in line with Mozart's suggestion, omit this aria, they see the wisdom in Strauss' advice, retaining the two recitatives,<sup>60</sup> which act as a dialogue, strengthening the drama leading to Fiordiligi's Rondo, *Per pietà, ben mio*.

Strauss championed *Così fan tutte* throughout his career, endeavouring to strip away the misconceptions that had surrounded the work during the nineteenth century. The restoration of material that was traditionally cut, allowed the public, and indeed the musical world, a chance to reappraise a work that has since come to be regarded as one of Mozart's mature masterpieces. Strauss also applied his restorative principles to the recitatives, a subject for discussion later in this dissertation.<sup>61</sup> The interactive nature of his reading not only revived the arias and ensembles that had fallen from the productions of the last century but, also, placed them within a greater theatrical context. Thus, by rejecting the misconceptions that surrounded *Così fan tutte*, Strauss not only reasserted the musical worth of this opera but, also, its relationship with its forward-looking libretto.

### **Strauss' edition of *Idomeneo***

Apart from the composition of new recitativi accompagnati, the *Interludio* in Act 2 and the additions to the Temple Scene and the *Scena Ultima* - together with the orchestration of the existing recitativi secci - Strauss' and Wallerstein's intention was, in practical terms, to tighten the action of the opera by various cuts and position changes to Mozart's original material. A detailed description of this can be found in Appendix H.

In Chapter One, the critics raised the issue of Strauss' reworking of the recitatives. The wider question of Strauss' treatment of the recitative is dealt with later but, as this aspect of *Idomeneo* is structurally important to the opera as a whole, it would seem appropriate to deal briefly with the matter here. Strauss combined the reforms of Gluck,<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Number 15a was written for Francesco Benucci who created the rôle of Guglielmo, but was replaced by Number 15 at the first Viennese performance.

<sup>60</sup> Pritchard, however, cuts Act 2, Scene VI, bar 21 (second half) to the end of the recitative, going immediately to Scene VII.

<sup>61</sup> For an alternative contemporary view of *Così fan tutte*, see Gustav Mahler's adjustments, described in Appendix I.

<sup>62</sup> Winton Dean notes: 'Mozart, who attended nearly all the rehearsals of the Vienna production of *Iphigénie en Tauride* in 1781, learnt much from Gluck, though his own immeasurably greater creative gifts have obscured the debt. The parallels between *Die Entführung* and *La rencontre imprévue* reach further than the similarity of their plots. Gluck's *Don Juan* ballet left a superficial impression on *Figaro*, whose fandango is related to it, and a deeper one on *Don Giovanni*. *Idomeneo* strikes the same note of classical grandeur and the same blend of *opera seria* and *tragédie lyrique* as Gluck's last operas, of which it is the single worthy successor. Perhaps the most interesting link is to be found in the masonic scenes of *Die Zauberflöte*, where the March of the Priests bears a striking resemblance, in mood and material, to the chorus 'Chaste fille de Latone' in Act 4 of *Iphigénie en Tauride*.' W. Dean, 'Gluck, Christoph Willibald,' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* p. 471.

with existing material, as the basis of many of his reworked recitatives. Gluck, a composer who was also the subject of editorial revision by Strauss,<sup>63</sup> and whose reforms were referred to by the latter in his Preface to *Capriccio*, felt the need to modify the use of recitatives in his operas. Jack Westrup noted that Gluck, in implementing his reforms, used the orchestra: ‘...[when accompanying the recitative] in a simple and straightforward style’.<sup>64</sup> Strauss, whilst generally observing this principle, also incorporated Mozart’s use of motifs into these recitatives, the use of which was a feature of Mozart’s compositional technique in this opera, adding a sense of continuity to the opera’s superstructure. An example of this can be found in Act 1, Scene VIII, [*Edition Strauss*<sup>65</sup>] which is based on the recitativi accompagnati in Act 1, Scene X [*NMA* p.109], which, in itself, has links with the overture and earlier thematic material. Strauss has preserved as many of Mozart’s original recitativi accompagnati as possible. However, many of these have been reduced in length. This is a common practice in the opera house and is often undertaken for theatrical, as well as musical reasons. In the case of Mozart’s late operas, Strauss and his followers avoided the use of cuts where possible. However, in these late operas, the nature of the drama is such that it would be weakened, rather than strengthened by the use of cuts. Conversely, it has been argued that, in *Idomeneo*, the dramatic tension is less convincing than in Mozart’s final operas. This opera relies heavily on the beauty and the drama of the music, rather than on the sociological implications of the libretto. Strauss recognised this and, by the use of judicious incisions in the recitativi accompagnati, he not only attempted to strengthen and tighten the drama but, also, the musical structure.<sup>66</sup>

The critics cited in Chapter One also refer to Strauss’ inclusion of his own material in his reworking of *Idomeneo*. His inclusion of his *Interludio* and the extensions to the Temple Scene and the *Scena Ultima* is in keeping with the concept of *pasticcio*.<sup>67</sup> The orchestration, using the same forces as Mozart’s original, displays the textural

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<sup>63</sup> At Meiningen, Strauss conducted the overture to Gluck’s *Iphigénie en Aulis*, in the same programme as Mozart’s *Requiem*, 6 December 1885. Whilst in Weimar, he edited Gluck’s *Iphigénie en Tauride* in 1889-90. This was probably the basis of his treatment of the recitatives in his edition of *Idomeneo*. In Munich, Strauss conducted Gluck’s *Iphigénie en Aulis* in a new production by Müller, première 11 January 1896, subsequent performances were 15 January 1896 and 1 March 1896; and *Orfeo ed Euridice*, in an existing production, on 21 January 1897. Strauss continued to conduct Gluck in Berlin: *Iphigénie en Aulis*, 1 January 1913; *Orfeo ed Euridice*, 3 June 1913; and the overture to *Iphigénie en Aulis* in the Subscription Concerts, 6 December 1912 and 7 April 1916. He later recorded this overture with the Berlin Philharmonic.

<sup>64</sup> J. Westrup, ‘Recitative’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, pp. 646-7.

<sup>65</sup> This was published in 1931 by Heinrichshofen Verlag.

<sup>66</sup> Rosen consider this issue, describing *Idomeneo* as a ‘beautifully conceived mosaic’. C. Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, p.180.

<sup>67</sup> (i) Reinhard Strohm defines *pasticcio* as follows: ‘The pasticcio arose in the late 17th- and early 18th-century opera house ...selections of which [‘favourite arias’] were assembled in ‘new’ works. In this way the required novelty was assured and the risk of failure diminished. ...The librettist adjusted the recitative texts and altered (or parodied) the aria texts; the musical director set the recitatives anew and undertook transpositions and other adaptations ...An existing score is interspersed with new pieces, some of which may be by the compiler himself.’ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* p. 288. If one applies these criteria to Strauss’ reworking of *Idomeneo* the result is, indeed, *pasticcio*.

(ii) Dr Franz Trenner alerted the author to Strauss’ use of *pasticcio*.

hallmarks of Strauss. Both these insertions are clearly defined by Strauss and do not purport to be by Mozart. This is the true mark of *pasticcio*. Unlike Mahler, in his Viennese readings of Mozart's late operas, Strauss was not trying to remedy the compositional shortcomings of the Classical Period. Strauss avoided the temptation to reorchestrate; with the exception of twenty-five bars in Ismene's aria, Act 2, Scene XI [*Edition Strauss*], *Orestes und Ajas*, where he lightly doubles the violas in the winds, or, earlier, where he strengthens the chorus material, Act 1, Scene VI [*Edition Strauss*], *Da seht! Götter, o helf!*. Strauss, on the title page of the opera, notes that his version is a 'completely new edition' (*Vollständige Neubearbeitung*). Further, he published his edition,<sup>68</sup> making clear the differences between his additional material and that of Mozart's original. Strauss' autograph of his reworking of this opera clearly defines the material composed by him and, in the printed score, the *Interludio*, page 193, bears his name.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, by the publisher's use of Breitkopf & Härtel's original plates from the *Gesamtausgabe*, the distinction between Mozart's original and Strauss' revision is heightened. Mahler never published his amendments and, therefore, the auditors of the day were not in a position to fully differentiate between Mahler's adjustments and the original score. Certainly, Strauss would never have considered such alterations in Mozart's late operas but, due to the neglect that *Idomeneo* suffered, it seems that Strauss believed that his efforts in bringing Mozart's youthful masterpiece before the public were an extension of the Mozart renaissance, which he had begun in Munich at the turn of the century.

Strauss' editorial activities influenced Pritchard in his readings of this opera and this can be seen in the use of cuts and other adjustments. There are a number of similarities between the two artists and, even in the more subtle manipulations, one is aware of Strauss' influence. One such example can be found in the recitativo accompagnato which follows the overture. Strauss reduces the material from 68 bars to 51. Both Strauss and Pritchard - in his 1956 and 1964 Glyndebourne Festival recordings<sup>70</sup> - cut from bar 55 to bar 61 [*NMA*]. As in the case of the incisions in *Così fan tutte*, this cut was made on dramatic grounds, thrusting the music forward to three bars based on the dominant seventh of C minor, where Ilia is expressing her turbulent emotions. The accompaniment and voice interact throughout these bars, directing the music to C minor, colouring the words, *sbranate sì, sbranate sì quest' infelice core* (break this unhappy heart). By stressing the emotions expressed in these bars, Strauss, and indeed Pritchard, are highlighting a human element that was generally considered lacking in most *opera*

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<sup>68</sup> see note 65.

<sup>69</sup> Facsimile of Strauss' reworking of *Idomeneo* provided by courtesy of the Strauss family.

<sup>70</sup> EMI CHS7636852, 1956. Melodram MEL27003, 1964.

*seria*. Their reading of this material is more in keeping with their performances of Mozart's late operas and, by this cut, have sought to highlight the richness of Mozart's score.<sup>71</sup>

Strauss and Pritchard also employ cuts in the ensuing aria, Act 1, Scene I, Number 1 [*NMA* p. 26]. Here, the conductors again agree on the music to be removed. Strauss cuts bars 41 to 56 and bars 81 to 92 [*NMA*]. Pritchard, in his Kalmus score, cuts bars 41 to 56 [*NMA*] and, in his 1956 and 1964 recordings, cuts bars 92 to 103, an orchestrationally expanded version of bars 81 to 92. As in many of the examples given below, both Strauss and Pritchard make incisions which retain the strength and beauty of Mozart's music but delete material necessary to meet the repetitive nature of the text. Strauss' cuts are particularly sensitive, as they take into consideration Mozart's differing orchestration in the repeated material. In the first cut, Strauss excludes the material with the sustained wind, whilst, in the second, he removes the material which is accompanied simply by the strings. By balancing his cuts in this manner, Strauss alerts the auditor to Mozart's subtle use of form and directs the music towards the written-out vocal cadenza in bars 108 to 115 [*NMA*].

Pritchard, in his 1956 and 1964 recordings cuts more material in this opera than in any other Mozart opera in his repertoire. He, like Strauss, makes cuts not only in the recitatives but, also, in the marches, choruses and arias. Both Strauss and Pritchard (in his two Glyndebourne Festival recordings) make a sizeable cut, though in a different place but with the same structural implication, in the middle of the chorus, Act 1, Scene X, Number 9 [*NMA* p. 134]; cut Arbace's aria, Act 2, Scene I, Number 10a [*NMA* p. 175]; prefer the shortened version of Idomeneo's aria, *Fuor del Mar*, Act 2, Scene III, Number 12b [*NMA* p. 252]; and exclude the ballet music, Act 3, *Scena Ultima*, Number 32, [*NMA* p. 495]. There are further similarities between the two in other aspects of interpretation, such as: their choice of dynamics, phrasing, bowing and articulation.

Essentially, the revisions of Strauss, whilst conforming to the concept of *pasticcio*, later implemented in part by Pritchard, are designed to tighten both the dramatic and musical tension of the opera. The libretto lacks relevance to society, either to that of the eighteenth or twentieth centuries. However, the musical adjustments serve a very real purpose. Both Strauss and Pritchard are anxious to highlight the inherent quality of Mozart's score, whilst reducing the repetitive aspects of the musical material necessary in setting Varesco's largely static text.

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<sup>71</sup> Pritchard noted that Busch commented on just this point, noting: 'I think he [Busch] felt a curious air of unreality in preparing himself to conduct, for the first time, a Mozart opera which with every ensuing day's rehearsal revealed itself as more powerful and dramatic than he had ever dreamed.' J. Pritchard, 'Conducting Mozart', *Opera Annual 1955-1956*, p. 28.

It may at first seem to auditors, unfamiliar with performance practice of the first half of this century, that Strauss' edition of *Idomeneo* was closer to Mahler's vision of Mozart than to the reforms which Strauss instigated in Munich. However, on closer examination, this has been shown not to be the case. Moreover, the effect of Strauss' Munich Reforms on Klemperer, Pritchard and Sawallisch is clearly apparent. His influence on Klemperer is most pronounced when one considers Mahler's Mozart. Klemperer was associated with Mahler in the early years of this century and strongly admired him both personally and professionally. The above considered, Strauss' influence on the next generation and, in particular, Klemperer, cannot, and should not, be diminished, outweighing that of his colleague and friend Mahler. Klemperer, Pritchard and Sawallisch would never have considered treating Mozart's late operas in the manner of the symphonist, preferring Strauss' detailed approach, which, with its reference to autograph material, attempted to be faithful to both score and libretto.

## Chapter Three

### Performance II: Tempo

#### *Urtempo* and related tempi

A central theme of a number of the reviews discussed in Chapter One was Strauss' treatment of pulse. This is given further expression by H.C. Robbins Landon, who states that Strauss used the idea of an '*Urtempo*', with respect to, 'the underlying unity of the Viennese classical style' and was, 'first examined and then put into practice by Richard Strauss when he was conducting at the Munich Opera.'<sup>1</sup> Robbins Landon's assertion, considered by Zaslav,<sup>2</sup> seems not to be substantiated from the evidence found in Strauss' recordings of Mozart.

Zaslav discusses Robbins Landon's thoughts, in relation to Johann Joachim Quantz's ideas<sup>3</sup> and their relevance to Strauss and his contemporaries, rightly dismissing, in a general discussion of Mozart's tempi, the influence of Quantz and the fixed tactus in the realization of the former's speeds.<sup>4</sup> However, Robbins Landon cites K425 as a prime candidate for the application of an *Urtempo*. Zaslav correctly states that Strauss never recorded the work but, in point of fact, the composer-conductor seems never to have performed this symphony. In relation to this matter, Zaslav says of Strauss' 'recording of K.550 ...[that it] is so poorly played that one hesitates to draw any conclusions from it.'<sup>5</sup>

However, from these recordings, evidence emerges from which one can determine Strauss' intentions. His tempi in his two recordings of K550 are as follows: Allegro molto (first subject) ♩=116 (1927-8);<sup>6</sup> Allegro molto (second subject) ♩=102 (1927), ♩=112 (1928); Andante (first & second subjects) ♩=+100 (1927), ♩=100 (1928); Andante (bridge passage) ♩=104-12 (1927), ♩=104 (1928); Menuetto ♩=60-3 (1927), ♩=60 (1928); Trio ♩=56 (1927-8); Allegro assai (first subject) ♩=138 (1927), ♩=132 (1928); Allegro assai (second subject) ♩=126 (1927), ♩=120 (1928).

These tempi preclude the possibility of an *Urtempo*. When one takes into account each movement's opening speed, there appears to be no mutual basis for the

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<sup>1</sup> H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn in England 1791-1795*, p. 526.

<sup>2</sup> N. Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies*, p. 492.

<sup>3</sup> J.J. Quantz, 'Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen,' *Readings in the History of Music*, C. MacClintock, pp. 315-23.

<sup>4</sup> N. Zaslav, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 492, note 111.

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that, due to the limitations of recording and playback equipment, these speeds may vary accordingly.

implementation of such a device. Moreover, if one looks to the relationship that exists between the tempo of the first subject and that of the second subject, or, in the case of the Andante, the first subject and the bridge passage, along with his reduced speed at the Trio in the third movement, an *Urtempo* seems most unlikely.

However, Strauss employs an organised system of tempo control within the symphonic macrocosm. This can be heard in the tempo relationship between the slow Introduction to the first movement of K543 and its ensuing Allegro. Strauss, as a composer-conductor, had a heightened awareness of the need to integrate the diverse structural elements contained in this movement and, as he was opposed to the nineteenth century practice of modifying the compositional content of eighteenth century works in the manner of Mahler, the most obvious and practical means of structural unification at his disposal was a manipulation of the relative tempi within the greater symphonic movement. In an interview with the author, the critic, Felix Aprahamian, considered this very point. He recalled that Strauss, in his reading of K543, at the Queen's Hall, London, with the BBC Symphony Orchestra, on 21 October 1931, denied the use of an *Urtempo* but left the auditor with a strong impression of rhythmic unity.<sup>7</sup>

By this means, Strauss links the tempi of the Introduction and the following Allegro. He conducts the Introduction between ♩=92 (♩=46) and ♩=104 (♩=52). The movement's opening pulse is ♩=96 (♩=48). Strauss increases the pulse of the Introduction towards its climax, at the diminished harmony, in bar 21. He then underlines the transitional nature of bars 22 to 25 by inserting a 'meno mosso' at bar 22, followed by a gradual decrease in pulse to the second half of bar 25, where the speed ebbs to ♩=92. These tempi have direct links with the following Allegro, where the opening pulse, between bars 26 to 53, is ♩=52, the speed, in crotchets, at the climax of the Introduction. From bar 54, Strauss adopts a new, more festive character, underlining the mood change, with its increased dynamic, by making a slight 'più mosso', increasing the tempo to ♩=56. The opening tempo of the Adagio relates to the speed of the Allegro's second subject, ♩=48.

He also integrates the second and fourth movements into the greater symphonic whole. The opening tempo of the Andante con moto is ♩=92, the speed of the Introduction at bar 25. At the bridge passage in the second movement, his tempo is ♩=104, the speed of the Introduction at bar 21. This tempo is also linked to the speed of the Allegro, bars 26 to 53, while the pulse of the last movement - ♩=144 - also has links with both the Introduction and the second subject of the Allegro.

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<sup>7</sup> Interview with the author, 7 September 1993.

Strauss' treatment of tempi, linking the Introduction and the Allegro, is reflected in the readings of his followers, who, like him, reinforce a sense of unity by tempo manipulation. Szell<sup>8</sup> and Sawallisch<sup>9</sup> relate the pulse of the Introduction to the following Allegro, with the former directing the Introduction at a fraction below ♩=100 (♩=50), closely aligning that pulse to the speed of the first subject, ♩.=+50. Sawallisch structures the pulse of the Introduction in a similar manner to Strauss, beginning at ♩=92 (♩=46) and decreasing the speed, in a transitional fashion, in the final bars, to, at first, ♩=88 (♩=44), and, finally, ♩=84 (♩=42). Sawallisch aligns the initial pulse of the Introduction to that of the opening bars of the Allegro, ♩.=46. Pritchard,<sup>10</sup> whilst not subscribing to the premise of a unified pulse in metronomic terms, does apply Strauss' method, using the final bars of the Introduction as a form of bridge passage to the ensuing Allegro. In the Introduction, his opening tempo is ♩=84, followed by a 'meno mosso' at bar 22, resulting in a decrease in pulse, at the final bar of the Introduction, to ♩.=+40. To highlight this transition, Pritchard invariably transformed the pulse at bar 22 from quavers to crotchets, facilitating an ease of transition to the new speed in dotted minims: ♩.=50. Furthermore, Sawallisch and Pritchard also add a 'più mosso' at bar 54 in the first movement of K543 by, in the case of former, raising the pulse from ♩.=46 to ♩.=50, and, in the latter, who always transformed the beat from a dotted minim to a crotchet, from ♩.=50 to ♩.=+54 (♩.=+162). As Strauss' increase in pulse is so marginal at this point, it may be assumed that he, too, transforms the beat from a dotted minim to a crotchet at this juncture.

In K551, Strauss treats the tempi organically, building on each ensuing movement. The speeds are as follows: Allegro vivace, ♩=84-88 (first subject); Andante cantabile, ♩=84-88; Menuetto, ♩.=46-51/2; Molto allegro, ♩.=80. One could argue from these tempi, that, in fact, they confirm Robbins Landon's assertion that Strauss' readings reflect the principle of an *Urtempo*. This, however, would be a Procrustean bed and, for a more convincing explanation of these speeds, one must move forward to the writings of Nikolaus Harnoncourt, a musician, who, like Strauss, has not only performed these symphonies widely, but has also written about them in a scholarly manner. Harnoncourt states that, in K551, 'each movement is somewhat faster than the previous one', creating, effectively, a form of 'composed accelerando' towards the Finale. He goes on to note that: 'The ♩ in the first movement, the ♩ in the second movement, the ♩ in the third movement, and the ♩ in the fourth movement are all somewhat faster, respectively.'<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> CBS Sony SM3K 46515.

<sup>9</sup> Supraphon VD69253.

<sup>10</sup> BBC Symphony Orchestra, Barbican, London, 17 January 1983.

<sup>11</sup> N. Harnoncourt, *The Musical Dialogue*, trans. M. O'Neill, p. 95.

If one compares Harnoncourt's speeds with those of Strauss, one can immediately see the relative nature of their interactive tempi. Harnoncourt's speeds are as follows: Allegro vivace, ♩=72; Andante cantabile, ♩=84-88; Menuetto, ♩=52; Molto allegro, ♩=72-76.<sup>12</sup> Clearly, there is a link between the speeds of Strauss' and Harnoncourt's first and last movements, the points of departure and arrival of the 'composed accelerando', with the transition between these extremities being a tangible expression, at least in part, of Harnoncourt's aims. It is true that the pulse of Strauss' Andante cantabile is not strictly in keeping with Harnoncourt's ideas but, due to Strauss' generally faster tempo in the external movements, an increased basic pulse, in accordance with the tempi of the surrounding movements, would have detracted from the cantabile nature of the Andante cantabile. Further, as will be shown below, to conduct the slow movement at a faster tempo, or indeed a slower tempo, would not have reflected Strauss' concerns regarding the varying degrees of andante.

If one divides Harnoncourt's tempi, movement by movement, in the manner that he suggests, then he, too, does not strictly follow his own written ideals. However, Strauss' tempo in the Finale, is in line with Harnoncourt's theories and, in fact, reflects somewhat more accurately, in aural terms, the ideals set out in the latter's writings. Strauss, by applying the concept of a 'composed accelerando', prepares the way for directing the Finale in semibreves rather than minims. Moreover, by conducting the Finale in one beat to the bar, Strauss is reinforcing the liturgical associations of the first subject material. In the previous chapter, it was noted that this theme can be heard in the *Sanctus* of the Mass, K257. Here, Mozart sets the words, *Sanctus, Sanctus*, syllabically and, by conducting the Finale of K551 in semibreves, Strauss not only replicates the syllabic treatment of the material, as found in the Mass, but alludes to the liturgical origins of the counterpoint which dominates this Finale. By treating the tempi of K551 in this manner, both Strauss and Harnoncourt create a classical arch, underlining the interactive nature of sonata form, the periodic phrase and tempo. Thus, Strauss uses the internal tempo relationships to create a greater sense of the whole.

Tempo integration is also of importance when assessing Strauss' speeds in the symphonic slow movements. In Chapter One, his thoughts on the generic andante were discussed. From his writings, it would appear that he considered an andante to be a relatively fast tempo: a view not universally held by his contemporaries. For example, Frieder Weissman, in his recordings of Mozart, takes the andantes in the overtures to *Don Juan [Giovanni]* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* comparatively slowly. In the former,

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<sup>12</sup> Live recordings of Mozart's last three symphonies, recorded in the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna, on the 200th anniversary of Mozart's death, 5 December 1991. Teldec 9031-74858-2.

his speed in the Introduction varies between ♩=46 (bars 1-4) and ♩=54-6 (from bar 5), while, in the latter, his tempo is ♩=66.

In the slow movements of K543, K550 and K551, Strauss' tempi are designed to integrate the andantes into the symphonic whole and to be reflective of their superscriptions. The use of the term, andante, in the eighteenth century was extremely vague. Harnoncourt notes seventeen different gradations<sup>13</sup> and even this list omits K551's superscription: Andante cantabile. The tempi for K543's Andante con moto and K551's Andante cantabile have direct links with each of their respective first movements. Moreover, if one compares his pulse in K551's Andante cantabile - ♩=84 - to his speed in K543's Andante con moto - ♩=92 - one is aware that the tempi are not only in keeping with their respective superscriptions but, also, reflect the variety of tempi available within the generic term. K550's Andante has no metronomic links with its surrounding movements; however, Strauss, in both recordings, takes tempi that are in line with his written comments:<sup>14</sup> ♩=+100 (1927), ♩=100 (1928).

### The Minuet and Trio

An area that has been the subject of debate is the tempo relationship that exists between the Minuet and the Trio. Zaslav, citing Hummel and Czerny, argues against a slower tempo for the Trio.<sup>15</sup> Conversely, from his recordings, it would seem that Strauss differentiates between the courtly Minuet and the bucolic Trio, with its links to the *Ländler*, with a reduction in tempo at the arrival of the latter.

The Minuet was, for the greater part of the eighteenth century, taken at a brisk pace.<sup>16</sup> The *Ländler*, on the other hand, with its origins in the Alpine countryside, was taken at a slower speed. Strauss' interpretation of these dances, aligning genre with tempo, is reflected by Nikolaus Harnoncourt, who has written at some length on the subject:

In Austria, a specifically alpine flavor is added. The *Ländler* - or the group of duple- and triple-time dances which went by this name - was added to the family. Typical yodeling [sic] motifs... were thus added to these common dance forms... These alpine dances, the triple-time forms of which soon were called waltzes because the dancers turned or revolved... They are the true ancestors of the waltz. Very different social classes came together musically in these late minuets as a result of the amalgamation of the stylized minuet - which was no longer closely related to the dance - with these folk dances... Should Mozart not have indicated such a significant shift in tempo? Absolutely not; on the contrary, it would be ridiculous to expect him to impart such obvious instructions to

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<sup>13</sup> N. Harnoncourt, *The Musical Dialogue*, trans. M. O'Neill, p. 92.

<sup>14</sup> see Appendix D.

<sup>15</sup> N. Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies*, p. 500.

<sup>16</sup> Harnoncourt cites examples of Minuet tempi from 1688 to 1789, noting the changing character of the tempi throughout this period. N. Harnoncourt, op. cit., pp. 100-1.

musicians who had these dance forms in their blood. It only becomes a problem centuries later, for us, who are convinced that a composer should spell out exactly what we are supposed to do... We are therefore justified in juxtaposing the two different forms of the minuet and need not feel that we must try to force them onto the procrustean bed of an apparently correct, unified tempo. The trio should be played in a comfortable yodeler [sic] tempo, which it requires, and the minuet in a quick "one".<sup>17</sup>

The above considered, one must remember that Strauss was a man of the mountains and, before he built his villa at Garmisch, stayed for many years at his wife's, family's, Alpine home at Marquartstein, experiencing, at first hand, the folkloric style of the *Ländler*. Even to this day, the Alpine traditions, and particularly those related to music, may be found in the villages of Bavaria and Upper Austria. Equally, Mozart, whose formative years were divided between the sub-Alpine environment of Salzburg and the great courts of Europe, would have considered the diverse character of the two dance forms when pitting them against one another. Strauss, of all composers, would have been aware of the relationship that existed between the waltz, *Ländler*, and Minuet, and marked the difference in his recordings, between the courtly and the rustic, by a distinction in tempo. Harnoncourt is not the first conductor-musicologist to recognise the link between the waltz and the *Ländler*, Del Mar discusses exactly this some twenty years earlier and made specific reference to Strauss.<sup>18</sup> A witty juxtaposition of these dance forms can be found in *Intermezzo*. From figure 140 in Act 1, Strauss pits a waltz against a '*Ländler*', depicting, musically, the transition from the urbane to the bucolic. As if to underline the sociological and musical differences of both dance forms, Strauss makes suitable adjustments to the tempi, noting that the '*Ländler*' section, the first twenty-five bars of Scene III, be performed '*etwas gehalten*'.

This considered, it is interesting to note how Strauss, in his four recordings of Mozart symphonies, differentiates between the speed of the Minuet and the Trio. In K543, where the Trio is based on an actual *Ländler* theme,<sup>19</sup> he decreases the speed from  $\text{♩}=58$  in the Minuet to  $\text{♩}=50$  in the Trio, while, in his two recordings of K550, he reduces, in 1927, the speed from  $\text{♩}=60-63$  to  $\text{♩}=56$  and, in 1928, from  $\text{♩}=60$  to  $\text{♩}=56$ . In his recording of K551 the reduction is less marked, decreasing the speed from  $\text{♩}=46-51/2$  to  $\text{♩}=50$ . In each of the movements, Strauss takes into consideration the underlying character of the music. In K543, Strauss reinforces the links with the *Ländler*, and its rustic use of clarinets, by a marked decrease in tempo, while in K551, where the orchestrational differences are less well defined, he only marginally reduces the pulse.

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<sup>17</sup> N. Harnoncourt, *The Musical Dialogue*, trans. M. O'Neill, pp. 104-5.

<sup>18</sup> Del Mar notes: 'The Waltz evolved during the eighteenth century from the *Ländler*, an extremely popular traditional dance which had flourished in Bavaria as well as Austria for at least two hundred years. The only difference between the two dance forms was that of speed, the *Ländler* being generally danced at a rather deliberate pace.' N. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works* (vol. 1), p. 217.

<sup>19</sup> N. Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies*, p. 434.

## Tempo and form

Strauss used tempo to differentiate between the various elements of sonata form and was particularly detailed in his treatment of the second subject, reflecting the generally lyrical nature of these sections with suitable tempo modifications. He noted that, in Mozart, the performer should, in ‘pieces which present a lively pattern of sound’, such as fast movements, take the cantabile subsidiary theme a little more ‘quietly’ [*ruhiger*].<sup>20</sup> Strauss’ use of *ruhiger*, translated by L.J. Lawrence as ‘quietly’, is deceptive. In light of the following, a less literal translation seems appropriate and ‘calmer’ would seem more a characteristic description of Strauss’ reading of a Mozartian second subject. This section generally offers a respite from what has gone before, and he treats it in a complementary, lyrical manner. The most obvious example of this can be found in the first movement of K550, where the restless G minor first subject is balanced by the more static and cantabile second subject in B $\flat$  major.<sup>21</sup>

The wider, structural implications of such an act can be found in Strauss’ reading of the second subject of K543. Here, one is aware of the integrated nature of his interpretation of this movement and, the tempo taken at this subject, can be linked to the earlier discussion of the tempo relationships that he and his followers employed in their readings of the Introduction and its relationship with the ensuing Allegro. In this movement, Strauss reduces the speed at the second subject -  $\text{♩}=48$  ( $\text{♩}=144$ ) - returning to  $\text{♩}=56$  ( $\text{♩}=168$ ), his tempo from bar 54, at bar 119. This aligns the speed of the second subject with that of the crotchet pulse at the opening of the Introduction,<sup>22</sup> instilling a greater sense of unity to a movement which is generally more diffuse in character than the first movements of K550 and K551.

Strauss’ treatment of the second subject in the above example is not an isolated incident but symptomatic of his readings of these subjects as a whole. For example, he applies a ‘meno mosso’ at the first movement’s second subject in K550. At bar 44 of his 1928 recording, he reduces the speed from  $\text{♩}=116$  to  $\text{♩}=112$ . In his earlier recording, he takes the first subject at the above speed but reduces the pulse of the second subject more drastically to  $\text{♩}=102$ . He also treats the fourth movement’s second subject - starting at bar 71 - in a lyrical manner, reducing his tempo in the 1928 recording from  $\text{♩}=132$  to  $\text{♩}=120$ . In his earlier recording, Strauss’ pulse is noticeably faster in both the first and second subjects. In the first subject of his 1927 recording, he adopts an initial speed of  $\text{♩}=138$ ,

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<sup>20</sup> see Appendix D.

<sup>21</sup> Idem.

<sup>22</sup>  $\text{♩}=144$  is also the basic tempo of the Finale. Whilst this might seem to support Robbins Landon’s assertion regarding an *Urtempo*, the tempo of the Minuet ( $\text{♩}=58/\text{♩}=174$ ) and, indeed, the slower Trio ( $\text{♩}=50/\text{♩}=150$ ) along with the juxtaposition of differing tempi at the first and second subjects of the first movement, dispels this concept. see note 28.

reducing the tempo at the second subject to  $\text{♩}=126$ . It would seem that his dissatisfaction with the earlier recording, discussed in Chapter One, may partly stem from these tempi. The speeds of the first movement's two subjects are less convincing than the tempo relationships in the later recording, while, in the last movement of the earlier recording, he is less detailed in his treatment of the first subject. The same is true for the tempo relationship that exists between the Minuet and the Trio in the earlier recording, where the difference in pulse is greater than that of the later recording.

By underlining the interaction of structure and tempo within a given movement, Strauss has set in place another pillar of his Mozart style. The adoption of this technique by future generations of conductors, not only links their readings with his in a general sense but, also, touches upon one of the very cornerstones of an artist's interpretation: the choice of tempi. The recognition of the second subject's more lyrical nature in K543's first movement, by means of tempo manipulation, is shared by Szell, Pritchard and Sawallisch, who reduce their speeds, in the case of the latter two, from that heard at bar 54, respectively, to:  $\text{♩}=48$  ( $\text{♩}=144$ );  $\text{♩}=-50$  ( $\text{♩}=-150$ ); and  $\text{♩}=-47$  ( $\text{♩}=-141$ ). The most striking feature of the above is the speed of Szell's reading of the second subject, where he not only links the pulse of the Introduction and the first subject, but where the second subject tempo is identical to that taken by Strauss. Szell, Pritchard and Sawallisch also take Strauss' lead at the second subject in K550's first movement and, again, these artists play the second subject more slowly than the first. Szell decreases his speed from  $\text{♩}=100$  to  $\text{♩}=92$ ;<sup>23</sup> Pritchard, from  $\text{♩}=-112$  to  $\text{♩}=110$ ,<sup>24</sup> while Sawallisch reduces from  $\text{♩}=120$  to  $\text{♩}=112$ .<sup>25</sup>

Whilst Strauss abstained from any tempo modification at the second subject of a Mozartian slow movement, he did, however, manipulate the bridge passage. For example, in bars 19 to 27 of the *Andante cantabile* of K551, Strauss takes a quicker pulse, increasing the speed from the opening  $\text{♩}=84$  to  $\text{♩}=92$ . In this instance, due to the nature of the melodic material, a reduction in the speed of the second subject would be detrimental to the pacing of the melodic line. The 'più mosso' at the bridge passage is designed to disorientate the listener, causing him to believe that the music has actually slowed down at the second subject. Equally, this 'più mosso' is musically satisfying, reinforcing the dramatic demeanour of the music and Mozart's use of the dominant minor. Moreover, if one takes into consideration the superscription, a reduction in pulse at the second subject in this movement would have been inappropriate. The length of note, in relation to the length of the phrase, when combined with a 'meno mosso' in the context of the

<sup>23</sup> CBS Sony SM3K 46515.

<sup>24</sup> BBC Symphony Orchestra, Royal Festival Hall, London, 1 February 1989.

<sup>25</sup> Supraphon VD69253.

established tempo, would have inhibited a sense of forward motion, depriving the line of its cantabile element and, thus, would not have been reflective of the human voice. Strauss applied the same technique at the bridge passage of the Andante con moto of K543, where his tempo manipulation not only underlines the architectonics of the movement, but again reflects the superscription. His basic tempo for this movement - Andante con moto - is ♩=92. However, at bar 30, the bridge passage, where the key is that of the darker relative minor, Strauss again inserts a 'più mosso', increasing the tempo from ♩=92 to ♩=104, returning to his 'tempo primo' at the arrival of the dominant at bar 53. In his two recordings of K550, he develops this technique. In his 1927 recording, he raises the pulse at the bridge passage from ♩=+100 to ♩=104-12, while, in his 1928 recording, from ♩=100 to ♩=104.

In the second subject of K543's Finale, he also refrains from any tempo manipulation, maintaining a constant pulse throughout. Zaslav notes the 'perpetual motion of Mozart's monothematic Finale',<sup>26</sup> while Rosen writes that the Baroque 'perpetuum mobile' is not a dramatic form, or one that generates tension.<sup>27</sup> As a result of its monothematic nature, the arrival of the new key need not be underlined by any manipulation of tempo and, therefore, Strauss retains the opening pulse, ♩=144, throughout. Mozart, however, takes the Baroque concept of the 'perpetuum mobile', as described by Rosen, one step further, engaging in counterpoint at the development, thus injecting a sense of drama missing in 'perpetuum mobile' of the earlier period. Unlike his readings of other last movement development sections, and in keeping with the concept of a 'perpetuum mobile', Strauss does not reduce the pulse but continues at the speed of the exposition.<sup>28</sup>

As in the examples given earlier, Strauss' tempo manipulations at the bridge passage and the second subject of the Andante cantabile of K551 are shared by later generations of conductors. Harnoncourt, Szell, Sawallisch and Pritchard also increase their tempi to a greater or lesser extent in this passage and, at bar 28, all return to their original speeds; moreover, in the Andante of K550, these artists retain a unified tempo between the first and second subjects; and, when Mozart adopts the relative minor at bar 30 in the Andante con moto of K543, the following maestri increase their tempi accordingly, Szell from ♩=82 to ♩=88, and Sawallisch and Pritchard from ♩=84 to ♩=88, returning to their 'tempi primi' at the arrival of the dominant; whilst, in the last movement

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<sup>26</sup> N. Zaslav, *Mozart's Symphonies*, p. 435.

<sup>27</sup> C. Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Beethoven, Mozart*, p. 62.

<sup>28</sup> Felix Aprahamian stated that it was not until Beecham's endeavours with Haydn's symphonies that he became aware of the 'perpetuum mobile' as a form that was generically related to the Finales of Classical symphonies. Interview with the author, 7 September 1993.

of K543, Strauss' abstention from applying a 'meno mosso' at the second subject is also shared by these conductors.

However, the interest for the educated listener should not merely be an awareness of a 'meno mosso' at the second subject but the manner by which the conductor returns to his original tempo. Strauss, in both recordings of the first movement of K550, makes a six bar accelerando, between bars 58 and 64, whilst shortening the length of the crotchets in the first four bars of the passage, in making his return to the 'tempo primo'. He makes his final thrust in bars 62 and 63, bringing the tempo firmly back to the original pulse at bar 65. Szell and Pritchard take a more leisurely route back to their 'tempi primi'. Szell prefers a gradual accelerando to bar 88, underlining the return of the original pulse by marked *detaché* playing in all string parts. Pritchard's more conservative reduction allows him to return to the 'tempo primo' virtually unnoticed but, when checked against a metronome, bar 58 is the favoured point of return. The manner by which each of the maestri return to their 'tempi primi' reflects Strauss' written thoughts, where he places great store on rhythmic unity, noting that any modification in pulse, which is made necessary by the character of the music, 'should be carried out imperceptibly so that the unity of tempo remains intact'.<sup>29</sup>

### **Musical characterisation through tempo manipulation**

Whilst the above has been devoted to the study of Strauss' tempi within a symphonic context, the concept of musical characterisation, through the manipulation of pulse, finds expression in his readings of Mozart's overtures. Here, Strauss is concerned that the symphonic elements of the overture work in concert with the dramatic thesis, as pursued in the greater body of the opera. In achieving this end, he manipulates the tempi in much the same manner as discussed above. However, in this instance, the consequent effect serves to highlight the theatrical and sociological ideas that dominate Mozart's operas. Gluck, a composer edited and performed by Strauss,<sup>30</sup> and whose reforms were seminal in the development of opera during the late eighteenth century, notes the importance of the overture in this context, stating that it should not merely apprise the auditors of the action to follow, but should also form the opera's argument.<sup>31</sup> This theme is developed by Pritchard, who comments specifically on this relationship in *Die Zauberflöte*. He writes:

...a conductor would never dream of playing anything other than the exact printed rhythm [of the opening three bars of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*]. The reason is that

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<sup>29</sup> see Appendix D.

<sup>30</sup> see Chapter Two notes 62 & 63

<sup>31</sup> Gluck stated: 'I have felt that the overture ought to apprise the spectators of the nature of the action that is to be represented and to form, so to speak, its argument.' From his Preface to the first edition of *Alceste* (trans. E. Blom), *The Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, G. Pestelli, trans. E. Cross, p. 274.

with Mozart we are in a world of musical symbolism, based on the composer's use throughout the opera of the 'Three-Chord' motif associated with Masonry, and no abbreviation here would be appropriate or possible.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, it is important that the overture should be seen as part of the greater operatic structure. Gluck sought to integrate the overture more fully into the structure of the opera, and this, along with his thoughts on the relationship that exists between the overture and the opera itself, seems to be the basis for Strauss' reading of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*.

In *Don Giovanni*, Mozart leads the overture naturally to the beginning of Act 1 but, in *Die Zauberflöte*, the overture is brought to a full stop before the curtain rises. This cadence may endanger the drama, implicit in the overture, potentially isolating it from the greater operatic structure. In avoiding this, Strauss, in the coda, bar 203 to the end, makes use of a 'poco più mosso' followed by a 'poco accelerando', devices which, in this context, are appropriate in linking the musical drama of the overture with the opening scene of the opera. At bar 203, he increases his speed, from the preceding  $\text{♩}=100$ , to  $\text{♩}=104$ , underlining the arrival of the coda. As in the codetta, where he also treats the pulse in the manner described above, Strauss again follows the line of the written and the longer, implied crescendo with a 'poco accelerando', reaching its climax at the fortissimo. In bar 219, he obtains a crisp sforzando from the trombones.<sup>33</sup> At the final forte, bars 222 to the end, he makes a further crescendo and accelerando until the first beat of the penultimate bar. He then plays a ritardando over the last two crotchets of that bar. Thus, through his manipulations, Strauss treats the recording as if it were part of a complete reading of the opera, rather than simply an isolated orchestral movement. Moreover, by his treatment of pulse in the codetta and the coda, he has again highlighted one of the fundamental principles of the Classical ethos: symmetry.

Gluck's premise, that the overture must deliver the argument of the opera, is developed by Strauss' treatment of tempo in this overture. Here, the unification of the overture's musical structure with the sociological allusions of the opera are expressed in terms of pulse. *Die Zauberflöte* resides not simply in one genre but three. The elements of *opera seria*, *opera buffa* and *Singspiel* are used by Mozart in depicting the three layers of society represented in the libretto. The implications of these sociological allusions have been mentioned in the Introduction to this dissertation, where their effect on the genesis of *Die Frau ohne Schatten* was considered. The social and musical implications of the music and libretto have been the source of many studies but, essentially, in the simplest of terms, the *Singspiel* elements of the opera are evocative of 'everyday folk', such as

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<sup>32</sup> J. Pritchard, 'Glyndebourne & Rossini: The Stylistic Approach', *Glyndebourne: A Celebration*, ed. J. Higgins, pp. 53-4.

<sup>33</sup> see Appendix D.

Papageno and Papagena; the material derived from *opera buffa* is representative of other temporal members of the cast, such as Pamina and Tamino; while the music reminiscent of *opera seria* reflects the higher strata, as occupied by the Queen of Night and Sarastro. Jacques Chailley, in his extensive study of this opera, considers the implications of the overture and notes the dramatic unity created by the interaction of Mozart's theatrical and musical theses. Strauss, in underlining Mozart's sociological preoccupation, and whose manipulations are in line with Chailley's argument,<sup>34</sup> uses different tempi to represent each of these levels of society.<sup>35</sup>

Strauss divides the Introduction into two distinct parts. The first Adagio, in keeping with the above premise, is representative of the higher sphere of existence, as occupied by Sarastro and the Queen of the Night. The opening chords are played as if a separate unit from the rest of the Introduction, alluding to the aloofness of these characters throughout the course of the opera. Strauss beats these bars in crotchets - ♩=42 - ignoring the pauses and beating the three opening bars in tempo. These chords have often proved problematic for the conductor, resulting in a poor attack on the semi-quavers which precede the minims. By beating the three bars in this manner, Strauss has avoided any possible problems. Further, by taking the pause bars in tempo, the music moves ever forward to the second part of the Introduction. For Strauss, the greater body of the Introduction begins at bar 4. He initiates a new tempo at this point, ♩=58 as its pulsive core and, by directing this part of the overture in a quasi-two,<sup>36</sup> he allows himself greater rhythmic flexibility and forward motion, as implied by an adagio which is beaten in such a fashion, in accordance with Chailley's 'purposefully vague introduction'. However, at the second Adagio, Strauss' pulsive demeanour alters. He plays the fermata in bar 96 symmetrically, holding the pause for four beats in the final tempo, ♩=104. The pulse of the second Adagio is ♩=60. Bars 97 to 102 are played strictly in time, reflecting Chailley's concept of an 'ordered society of the rival kingdom of Light', ignoring the actual pauses above the minim rests, thus playing the whole of the six bars in tempo. Strauss' treatment of the second Adagio is in keeping with his dramatic ideals, set out at the beginning of the overture, linking both mood and speed.

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<sup>34</sup> Chailley writes: 'A slow, purposefully vague introduction, reflecting the traditional description of Chaos, follows the sounding of the five chords of feminine initiation, domain of the Queen of the Night. This is abruptly succeeded by a straightforward rhythmic fugue, placed in its surroundings by the three chords of masculine initiation, which describe the active, ordered society of the rival kingdom of Light. The first section of the fugue...punctuated by sforzandos resembling the blows of the Venerable's mallet during the trial. Then, after the middle section, comes a very different episode... [alluding], in its "tonal journey," to the protagonists' "journeys" during their trials.' J. Chailley, *The Magic Flute: Masonic Opera*, trans. H. Weinstock, pp. 177-8.

<sup>35</sup> Dr Franz Trenner alerted the author to Strauss' musico-dramatic thesis in his reading of this overture.

<sup>36</sup> In Strauss' 'special rules' for the performance of Mozart. He writes: '*Andante* or *Adagio* (♩) to be carefully observed.' see Appendix D. Pritchard had a particular fondness for this beating pattern, which he described as 'a jiggy-two'.

The Allegro's first subject, and the music representative of characters such as Pamina and Tamino, is prepared by a delicate treatment of the harmonic suspension, played by the oboes, in bar 15. Strauss holds the last beat of bar 15 momentarily, facilitating a clear upbeat to the Allegro, taken at  $\text{♩}=100$ . Throughout the forte, bars 39 to 57 (first beat), Strauss constantly moves the music forward, sitting on the front edge of the tempo, creating an air of urgency. This reinforces the theory that the first subject is representative of Pamina and Tamino, for the latter is involved in a search for the imprisoned heroine, his one true love, Pamina. This urgency becomes even more evident at the syncopation in bar 51, which has an almost nervous feel. Mozart writes a crescendo in bar 87, with a longer, implied crescendo from bar 84 to the pause at bar 96. Strauss follows the line of the implied crescendo with a 'poco accelerando', reaching  $\text{♩}=+104$  by bar 96. The counterpoint, between bar 103 and the end of bar 116, is based on the first subject. Strauss takes the music ever forward to the next forte and, at that forte, which begins at bar 117, he accents the minim in the lower instruments, found on the second half of the first beat in bar 118, and the tied crotchet, in the violins and flutes, on the second half of the second beat in the same bar, resulting in a sense of bar line displacement that adds to the existing sense of urgency, a feeling of uncertainty, which musically represents the trials faced by Pamina and Tamino, whilst alluding to the spiritual nature of their quest through the use of counterpoint. This is in keeping with Strauss' treatment of the Finale in K551, where he also juxtaposes the spiritual implications of counterpoint with suitable, complementary tempo relationships.

At the second subject, Strauss slows the pulse to  $\text{♩}=84$ , allowing the music to relax. This subject reflects the generally pragmatic attitude of Papageno. Further, the second subject places a greater reliance on the winds which could be a reference to the magical qualities of the flute, but, equally, could be evocative of Papageno's pipes. In the development, the material based on the second subject, between bar 130 and bar 143, is played in the main tempo of the movement, and, by aligning the pulse of both first and second subjects in their developed form, one is aware of the social interaction between the two spheres of society, as represented by these characters, through the course of the opera.

The development of Strauss' argument is based on tempo and its relationship to the structure of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*. The second subject, and the way in which it is interpreted, was essential in the resolution of his thesis. Also, the very manner by which Strauss has constructed his musical argument, has clear implications for the dramatic development of the opera. He has applied many of the principles, first observed in the study of his symphonic readings, to this overture and, by so doing, has underlined the interactive nature of Mozart's symphonic and operatic writing.

## Rubato

Strauss makes specific reference to the relationship of tempo and rubato to harmonically and structurally important passages in his writings on Mozart. He states:

Any modification of tempo made necessary by the character of a phrase should be carried out imperceptibly so that the unity of tempo remains intact. ...In some very quick movements it is advisable to stress continuity and to slow down a little at the end. The final fugue of the *Jupiter* symphony and the finale of Brahms' second symphony are cases in question. Mozart's final fugue belongs to the category of movements which Wagner wished to be taken 'as fast as possible': at the beginning of the second part after the development and at the beginning of the third part I retard strongly. In order to allow the fugue to retain a distinct shape at *presto* speed it is necessary to reduce the volume of brass and timpani, and these reductions should be clearly marked in the score.<sup>37</sup>

The importance of these tempo manipulations is manifested in the relationship that exists between Strauss' recordings; the marks found in his scores, and his writings.

For example, at the onset of the codetta of K551's Andante cantabile, Strauss uses a textbook example of rubato. In his 1926 recording, he makes a gradual decelerando on the fifth and sixth beats of bar 39, reaching its slowest point at the bar line which divides bars 39 and 40. In his score, Strauss marks *tenuti* above the first triplet semi-quaver of the fifth beat of bar 39 in both the first and second violins. This is followed by a decrescendo in each part over the remainder of the bar. To counterbalance this reduction in speed, he increases the pulse gradually through the bassoon line, returning to the main tempo at the end of bar 40, and repeating this manipulation in bars 41 and 42. The use of such an elastic form of rubato underlines the symmetry of these bars. Not only does Strauss follow the arched shape of the periodic phrase, applying it equally to both halves of the mirrored phrase, but reinforces the cadential nature of the second bar in each of the two bar phrases. When this passage, differently orchestrated, recurs in the coda, bars 87 to 90, Strauss, in line with his readings of other such symmetrical passages, reproduces the rubato exactly.

An important extension of Strauss' multi-media dissemination of his ideals, was the influence of this approach on later generations. Earlier, it was shown that he and his followers used tempo as a means of structural demarcation. These artists, like Strauss, also used rubato in structurally and harmonically important passages. The use of tempo manipulation within this context can be directly related to the examples of rubato that can be found not only in Strauss' recordings but, also, in other media. One such passage occurs between the end of the exposition and the beginning of the development in K551's first movement. Mozart writes two modulatory bars - bars 121 and 122 - leading the music from G major to E $\flat$  major. Here, Strauss makes a sizeable 'meno mosso', noting above these bars in his score, 'tranquillo'. He returns to the 'tempo primo' at bar 123. As

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<sup>37</sup>

see Appendix D.

individual as this at first may seem, it is a point of interpretation that all the other conductors considered in this chapter employ, to a greater or lesser degree, and most notably Szell and Harnoncourt, whose reductions in pulse are comparable to those of Strauss. The prime reason for such a reduction must be Mozart's modulation from the dominant, in bar 120, to the key of E<sub>b</sub> major, in bar 123. The transition between these two distant keys is made easier by the rhythmic manipulation of these conductors, whilst clearly defining the arrival of the development.

The above is not an isolated example and one can see Strauss developing his musical argument, identically in both score and recording, and with a clear parallel in the readings of later generations, in the Finale of K551. The opening bars of the development are treated in a misterioso fashion by Strauss. He notes above bar 158, 'meno mosso', reducing the tempo with a deaccelerando to bar 166, where the speed of the movement reaches its slowest,  $\text{♩}=63$ . The 'tempo primo', marked in Strauss' own hand, is restored at the second half of bar 172. As if to underline the conclusion of the development, and in keeping with the above, the recapitulation is prepared by a 'meno mosso', realized by Strauss at the second half of bar 219 and continued to bar 223. Strauss annotates clearly, that which is heard in his recording: in bars 220 and 221, 'poco calando' and, in bar 223, 'tempo primo'. As in the examples discussed earlier, Strauss combines speed with dynamic. In this case, he notes a general diminuendo in bar 218 to a 'tutti piano' in bar 219, followed by a further diminuendo in the winds, cello and bass in bar 222. The brass and wind are reduced to pianissimo in bar 223, thus colouring the calando with, what is effectively, a 'poco a poco diminuendo'. Again, Szell and Harnoncourt also retard this passage and, like Strauss, underline the arrival of the recapitulation by this manipulation.

One is struck by the correlation of the written mark and the recorded sound from bar 241, where Strauss marks 'verbreiten' (broaden), followed, in bar 253, by 'a tempo'. His 1926 recording reflects these annotations exactly, with the aural effect being that of a giant elastic band stretched through this sequential passage, only to be released at the more harmonically stable, though still sequential, passage commencing at bar 253. Following the double bar - bars 356a-356b - Strauss recognises Mozart's unique treatment of the counterpoint. At bar 360, Mozart employs a cancrizan, inverting the first subject and manipulating it sequentially and canonically. Here, Strauss underlines the passage with a 'poco meno mosso', marked in his own hand at bar 356b (second half), followed by a deaccelerando, qualified by 'tranquillo', again in his own hand, treating the music in an ethereal manner. Szell, Pritchard and Harnoncourt also make a small tempo adjustment at the cancrizan. In bar 372, Strauss, in his 1926 recording, announces the counterpoint with a strident attack on the horns, with the main tempo of the movement being restored at this bar. However, Strauss makes a small qualification, noting, '*A tempo aber bis zum Schluss bedeutend breiter als das Anfangs tempo.*' ['a tempo' but at a slower speed than

at the beginning]. The final ‘tempo I’ is pencilled in above bar 402 (second half of the first beat). Furthermore, he aligns his choice of pulse with the balance of the brass, which, he notes, should be reduced and clearly marked in the parts.<sup>38</sup> Not only is this in keeping with Strauss’ writings on this particular passage but reinforces his belief that forte passages act in an architectonic fashion.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> *see note 37.*

<sup>39</sup> *see Appendix D*

## Chapter Four

### Performance III: The Recitative<sup>1</sup>

#### Strauss' choice of continuo instrument

The restoration of the conductor as the continuo player was central to Strauss' innovations during his second Munich period.<sup>2</sup> His activities in revivifying this rôle, restored an eighteenth century practice and prepared the way for later generations of conductors to continue this function. Mozart played the continuo at the premières of some of his operas, and, as was the practice of the day, occupied, on occasions, the dual rôle of continuo player and conductor.<sup>3</sup>

Mozart's continuo instrument would have been a contemporary fortepiano,<sup>4</sup> the type of instrument Strauss employed at the Munich Opera. Franz Trenner recalled that a fortepiano was kept at the theatre but had fallen into disuse. Trenner described Strauss' continuo instrument as a 'Mozart piano'. This was, in fact, a fortepiano. Trenner went on to say that, in his opinion, this was the most suitable type of instrument for accompanying the recitativi secci in Mozart's late operas.<sup>5</sup> Strauss may have chosen this instrument, in preference to a harpsichord, because the fortepiano would have had three advantages. First, the fortepiano would have allowed Strauss a greater degree of dynamic freedom than is possible on the harpsichord. Secondly, the instrument would, for a pianist such as Strauss, have resembled more closely the action of a modern piano and, thirdly, Strauss was aware that a fortepiano would have been Mozart's chosen instrument. However, Trenner also stated that Strauss, when a fortepiano was unavailable, chose a harpsichord as the alternative instrument.<sup>6</sup>

The variety of dynamic available on a fortepiano would have suited Strauss' more elaborate continuo style, where he not only provided the requisite skeletal harmony, but used the recitativi secci as the generator of his theatrical thesis. The subtle shading that can be achieved on a fortepiano would have acted as a suitable complement to Strauss'

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<sup>1</sup> Due to the source material available, in this chapter a greater emphasis will be placed upon the influence that Strauss exerted over Pritchard.

<sup>2</sup> In a telephone conversation subsequent to the interview found in Appendix G, Dr. Trenner confirmed Strauss' practice of playing the continuo during this period.

<sup>3</sup> Mozart performed in this capacity at his first operatic success, *Mitridate, rè di Ponto*, in 1770.

<sup>4</sup> Robin Stowell notes: 'Throughout most of the 18th century a continuo keyboard instrument - normally a harpsichord in concert, a harpsichord or fortepiano in opera and an organ in church - customarily provided harmonic support to the orchestra.' R. Stowell, Section 12, 'Performance Practice', *The Mozart Compendium*, ed. H.C. Robbins Landon, p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with the author, Munich, 13 May 1992.

<sup>6</sup> Idem.

treatment of the recitativi secci, particularly in *Così fan tutte*. Strauss noted the unique nature of the recitativi secci in this opera and their dramatic importance, to which Mozart added subtle and complementary musical nuances. The realization of these recitativi secci is best served by the dynamically versatile fortepiano. This instrument, with its hammer action and more rounded sound, could be considered more supportive to the voices than the cutting sound of the plucked action harpsichord. Further, the nature of the fortepiano's action, would have had greater appeal to Strauss who, though a pianist, was, in later years, mainly active in public as a keyboard player when occupying a continuo rôle.<sup>7</sup>

This considered, it must be remembered that the reforms that Strauss and Possart undertook in Munich were designed to address Mozart's operas afresh. Strauss' activities during this period, and within the wider parameters of his renaissance as a whole, strove to present Mozart's work within the spirit of the eighteenth century. Whilst it is impossible to replicate operatic and symphonic performances of eighteenth century music in exact terms, one can attempt to present these works as if for the first time.<sup>8</sup> The notion of revivification was central to Strauss' aims and the use of the fortepiano was in keeping with this concern.

If one considers the use of this instrument within the chronology of Strauss' Munich Reforms, then its employment must have been a revelation. Even today, when applied musicology is considered standard, the use of such an instrument for continuo purposes is most rare. However, when reflecting upon Strauss' concern as to the authenticity of the performances that he was conducting - here, his use of autograph material in Chapter Two should be remembered - it is clear that the use of the fortepiano is in keeping with the Munich Reforms and with his renaissance as a whole. This, of course, equally applies to his use of the harpsichord, for, as Wilhelm noted, Strauss' use of this instrument at the Berlin Court Opera, with its conservative approach to opera production, was also of significance and public interest.<sup>9</sup>

Strauss' choice of instrument had an effect on the other conductors considered in this dissertation. Klemperer, as noted earlier, after witnessing Strauss' use of a harpsichord in Berlin and a fortepiano in Munich, also employed the former as the continuo instrument for the productions that he directed in Barmen, Cologne and Berlin. One assumes that Klemperer would have used a harpsichord in Strasbourg, where he also

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<sup>7</sup> Strauss acted as an accompanist to a number of singers, including his wife, performing in many countries, including: Germany, Great Britain and the United States. *see* Chapter One, note 24.

<sup>8</sup> Harnoncourt considers this very point in a recent interview, where he states: 'For me, authenticity is ridiculous. If Mozart performs one of his piano concertos himself, this is authentic. My performance is authentic me; I cannot give an authentic performance of any composer... I must try to understand in the highest possible way what the composer meant, but then I must tell what he means and forget my knowledge when I perform it. In the moment I perform music I have to forget all my knowledge.' Interview, *Classic CD*, February 1993, pp. 17 & 19.

<sup>9</sup> K. Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. M. Whittall, p. 82.

implemented some of the other reforms that he first encountered in Munich under Strauss' direction.

Strauss' influence was not restricted to the German theatres but was also a feature of the performances heard at the Glyndebourne Festival Opera. Gernot Gruber considers the Glyndebourne Festival Opera a direct beneficiary of Strauss' Munich Reforms<sup>10</sup> and a link between these reforms and the Sussex opera house can be seen by the type of continuo instrument employed in the realization of the recitativi secci. Busch, in Mozart's late operas, preferred to use a modified piano as his continuo instrument. This seems out of character for an artist who strove to develop the reforms that Strauss began in Munich. However, Busch did not object to the sound of the harpsichord, for, in *Idomeneo's* recitativi secci, he utilised this instrument, relinquishing the rôle of continuo player, on this occasion, to Pritchard. According to Pritchard, Busch saw the musicological advantage of the harpsichord but felt technically ill-at-ease with the instrument.<sup>11</sup> Considering the influence that Strauss exerted over Busch, who would have been aware that Strauss' preferred choice of continuo instrument was a fortepiano, and due to the lack of such an instrument at Glyndebourne, one can only assume, in the knowledge that the modern piano is the direct descendant of the fortepiano and not the harpsichord, that Busch felt that he was not totally abandoning Strauss' ideals by the use of a modified Bechstein.<sup>12</sup>

Pritchard, who credits Busch's style of continuo playing and his own, to the influence of Strauss, shared the latter's concern as to the correct choice of continuo instrument in Mozart's operas. However, Pritchard, unlike Busch, always chose a harpsichord or a fortepiano as his continuo instrument. At Glyndebourne, and when conducting in the United States, Europe and Australia, Pritchard maintained the use of a harpsichord. Further, at the 1989 Salzburg Festival, for what was to be Pritchard's last European performance as an operatic conductor,<sup>13</sup> he used a fortepiano as the continuo instrument. Unfortunately, due to Pritchard's ill health, the continuo was played on this occasion by Daniel Chorzempa, but closely supervised by the conductor. It was

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<sup>10</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, p. 204.

<sup>11</sup> (i) Conversation with the author, Salzburg, July 1989.

(ii) Spike Hughes confirms Pritchard's observation: 'Why, asked the *Times* critic, did Busch consent to a harpsichord in *Idomeneo* when he was so obstinate about using a piano for *recitativo secco* in Mozart's other operas? ...in the other Mozart operas Busch accompanied the recitatives himself and preferred to do so on a piano, an instrument over which he perhaps felt he had more control.' S. Hughes, *Glyndebourne*, p. 173.

<sup>12</sup> Pritchard wrote that Busch's continuo instrument, at the Glyndebourne Festival Opera, was modified to meet his musical requirements. 'It was characteristic of [Busch] that almost his first enquiry on returning to Glyndebourne after years of absence, was whether the 'continuo-piano' had been kept safely. ...Upon this formidable specially-constructed instrument, Busch ...approach[ed] ...the recitative ...in the line of Mahler and Strauss.' J. Pritchard, 'Conducting Mozart', *Opera Annual 1955-1956*, p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Rossini's *La Cenerentola*.

Pritchard's intention to use this type of instrument, where available, in future performances but he died before he was able to exercise this desire.<sup>14</sup>

### **Strauss' continuo style**

For Strauss, the adoption of the joint rôle of conductor and continuo player was not a mere affectation, nor was it undertaken on purely musicological grounds. The dual function served a very real theatrical purpose: dramatic control. Strauss sets out his philosophy of comedy in a letter to Hofmannsthal. Regarding *Der Rosenkavalier*, an opera whose conceptual inspiration was heavily influenced by *Le nozze di Figaro*, and, like Mozart's Da Ponte operas, set in the eighteenth century with sexual and psychological undertones, Strauss writes that comedy should make the audience 'Laugh, not just smile or grin!'.<sup>15</sup> In making the audience 'Laugh', the recitativi secci must be tightly paced and, as all the operas in which Strauss acted as both conductor and continuo player were comedies or contained a comedic element, the person directly responsible for the performance, the conductor, is also the most suitable person to play the continuo.

Franz Trenner noted Strauss' use of motifs, derived from his own works, in the realization of the recitativi secci, stressing that these were incorporated in a 'natural manner', being woven into the greater fabric of the recitativi secci, and so underlining certain key dramatic moments on stage. The creation of a unified, dramatically based style of continuo playing reinforces Trenner's further assertion, which is in keeping with Tovey's comments earlier in this dissertation, that Strauss considered *Così fan tutte* a serious study of human nature, examining, in detail, the partners' psychological relationship.

Sawallisch confirms much of the above and particularly noted the reverential manner with which Strauss incorporated the quotations from his own works into the recitativi secci. In an interview with the author,<sup>16</sup> Sawallisch recalled that Strauss, at moments of 'special relations between the stage and his personal feelings', brought out a few bars of his 'symphonic poems'.<sup>17</sup> Sawallisch, in his autobiography, develops this issue further, noting:

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<sup>14</sup> see note 11 (i).

<sup>15</sup> Letter dated 20 July 1909. R. Strauss, *The Correspondence Between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, ed. F. & A. Strauss, arr. W. Schuh, trans. H. Hammelmann & E. Osers, p. 43.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with the author. London, 12 December 1991.

<sup>17</sup> Sawallisch's use of the description, 'symphonic poem', is deceptive. John Williamson notes that Strauss used the term 'tone poem' as a means of distancing himself from Liszt's descriptive, symphonic works. However, Sawallisch's usage is not without precedent, as Strauss, on occasions, also used the expression 'symphonic poem', when referring to his own compositions. cf. J. Williamson, *Strauss: Also Sprach Zarathustra*, p. 1.

What he [Strauss] played on the cembalo during the recitatives could not be repeated today. From the outset, Strauss' Mozart was a total surprise, but then, after a few moments, I grasped that every theme that he charmingly interwove, had an exact reference to the action somewhere on the stage. When there was a joke, witticism or some other form of humour on stage, there suddenly appeared a touch of *Till Eulenspiegel*, or, when, between Fiordiligi and Ferrando, there was a romantic exchange, a touch of *Don Juan* would ring out! But one knew exactly that each of the situations was correctly represented. Eventually, one waited for what would come next! So, suddenly, one was confronted with a completely different style which made Mozart live, a topical style of Mozart interpretation, even though Strauss was at least seventy years old.<sup>18</sup>

The recollections of Trenner and Sawallisch confirm Klemperer's observation that Strauss added 'delightful little decorations'<sup>19</sup> to Mozart's late operas. Klemperer's comments suggest a uniformity of approach on the part of Strauss when dealing with the three Da Ponte operas. Trenner's and Sawallisch's reminiscences were restricted to *Così fan tutte* but, considering the sexual and psychological implications of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, a thread that unites all three Da Ponte operas, one must assume that Strauss again employed the use of motifs from his own works in realizing the recitativi secci of these operas. This assumption is not without substance, for, as the argument has progressed, one has become increasingly aware of the uniformity of approach in Strauss' readings of Mozart. It is also clear that Strauss actively set out to create a school of Mozartian interpretation, the evidence for which has been mounting chapter by chapter. Therefore, in light of this homogenous approach to Mozart's music, the premise that Strauss treated the recitativi secci in *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* in a similar manner to *Così fan tutte* must be strongly considered.

The use of motifs from his own works, in concert with his dual rôle as conductor-continuo player, allowed Strauss a degree of dramatic pacing that proved unique. Both Trenner and Sawallisch note the reverence with which Strauss interwove this material, whilst the latter recognised the individual nature of Strauss' continuo style. On each occasion, it seems, if Sawallisch is to be believed, when Strauss quoted from his works, it was to reinforce a moment of dramatic importance on stage. This, combined with Strauss' concern that comic timing must be a prime consideration, would have created a satisfying theatrical unit. The incorporation of these quotations, according to Sawallisch, made 'Mozart live' and here, again, one returns to the principle of revivification, for Strauss wished to deny Mozart's critics, particularly those who derided the theatrical importance of *Così fan tutte*, presenting the latter's works as a relevant discussion of society.

Strauss' continuo style influenced the other conductors discussed in this chapter. Trenner, who acted as a consultant, not only to the Strauss Archive in Garmisch, but, also, to the Bavarian State Opera, on matters pertaining to Strauss, noted the similarity of both Pritchard's and Sawallisch's Mozart style to that of the earlier conductor. It was clear

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<sup>18</sup> W. Sawallisch, *Im Interesse der Deutlichkeit: Mein Leben mit der Musik*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>19</sup> see Introduction p. 16.

from the author's interview with Sawallisch that he had the deepest respect for Strauss as a Mozart conductor and that the latter's treatment of the recitativi secci left a lasting impression on the former as a boy. Sawallisch, of course, does not quote Strauss' compositions but, as Trenner observed, treats the recitativi secci in a similar manner. Trenner qualified this description, noting that Strauss' concern and, therefore, that of Sawallisch, when realizing the recitativi secci, was to present these sections, by a dramatically aware manipulation of the accompaniment, in terms of the greater operatic thesis.

Pritchard's continuo technique was also influenced by Strauss, though at second hand, through Busch, who, as noted above, also preferred to play the keyboard himself. If one accepts that the Munich Reforms, of which Strauss' activities as a continuo player were of central importance, were part of the Glyndebourne ethos, then one must also accept that Pritchard's endeavours in this discipline were as a direct result of Strauss' innovations. Pritchard confirms this, writing:

Busch, whose approach to the recitative was very much in the line of Mahler and Strauss, would enliven performances with runs, frills and flourishes, and singers had to learn a new resilience so that their carefully-coached recitative might flow unimpeded by an accompaniment, based, say, on themes from Brahms second Piano Concerto.<sup>20</sup>

In the above, Pritchard recognises his musical ancestry and, in particular, the adoption by Busch of Strauss' practice of quoting extraneous material when realizing the recitativi secci.<sup>21</sup> Whilst Busch extemporised in the recitativi secci, it would seem that his qualifying material was not restricted merely to Strauss' tone poems. As Sawallisch noted earlier, Strauss' manner could not be repeated, for to do so, would be simply *pastiche*. However, by treating Mozart's recitativi secci in this manner, one becomes aware of the importance of Strauss' renaissance and the effect upon the conductors within its shadow. This was evident in the performances heard at the Kroll Opera in Berlin and at the Glyndebourne Festival Opera in Sussex. Strauss' influence was given tangible expression in the continuo style of both Klemperer and Pritchard, who led these opera houses.<sup>22</sup> In the case of both these artists, the continuo was a means of complementing the dramatic action in musical terms.

Strauss was particularly concerned that the recitativi secci in *Così fan tutte*, which contained, as he put it, a number of 'charming ...touches', should complement the

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<sup>20</sup> J. Pritchard, 'Conducting Mozart', *Opera Annual 1955-1956*, p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> As an interesting side issue, Pritchard links Strauss' and Mahler's style of continuo playing. It has already been noted that neither Pritchard nor Busch subscribed to the Viennese style of Mozart interpretation, yet, the former links Strauss and Mahler in this article. Gruber notes that Mahler was inspired by Strauss' success with *Così fan tutte*, encouraging the former to produce the opera in Vienna. One wonders whether this inspiration extended to the realization of the recitativi secci. If this were the case, Busch, who was a contemporary of Bruno Walter, may have been cognisant of such an influence. Further, if Busch had discussed this with Pritchard, this would then account for the latter's assertion.

<sup>22</sup> As no known recording exists with Klemperer conducting Mozart at the Kroll Opera, his EMI recording has been used as the basis of this discussion.

dramatic thesis of the opera. Klemperer and Pritchard recognised the existence of these ‘charming ...touches’ and sought to exploit them. Strauss seems to be referring, amongst others, to the *buffo* additions in bars 89 to 91 of the recitativo secco, Act 1, Scene I, *Scioccherie di Poeti!*; bar 14 in the recitativo secco, Act 1, Scene III, *Stelle, per carità*; and bars 11 and 12, Act 1, Scene V, *Non v’è più tempo*. Klemperer<sup>23</sup> and Pritchard<sup>24</sup> colour each of these bars with rubato and dynamic shading, underlining the mood and demeanour of the protagonists. Klemperer’s and Pritchard’s coloration and decoration bear some similarities. In the recitativo secco, *Non v’è più tempo*, the two men, in bars 11 and 12, ask for reassurance, whilst the women express despair. Klemperer and Pritchard add a ‘poco crescendo’ to the men’s bar and a ‘poco diminuendo’ to the ladies’. The conductors also add a gradual rallentando over the whole phrase, further reinforcing the air of impending gloom.

Strauss recognised the importance of the above as being essential in the denouement of the opera. The manipulation of these ‘charming ...touches’, also reinforced the psychological implications of one of the groups of partners, playing on the vulnerability of the other. The nature and choice of the above serve to strengthen the link between these artists and Strauss. Klemperer and Pritchard only met on rare occasions, yet the material they chose to manipulate was quite specific. This being the case, one becomes increasingly aware of a line of interpretative thought that can be directly linked to Strauss and, when the style of continuo playing is considered in light of the above, then the link between these artists and Strauss is further strengthened.

Pritchard, like Strauss, used the continuo to develop the dramatic implications of the opera. Whereas Strauss used his own works as a means to this end, Pritchard, though thematically less specific in terms of his extemporisation, nonetheless uses, as Klemperer so aptly phrased, ‘delightful little decorations’, or, as Pritchard noted regarding Busch’s continuo style, the use of ‘runs, frills and flourishes’, to further his dramatic argument.

One can see Strauss’ decorative style of continuo playing being realized in the following, where Pritchard, like Strauss, uses the keyboard as a generator of his theatrical thesis. For example, in the recitativo secco, *Scioccherie di Poeti!*; the two officers retort, between bars 89 and 91, ‘*Bravissimo, Signor Don Alfonso*’. This is in response to Don Alfonso’s challenge: to test Fiordiligi’s and Dorabella’s fidelity. The defiance of Ferrando and Guglielmo is given a *buffo* touch by the addition of a trill by Pritchard. Similarly, in the recitativo secco that occupies Act 1, Scene VIII, Pritchard adds coquettish embellishments to the continuo, depicting the character of Despina. In Act 1, Scene X, he

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<sup>23</sup> EMI SLS 961.

<sup>24</sup> W.A. Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, J. Pritchard, 1959 Glyndebourne Festival Opera production, author’s private collection.

improvises on the first inversion B<sub>7</sub> chord, reinforcing Don Alfonso's contemplative concern as to the success of the deception if Despina were not to be involved, at least in part, in the conspiracy. As Don Alfonso reaches his decision, Pritchard changes the registration of the harpsichord, matching the ever strengthening resolve of the philosopher and, at the dramatic climax of the recitativo secco, outlines Don Alfonso's knocking at Despina's door by aligning rhythmically the continuo's bass line to the action on stage.

Pritchard's embellishments, whilst avoiding the temptation of *pastiche*, were reflective of Strauss' decorations. Pritchard's attempts at capturing and enhancing the dramatic flow, reinforcing the stage action by his extemporisation at the harpsichord, are in keeping with both Sawallisch's and Trenner's recollections of Strauss. This, combined with the similarity of material chosen to be theatrically developed by both Klemperer and Pritchard, lead one from the realm of speculation to the certainty that a line of interpretative thought began with Strauss and was continued by Klemperer, Pritchard and Sawallisch.

Strauss' concern that the realization of the recitativi secci should reflect the integrated, complementary relationship of the drama with the music, relied heavily on his skill at extemporising. It has been shown, Strauss saw the benefit derived from controlling the pace of the drama, whose impetus is implicit in the recitativi secci, from the keyboard. To this end, he used motifs and melodic colour to create an homogeneous theatrical unit. The theatrical crux of the opera, particularly in late Mozart, rests heavily on the comedic pacing of Da Ponte's libretto. In pacing the dramatic argument of a late Mozart opera, it is not only necessary to manipulate the inner direction of the recitativi secci, but to integrate the recitativi secci into the greater musical fabric as a whole. This can be achieved by avoiding clear cadences at the end of certain recitativi secci, thus taking the action forward into the next aria or ensemble.

The greater integration of the recitative into the dramatic superstructure of the opera was a concern of Gluck. The influence of his reforms have been shown to be of importance in the development of Strauss' Mozart style. This is no less true in Strauss' treatment of the recitativi secci. Gluck, whose comments have greater relevance to recitativi accompagnati, stated that there should not be a sharp break between the recitative and its accompanying aria. This arrangement, he noted, would maintain the direction of the drama. Strauss recognises the value of such a suggestion, achieving the objective by ensuring that the last chord of certain recitativi secci coalesce with the first

chord of the ensuing aria or ensemble,<sup>25</sup> realizing a technique that Bernhard Paumgartner described as, ‘characteristic’ of Mozart.<sup>26</sup>

In *Don Giovanni*, Act 1, Number 4, *Madamina, il catalogo*, Einstein’s Eulenburg Edition has the abbreviated form of the word, *cembalo*, marked in brackets at the first note of the bass line in bar 1.<sup>27</sup> Strauss marks ‘*Klavier*’ on this note, indicating that the attack is reinforced by a chord on the continuo instrument, however, in bar 2, he marks ‘*bassi*’ above the first quaver in the bass line, keeping in step with Gugler’s suggestion. Conversely, in both Donna Elvira’s aria, Act 1, Number 8, *Ah fuggi il traditor*, and, between the next recitativo secco and the succeeding ensemble, the quartet, Act 1, Number 9, *Non ti fidar, o misera*, Strauss again marks that the first chord should be played by the ‘*Klavier*’ but does not mark ‘*bassi*’, thereby implying that the first note in the bass of these latter, was played by both the continuo and the cello and double basses. Here, one may look to Klemperer’s reading of these passages to clarify the issue. In his recording,<sup>28</sup> he avoids reinforcing the first note in the bass line of Act 1, Number 4, but strengthens the lower strings in the bass line of Act 1, Numbers 8 and 9, with a chord on the continuo.<sup>29</sup> Klemperer’s impressions of Strauss’ continuo style have already been noted. In the light of Klemperer’s recording,<sup>30</sup> and in view of the fact that Strauss makes no such annotations to his score of *Così fan tutte*, where Mozart explores this technique in some depth, one may assume that this was Strauss’ practice.<sup>31</sup>

### **Strauss’ use of cuts in the recitativi secci of *Così fan tutte***

In Chapter Two, it was noted that Strauss strove to restore *Così fan tutte* to its original design, reintroducing material that had been traditionally omitted. Strauss’ ideals also extended to the recitativi secci, where he complained of the ‘blue pencil... [being] allowed to run amok’.<sup>32</sup> From the cuts found in his score, it would seem that he refused to

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<sup>25</sup> This is an extension of Gluck’s reforms, who notes, in his Preface to *Alceste*, that: ‘[one should] not leave that sharp contrast between the aria and the recitative in the dialogue, so as not to break a period unreasonably nor wantonly disturb the force and heat of the action.’ C.W. Gluck, Preface to the first edition of *Alceste*, (trans. E. Blom), A. Einstein, *Gluck*, Dent, 1964, pp. 98-100, as found in, G. Pestelli, *The Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, trans. E. Cross, pp. 274-5.

<sup>26</sup> B. Paumgartner, *Gustav Mahlers Bearbeitung von Mozarts. “Così fan tutte”*, p.481. see Appendix I.

<sup>27</sup> Einstein notes, that Gugler suggests, that the first crotchet in the bass be played only by the continuo instrument. A. Einstein (ed.) *Mozart: Don Giovanni*, p. xv.

<sup>28</sup> EMI CMS 7638412.

<sup>29</sup> In Act 1, Number 8, Klemperer allows the continuo, in this case a harpsichord, to play throughout the aria. This raises the question as to whether this was a technique employed by Strauss in this number. If the above hypothesis is correct, this cannot be ruled out.

<sup>30</sup> Klemperer maintains this practice in his recording of *Così fan tutte*, EMI SLS961.

<sup>31</sup> Mahler, in his edition of *Così fan tutte*, cut these characteristic first chords where Mozart joins the cello and bass with the continuo. see Appendix I, p. 182.

<sup>32</sup> see Appendix B.

indulge in the wholesale pruning of these passages, a common practice at the turn of the century. In preserving the psychological implications of the text, it is essential, as Strauss points out, to retain *Così fan tutte*'s recitativi secci largely intact. Mozart was, in the recitativi secci of this opera, most particular about the delivery of the language and its implications. He spoke Italian well and was meticulous about the insertion of Da Ponte's punctuation into his autograph score. The recitativi secci are rich with inflection, using liberally and conversationally: colons, semi-colons and exclamation marks; expressing naturally the interaction of the characters. This considered, Strauss was correct to reject the practice of the nineteenth century, where performers made random incisions, often at the expense of the dramatic direction of the libretto, and, by this rejection, he was able to present the opera afresh.

It would be wrong to assume that Strauss did not make any cuts to the recitativi secci during the fifty years that he conducted the work. As he directed *Così fan tutte* in a number of opera houses and in various productions, it would seem likely that some cuts were necessary. In developing the conversational nature of the recitativi secci, it is essential that the cuts employed should reflect this concern. In striving to fulfil this aim, Strauss, in *Così fan tutte*, appears from his score to have restricted his cuts to the recitativo secco preceding the duet, Act 1, Number 7. Dramatically, the omission of this material and the subsequent duet enables the action to run smoothly from the Quintet, Act 1, Number 6, where the lovers and Don Alfonso sing of the impending departure of the two men, to the arrival of the Chorus, Act 1, Number 8, where the music, in the style of a march, ushers the men on their 'journey'. However, it is clear that Strauss was not enthusiastic about such omissions, and an examination of his scores of Mozart's operas confirms this assertion, for, with the exception of the above, there are no other marked cuts in the recitativi secci. Even this cut must be viewed with some scepticism however, as it follows the practice of marking a cut 'vi—de'. In Chapter Two, it was demonstrated that Strauss used a clearer method of indicating omitted material, drawing a line through the staves. Therefore, one must be cautious in assuming that this recitative and duet were, in fact, omitted from his performances of this opera.

When one considers that Strauss regarded *Così fan tutte*, within the context of the eighteenth century, as a theatrical examination of human nature, the use of multiple cuts would have weakened his theatrical argument.<sup>33</sup> If he had made substantial cuts in the recitativi secci, this would have countered the assertion, implicit in his writings, that they were the vehicle of the drama and, therefore, influential in the psychological development of the characters. This considered, and in light of his endeavours to reflect Mozart's

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<sup>33</sup> Strauss writes: 'the psychological development of the plot is not by any means without interest, particularly if one considers the time at which the libretto was written.' see Appendix B.

intentions, and indeed the social mores of the eighteenth century, any serious incisions into this aspect of the opera would have seriously weakened Mozart's and Da Ponte's analysis of contemporary society.

However, it would seem safe to assume that Strauss, in some of the productions that he conducted, may have used similar cuts to the Glyndebourne Festival Opera's 1959 production. It has been shown that this house's productions were in keeping with the spirit of the Munich Reforms.<sup>34</sup> These reforms centred on the restoration of Mozart's intentions, both dramatically and musically. It has been further shown that Strauss' influence extended to Busch's continuo style and that the latter's influence was seminal to the interpretations of Pritchard. Equally, it has been noted that Klemperer was heavily influenced by Strauss' manner as a continuo player and that his reading of *Così fan tutte* shared a number of points in common with that of Pritchard. This, combined with the view that Klemperer's activities at the Kroll Opera were in keeping with the spirit of Glyndebourne and, more importantly, with those of Strauss during his second Munich period, suggest that a comparison of Pritchard's restrained cuts in the recitativi secci, with those of Klemperer's, as shown in the chart below, may be of some use when reflecting on Strauss' dramatic vision of the work.

Act	Scene	Recitative	Bars cut	Pritchard <small>35</small>	Klemperer <small>36</small>
1	II	<i>Mi par, che stamattina</i>	complete	✓	
1	IV	<i>Non piangere, idol mio</i>	complete	✓	✓
1	IV	<i>La comedia è graziosa</i>	1 to 3 (beat 2, second half)	✓	
1	IX	<i>Signora Dorabella</i>	20 to 40 (beat 3)	✓	
1	X	<i>Che silenzio</i>	19 (beat 4) to 24 (beat 1, second half) 40 (beat 3) to 42 (beat 4)	✓ ✓	
1	XI	<i>Ah non partite!</i>	2 (beat 4) to 18 (beat 2)	✓	
1	XII	<i>Si può sapere un poco</i>	16 (beat 2) to 20 (beat 2, second half)	✓	

<sup>34</sup> G. Gruber, *Mozart & Posterity*, trans. R.S. Furness, p. 204.

<sup>35</sup> Cuts to the recitativi secci in *Così fan tutte*, made by Pritchard in his Glyndebourne Festival Production, 1959.

<sup>36</sup> Cuts to the recitativi secci in *Così fan tutte*, made by Klemperer in his EMI recording SLS961.

1	XIII	<i>Oh la saria da ridere</i>	complete	✓	✓
2	I	<i>Andate là</i>	29 (beat 4) to 83 complete	✓	✓
2	II	<i>Sorella, cosa dici?</i>	1 to 30 (beat 4) 7 (beat 4) to 14 (beat 2) 15 (beat 4) to 30 (beat 4)	✓ ✓	✓
2	III	<i>Ah correte al giardino</i>	complete	✓	✓
2	IV	<i>Il tutto deponete</i>	1 to 4 (beat 4)	✓	
2	V	<i>Oh che bella giornata!</i>	35 (beat 4) to 41 (beat 2, second half) 38 (beat 4) to 41 (beat 2) 46 (beat 4) to 55 (beat 2, second half)	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓
2	VIII	<i>Amico, abbiamo vinto!</i>	6 (beat 2) to 25 6 (beat 4) to 25 27 (beat 2) to 32 (beat 4) 44 (beat 4) to 47 (beat 3) 45 (beat 4) to 48 50 to 56 (beat 2, second half)	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
2	IX	<i>Bravo, questa è costanza</i>	complete	✓	✓
2	X	<i>Ora vedo che siete</i>	complete	✓	✓
2	XI	<i>Come tutto congiura</i>	4 (beat 2) to 22 (beat 2) complete	✓	✓
2	XII	<i>L'abito di Ferrando</i>	complete	✓	
2	XIII	<i>Ah poveretto me</i>	18 (beat 2) to 30 (beat 2) 40 (beat 2) to 50 (beat 4)	✓ ✓	✓ ✓
2	XIV	<i>Vittoria padroncini</i>	complete	✓	

Klemperer and Pritchard have a number of cuts in common. Pritchard, with the production demands of a live performance, and by a judicious use of cuts in the recitativi secci, maintains the spirit of Strauss' article;<sup>37</sup> while Klemperer, as one would expect with a commercial recording, is particularly faithful to the score. The above cuts do not detract

<sup>37</sup> see Appendix B.

from the drama, with, perhaps, the exception of Klemperer's cut at the beginning of Act 2. In Klemperer's recording, this Act begins at the start of the fifth side of a four record set, and, therefore, it is possible that the cut was made for commercial reasons. Indeed, the nature of the cuts employed by Strauss, Klemperer and Pritchard, confirm Strauss' contention that the libretto 'excels by a long way, especially as far as the careful evolution of a purely psychological plot is concerned',<sup>38</sup> rejecting the view of the nineteenth century, which, Dent observed, had relegated the opera to 'long years of oblivion'.<sup>39</sup>

### ***Idomeneo* and the realization of the recitativo accompagnato**

Due to the improvised nature of Strauss' realization of the recitativi secci in Mozart's late operas, the auditor is left with only the recollections of Strauss' contemporaries as to the techniques employed. In the case of *Idomeneo*, however, Strauss set down his interpretative thoughts in the recitativi accompagnati. The link between this opera, Strauss, and Pritchard, is strong, with the former actively bringing it before the public after a period of neglect, whilst the latter performed the opera widely, both in Europe and the United States, leaving four recordings of the work as a testament to both his activities as a Mozartian and the tradition of which he was so much a part.

It has been shown in Chapter Two that Strauss influenced Pritchard's choice of cuts, arias, ensembles and concerted pieces in *Idomeneo*. Strauss' influence is no less pronounced in Pritchard's readings of the recitativi accompagnati. It is therefore instructive to compare, side-by-side, the thoughts of these two artists, in understanding fully the influence of the elder musician upon Pritchard, where, not only their beating structures but, also, the manner by which they colour the intrinsic dramatic elements of the recitativi accompagnati bear a striking resemblance.

The recitativo accompagnato, of the recitative and aria, Act 1, Scene V [*Edition Strauss*], which is virtually as found in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* - Act 1, Scene VI [*NMA* p.67] - is an ideal point of comparison. However, it must be remembered that Strauss has removed the continuo instrument from his edition, orchestrating the material in Scene V, bars 24 to 25 [*Edition Strauss*] - Scene VI, bars 44 to 45 [*NMA* p. 68] - spreading the chords lightly through the strings. Apart from this alteration, one can make a direct comparison between Strauss and Pritchard in this recitativo accompagnato.

Both conductors take the opening of the recitativo accompagnato in two minims to the bar. Strauss, in bars 5 and 11 [*Edition Strauss*], reinforces the forte in pencil.

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<sup>38</sup> see Appendix B.

<sup>39</sup> E.J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*, p. XIII.

Pritchard, as the dynamic implies, also plays the chords forte. Both are dominant seventh chords, designed to colour the text, which, in the original, add hue to the word, *Estinto* (extinguish/expire): in the translation, first, *So starbst du* (so you are dead) and, later, *Auch du tot* (also you are dead), underlining Elettra's/Ismene's<sup>40</sup> fear that, with Idomeneo dead, Idamantes will marry Ilia. This is the central dramatic theme of the following aria, and the clarification of the text, with suitable articulation in the accompanying chords, is theatrically astute. At the Larghetto, in bar 21 [*Edition Strauss*], Strauss notes that the pulse, with its shifting harmonies between the major and diminished chords, is in four, representing Elettra's/Ismene's restless sense of foreboding that Ilia will capture Idamantes' affections. This can be heard in Pritchard's recordings.<sup>41</sup> Again, in bars 26 to 29 [*Edition Strauss*], Strauss marks that the Allegro assai is to be taken in four crotchets, again realized by Pritchard. From bar 32 [*Edition Strauss*], Strauss indicates that the tempo to the end of the recitativo accompagnato is to be taken in two minim beats to the bar. Pritchard, in his Kalmus score, notes that the pulse should be taken in two minim beats from bar 57 [*NMA*] and, in practice, all his recordings give the strong impression that the repeated string semi-quavers/quavers, from bar 52 [*NMA*], are beaten in two. Strauss, and also Pritchard, use the pulse to colour the drama, which reaches its vocal climax, poignantly expressed in the Wallerstein translation, by the exclamation, *O Schmerz* (O sorrow), in bars 38 and 39 [*Edition Strauss*] and is qualified in bars 43 and 44 [*Edition Strauss*] with, *Alles zu Ende* (all is finished). Musically, Strauss and Pritchard link the exclamation with the qualification by an expressive treatment of the intervening five bars. Strauss notes that this passage should be played 'espr.[essivo]' and this instruction could not be more fully adhered to by Pritchard, who, most noticeably in his Vienna Philharmonic recording, accents each of the harmonic suspensions within the greater crescendo.

A comparison between *Così fan tutte* and *Idomeneo* must be made here. In the case of both operas, the nature of the libretto has been cited as the source of their neglect during the last century. In the case of the former, it has been shown that both Strauss and Pritchard strove, through a subtle and theatrical realization of the recitativi secci, in concert with a sensitive and selective use of cuts, to present the opera as both a statement of humanity and a discussion of contemporary society. Whilst, in the latter, where, due to Varesco's often static text, the first of the two objectives is no less an issue, but harder to fulfil, Strauss and Pritchard also made musical adjustments to meet this end. In the above recitativo accompagnato, both artists sought to underline the very human emotions of the

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<sup>40</sup> Strauss and Wallerstein alter the character of Princess Elettra, daughter of Agamemnon, King of Troy, to Ismene, a Priestess of Poseidon.

<sup>41</sup> EMI CHS7636852, Melodram MEL27003, Decca 411805-2.

character, using diverse musical techniques in their presentation, whilst, the techniques chosen, by their very similarity, underline the lateral nature of Strauss' renaissance. Thus, by treating the above recitativo accompagnato in this fashion, he has not only continued his efforts in revivifying Mozart's operas but has also influenced Pritchard, a conductor who did more than most in maintaining *Idomeneo's* place in the repertoire, a place envisaged, many years earlier, by Strauss.

## Chapter Five

### Performance IV: Strauss' Realization of Sonata Form

#### The second subject<sup>1</sup>

It has become increasingly clear that Strauss actively manipulated Classical structures by various musical means. In Chapter One, it was shown that a central feature of Strauss' hermeneutic argument was his realization of sonata form, and the manner by which he differentiated between Mozart's first and second subjects: a source of critical concern. While, in Chapter Three, it was noted that Strauss, in his recordings of K543, K550 and K551, was detailed in his treatment of tempo at the second subject, a principle that found further expression in his recording of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*, where his manipulation of this section was the means by which he pursued his dramatic argument. It will be shown later in this chapter that Strauss' annotations reflected the concerns that he addressed in these recordings, complementing his tempo manipulations with subtle shadings in both dynamic and orchestral balance, underlining the cantabile nature of the material.

Strauss did not simply restrict these techniques to the works of Mozart that he recorded but extended this vigilance to his treatment of the second subjects of K201/K186a and K504. As already noted, Strauss rarely performed these works, yet, the insertions found in his scores of these symphonies are detailed and carefully crafted. It has also been shown that Strauss consciously programmed lesser known works of Mozart as part of his renaissance, treating them with the same care and detail that he accredited this composer's more familiar compositions. This is no less true for K201/K186a and K504, where his manipulations and insertions are contrived to reflect the wealth of ideas that exist within these symphonies. Thus, by addressing the musical qualities of the second subjects in this manner, Strauss actively draws the auditors' attention to material that is of equal importance to the first subject, whilst maintaining its complementary function.

The nature of the orchestration determined the manner by which Strauss shaped Mozart's second subjects and developed his musical argument. This applies both to the earlier symphonies and to those that Strauss recorded. For example, at the second subject of the first movement of K201/K186a [see Appendix A: Example Six], from the anacrustic crotchet that precedes bar 33, he manipulates the phrase by means of expression and bowing. Here, Strauss slurs the four crotchets of bar 33, and the anacrustic

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<sup>1</sup> Due to the detailed nature of Strauss' annotations relating to Mozart's second subjects, the author feels that it is more appropriate to deal with the second subject before the first.

crotchet that precedes the bar, under the one curve, an up-bow. Further, under the curve, he marks *staccati* above each of the crotchets in the first violins, requiring the phrase unit to be played semi-staccato. Moreover, he indicates that the phrase should be played ‘*espr.[essivo]*’. Thus, the bowing of bar 33, with its anacrustic crotchet, is a barometer by which to read the following bars. In bar 34, Strauss slurs the third and fourth quavers to the following crotchet, at the first half of the second beat, implying that these notes should be played under an up-bow. The bowing of the opening two bars of the subject is then repeated in bars 35 and 36. However, it should be noted that he does not slur the crotchet at the second half of the second beat in bar 34, which is, in fact, the anacrusis of the following bar, to the crotchets found in bar 35. This implied down-bow is an act of necessity, as Strauss requires the first violins to phrase bar 35 in the manner of bar 33. He marks a separate up-bow at the second half of the second beat in bar 36, altering the bowing to match the shape of the phrase. At the end of the first violins’ phrase in bar 38, they have a rising fourth, from *b'* to *e''*, played under a down-bow and imitated by the violas, whose entry is also marked ‘*espr.[essivo]*’. Two bars later, where the first violins have a rising sixth, from *a'* to *f#''*, and bowed in an identical manner, the violas, again, imitate them, with Strauss instructing the violas to play another ‘*espr.[essivo]*’.

By these insertions, Strauss achieved a means by which to delineate the component parts of the periodic phrase, whilst stressing the nature of both Mozart’s melodic material and orchestration. Bowing the material in this manner, Strauss has divided the phrase into two, with each of the halves being subdivided into units of two bars each, highlighting the relative strengths and weaknesses within its structure. By the inclusion of an ‘*espr.[essivo]*’, a characteristic marking in his readings of Mozart’s second subjects, he has underlined the cantabile nature of the material in question. Moreover, Strauss’ actions realize the symmetrical nature of the periodic phrase and, indeed, sonata form, by repeating these instructions, in an identical manner, at the recapitulation. The expressive qualities of this subject are further exploited between bars 53 and 58. Here, where the first and second violins are engaged in imitation, Strauss, again, inserts an ‘*espr.[essivo]*’ in both lines. As a complement to the legato material in the upper strings, which is also sub-divided into two bar units, he instructs the celli and bass to play ‘*pizz.[icato]*’ between bars 53 and 56, returning to ‘*arco*’ in bar 57, where he colours the rising material with a crescendo [*see Appendix A: Example Seven*]. Strauss’ use of inauthentic pizzicati in the lower strings, between bars 53 and 56, when considered within the context of his readings as a whole, is a conundrum. It would seem that he employed this technique so as to give greater weight to the first and second violins’ legato interplay. In keeping with his musical premise, implicit in his annotations, that the phrase is integral to the whole, Strauss, as in the material from the anacrusis to bar 33, replicates his instructions in the recapitulation. The wider importance of these markings will be

addressed later in the chapter, where it will be shown that they have a direct influence on Sir John Pritchard's reading of the subject.

Strauss also addresses the above issues at the second subject of the Andante. Here, again, he is searching for a greater sense of line, whilst manipulating Mozart's orchestration to meet this end. At bar 22, the second violins' entry begins at the demi-semi-quaver that follows the second half of the second beat and, if handled insensitively, could cause an acoustic bulge, detracting from the sense of line, which has been so finely balanced by both composer and conductor in the surrounding bars. Strauss complements the violins' two-note phrases that interact in an imitative manner, in bars 21 and 23, with a dynamic of 'mezzo forte'. By the interaction of the first and second violins, Mozart directs the music towards bar 22, where the melodic interest is momentarily rationalised into the first violins' line. Thus, to prevent any dynamic intrusion at the entry of the second violins in bar 22, Strauss reduces their dynamic to piano, returning to 'mezzo forte' on the second half of the fourth beat, a reinstatement of the material found in bar 21. In bars 21 and 23, the first and second violins enter into a musical dialogue. This dialogue must then be balanced against the first violins' brief monologue in bar 22, whilst both elements must be considered within the confines of the arched, periodic phrase, which reaches its climax at the third quaver of bar 22. The material at the second half of bar 22, which is descending and more homogeneous in character, balances the first half of the phrase. By inserting a piano, Strauss follows the contour of the phrase, whilst preparing the return of the dialogue in bar 23. Thus, he not only recognises the nature of the orchestration at this point but, also, adds a greater sense of line to the periodic phrase.

The contour of the phrase is again the basis of Strauss' reading of the second subject of the first movement of K504. Here, the nature of the orchestration and the structure of the subject allow him to both colour the material and balance the orchestra with subtle dynamic shadings. Mozart divides the subject into three sub-sections, based on the relationship, in the exposition, between the dominant and the dominant minor tonalities. The homophonic nature of the subject is reinforced by Strauss, who not only marks the subject 'espr.[essivo]' but, also, increases the first violins' dynamic to 'mezzo forte', whilst retaining piano in the accompanying material. Within that framework, he adds further amendments to the printed dynamic and, in bars 98 and 100, reduces the first violins to piano at the second quaver, followed by a crescendo over the remainder of the bar, returning to 'mezzo forte' at each ensuing measure. Each of these adjustments, however, is part of a greater dynamic whole, which climaxes in bar 101. Here, the first violins' 'mezzo forte' is sustained for a bar and a half, supported by the second violins, whose dynamic is increased to 'mezzo forte' for the first time in this subject. A decrescendo follows in bar 102 and, at bar 103, Strauss adds staccati and piani to the crotchets in all parts. It can be assumed that he continues to taper the phrase until the

second half of bar 104. The dynamics, whilst adding colour and securing the importance of the melodic line within the homophonic texture, also follow the contour of the phrase in much the same manner as in the preceding example. By treating these bars in this fashion, Strauss again underlines the importance of the periodic phrase within the Classical compositional process. [see Appendix A: Example Eight]

Whilst Strauss' detailed dynamic insertions, as found between bars 95 and 104, would suffice for many interpreters, for him, the subject promises greater rewards. He takes the opportunity to colour Mozart's use of the dominant minor by further dynamic manipulation. Between bars 104 and 110, Mozart supports, both rhythmically and harmonically, the melodic first violins with the second violins, who double, for part of this passage, the first violins, largely at the third and the sixth. Throughout this section, Strauss reduces the general dynamic from 'mezzo forte' to piano, whilst retaining the crescendi in bars 106 and 108, as first heard in bars 98 and 100. In bar 109, he marks a diminuendo in the strings, reducing their dynamic to pianissimo by the end of bar 110; thus, balancing the dynamic contours of the second phrase in the manner of bars 95 to 104. Strauss' actions serve a dual purpose: to contrast the dominant minor with the surrounding material and to ensure the balance of the dialogue between the violins and the bassoons. [see Appendix A: Example Nine]

By a reduction of the general dynamic at the dominant minor, Strauss employs orchestral balance as a sophisticated means of structural demarcation. The use of tripartite structures within the symphonic macro and microcosms was a technique favoured by Mozart. One only has to look to the Trios of K543 and K550 for further evidence of this predilection. Within this subject, Strauss has used dynamics as a means by which to underline the developmental character of its middle section. This finds poignant expression in the relationship that exists between the first and second violins and the first and second bassoons. Mozart, by having the bassoons enter half a bar after the violins, creates a musical conversation. Strauss underlines the nature of this relationship by integrating the bassoons' dynamic in bars 106 to 108, with that of the violins. Moreover, when the tonality returns to the dominant major, at the second half of bar 111, he increases the general bassoon dynamic to 'mezzo piano' and, in the repetition of the phrase, which begins in bar 113, he increases the general dynamic still further to 'mezzo forte', denoting that these phrases be considered a counter melody. Within each of these units, he maintains the crescendi first heard in bars 98 and 100 and adds the further qualification, 'espr.[essivo]'. This is a subtle extension of the musical dialogue of the preceding bars, where Strauss, by continuing to maintain the importance of the second subject's initial material against the transitory phrase, which begins in the first and second violins in bar 112, strives to create a sense of the whole by the greater integration of the diverse melodic material. As in K201/K186a, Strauss makes it clear that the second

subject must be played in an expressive manner, underlining its cantabile nature. In both the first and third parts of this tri-partite subject, he notes that the melodic material must be played ‘*espr.[essivo]*’. He marks this indication, first, in bar 95, where the first violins are the generators of the melodic idea. Then, in bars 111 and 112, where the violins and the bassoons continue their musical intercourse, both are given this instruction. Here, again, Strauss addresses the principle of symmetry within the very fabric of the sonata structure and, by the constant reinforcement of this principle, one is aware of his conscious observance of structures that are the very essence of the Classical ideal. [*see Appendix A: Example 10*]

The nature of Strauss’ readings of the second subjects of K201/K186a and K504 take into account Mozart’s concerns as to the contours of the phrase and their structural implications within the greater formal context. Strauss’ interpretation of this material was of vital importance when one considers the wider aims of his Mozart renaissance. It was noted earlier in this dissertation that both these symphonies received only three performances each by Strauss. Yet, what is striking about his treatment of this material, is the detailed nature of his markings. His annotations, like many of the other manipulations discussed earlier, are reflective of eighteenth century structures in both the symphonic macro and microcosms, considering, in detail, the relationship of the periodic phrase and the greater sonata structure.

Strauss’ reading of K550’s first movement’s second subject is an example of the importance that he placed upon the interaction of the diverse elements of the phrase, its dynamic shading and the correct use of the bow. At the first phrase of the first movement’s second subject, from bar 44, Strauss marks a general decrescendo in all the string parts, reflecting the stroke of the bow - a down-bow - and the homogeneous character of the string writing at this point. In the following phrase, bars 46 and 47, where the structure is arched and its internal workings are a clear indication as to the bowing to be adopted, Strauss shapes it accordingly. Thus, in bar 46, at the second beat, as a means by which to complement the shape of the phrase, he inserts a crescendo, whilst at the climax of the phrase, from the beginning of bar 47 to its end, he adds a decrescendo. As in the opening phrase of the subject, Strauss shapes the second phrase with an eye to its implied bowing. At the crescendo in bar 46, the string players would employ an up-bow and, in the following bar, where the music ebbs, a down-bow. In the following phrase, bars 48 to 51, where the music bears some similarity, by virtue of its homogeneous character and downward semi-tonal movement, to the first phrase, Strauss again inserts a general decrescendo, which reflects the down-bow that would be used at this point. When the melodic material is orchestrationally inverted and the winds take up the preceding string material, between bars 52 and 55, he adds identical dynamic shading to their parts and, in bars 56 and 57, where the strings restate the material first heard in bars 48 and 49,

with modifications and down an octave, he reapplies the same dynamic. [*see* Appendix A: Example Eleven]

Strauss' attention to detail was not restricted to the main theme of the subject but, also, took into account the surrounding material. He colours the material that follows the second subject, a link between this section and the codetta, in an influential manner. In Chapter Three, it was shown that Strauss, at Mozart's momentary, and transitional, excursion into A flat major, between bars 58 and 62, used this passage as a means by which to return to his 'tempo primo', colouring both the transitional tonality and the 'poco accelerando' with a 'subito pianissimo'. By reducing the dynamic in this fashion, he adds to the passage's sense of urgency, already alluded to by Mozart's harmonic structure, underlining the harmonic resolution of this transitory material at the return of B flat major, in bar 72. Between bars 72 and 76 and, again, between bars 80 and 84, Strauss colours this moment of repose, by adding *crescendi-diminuendi* to the imitative material that alternates between the first violins and the lower strings. These *crescendi-diminuendi*, as will be shown below, found further expression in the reading of Sir John Pritchard and, what is more important, are a further example of Strauss' sense of symmetry. As in K201/K186a and K504, where his insertions, first seen in the exposition, were replicated, exactly, in the recapitulation, Strauss, in K550, again adopts a symmetrical stance, reproducing his markings, first heard in the exposition, in the recapitulation.

In K551, as it was noted in Chapter Three, Strauss, like Harnoncourt, placed great emphasis on the interdependent tempo relationships that are a feature of these two conductors' readings. Therefore, it is essential that one not only examines Strauss' treatment of the second subject in this symphony movement by movement but, also, the implications of his reading of the first movement's second subject in relation to that found in the Finale.

Before one can compare Strauss' treatment of the respective second subjects, it is necessary to consider each section separately. In developing his argument, Strauss looked to the character and hue of the music as a barometer for his insertions. As in K504, he was vigilant in preserving the homophonic texture of the second subject of the first movement of K551, taking into account the complementary nature of the material with respect to its surroundings. Strauss reflects the mood change that occurs at the second subject by the inclusion of his characteristic indication, 'espr.[essivo]', inserting this instruction, initially, at the first violins' entry at bar 56, where he tapers the bar by adding a *diminuendo*, and, again, at the restatement of the theme, a tone higher, in the lower strings in bar 58. In recognition of the complementary nature of the first violins' descending motif in that bar, based on the dominant seventh chord of the second subject's key, G major, he adds a further qualification to that voice 'grazioso'. Strauss' 'grazioso' serves a

dual function: to balance, in terms of inflection, the descending material, newly introduced in the first violins, against the initial rising figure in the celli; and to reinforce the symmetry of the first violins' phrase, between bars 56 and bar 61. The homophonic character of the subject is enriched by his dynamic reduction in the lower strings, in bars 60 and 61; bars 66 to 69; and bars 77 to 79, where the dynamic is trimmed from piano to pianissimo. This is characteristic of Strauss, who, elsewhere in his readings of Mozart, also employs this technique. More important, however, is his manipulation of the material between bars 70 and 73 and, again, later, between bars 75 and 77. In these passages, Mozart imports material from the first subject, using it as a form of melodic bridge, linking, in a unified manner, the first violins' thematic material. At these junctures, Strauss lifts the dynamic of the lower strings, in bars 71 and 75, to piano, preparing the increase in dynamic with crescendi and, at the ebb of the phrase, with diminuendi; thus, creating an arched phrase, which has direct interpretative links with his reading of the first subject. By inserting these dynamics, Strauss has created a unified sense of line. Furthermore, by underlining the *espressivo* quality of the section, he balances this cantabile subject against both the grandiose, if not somewhat rhetorical, first subject, and the sudden dramatic shift to C minor, prepared by a general diminuendo between bars 77 to 79, that follows in bar 81. [see Appendix A: Example 12]

The detailed dynamic insertions that Strauss adds to the first movement's second subject act as a foil to those of the Finale. In Chapter Three, it was noted that Strauss, in the manner of Harnoncourt, treated the tempo relationships of the symphony's movements as a form of 'composed accelerando'. It has been noted above, that his tempo manipulations were matched by subtle shadings in dynamic and expression, reinforcing the hue of the music. This integrated approach to K551 was an important feature of Strauss' reading of the symphony. Mozart, due to the contrapuntal writing that follows the arrival of the second subject in the Finale, treats the music in a less cantabile manner than in the first movement. Strauss recognises Mozart's change of melodic demeanour and, rather than overburden the material with excessive dynamic shading, here one should note that this is one of the rare occasions in a sonata form movement, taken in fast tempo, where Strauss does not reduce the tempo at the arrival of the second subject, inserts only a minimum of expression. As in the examples discussed above, Strauss adds his characteristic '*espr.[essivo]*' to the first violins' phrase, between bars 74 and 77 and, again, when the theme is repeated, between bars 80 and 83. However, his vigilance, regarding orchestral balance, is no less diminished due to the relatively reduced cantabile nature of this subject. At the final bar of the first violins' four bar phrase, Strauss adds a decrescendo to the rising sixth, suitably reducing the lower strings in the following bar, bar 78, to pianissimo, allowing the winds to take up the melodic argument in the

intervening bars and, by the inclusion of the pianissimo in bars 84 and 85, prepares the auditor for the repeat of this dynamic from bar 86. [see Appendix A: Example 13]

In the bars that follow, Strauss balances the orchestra in a series of dynamic blocks. Between bars 94 and 109, Mozart embarks upon an extensive contrapuntal development of the subject. Strauss is cognisant of the implications that any inserted dynamics would have had on the subject's immediate environment and, therefore, at the contrapuntal development of the second subject material, he directs the strings to play forte. Where the winds have a shortened derivative of the statement, as in bars 99 and 100, he increases their dynamic to fortissimo, facilitating the greater integration of the various contrapuntal strands. However, when the winds return to the rôle of harmonic support, as in bars 101 and 102, he reduces their dynamic to 'mezzo forte', while the brass and timpani are reduced to piano throughout the passage. The practical implications of these manipulations are self-evident. Not only do Strauss' annotations allow for a clarity of articulation, necessary in such a densely contrapuntal passage, but, from his recording of the work, by balancing the orchestra in this manner, one is granted a greater awareness of Mozart's integrated contrapuntal writing, even though recorded sound in 1926 was of the most primitive kind.

Therefore, by juxtaposing his annotations in this fashion, Strauss has taken into account Mozart's greater symphonic structure. Mozart's treatment of the melodic material in the first movement is generally of a homophonic kind. Of course, within that framework, one must recognise his various excursions into counterpoint, as in the development. However, due to this predominantly homophonic texture, Strauss was able to explore more fully the expressive, cantabile nature of the second subject. Conversely, in the Finale, where tempo and texture were of equal importance in developing his interpretative thesis, he restricted his annotations to the barest essentials. In both movements Strauss notes the interaction of tempo and expression. In the first movement, where he reduces the tempo of the second subject, his dynamic shadings are most pronounced. However, in the Finale, where clarity is paramount, he abstains from any reduction in tempo and his dynamic manipulations are kept to a minimum.

Within the pillars of the first movement and the Finale, Strauss was no less detailed in his rendering of the Andante cantabile's second subject. As noted in Chapter Three, he manipulated the tempo of the bridge passage in preparation for the arrival of this subject. As in many of the examples above, his tempo adjustments were supported by subtle shadings in dynamics and orchestral balance. The principle of an elongated sense of line was the genesis of Strauss' melodic argument that links both the bridge passage and the second subject. Melodically, the bridge passage relies on the interaction that exists between the first oboe, in concert with the first bassoon, and the first violins,

between bars 18 and 23. Strauss adjusts the first violins' dynamic throughout this passage and the descending figure acts as a foil to the ascending chordal motif in the winds. As a means of clarifying the melodic intercourse that exists throughout these bars, Strauss re-sites the first violins' *piani*, of the 'forte *piani*', retaining only the *forte* of the multiple dynamic instruction, in preference to that of the marked dynamic, throughout bars 19, 21, 23, 24 and 25. The *piani* are then re-inserted at the second beat of bars 20 and 22. However, in the remainder of the orchestra, Mozart's printed dynamic is retained. By these amendments, Strauss reinforces the contour of the phrase, balancing the rising figure in the winds against the descending one in the strings. As in the second subject of the first movement of K550, his annotations in K551's bridge passage must be viewed within a wider perspective.

Strauss treats the bridge passage, as its name implies, transitionally, using the above dynamic shading, in concert with tempo, as a means of unifying that passage with the subsequent second subject. His increased tempo is designed to act as a complement to the dynamic adjustments in the first violins. He leaves no doubt as to his intentions in this passage, for, above bar 19, he notes that the bridge passage must be played 'agitato'. In his recording, Strauss realizes his conception of this passage by a sense of forward motion. This is aided by the annotations that he inserts into the first violins' material, increasing the musical tension, which finds release at the arrival of C major, in bar 28. His preparation of the dominant, in the bars that precede the second subject, adds to a greater sense of melodic direction, first established between bars 18 and 25. In bars 26 and 27, Strauss creates, by the inclusion of a crescendo in bar 26, an arched dynamic, lifting the first violins to *fortissimo* at the first beat of bar 27. The harmonic support at the fulcrum of this arched phrase is based upon a diminished chord that finds resolution on the third beat of that bar, and a *diminuendo* in the first violins' line that spans the rest of bar 27. The sense of line, that has been so finely crafted in the preceding bars, is secured by Strauss, who reduces the oboe's dynamic, in bar 27, to *piano*, with a qualifying *diminuendo*, shaping the oboe's phrase in the manner of the first violins.

The first violins' *diminuendo*, and that of the oboe, within its reduced dynamic, are designed to lead the auditor, effortlessly, to the arrival of the dominant key. At the second subject, he instructs the first violins, the generators of Mozart's melodic idea, to play *forte*, adding a further qualification, 'molto *espr.[essivo]*'. The remainder of the strings retain the printed dynamic, *piano*, reinforced by Strauss in pencil, while the wind, who mirror the first violins' arched phrase, are reduced to *pianissimo*. He continues in a similar vein between bar 32 and the codetta, where his objective is melodic clarification. Again, the first violins maintain an increased dynamic with respect to the accompanying material. The first violins are instructed to play *piano*, whilst the rest of the orchestra are reduced to *pianissimo*. However, when the first violins and the flute enter into a musical

dialogue, in bars 35 and 36, Strauss notes that the flutes should align their dynamic to that of the first violins' piano, whilst the rest of the orchestra retain the pianissimo of the previous bars. In keeping with his treatment of other second subject material, Strauss adds further hue to the flute's imitative interjections with an 'espr.[essivo]'. [see Appendix A: Examples 14(a) & (b)]

As in the examples considered above, he develops his thesis through existing musical structures. Not only does he pay heed to the superscription, *Andante cantabile*, but he also develops a sense of line that takes into account the nature of the orchestration within the periodic phrase. By manipulating the second subject in a consistent manner, Strauss sets in place another pillar of his Mozart style, the genesis of which was based on one of the most important principles of eighteenth century musical practice, sonata form, and, by so doing, was instrumental in determining the readings of his followers, in particular, Sir John Pritchard.

### **The first subject**

Strauss' approach to the second subject was detailed in nature, looking to its cantabile, expressive elements as the basis for his inclusions. However, his treatment of the first subject, while often being subtle, avoids the extensive manipulations and annotations that can be found in his readings of Mozart's second subjects. The first subject, by its very nature, was designed to secure both the tonality of the symphony and the musical argument of the movement. If one were to overburden this initial material with excessive dynamic adjustments, then its spontaneity may be lost.

This is the basis of Strauss' treatment of the first subject in the symphonic movements considered above. In the first subject of the first movement of K201/K186a, Strauss' annotations are restrained, working, in this instance, in a complementary fashion to the second subject. The nature of both the first and second subjects in this symphony have more in common than the other symphonies considered in this chapter. Therefore, it is not surprising that Strauss' annotations reflect their expressive unity. Whilst noting the countermelodic importance of the second violins' line by the addition of an 'espr.[essivo]' in bar 1, Strauss' main concern, and indeed a central feature of his reading of the second subject, was the bowing to be employed by the first violins. As in the second subject, he was vigilant in maintaining the contour of the phrase, avoiding any additional dynamic shading, preferring, instead, to use the stroke of the bow as the means of phraseological delineation. In this regard, he inserts two down-bows, taken within the one movement of the arm, above the first two crotchets in the first violins' line in bar 1, while, at the second quaver of the second beat, he adds an up-bow. This bowing is repeated at each successive restatement or derivative of this material that appears in the first eighteen bars of the

symphony. The use of two down-bows at this point, reinforces the relative strengths and weaknesses of the two halves of the first beat, acting, effectively, as an implied diminuendo over this period. In keeping with the sense of symmetry that imbues Strauss' readings of Mozart, his repeated up-bows, as implied by his insertion of a single up-bow on the second quaver of the second beat, balances the diminuendo that ensues from the preceding down-bows. As a result of these up-bows, the music is directed towards the new bar, subtly lifting the dynamic that, again, will ebb when the down-bows are reapplied at the beginning of each new bar. [see Appendix A: Example 15]

In K504 and K550 the conductor is confronted by first and second subjects that reinforce the underlying differences of these sections. In the former, Strauss recognises the disparate qualities of both subjects by the type and quantity of his insertions. His only annotations in this material are found in the trumpet and timpani parts of bar 43, where he reduces, characteristically, their dynamic from forte to 'mezzo forte'. The absence of any additional dynamic shading serves to underline the urgency of the syncopation, found in the first violins' line at the opening bars of the Allegro. By avoiding any further annotations to this material, Strauss refrains from overstating the tonal uncertainty of the opening bars of the Allegro, the tonality of which is not fully established until bar 43. In the first subject of the first movement of K550, Mozart's musical argument is, again, reliant on the restless nature of the material. Here, as in K201/K186a, Strauss prefers to use bowing as a means of reinforcing the contours of the phrase, rather than an excessive use of dynamic colour. The denial of such overt colour is in keeping with his renaissance as a whole, for this symphony, more than any other by Mozart, epitomised the nineteenth century, romanticised view of the composer that had permeated readings of this work. Instead, Strauss, by simply employing the bow as a means of melodic hue, recognises the intrinsic complexities of the phrase, rather than any external implications.

Leonard Bernstein,<sup>2</sup> a pupil of Strauss' colleague and friend, Fritz Reiner,<sup>3</sup> discusses the complexities of this subject in his series of lectures, *The Unanswered Question*. In these lectures, he notes that the first full bar of the violins' first subject theme acts as a form of anacrusis to bar 3, the second full bar of the violins' material. He goes on to say that if one continues to stress the subject in that manner, and includes the violas' material from bar 1 as the first bar of the eight, the resultant phraseological structure is then symmetrical.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Leonard Bernstein (1918-1990). American conductor, composer and pianist. *Début*: New York Philharmonic, 1944. Chief Conductor: New York Philharmonic, 1958-69.

<sup>3</sup> Fritz Reiner (1888-1963). Hungarian conductor, friend and associate of Richard Strauss. *Début*: Budapest Opera, 1909. Conductor: Laibach, 1910, Volksoper, Budapest, 1911-14. Principal Conductor: Dresden State Opera 1914-21; Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, 1922-31; Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, 1938-48; Metropolitan Opera, New York, 1948-53; Chicago Symphony Orchestra, 1953-63.

<sup>4</sup> L. Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question*, pp. 101-3.

This seems to be the basis of Strauss' bowing, where down-bows, inserted above each of the pair of quavers in the opening four bars and, again, at strategic points throughout the movement, result, when one considers the greater ramifications of the bowing found in the first four bars, in a sense of symmetry that comprises the remainder of the violins' first subject material, up to, and including, bar 16.

Strauss, by applying a down-bow to the violins' pairs of quavers, displaces the sense of stress that is often accredited to bar 2. Instead, by playing each of the crotchets in the first nine bars with an up-bow, his displacement is complete. By bowing the violins' two note, crotchet phrase in bar 3 with an up-bow, Strauss avoids any possible diminuendo that may result from the customary down-bow at this point. More importantly, by maintaining this bowing structure, in concert with Mozart's phrasing, from the pair of quavers that precede bar 10 to bar 16, Strauss, assuming that he bows bars 14 and 15 as one bow to a bar, which is reflected by his marked crescendo-diminuendo, has underlined the overall symmetry of the opening sixteen bars. The importance of such a phraseological structure is commented upon by Bernstein, whose views are in step with those of Strauss:

'...the *first* bar [bar 2] which is weak, and the *second* [bar 3] which is strong. That is, the first bar works as an upbeat bar to the second; and it is the second which is actually the down bar... thus automatically causing the melody to enter on a *weak* bar ...this analysis is complicated, it gets even more so on the tenth bar, which is both strong *and* weak. This is a new ambiguity, setting up a new order of strong-weak pairs of bars... [this is] of major importance to the performer, and therefore to you, the listener... So the performer must understand what Mozart has done - that he takes our universal instinct of symmetry and plays with it, violates it, *ambiguifies* [sic] it... And therein lies the creativity; that's what makes it art.'<sup>5</sup>

Thus, Strauss has cunningly manipulated the phraseology to match his musical argument. The subtlety of his manoeuvres begin in bar 1, where, by abstaining from any extraneous annotations, he has set the motor rhythm in place and has firmly established the tonality. The establishment of G minor in this manner is essential, when one considers the nature of the Mozart's melodic material. The tonality of the violins' theme is made ambiguous by Mozart's use of the opening semi-tonal motif and the harmonic relationship created by interaction of *e*," and the successive repeated *d*". Here, the need for resolution is stronger than the auditors' sense of tonic tonality. The tonality, therefore, needs to be confirmed by the violas' initial material. If one is to accept Bernstein's wider argument, about the importance of the violas' figure, then it is apparent that the rhythmic and harmonic implications of this motor rhythm are seminal in the development of both Strauss' and Bernstein's melodic thesis. Strauss, by his choice of bowing, effectively highlights the symmetrical ambiguity of the phrase in the manner described by Bernstein. The application of a down-bow at the anacrusic quavers disguises the natural stress of the bar

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<sup>5</sup> L. Bernstein, *The Unanswered Question*, pp. 101-5.

within the wider perspective of the phrase. Bernstein noted that if one were to include the violas' material in the overall phraseology of the subject, then, in fact, Mozart's structure is symmetrical. Strauss actually extends this premise, based on the opening eight bars and, if one combines his choice of bowing in the opening four bars with his dynamic insertions in bars 14 and 15, one is aware that he perceives not only the first eight bars as symmetrical but incorporates those bars within the greater symmetrical structure of the first sixteen bars; thus, not only shaping the first sixteen bars as a given unit but, also, applying the interaction between the upper and lower strings as a means of juxtaposing the restless character of the violins' melodic material against the stabilising influence of the violas' motor rhythm. [see Appendix A: Example 16]

From the discussion relating to Strauss' treatment of the second subject, it was clear that his inflections were designed to meet the needs of the phrase, whilst taking into account the nature of both the melodic material and the orchestration. This was also true of Strauss' reading of the other symphonies considered in this chapter, where his annotations were designed to reflect the proportions of the phrase and the sonata structure as a whole. Each of these considerations is central to an effective reading of Classical symphonies, if one is to capture the sense of balance and symmetry essential in any realization of these works.<sup>6</sup> Strauss reflected these Classical structures by a subtle use of the bow, in concert with dynamic shadings that captured the hue of the music, applying these principles universally to his readings of both the first and second subjects. In each of the examples discussed, one is aware of Strauss' concern about the nature of the material, and its relationship with its surroundings and its respective first subject. Further, it was shown that Strauss' interaction between tempo and structure was complemented by subtle shadings in both the dynamic chosen and the manner by which he balanced the orchestra and, due to the universality of these techniques, the argument that his readings of these symphonies were a carefully crafted complement to his renaissance is reinforced. Moreover, due to the influential nature of his Mozart style, many of his techniques were also realized in the readings of later generations.

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<sup>6</sup> Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904), the critic and aesthete, a champion of Absolute Music, notes the necessity of a symmetrical reading in the realization of such works. He writes: 'The 'form' of a symphony, overture, or sonata is the name for the architectonics of connected details and groups of which the piece consists. More precisely, then, form is the symmetry of these parts in their succession, contrast, return, and development. The themes elaborated in such architectonics are accordingly grasped as content.' E. Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, trans. G. Cohen as *The Beautiful in Music*, pp. 100-1. cf. Introduction p. 14.

## **The influence of Strauss' annotations on Sir John Pritchard<sup>7</sup>**

The depth of Strauss' influence can be seen by the manner in which Sir John Pritchard approached Mozart's first and second subjects. Like Strauss, Pritchard's vigilance was not simply restricted to the last three symphonies but was also extended to his interpretations of K201/K186a and K504. K201/K186a, the earliest of Mozart's symphonies to be conducted by either Strauss or Pritchard, underlines the musical affinity of these two artists. Pritchard, who appears to have conducted this symphony only once,<sup>8</sup> shares Strauss' vision of its first and second subjects. With respect to the first subject, Pritchard's implied bowing mirrors that of Strauss, with the former marking a tenuto above the first of the two crotchets in bar 1, followed by a staccato above the second. Pritchard qualifies the superscription, writing, 'Brisk, easy!', and indicates that the music should be beaten in two minims to the bar. Therefore, the only possible bowing that could result, when one combines Pritchard's qualification of the superscription with his marked articulation, would be identical to that of Strauss.

The similarities between Strauss' and Pritchard's reading of this movement find further expression in the latter's interpretation of the second subject. Like Strauss, Pritchard underlines both the qualities of the orchestration and the expressive nature of the subject. The rising, imitative intervals, in bars 38 and 40, that alternate between the first violins and the violas, coloured by Strauss with *espressivi*, are also brought to the auditors' attention by Pritchard, who notes the nature of their orchestration by marking each of the two note phrases with *tenuti* and, in bar 38, a qualifying '*mezzo piano*'. The *tenuti* reinforce the down-bows taken in these bars and are reflective of Strauss' *espressivi*, which are the culmination, as has been shown above, of a carefully crafted bowing structure that meets the needs of the phrase. The influence of Strauss is again apparent later in the subject, between bars 53 and 58, where Pritchard adheres closely to the former's annotations. Here, Pritchard follows Strauss' lead, colouring the upper strings' imitative material with *espressivi* and, in bars 57 and 58, where Strauss adds crescendi to all parts, Pritchard also adds identical crescendi. Pritchard colours this material, noting that the upper strings' imitative, melodic material should be played '*mezzo piano*', while, at the beginning of the crescendo in bar 57, the strings are to adopt a dynamic of *pianissimo*. His insertions are in keeping with those of Strauss,<sup>9</sup> who looks to the structure of the phrase as the genesis of his melodic argument. This philosophy, an

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<sup>7</sup> Due to the availability of source material, this section will be restricted to a study of the influence of Strauss on Pritchard. As many of the assessments made earlier in this dissertation relied on commercially recorded material, in which the balance of the orchestra is subject to the actions of both the recording engineer and producer, the author feels, in light of any such manipulations, that to obtain a true indication of Strauss' influence on later generations one must compare like with like.

<sup>8</sup> see Chapter Two, note 11.

<sup>9</sup> However, Pritchard does not instruct the lower strings to play pizzicato between bars 53-6.

integral feature of Strauss' interpretative activities, was to find further expression in Pritchard's reading of the first movement of K504.

Pritchard develops, in his reading of K504,<sup>10</sup> Strauss' interpretation of the first and second subjects, stressing their complementary nature; the interactive elements of their orchestration; and their expressive qualities. Earlier in the chapter, it was noted that Strauss abstained from detailed markings in the first movement's first subject. He restricted his manipulations to the brass' and timpani's dynamic, which he reduced from forte to 'mezzo forte'. Pritchard makes an identical adjustment in bar 43, preceded in bar 41 by a reduction in the second violins' and lower strings' dynamic from piano to pianissimo. It is, however, once again, in the second subject that the influence of Strauss is of primary importance in the development of Pritchard's musical argument. As noted earlier, Strauss' reading considers the relationship that exists between the dominant and the dominant minor tonalities and their function within the tri-partite structure of the subject. This is also the genesis of Pritchard's musical thesis, where he, too, makes dynamic indications that underline the tri-partite division of this subject. Pritchard, like Strauss, adds an 'espr[essivo]' to the first violins' line in bar 95, also increasing his dynamic, though from piano to 'mezzo piano', rather than Strauss' 'mezzo forte', at bar 101. The markings found in the first nine bars are not in Pritchard's hand. However, even though they are clearly incomplete, they still reflect, at least in part, his intentions. The incomplete nature of these annotations is apparent by the insertions found from bar 101. The 'mezzo piano' marked at this point would invariably have been preceded by some form of crescendo, keeping him in step with Strauss' reading. This is missing from the extant score. It is the markings from bar 101, however, that strengthen the links between Strauss and Pritchard. In bar 102, Pritchard inserts a diminuendo, shadowing Strauss' dynamic in this bar, whose influence is underlined by the articulation marks found in Pritchard's score in bar 103. Here, in a similar manner to Strauss, Pritchard notes that the strings' crotchets are to be played semi-staccato, grouping the crotchets in two pairs, reflecting the bowing necessary in sustaining the overall phraseology of the subject. In this instance, one can look to Pritchard's phrasing and articulation as a means of clarifying Strauss' insertions at this juncture. Strauss, as noted earlier, simply added staccati to the strings in bar 103. It would seem more likely, however, that in realizing this bar, Strauss would have treated the articulation in the manner of Pritchard. The division of the subject for bowing purposes implies that Strauss, if he required a down-bow at the

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<sup>10</sup> Pritchard's working score of K504 went missing at the end of the *Strauss-Mozart Festival*, promoted by the BBC, at the Royal Festival Hall, London, in February 1989. However, Pritchard marked, with the aid of a librarian, a new score that was sent to the author in Italy. The author was preparing this work in place of Sir John, who was hospitalised as a consequence of the lung cancer that would later prove fatal. The author subsequently directed the concerts with the Orchestra of the Emilia Romagna, as Sir John was too ill to perform. It is from this score that the author's assessments are made.

beginning of bar 104, would have to divide bar 103 into two halves, playing the first two crotchets under a down-bow and the second pair under an up-bow. Therefore, if Strauss observed his staccati, at least in part, and at a tempo commensurate with the superscription, then they must, of necessity, have been articulated as semi-staccati in the manner of Pritchard.

Strauss announced the arrival of the dominant minor by a reduction in dynamic. Pritchard, again, continues to observe Strauss' tri-partite treatment of this subject, reducing his dynamic at the minor tonality. Pritchard reduces the general dynamic from piano to pianissimo and, like Strauss, inserts a general diminuendo in bars 109 and 110. Further, when the dominant major tonality is reinstated, Pritchard, in the manner of Strauss, adds a further *espressivo* to the upper strings. The similarity of Strauss and Pritchard's markings in K201/K186a has been remarked upon in Chapter Two. However, when one compares the annotations found in both conductors' scores of that symphony, with those found in K504, the depth of Strauss' influence is immediately apparent. Pritchard continued to observe the earlier conductor's techniques in his readings of K550 and K551, where, again, his annotations bear a striking similarity to those of Strauss.

Earlier, the symmetrical ambiguities of the first subject of the first movement of K550 were shown to be the concern not only of Strauss but, also, of Bernstein. Pritchard, like Bernstein, a beneficiary of Strauss' Mozartian ideals, also comments upon the symmetrical structure of this subject. In his score of this symphony,<sup>11</sup> Pritchard notes above bars 1 and 2 that they should be considered as an 'up beat'. He reinforces this assertion by adding a tenuto to the first violins' rising sixth in bar 3, reflecting the symmetrical ambiguity alluded to by Strauss' bowing. Unlike Strauss, whose instructions to the violas, regarding the treatment of their opening motor rhythm, can only be judged from his two recordings of the work, Pritchard, in his score, instructs this voice to play, 'off string but molto *espr[essivo]*'. Whilst one must be cautious in making judgements about balance and expression from recordings made in the early years of the twentieth century, Strauss' treatment of the violas' material, notably in his 1928 recording - the acoustic quality of the earlier recording precludes any definitive assessment - is an early demonstration of Pritchard's later annotations.

Strauss' and Pritchard's readings of the second subject of this movement also reflect the unity of thought that existed between the two conductors. At bar 44, Pritchard adds an '*espr[essivo]*', though Strauss, at this juncture, makes no such insertion.

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<sup>11</sup> Pritchard's working score of K550 is littered with expression marks. Some of these insertions clearly date back to his early performances of the work. Often, Pritchard annotates more than one instruction in the same passage. Many of these coincide with Strauss' thoughts. It is impossible to disentangle many of these instructions. However, the author will restrict his assessment to those that Pritchard used on a regular basis at the numerous concerts that the author either observed or prepared with Pritchard in attendance.

However, from the above, it has been clearly demonstrated that this instruction, with specific reference to the second subject, was a particular favourite of Strauss and, as this annotation can be found in the other examples considered in this chapter, one can only suggest that Pritchard's inclusion of an *espressivo* in this bar, was directly linked to Strauss' vision of the second subject as a whole. From bar 46, the interaction of bowing and dynamic shading are central to Pritchard's interpretation. He, like Strauss, divides the phrase that bestrides bars 46 and 47 according to these concerns. In bar 46, Pritchard inserts an up-bow, with its implied crescendo, as a means by which to follow the contour of the phrase. Strauss, on the other hand, reverses the implicit and explicit elements of this bar, adding, instead, but with the same acoustic consequence, a crescendo. At bar 47, Pritchard, again, relies on bowing as the means by which to define the phrase, slurring the whole of that bar under one curve, implying both a down-bow and a decrescendo at this point. As in bar 46, Strauss inserts a dynamic rather than a bowing instruction, in this instance a decrescendo, explicitly colouring that which Pritchard manipulates implicitly. However, both artists coalesce at bar 48, where Pritchard marks a diminuendo over the whole phrase, qualifying its point of inception with a 'mezzo piano'. This form of dynamic shading, shared by Strauss, adds definition to Pritchard's earlier insertion in bar 44, where he simply notes, 'espressivo'. It would seem more likely, however, as borne out by many of his performances, that he shared Strauss' use of a diminuendo in this bar; thus, balancing the tri-partite nature of bars 44 to 51 as a whole.

Earlier in the chapter, great store was placed on Strauss' treatment of the material that surrounded the second subject. The wider melodic and structural influence of Strauss on Pritchard can be seen in such passages. Pritchard, like Strauss, manipulated the material that follows the second subject. Moreover, the former adjusted the material in an identical manner to the latter, adding, in the case of this symphony's first movement, a general pianissimo in bar 58, where Mozart employs A flat major as a vehicle of harmonic transition and, between bars 72 and 84, *crescendi-diminuendi* to the imitative material that alternates between the first violins and the lower strings. The structural implications of these *crescendi-diminuendi* are recognised by Pritchard, who adopts Strauss' symmetrical stance, replicating his annotations in the recapitulation.

The implications of Strauss' dynamic shadings find further expression in Pritchard's reading of K551, where the insertions found in each conductor's score are consistent in both the external movements and the *Andante cantabile*. At the first movement's second subject, Pritchard adds a diminuendo to bar 56; an *espressivo* to bar 71, and a general diminuendo in bars 77 to 79. In the *Andante cantabile*, he manipulates the bridge passage and, indeed, the bars that precede that section in the manner of Strauss, whilst the second subject also displays the hallmarks of the latter. Pritchard adds an 'espr[essivo]' to the first violins' line in bar 15; re-sites the *piani*, of the 'forte *piani*',

between bars 19 and 25; adds a crescendo-diminuendo across the bar line between bars 26 and 27; circles the first violins' and oboe's melodic material, at the second half of bar 27, indicating their interactive nature; adds 'espr[essivo]' to the first violins' line in bar 28, qualifying this in the recapitulation, where he amends the instruction to read 'molto espr[essivo]', bringing him, again, in step with Strauss. In the Finale, Pritchard, like Strauss, is also suitably restrained in his use of extra dynamic shading, noting that the second subject be played 'espr[essivo]'; and reducing the lower string material in bars 78 and 79 and, again, later, in bars 84 and 85, from piano to pianissimo, preparing for the continuance of that dynamic from bar 86. As in the first movement, and the other symphonies considered, Pritchard adopts Strauss' symmetrical approach, repeating his instructions, in an identical manner, in the recapitulation.

In Chapter Two, it was suggested that Pritchard may have had access to Strauss' scores. The possibility of such an occurrence is reinforced by the information found above. The insertions contained in both Strauss' and Pritchard's scores defy coincidence. The annotations go to the very heart of the interpreter's art. Strauss appears to have set out with the intention of creating a school of Mozartian interpretation, which, for Pritchard, was the basis of a tradition of which he was so proud to be a part. The systematic manipulation of sonata form was a pillar of Strauss' renaissance and, also, fundamental to the school of thought that he created. The influence that Strauss had upon Pritchard reaches its zenith in the manner by which the latter manipulated the orchestra in fulfilling his structural and general musical argument. It would seem that Strauss, by highlighting the importance of eighteenth century structures, found an eager recipient in Pritchard, who, through his travels, continued to disseminate the principles of Strauss' Mozart renaissance.

## Conclusion

To the divine Mozart at the end of a life filled with gratitude.<sup>1</sup>

As Richard Strauss died less than fifty years ago,<sup>2</sup> one might expect that the task of researching his activities as an executant musician would be relatively straightforward. However, the present author was hampered by both the quality and quantity of the source material available. Much has been lost, destroyed, mislaid, or is perishing. As the collection of scores housed at the Villa Strauss is incomplete, and as the orchestral material used by Strauss does not appear to be extant, the scholar is left with only a fragmented mosaic, from which many of the key pieces are missing. The loss or misplacement of some of his scores and orchestral parts, deprives one of comparative source material, essential in understanding the breadth of the conductor's intentions. Strauss' recorded legacy has also suffered the ravages of time, with a number of his radio recordings, some of which are performances of Mozart, being either lost or destroyed.<sup>3</sup> As a result, many of the questions that have arisen in the course of researching this dissertation may never be fully answered. It is clear, therefore, that much work still needs to be done if one is to secure for posterity the various source materials that reflect the art of the conductor during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

From what remains, however, it has emerged that Strauss holds an important position in the history of performance. In recent years, Mozartians have become increasingly aware that their readings should reflect current scholarly trends. To this end, they have sought information from a variety of sources, often looking to the writings of eighteenth century aestheticians and theorists as the basis for their assumptions. From the evidence contained in the preceding chapters, both the performer and the scholar can now supplement this knowledge with Strauss' reforms, where many relevant details are to be found. Not only were his performances scholarly and influential but, during the course of his career, he came into direct contact with musicians who were professionally active in the early years of the nineteenth century and, in the case of Franz Lachner,<sup>4</sup> with an artist who associated with both Beethoven and Schubert. Therefore, performers, when realizing works of

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<sup>1</sup> Dedication found on the title page of his *Second Sonatina for Winds*, AV143 (1944-5).

<sup>2</sup> 8 September 1949.

<sup>3</sup> *Così fan tutte*, Munich, 17 July 1932; *Idomeneo*, Vienna, 3 December 1941.

<sup>4</sup> see Introduction note 5.

the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, may derive benefit from studying the techniques adopted by Richard Strauss.

Appendix A  
Musical Examples

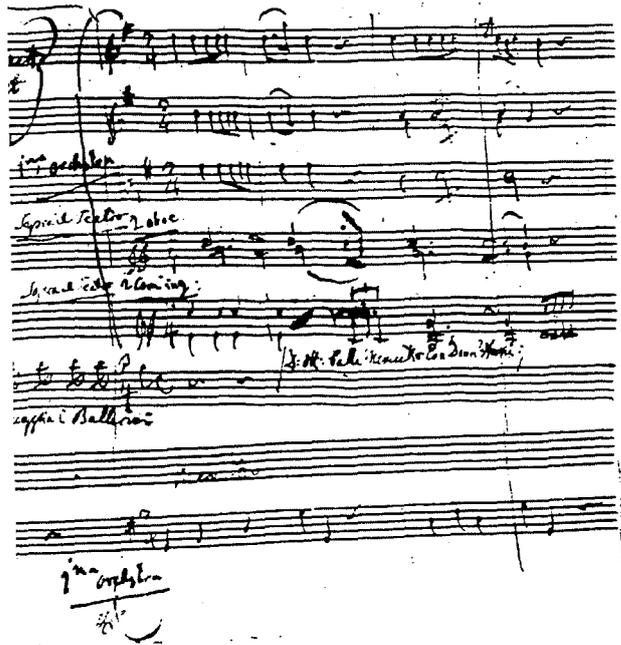


Example One: Mozart, K550, movement four, bars 251 to 253. Breitkopf & Härtel, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1880-2 [uncorrected version].

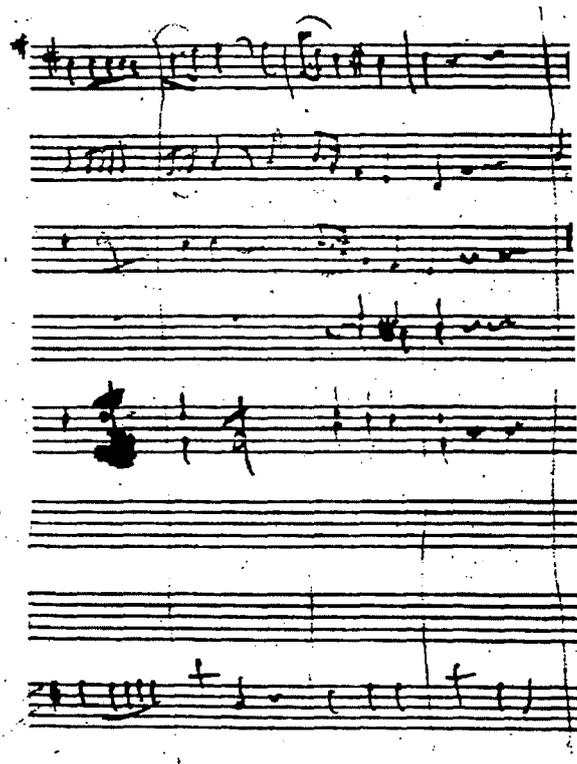


Example Two: Mozart, K550, movement four, bars 251 to 253. Breitkopf & Härtel, *Gesamtausgabe*, [corrected version] (Strauss' dynamics re-marked by author).

Example Three: Mozart, K201/K186a, movement four, bars 94 to 97. Breitkopf & Härtel, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1880-2 (correction in Strauss' own hand).



Example Four (a): Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, Act 1 Finale, Scene XX, bars 406 to 409. Facsimile of the autograph provided by courtesy of the Paris Conservatoire.



Example Four (b): Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, Act 1 Finale, Scene XX, bars 410 to 413. Facsimile of the autograph provided by courtesy of the Paris Conservatoire.

410

Orchestra II Orchestra III  
sopra il Teatro sopra il Teatro

Violini  
Basso

Violini  
Basso

Orchestra I sopra il Teatro

2 Oboi

2 Corni in G

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Donna Anna

Donna Elvira

Don Ottavio

Don Giovanni

Leporello

Masetto

Violoncello  
e Contrabasso

**Menuetto**

*D. Ottavio balla Menuetto con D. Anna  
D. Ottavio tanzt mit D. Anna Menuett*

Bemerkung von Mozart  
fehlt bei da Ponte

ri-ni!  
wieder!

Fällt in Autograph

Example Five: Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, Act 1 Finale, Scene XX, bars 406 to 412 (Strauss' annotations re-marked, in brackets, by author).

Example Six: Mozart K201/K186a, movement one, bars 32 (beat 4) to 41 (bowing in Strauss' hand, expression and articulation re-marked by author).

Example Seven: Mozart K201/K186a, movement one, bars 53 to 58 (dynamics and string indications in Strauss' hand, 'espr.[essivi]' re-marked by author).

VI. I  
VI. II  
Vla.  
Vlc.  
o Cb.

100

Example Eight: Mozart K504, movement one, bars 95 to 104. (Strauss' dynamics 'espr.[ssivo]' and articulation adjustments re-marked by author)

Fl.  
VI. I  
VI. II  
Vla.  
Vlc.  
o Cb.

110

Example Nine: Mozart K504, movement one, bars 104 to 110. (Strauss' dynamics re-marked by author).

Fl.  
Ob.  
Fg.  
VI. I  
VI. II  
Vla.  
Vlc.  
o Cb.

Cor.

119

Example Ten: Mozart K504, movement one, bars 111 to 119. (Strauss' dynamics and 'espr.[essivi]' re-marked by author)

The image shows a page of musical notation for Mozart's Symphony No. 25, K. 550, first movement, bars 44 to 51. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system contains the Oboe (Ob.) and Bassoon (Fg.) parts. The second system contains the Violin I (Vl. I), Violin II (Vl. II), Viola (Vla.), and Violoncello/Double Bass (Vcl. e Cb.) parts. The music is in 3/4 time and features a melodic line in the strings and woodwinds. Dynamics are marked with 'p' (piano) and accents.

Example Eleven: Mozart K550, movement one, bars 44 to 51. (Strauss' dynamics re-marked by author)

The image displays a musical score for Mozart's K551, movement one, covering bars 56 to 80. The score is organized into six systems of staves. The first system (bars 56-60) includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Violin (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), and Cello/Double Bass (Vc./Cb.). The second system (bars 61-65) includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Violin (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), and Cello/Double Bass (Vc./Cb.). The third system (bars 66-70) includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Violin (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), and Cello/Double Bass (Vc./Cb.). The fourth system (bars 71-75) includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Violin (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), and Cello/Double Bass (Vc./Cb.). The fifth system (bars 76-80) includes parts for Violin (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), and Cello/Double Bass (Vc./Cb.). The score features various dynamics such as p, pp, f, and sf, and expressions like 'espr.' and 'dim.'. Bar numbers 60, 70, and 80 are clearly marked.

Example Twelve: Mozart K551, movement one, bars 56 to 80 (Strauss' dynamics and expression re-marked by author)



The image displays two systems of a musical score for Mozart's K551, movement two, bars 18 to 26. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon (Fg.), Cor Anglais (Cor. Fa.), Violin (Vni.), Viola (Vle.), and Cello/Double Bass (Vc. Cb.). The second system includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon (Fg.), Cor Anglais (Cor. Fa.), Violin (Vni.), Viola (Vle.), and Cello/Double Bass (Vc. Cb.). The score features various dynamics such as *p*, *fp*, and *f*, and includes expression markings like "agile" and "20". The notation includes notes, rests, and slurs across multiple staves.

Example Fourteen (a): Mozart K551, movement two, bars 18 to 26. (Strauss' dynamics and expression indications re-marked by author)

The image displays a musical score for Mozart's K551, movement two, bars 27 to 32. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system covers bars 27-31, and the second system covers bars 30-32. The instruments are Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon (Fg.), Cor Anglais (Cor. Fa), Violin (Vni.), Viola (Vle.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The score includes various dynamics such as *p*, *pp*, *ff*, and *DIM.*, and expression markings like *molto espr.* and *f marc.* The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and the time signature is 3/4.

Example Fourteen (b): Mozart K551, movement two, bars 27 to 32. (Strauss' dynamics and expression indications re-marked by author)

**Allegro moderato.**

Oboi.  
 Corni in A.  
 Violino I.  
 Violino II.  
 Viola.  
 Violoncello e Basso.

Example Fifteen: Mozart K201/K186a, movement one, bars 1 to 9. (Strauss' expression and bowing re-marked by author)

**Allegro molto**

Violino I  
 Violino II  
 Viola  
 Violoncello e Contrabasso

Example Sixteen: Mozart K550, movement one, bars 1 to 5. (Strauss' bowing re-marked by author)

## Appendix B

### Richard Strauss: *Mozart's Così fan tutte* from *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*

(translated as 'On Mozart's Così fan tutte' from *Recollections and Reflections* by L.J. Lawrence, edited W. Schuh, pp. 72-4)

*Written on the occasion of the new production from the original in Munich.*

The great Mozart's last opera buffa *Così fan tutte* has had a curious fate and, of all the dramatic works of the master, it has so far been the most neglected by producers as well as audiences. On the whole it would, I suppose, be true to say that the average opinion of *Così fan tutte*, is that this opera, although it contains a number of extremely beautiful pieces such as the famous Addio quintet, the finale of the first act and two very popular arias of Despina, is, taken as a whole, a comparatively weak work of Mozart. Even Richard Wagner considered that Mozart's usually so elastic wings had been clipped, especially in the second act, by this bad libretto. Although I agree with Richard Wagner that the fable as such is not particularly intelligent, I would point out that, quite apart from the almost impossible hypothesis demanded by the action, the psychological development of the plot is not by any means without interest, particularly if one considers the time at which the libretto was written. Works by great masters, handicapped by weaknesses in the dramatic structure or in the libretto, have always fallen an easy prey to 'intelligent' directors and producers. The harmless ones amongst them are content to refrain from performing those works which are bound to be financial failures, whereas the more dangerous are in the habit of editing them: a process referred to in the language of the stage as 'making' a play. In the case of *Così fan tutte* in particular, conductors have usually, following the old traditions of the stage, found a way out by cutting all the numbers and any *recitativo secco* which did not seem to represent Mozart at his best to those music enthusiasts who, departing from the usual custom, applied the standard of the stage to Mozart's operas. It was especially amongst the *recitativo secco* passages which, since they belonged purely to the action of the play, did not provide the musical feast the above-mentioned music enthusiasts expected, although in *Così fan tutte* more than elsewhere Mozart treated them with the greatest possible diligence and provided them with the most charming of touches, that the blue pencil was allowed to run amok.

To have given Mozart the opportunity of evolving this particular style is the great merit of Lorenzo da Ponte, the author of *Così fan tutte*, which notwithstanding a few improbabilities, occupies a fairly high position amongst the libretti of the time, as already

pointed out by Otto Jahn, and which excels by a long way, especially as far as the careful evolution of a purely psychological plot is concerned, most of the other libretti of Mozart's operas with the sole exception of *Figaro*. In this particular use of the language of sound contrasting the exaggerated, almost comic, but quite genuine pathos of the two ladies on the one hand with the hollow phrases of the two lovers in disguise on the other who, whilst singing inspired love-duets with their vanquished fiancées, are consumed in their very vitals by seething anger at the inconsistency of these same fiancées, Mozart's art of characterization reached its zenith. Not only is *Così fan tutte* unique amongst Mozart's dramatic masterpieces, it is also one of the gems of the whole of operatic comedy prior to Richard Wagner's *Meistersinger*. Why, then has it not won the same public acclaim as *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *The Magic Flute*? It may be that at a time when, to satisfy the purely musical tastes of the audience, singers concentrated their attention on doing justice to the musical style of an opera, the peculiar parodic style of Mozart's comedy did not achieve the dramatic effect intended by its author and composer. The very pieces which expressed this style most clearly, namely the E flat major aria of Dorabella in the first Act, Fernando's [sic] B flat major aria and Guglielmo's aria in G major in the second Act with their connecting and extremely charming recitativos, were invariably cut because they were obviously considered as musically inferior, although in reality they are all the most interesting and important from the dramatic point of view.

*Garmisch, 16<sup>th</sup> December [1910]*

## Appendix C

### **Richard Strauss: *Über Mozart* from *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen***

(translated as 'On Mozart' from *Recollections and Reflections* by L.J. Lawrence, edited W. Schuh, pp. 75-6)

It has become customary to treat this, the most sublime of all composers, as a 'rococo artist' and to present his works as the essence of grace and playfulness. Although it is true that he is the composer who solved all 'problems' as it were, before they were even raised, and that he divested passion of all earthly taint, attaining so to speak, a bird's eye view of it, his work, although it is transfigured, ethereal and far from harsh reality, embraces the entire range of human emotions, from the monumental and gloomy grandeur of the supper scene in *Don Giovanni* to the delicacy of the arias of Zerlina, the heavenly frivolity of *Figaro* and the detached irony of *Così fan tutte*. If not to the same extent, but with no less intensity, his non-dramatic creations run the whole gamut of human emotion. It is senseless as well as superficial to postulate a uniform Mozartian style for the performance of these infinitely delicate and highly articulate psychological studies.



In Susanna's garden aria, in Belmonte's and Ferrando's A major arias, in Octavio's G major, Eros himself speaks to us in Mozart's melody, love addresses itself to our emotions in its most beautiful and purest form. Zerlina's two arias are not the utterance of a common farmer's daughter fallen a prey to seduction. In the slow passage of Donna Anna's so-called 'Letter' aria and in the two arias of the Countess in *Figaro*, we have ideal creations which I can only compare with Plato's 'Ideas', the ideal prototype of the forms projected into the natural world.



Mozart follows as a miracle almost immediately after Bach with the perfection and absolute idealisation of the melody of the human voice - I would call them Platonic 'Ideas' and 'Prototypes', not to be seen by the eye nor grasped by reason, but so essentially divine that they are to be intuitively perceived only by the emotions, which the ear enables to 'breathe them in'. Untrammelled by any mundane form, the Mozartian

melody is the 'Ding an sich'. It hovers like Plato's Eros between heaven and earth, between mortality and immortality - set free from 'the Will' - it is the deepest penetration of artistic fancy and of the subconscious into the uttermost secrets, into the realm of the 'prototypes'.

[1944]

## Appendix D

### Richard Strauss: extracts from *Dirigentenerfahrungen mit klassischen Meisterwerken* from *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*

(translated as 'On Conducting Classical Masterpieces' from *Recollections and Reflections* by L.J. Lawrence, edited W. Schuh, pp. 45-50)

Any modification of tempo made necessary by the character of a phrase should be carried out imperceptibly so that the unity of tempo remains intact.

We have no authentic metronome figures for the works of our classical masters. Only our music critics seem to have received authentic information on this point straight from the Elysian Fields.



Richard Wagner once wrote that Mozart's allegros 'should be played as fast as possible'. Quite, but not *twice as fast* as possible. The Figaro overture, the two great finales, *Così fan tutte*, Act 1, *Figaro*, Act 2, are usually played far too fast.

The following tempi should not be exceeded:

*Così fan tutte* finale: metr. ♩=136 (D-major)

*Figaro* finale: metr. ♩=128 (E-flat major)

Let us not forget that Wagner, with his 'longueurs', could not in 1850 in his worst delirium have meant 'as fast as possible' to denote the insane tempi we hear today. That good old conductor Franz Lachner, whom it is a little unfair to remember as a pedant, once remarked quite correctly to my father: 'In fast movements, when the conductor and the orchestra have become all too excited, the conductor's art consists in guessing with accuracy the point at which the mad rush can be stopped either by gradual slowing down to the *tempo primo* or even by a well-motivated sudden retardation'. There is such a moment in the D-major passage in the finale of *Così fan tutte*. There must be a restrained entry of the dominant after the two sustained notes. I myself have known so-called geniuses of the baton to rush headlong into these Beethoven and Mozart finales as if their horse had shied and was pulling the reins.



## MOZART

In Mozart we must distinguish between (usually fast) pieces which present a lively pattern of sound - in these the *cantabile* subsidiary subject should generally be taken a little more quietly (*Figaro* overture, first movement of the G minor symphony) — and (usually slow) movements in which the play of the emotions is frequently carried to heights of passion, e.g. the *andante* of the *Sinfonia Concertante* for viola and violin, a passage which can only be achieved (like so many of Mozart's slow movements) with extremes of rubato. With the exception of Beethoven there is hardly a composer whose tempi are more mistreated or who requires so much delicacy in this respect.

Special rules: *Andante* or *Adagio* (♩) to be carefully observed: Introduction of *Don Giovanni* overture, *Andante con moto*, a fairly lively tempo: Cherubino's second aria. No change in tempo in the second half of Zerlina's two arias, above all no allegro, the first half therefore to be taken comparatively fast. This applies also to the duet 'Reich mir die Hand, mein Leben'. The slow movements of the last three great symphonies (G minor, E flat major, C major) should be interpreted and if possible conducted in four; I usually slow down in the last concluding passage (as also in the *andante* of Schubert's great C major symphony and in Beethoven's first symphony). In some very quick movements it is advisable to stress continuity and to slow down a little at the end. The final fugue of the *Jupiter* symphony and the finale of Brahms's second symphony are cases in question. Mozart's final fugue belongs to the category of movements which Wagner wished to be taken 'as fast as possible': at the beginning of the second part after the development and at the beginning of the third part I retard strongly. In order to allow the fugue to retain a distinct shape at *presto* speed it is necessary to reduce the volume of the brass and timpani, and these reductions should be clearly marked in the score. Mahler made the first violins in the first *Figaro* duet play staccato. I made them play cantando, half legato.

During a rehearsal of *Il Seraglio* in the 'nineties in the Munich Residenztheater, Cosima Wagner said to me, 'Your first violins don't sing enough'. In Mozart and in his symphonic opera orchestra the first violins should always 'lead' and should never be allowed to lapse into an inexpressive 'accompanying piano', which in Mozart is usually mistaken for 'orchestral discretion'. Almost invariably in performances of Mozart's operas the sustained middle parts of the woodwind and the high horns in A and G are too loud, thus drowning the quick parlando of the singers. It is therefore impossible to mark too many *pianissimos* in these woodwind parts, which should moreover be observed. The symphonic texture of the string quartet must not be obscured or bungled, since the singer must not only be accompanied but also supported. Mozart writes *ff* on rare occasions

only, and only on very rare occasions should his *f* be treated roughly. Beauty of sound is the most important factor here. In Haydn's and Mozart's symphonic works the *forte* passages are subconsciously conceived as *tutti* in the manner of the *concerti grossi*, in which the passages played piano by the solo instruments alternate almost automatically with *forte* passages repeated by the whole orchestra.

In Mozart and Haydn these *forte-tutti* are, as it were, architectonic pillars framing emotional passages, the *fortes* with their natural trumpets, horns and timpani are therefore more the expression of a heightened enjoyment of life than are Beethoven's, whose trumpet octaves and timpani *sforzatos* represent explosions of wildest despair and of defiant energy, only rarely mitigated by the use of the darker and softer trombone. The trumpets, horns, and timpani in the Commendatore's scene in *Don Giovanni* are Beethovenesque; this is far more incisive without trombones which should not therefore be used in this scene. One should also differentiate carefully between *sfz* in Mozart and in Beethoven, and between *sfz* in a *piano* and in a *forte* passage.



Producers of opera usually make the mistake nowadays of translating each particular orchestral phrase into terms of a movement on the stage. In this matter one should proceed with a maximum of caution and good taste. There is no objection to bringing life into the production by changes of position and new nuances of acting during repetitive passages of music, especially in arias. Preludes of one or two bars frequently, and especially in Mozart, clearly express some gesture on the stage. But each trill on the flute does not represent a wink of the prima donna, nor every delayed chord on the strings a step or a gesture. Whole passages, especially in the finales, are pure concert music and are best left undisturbed by 'play-acting'.

But the worst thing of all is if in *The Magic Flute* the sets are made to clash stylistically with the work especially by the use of lavishly modernised décor. Such new décor, properly speaking, would involve rewriting the libretto in the 'modern' style and re-orchestrating in the style of the *Götterdämmerung*.

## Appendix E

### Calendar of Richard Strauss' known Mozart performances

The dates contained in this appendix are largely based on the information contained in Strauss' diaries. Strauss rarely identified the venue or city of performance. These have been reconstructed from the records of the Berlin State Opera, the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra, the Meiningen Staatliche Museum, Strauss' letters, and Dr Franz Trenner's article, found in *Richard Strauss - Blätter, Richard Strauss am Pult der Münchner Oper*. Due to bomb damage during the Second World War, the Vienna State Opera was unable to provide records of Strauss' performances during his tenure there as *Leiter* between 1919 and 1924. A number of Strauss' diaries are missing. Those housed at his Villa cover the period 1895-1936. The diaries for the years 1909 and 1934, as well as those post-1936, are missing. Where, under the 'City/Country' column, 'Not known' is entered, or the place is in square brackets, the performance is mentioned in Strauss' diary but cannot be given a definite venue, either from his own hand or from any other corroborating evidence. In 1923, there is a series of concerts outlined in the 'Notes' pages of his diary. The fifth and sixth concerts of the series mention K550. It is probable that these concerts took place in Vienna. However, due to the uncertainty surrounding the performances, they have been excluded from the list below. In addition, the records of some of the opera houses in which Strauss worked were destroyed during the last war and it may never be possible to match all the performances with cities.

It was, and still is, a regular feature of German musical life for a conductor of one opera house to replace an indisposed colleague of another at short notice. Therefore, it is assumed that this was the case for some of the performances that fall outside the chronological parameters of his positions in Meiningen, Weimar, Munich, Berlin or Vienna.

The most striking feature of the following calendar is the sheer volume of performances in the early years. During this period, he was working as an opera conductor, holding positions of importance in Meiningen, Weimar, Munich, Berlin and Vienna. It should be remembered that the following simply documents Strauss' performances of Mozart. He was equally respected as a leading Wagner and Beethoven interpreter. Strauss also conducted numerous performances of his own works and those of others. As time went on, the number of concerts and operas that Strauss conducted diminished. However, when one adds the above to his work as a composer, this self-inflicted work load was monumental.

Strauss conducted his own performing edition of *Idomeneo* in 1931, 1933 and later in 1941. The championing of this work in his twilight years, was of major importance in bringing this opera before the public. Similarly, his performances of *Così fan tutte* were important in the revivification of this work.

DATE	WORK	CITY/COUNTRY
18.10.1885	K491 (Strauss as soloist)	Meiningen
06.12.1885	<i>Requiem</i>	Meiningen
18.03.1886	Overture to <i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Meiningen
09.04.1886	Clarinet Trio K498	Meiningen
12.11.1886	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
17.11.1886	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
03.11.1887	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
22.09.1889	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Weimar
11.02.1890	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Weimar
12.01.1891	K551	Weimar
22.12.1891	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
05.01.1892	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
11.01.1892	K365/316a	Weimar
20.11.1893	K451	Weimar
07.01.1894	<i>Bastien und Bastienne</i>	Weimar
07.10.1894	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
13.12.1894	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
07.10.1895	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
04.11.1895	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	[Munich]
06.11.1895	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Munich
12.12.1895	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
13.12.1895	K550	[Munich]
26.12.1895	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
27.01.1896	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Munich]
29.05.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
31.05.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
03.06.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
10.06.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
17.06.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
21.06.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
25.06.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
29.06.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
05.08.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
12.08.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
19.08.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
26.08.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
02.09.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
09.09.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
16.09.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich

23.09.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
30.09.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
04.11.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
11.11.1896	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
03.02.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
10.02.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
14.02.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
17.02.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
26.02.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
04.03.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
30.03.1897	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
20.04.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
29.04.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
13.05.1897	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
17.06.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
25.06.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
27.06.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
29.06.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
04.08.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
11.08.1897	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
14.08.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
18.08.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
21.08.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
25.08.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
01.09.1897	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
04.09.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
08.09.1897	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
11.09.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
29.09.1897	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
02.10.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
10.10.1897	<i>Eine Kleine Nachtmusik</i>	Amsterdam
13.10.1897	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
18.10.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
04.11.1897	K551	Hamburg
14.11.1897	<i>Eine Kleine Nachtmusik</i>	Barcelona
07.12.1897	<i>Eine Kleine Nachtmusik</i>	London
09.12.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
22.12.1897	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
05.01.1898	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
14.02.1898	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
18.02.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
18.04.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
23.04.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
30.04.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
01.05.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
05.05.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
07.05.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
08.05.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich

19.05.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
20.05.1898	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
30.05.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
09.06.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
31.07.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
01.08.1898	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
03.08.1898	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
04.08.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Munich]
06.08.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
08.08.1898	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	[Munich]
09.08.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Munich]
17.08.1898	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
22.08.1898	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	[Munich]
23.08.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Munich]
27.08.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
28.08.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
29.08.1898	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
31.08.1898	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
01.09.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Munich]
03.09.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
05.09.1898	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	[Munich]
06.09.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Munich]
10.09.1898	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
11.09.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Munich]
12.09.1898	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	[Munich]
14.09.1898	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
15.09.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Munich
16.09.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
19.09.1898	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
20.09.1898	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Munich]
24.09.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	[Munich]
09.12.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
22.12.1898	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	[Munich]
07.02.1899	K504	Bremen
07.06.1899	<i>Trauermusik</i>	Berlin
13.07.1899	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Innsbruck
03.09.1899	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
09.09.1899	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
18.09.1899	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
12.10.1899	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
09.11.1899	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
13.11.1899	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
05.12.1899	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
12.12.1899	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
13.01.1900	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Not known
24.01.1900	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
29.01.1900	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
25.02.1900	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Not known

28.03.1900	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
16.04.1900	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
17.04.1900	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
29.04.1900	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
13.05.1900	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
29.05.1900	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
11.06.1900	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Not known
20.09.1900	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
27.09.1900	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
03.10.1900	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Not known
23.10.1900	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
16.11.1900	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Not known
22.11.1900	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
09.01.1901	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
15.01.1901	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
17.03.1901	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
18.04.1901	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
24.09.1901	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
27.10.1901	<i>Gran Partita</i> (extracts)	Berlin
24.11.1901	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
25.11.1901	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
09.12.1901	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
22.12.1901	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
08.02.1902	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
27.02.1902	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
16.03.1902	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
03.04.1902	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Not known
04.05.1902	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
07.05.1902	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
20.05.1902	Aria (unidentified)	Düsseldorf
12.06.1902	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
05.08.1902	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Not known
13.09.1902	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
14.09.1902	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
09.12.1902	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
12.01.1903	K550	Hamburg
14.02.1903	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
22.02.1903	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Not known
05.04.1903	<i>Requiem</i>	Köln
13.05.1903	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
22.09.1903	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
13.10.1903	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
05.11.1903	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Not known
12.11.1903	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
21.12.1903	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
09.02.1904	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
25.03.1904	K551 (Public rehearsal)	New York
26.03.1904	K551	New York

05.10.1904	K551	Amsterdam
06.10.1904	K551	Amsterdam
27.10.1904	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
10.01.1905	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
12.02.1905	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
07.03.1905	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
14.03.1905	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
29.03.1905	Overture: <i>Don Giovanni</i>	Den Haag
06.04.1905	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
24.10.1905	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
04.01.1906	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
13.01.1906	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
17.01.1906	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Berlin
20.01.1906	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
23.01.1906	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
25.01.1906	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
04.02.1906	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
25.02.1906	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
27.03.1906	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
03.04.1906	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
16.04.1906	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
17.08.1906	Overture: <i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Salzburg
17.08.1906	K364	Salzburg
06.10.1906	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
21.10.1906	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
24.10.1906	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Not known
27.10.1906	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
09.11.1906	K550	Frankfurt
11.11.1906	K551	Frankfurt
12.11.1906	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
28.11.1906	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
16.12.1906	K550	Vienna
01.02.1907	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
18.03.1907	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
04.04.1907	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Berlin
06.04.1907	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
07.04.1907	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
08.04.1907	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
28.09.1907	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Berlin
09.10.1907	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Berlin
15.01.1908	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Berlin
09.02.1908	K551	Rome
08.03.1908	K201/186a	Vienna
09.04.1908	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
22.04.1908	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin
19.10.1908	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Berlin
05.10.1909	K550	Berlin
26.11.1909	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Berlin

19.01.1910	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
22.03.1910	K551	Berlin
03.10.1910	K543	Berlin
11.10.1910	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
25.10.1910	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
09.03.1911	K250/248b	Berlin
10.08.1911	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Munich
16.08.1911	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
29.08.1911	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Munich
08.09.1911	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Munich
18.10.1911	K488	Berlin
11.12.1911	K550	Berlin
12.10.1912	Piano Concerto, number unknown	Not known
18.10.1912	K537	Berlin
22.11.1912	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
26.11.1912	Five German Dances	Berlin
09.12.1912	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
28.02.1913	K551	Berlin
08.03.1913	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Berlin
04.06.1913	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Berlin
Late 1913	K299	[Berlin]
04.12.1913	K385	Berlin
18.12.1913	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
09.03.1914	K550	Berlin
26.03.1914	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
26.06.1914	K550	London
26.06.1914	<i>Figaro: Countess' Cavatina</i>	London
06.11.1914	K543	Berlin
07.11.1914	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
28.12.1914	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
02.02.1915	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
27.02.1915	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
18.10.1915	K551	Berlin
28.12.1915	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
01.02.1916	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
09.03.1916	K543	Berlin
21.03.1916	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
22.03.1916	K364	Berlin
04.04.1916	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
17.10.1916	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
18.10.1916	K482	Berlin
04.12.1916	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
08.12.1916	K504	Berlin
15.02.1917	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
06.03.1917	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
19.03.1917	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
22.03.1917	K551	Berlin
17.05.1917	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Zürich

19.05.1917	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Bern
20.05.1917	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Zürich
21.05.1917	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Basel
22.05.1917	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Bern
23.05.1917	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	St Gallen
25.05.1917	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Basel
18.10.1917	<i>Overture: Die Zauberflöte</i>	Berlin
13.11.1917	<i>Le nozze di Figaro: Susanna's aria</i>	Amsterdam
30.11.1917	K550	Berlin
04.12.1917	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
05.12.1917	<i>Die Entführung aus dem Serail</i>	Berlin
05.03.1918	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
14.03.1918	K551	Amsterdam
30.03.1918	K201/186a	Berlin
01.04.1918	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
18.10.1918	<i>Overture: Idomeneo</i>	Berlin
29.10.1918	K550	Berlin
04.03.1919	K543 (matinée)	Berlin
04.03.1919	K543	Berlin
04.04.1919	<i>Gran Partita</i> (matinée)	Berlin
04.04.1919	<i>Gran Partita</i>	Berlin
25.04.1919	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
27.04.1919	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
30.04.1919	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Berlin
08.05.1919	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Berlin
28.10.1919	K551	Berlin
04.01.1920	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	[Berlin]
11.02.1920	<i>Gran Partita</i>	[Berlin]
26.05.1920	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
30.05.1920	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
14.01.1921	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Not known
20.01.1921	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
29.11.1921	<i>Overture: Le nozze di Figaro</i>	New York
29.11.1921	<i>Le nozze di Figaro: Susanna's Aria</i>	New York
02.01.1922	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
10.01.1922	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Switzerland
25.02.1922	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
04.03.1922	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
14.08.1922	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Salzburg
15.08.1922	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Salzburg
18.08.1922	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Salzburg
19.08.1922	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Salzburg
20.08.1922	<i>Overture: Die Zauberflöte</i>	Salzburg
20.08.1922	K218	Salzburg
20.08.1922	K165	Salzburg
20.08.1922	K551	Salzburg
22.08.1922	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Salzburg
23.08.1922	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Salzburg

15.12.1922	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Vienna
20.12.1922	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Vienna
13.08.1923	K551	Not known
15.02.1924	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	Not known
16.03.1924	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
21.08.1925	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
28.08.1925	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
24.03.1928	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Italy
27.03.1928	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Italy
29.03.1928	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Italy
30.03.1928	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Italy
18.12.1928	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Not known
14.02.1929	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
14.04.1929	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Not known
02.08.1929	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
19.08.1929	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
25.07.1930	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
08.08.1930	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
27.01.1931	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Vienna
02.03.1931	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Vienna
16.04.1931	<i>Idomeneo</i>	Vienna
19.04.1931	<i>Idomeneo</i>	Vienna
24.04.1931	<i>Idomeneo</i>	Vienna
29.04.1931	<i>Idomeneo</i>	Vienna
02.05.1931	K550	Munich
04.08.1931	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
21.10.1931	K543	London
28.03.1932	Concert: work unknown	Vienna
17.08.1932	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
19.08.1932	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	Munich
28.08.1932	Concert: work unknown	Salzburg
08.11.1932	Violin concerto, numb. unknown	Mannheim
14.11.1932	K551	Switzerland
24.03.1933	<i>Idomeneo</i>	Berlin
30.07.1933	K504	Salzburg
30.07.1933	<i>Gran Partita</i>	Salzburg
30.07.1933	K488	Salzburg
02.11.1934	K551	Berlin
29.07.1936	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
16.08.1936	<i>Così fan tutte</i>	Munich
27.08.1936	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
23.10.1936	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	Munich
07.11.1936	K550	London
03.12.1941	<i>Idomeneo</i>	Vienna
07.08.1942	K201/186a	Salzburg
07.08.1942	K364	Salzburg
07.08.1942	K551	Salzburg
00.00.1942	<i>Eine Kleine Nachtmusik</i>	Munich

06.08.1943	K550	Salzburg
06.08.1943	K537	Salzburg
06.08.1943	K543	Salzburg

The above chronological record of Strauss' Mozart performances is not complete. However, it is the most comprehensive calendar of his activities as a Mozart conductor to date. From this data, Strauss conducted 378 known performances of Mozart. He directed 81 performances of *Don Giovanni*; 69 of *Le nozze di Figaro*; 64 of *Così fan tutte*; 38 of *Die Zauberflöte*; 29 of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*; 6 of *Idomeneo*; 1 of *Bastien and Bastienne*; 19 of K551; 13 of K550; 7 of K543; 3 of K201/K186a; 1 of K385; 3 of K504; 4 of *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*; 2 of the *Requiem*; 9 piano concerti, for one of which he was the soloist with von Bülow conducting; 4 of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*; 1 each of the overtures to *Don Giovanni*, *Idomeneo*, and *Le nozze di Figaro*; 5 of the *Gran Partita*; 1 of the 'Haffner' Serenade; 1 of the Flute and Harp Concerto; 3 of the *Sinfonia Concertante* for violin and viola; German dances; *Trauermusik*; 1 identified and 1 unidentified violin concerto; 3 identified arias and 1 aria unidentified; *Exsultate, jubilate* and he also played in a performance of the Clarinet Trio. There are 2 works listed that cannot be identified.

Strauss championed works by Mozart that were not fashionable at the turn of the century. This, combined with the innovative productions of the Munich Court Opera, proved influential in the adoption of these works into the repertoire of the Glyndebourne Festival Opera and two of that house's Music Directors: Fritz Busch and Sir John Pritchard. Busch brought *Così fan tutte* into the Glyndebourne repertoire in 1934, later giving the first professional performance of *Idomeneo* in Britain, again at Glyndebourne, in 1951. Sir John Pritchard made four recordings of *Idomeneo*. It is a remarkable coincidence that the last Mozart opera that both Strauss and Pritchard conducted was *Idomeneo*. Pritchard died, on 5 December 1989, only days after his last performance of that work. Mozart died on 5 December, in 1791.

## Appendix F

### Mozart performances at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, London from 1886-1914

	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i>	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i>	<i>Bastien und Bastienne</i>	
1886	2	1			
1887	4				
1888	3	4	1		
1889	3	2			
1890	4	1			
1891	5				
1892	5	2			
1893					
1894					
1895	2	2			
1896	2				
1897	2	2			
1898	1	2			
1899	3				
1900	2				
1901	2				
1902	2				
1903	2				
1904	3	3			
1905	6				
1906	2				
1907	2	1		3	
1908					
1909	2				
1910	2	3			
1911					
1912					
1913	3				
1914	3	2			
(House closed 1915-1918)					
Totals:	67	25	1	3	= 96

Source: H. Rosenthal, *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden*, Putnam, London, 1958.

## Appendix G

### Interviews With Wolfgang Sawallisch & Dr Franz Trenner

The following appendix is based on the interviews that the author had with two of the world's leading authorities on Strauss: Wolfgang Sawallisch and Dr Franz Trenner.

#### Interview A: Wolfgang Sawallisch

At the time of this interview, Wolfgang Sawallisch was Music Director of the Bavarian State Opera. He is a leading interpreter of the works of both Strauss and Mozart. The following is an extract from a longer interview with Sawallisch regarding the influence of the eighteenth century on the compositions of Richard Strauss. The interview took place at the Henry Wood Hall, London, on 12 December 1991.

*Q:* Did you ever hear Dr Strauss either as a concert or operatic conductor? If so, what were your impressions?

*Sawallisch:* Yes, I did, only once in Munich in 1934 or 1935 [Author's note: 1936]. He conducted *Così fan tutte* in Munich in the Residenztheater. I remember very well his playing on the cembalo. Always at moments of special relations between the stage and his personal feelings, he brought in some bars of his own symphonic poems. This was done with the greatest respect for the music of Mozart. I remember that it was a wonderful performance but I regret it was the only performance that saw or heard by Strauss.

*Q:* Do you think that Strauss led a Mozart revival in Munich in a similar way to that of Mahler in Vienna?

*Sawallisch:* I think so. As composer he always had the greatest respect and musical reverence to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and I am sure that his style of conducting Mozart has added to the interest of the Munich public and its musical life, preparing the next Mozart period with Bruno Walter. This was certainly influenced by the style of Richard Strauss.

*Q:* Do you feel that there is any Mozart tradition at the Bayerisches Staatsoper that stems from the time of Richard Strauss?

- Sawallisch:* This is absolutely right! I think that from his second period in Munich, a big tradition was born for Wagner and Mozart and, of course, Strauss. This is our biggest tradition in Munich.
- Q:* Do you agree with some of the recent reviews of Strauss' Mozart recordings that the impression given is one of disinterest and detachment on the part of the conductor.
- Sawallisch:* That is certainly not true. One thing is absolutely true that his conducting always retained a certain distance between himself and the symphonies. Some people have said that his conducting was too cold and with a certain reservation but I feel it wasn't true. He was too great a musician to make too many personal influences in the music. Perhaps for this reason and because he was an active composer that he had such respect and kept a certain distance.
- Q:* Do you think that Strauss' edition of *Idomeneo* will be taken into the repertoire in the way that Mozart's editions of the *Messiah* and *Acis and Galatea* have become part of the modern concert scene?
- Sawallisch:* I don't think so. I have the score at home and I have had the opportunity to ask the Strauss family the question, why did Strauss do this version of *Idomeneo*? I personally like the Mozart original and we did the Mozart original version in Munich. As such I cannot understand why he made a personal edition of *Idomeneo*. I feel that it is unnecessary to do another version. I feel that *Thamos* would, with its unfinished chorus etc., be a better choice. I believe it was an act of reverence to a dead colleague.



### **Interview B: Dr. Franz Trenner**

Dr. Franz Trenner knew Strauss and attended many of the latter's performances, particularly in Munich. He has published many studies on Strauss and worked closely with the Strauss family in maintaining the Archive at the Villa Strauss in Garmisch. The Bavarian State Opera consulted him on matters relating to Strauss. The interview, part of a longer discussion, took place in Munich on 13 May 1992. Franz Trenner died at the end of 1992.

- Q:* In your opinion, was Strauss an important Mozart conductor.
- Trenner:* For his time he was the ideal Mozart conductor. However, in the recordings the tempi seem a little too quick. The recording, particularly, the last movement of the ‘Jupiter’ is a little too fast. I remember a different Mozart conductor when he was not so quick. The tempo of that movement is not typical of Strauss’ Mozart.
- Q:* Was Strauss the leader of a Mozart Renaissance?
- Trenner:* Yes, particularly here in Munich, in the National Theatre, where he gave new productions of the operas and leapt in to replace Levi at short notice. Levi’s tempi were often broader than those of Strauss.
- Q:* Did Strauss use tempo to highlight the inner divisions of form and, in particular, Sonata Form?
- Trenner:* The use of a slower second subject is typical of Strauss. In terms of Beethoven, Strauss was the heir of von Bülow but this not the case in the works of Mozart. His knowledge and understanding of Mozart came from the practices of his family and in particular his father. The feeling that Strauss gave was that of “flowing” (*fließend*) Mozart, similar to Pritchard and Sawallisch.
- Q:* In his writings, Strauss discusses the use of the brass in the music of the classical period. Were these writings a reflection of his performances?
- Trenner:* Yes, for him they were only there to add colour and support. He brought these figures out more in the ‘Natura Thema’.
- Q:* What edition did Strauss use?
- Trenner:* He always used the Complete Mozart Edition of Breitkopf & Härtel. I have the *Requiem* which was given to me by Frau Alice [Alice Strauss, Richard Strauss’ daughter-in-law]. This score was an Appendix to that edition. As you can see there is little other than figure letters in the score. There is the occasional *espressivo*, *piano* and ‘*crescendo a poco a poco*’ in the score.
- Q:* Some of the works that Strauss conducted appear to be missing from the villa. Would you know their whereabouts?
- Trenner:* If they are not in the villa it is a riddle.

*Q:* In the symphonies other than the 39<sup>th</sup>, Strauss adds many indications. Do you have any idea as to why this score is unmarked?

*Trenner:* This is unfathomable, perhaps he carried the score in his head.

*Q:* When Strauss played his recitatives did he use a harpsichord?

*Trenner:* He used a Mozart Piano. When he came to the Bayerisches Staatsoper, there was a small Fortepiano near the conductor's desk. He used this and incorporated into his recitatives quotations from his own works. He added these quotes in the recitatives of *Così* in a natural manner. When Sawallisch plays the recitatives today he plays them in a manner similar to Strauss.

*Q:* Fritz Busch, the teacher of Sir John Pritchard, often played his continuo on an ordinary piano, unlike his pupil who used a harpsichord or a fortepiano as the continuo instrument. How do you feel about this?

*Trenner:* When one does not have fortepiano one should, like Strauss, use a harpsichord. The use of a harpsichord is not correct for the period and a fortepiano is more appropriate.

*Q:* Was Strauss a good accompanist for the singers in the operas that he directed?

*Trenner:* He was fastidious and in my opinion the most important feature for Strauss was the stage with the support of the orchestra. Like Clemens Krauss, his markings were always with the stage in mind. The orchestra was contained. The action was then clear for the audience.

*Q:* Was Strauss instrumental in bringing *Così* before the public?

*Trenner:* *Così* was, from the time of its composition, a personal work often being translated. It was often treated freely before the public and *Così* was only treated as a comedy. Strauss saw this work as a serious study with the two partners' psychological relationships being examined.

*Q:* Why did Strauss re-edit and compose new material for *Idomeneo*?

*Trenner:* The style of the work for Strauss' period was old fashioned. Wolf-Ferrari altered the libretto and for the time it was a boring *opera seria*. Wallerstein shortened the text to make it approachable. Strauss shortened the recitative for accessibility. The edition was to bring this work back to the stage.

## Appendix H

### Structural Synopsis of Strauss' Edition of Mozart's *Idomeneo*

The following synopsis compares the structure of Strauss' edition of *Idomeneo*, Heinrichshofen Verlag, Magdeburg, 1931, [*Edition Strauss*], with that found in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* [*NMA*] and the Kalmus score, as used by Sir John Pritchard.

#### ACT I

Overture: unchanged

#### Scene 1:

Recitative: 'Wann enden meine Leiden' (Ilia).

68 bars in *NMA* reduced to 51 bars by Strauss. Material based on the original Act 1, Scene I [*NMA* p. 20] but reworked by Strauss.

Aria: 'Vater und Brüder, wohl denk' ich der Pflichten' (Ilia).

originally, Act 1, Scene I, Number 1, 'Padre, germani, addio!' [*NMA* p. 26]. Strauss cuts bars 41 to 56 and bars 81 to 92 [*NMA*].

#### Scene 2:

Recitative: 'Frohe Botschaft bring ich, Ilia' (Idamantes, Ilia).

Strauss replaces 70 bars of recitativo secco [*NMA*] with 15 bars of material based on themes from *Scena Ultima* [*NMA* p. 477].

Rondo: 'Endlich dürfen Worte sagen' (Idamantes).

originally Rondo from K490, Act 2, Scene I, Number 10b, 'Non temer, amato bene' [*NMA* p. 196] and intended as part of an alternative to Act 2, Scene I, Number 10a. Strauss cuts bars 114 to 151 [*NMA*].

Recitative: 'Nicht reize der Götter Zorn' (Idamantes, Ilia).

new material by Strauss.

#### Scene 3:

Chorus: *Chor der Trojaner und Kretenser*. 'Uns leuchtet Friede'

originally Act 1, Scene III, Number 3, 'Godiam la pace, trionfi Amore' [*NMA* p. 54]. Virtually unchanged.

Scene 4:

Recitative: 'Höre mich, Fürst' (Ismene, Idamantes, Chorus).

original [*NMA* p. 64], recitativo secco followed by recitativo accompagnato. Total length: 40 bars [*NMA*]. Strauss expands scene to 48 bars with material loosely based on pp. 65-6 [*NMA*]. Arbace excluded; chorus added.

Scene 5:

Recitative: 'So starbst du, Idomeneo?' (Ismene).

virtually unchanged from the original, Act 1, Scene VI, 'Estinto è Idomeneo?' [*NMA* p. 67]. Strauss orchestrates - strings - the material played on the cembalo in *NMA*

Aria: 'In meinem tiefen Schmerze' (Ismene).

originally Act 1, Scene VI, Number 4, 'Tutte nel cor vi sento' [*NMA* p. 70]. Strauss cuts bars 61 to 73 and bars 109 to 124 [*NMA*]

Scene 6:

Chorus: 'Da seht! Götter, o helft!'

orchestratorially the same as original, Act 1, Scene VII, Number 5, 'Pietà! Numi, pietà!' [*NMA* p. 83]. Strauss redistributes and strengthens the choral material.

Scene 7:

Recitative: 'Gerettet! Dank dir, Gott!' (Idomeneo).

material based on Act 1, Scene VIII [*NMA* p. 93] and loose rhythmic links with Act 1, Scene IX [*NMA* pp. 95-6].

Aria: 'Schon war ich ein Opfer wütender Stürme' (Idomeneo).

originally Act 1, Scene IX, Number 6, 'Vedrommi intorno l'ombra dolente' [*NMA* p. 97]. Strauss cuts bars 37 to 51; 'Allegro di molto', bars 72 to 94, and bars 109 to 113 [*NMA*].

Scene 8:

Recitative: 'Gottheit, wie grausam!' (Idomeneo, Idamantes)

based on the accompagnato section of Act 1, Scene X [*NMA* p. 109] which, in itself, has links with the overture and earlier material.

Scene 9:

Recitative: 'Was bedeutet dies Wort?' (Idamantes).

unchanged from recitative Act 1, Scene X, 'Ah qual gelido orror' [*NMA* p. 112].

Aria: 'Wohl ist er gerettet vom Tode' (Idamantes).

originally Act 1, Scene X, Number 7, 'Il padre adorato' [*NMA* p. 114]. Strauss cuts bars 5 to 46.

Scene 10:

Marcia:

Strauss retains unchanged from the original, Act 1, Scene X, Number 8 [*NMA* p. 123]. However, he abandons the second repeat.

Chorus: 'Poseidon verehret! Und bringet ihm Opfer'

originally Act 1, Scene X, Number 9, 'Nettuno s'onori, quel nome risuoni' [*NMA* p. 134]. Strauss cuts bars 79 to 158 [*NMA*]

ACT II

Introduction:

orchestral introduction based on the orchestral introduction to Act 2, Scene III, Number 12a/b, 'Fuor del mar' [*NMA* pp. 228 & 252]. First twelve bars unchanged. Bars 13 and 14 [*Edition Strauss*] added by Strauss in the style of the preceding twelve bars.

Scene 1:

Recitative: 'Nun weißt du das Geheimnis!' (Idomeneo, Arbaces)

linked dramatically with the recitative, Act 2, Scene I, 'Tutto m'è noto' [*NMA* p. 173]. Musical links with earlier motivic material; links with recitative, Act 1, Scene VIII [*Edition Strauss*]; and further reference to aria, Act 2, Scene III, Number 12a/b, 'Fuor del mar' [*NMA* pp. 228 & 252].

Scene 2:

Aria: 'Gott! Du strafst mit harten Händen!' (Idomeneo)

originally Act 2, Scene III, Number 12b, 'Fuor del mar'. (Both alternatives printed in Strauss' score. 12a printed in full after what was 12b but as an *ossia*, with suggested cuts.) Strauss cuts to the beginning of the vocal

entry, bar 16 [*NMA* p. 254]; bars 38 to 44 [*NMA*]; bars 107 to 125 [*NMA*]; bars 139 to 141; and alters the accompaniment between bars 141 to 145 [*NMA*].

Scene 3:

Recitative: 'Die Freude spielt in deinem Aug' (Idomeneo, Ismene).

material drawn from recitative Act 2, Scene IV, 'Chi mai del mio provò' [*NMA* p. 270].

Trio: 'Muß ich von dir mich trennen' (Ismene, Idamantes, Idomeneo).

originally Act 2, Scene VI, Number 16, 'Pria del partir, oh Dio!' [*NMA* p. 296]. Virtually unchanged.

Recitative: 'Darf ich dir, Vater' (Idamantes, Idomeneo).

new material by Strauss, with a particularly noteworthy horn solo.

Scene 4:

Recitative: 'Dir, König, neigt sich die Verwaiste' (Ilia, Idomeneo).

new material by Strauss.

Aria: 'Wie lang schon beweine ich in einsamen Stunden' (Ilia).

originally Act 2, Scene II, Number 11, 'Se il padre perdei' [*NMA* p. 215]. Strauss cuts bars 53 to 55 and bars 106 to 108 [*NMA*].

Scene 5:

Recitative: 'Wie unerwartet' (Idomeneo).

material reworked from recitative, Act 2, Scene III, 'Qual mi conturba i sensi' [*NMA* p. 225]. Strauss reduces from 27 bars to 18 bars.

Scene 6:

Chorus: 'Wasser und Wind versöhnend leuchtet die Abendsonne'

originally Act 2, Scene V, Number 15, 'Placido è il mar, andiamo' [*NMA* p. 283]. Strauss adds an eight bar introduction based on the opening eight bars of the chorus. Cuts bars 23 to the end of the chorus [*NMA*]. Strauss joins to the next scene.

Scene 7:

Aria: 'Sanfte Winde, folgt dem Teuren' (Ilia).

originally Act 3, Scene I, Number 19, 'Zeffiretti lusinghieri' [*NMA* p. 352].  
Connected with the previous scene. Strauss cuts to vocal entry, bar 18 [*NMA*].

Recitative: 'Ist dieser Donner deine Antwort' (Ilia).

material adapted from Act 2, Scene VI, 'Più Allegro' [*NMA* p. 319].

Scene 8:

Chorus: 'Das Meer ist in Aufruhr, der Sturm peitscht die Fluten'.

originally Act 2, Scene VI, Number 17, 'Qual nuovo terrore!' [*NMA* p. 321].

Unchanged.

Recitative: 'Weh, neues Unheil entsteigt dem Meere!' (Ein Mann aus dem Volke)

12 bars based on the *Interludio*, composed by Strauss, between Act 2, Scenes VIII, and IX. Replaces 39 bar recitativo accompagnato, Act 2, Scene VI, 'Eccoti in me, barbaro Nume!' [*NMA* p. 332].

Chorus: 'Aus Tiefen des Meeres'.

originally Act 2, Scene VI, Number 18, 'Corriamo, fuggiamo' [*NMA* p. 336]. Unchanged.

Interludio:

new material composed by Strauss. Contains a quote, figure 112, from Act 3, *Scena Ultima*, Number 30a [*Anhang* 12, *NMA* p. 605]. This aria, 'Torna la pace', is omitted by Strauss.

Scene 9:

Recitative: 'Würgend verbreitet Tod das Untier' (Ilia, Idamantes)

material adapted from recitative Act 3, Scene II, 'Principessa, a' tuoi sguardi' [*NMA* p. 363]. Also quotes earlier motifs and makes reference to Rondo, Act 1, Scene II [*Edition Strauss*], 'Endlich dürfen Worte sagen'.

Duet: 'Es fehlen mir die Worte' (Ilia, Idamantes).

originally Act 3, Scene II, Number 20b, 'Spiegarti non poss'io' [*NMA* p. 376]. Virtually unchanged.

Scene 10:

Recitative: 'Idamantes! Mein König!' (Ismene, Ilia, Idamantes and Idomeneo).

material based on earlier motifs and the *Scena Ultima*. Last five bars identical to last five bars of p. 385 [NMA], which precede the Quartet.

Quartet: 'Nein, du sollst bleiben'. (Ilia, Ismene, Idamantes and Idomeneo)

originally Act 3, Scene III, Number 21, 'Andrò ramingo e solo' [NMA p.386]. Virtually unchanged except for the inclusion of an optional cut bars 103 to 112 [NMA]. In Strauss' working score, found in the British Library, he reinforces this cut in blue pencil.

Scene 11:

Recitative: 'Du armes Kind!' (Ilia, Ismene and Idomeneo).

new material by Strauss.

Recitative: 'Was hörte ich?' (Ismene).

from Allegro (seventh bar of figure 137) to figure 139 based upon Act 3, Scene X [NMA p. 474], bars 5 to 24. From figure 139 to end of recitative, based on the last three bars of recitative, Act 3, Scene X [Anhang 11, NMA p. 579]

Aria: 'Orestes und Ajas, ich ruf' Eure Namen!' (Ismene).

originally Act 3, Scene X, Number 29a, 'D'Oreste, d'Aiace' [Anhang 11, NMA p. 580]. Strauss adds extra wind material, found in pen, to his working score, housed at the British Library. This recitative and aria, arranged as described above, is not found in the *Anhang* to the Kalmus score but as part of the opera itself.

ACT III

Scene 1:

Temple Scene: 'König, wir müssen dich fragen' (Idomeneo, Oberpriester and Chorus).

new material by Strauss, with reference to the *Scena Ultima* [NMA p. 477] in the bar preceding figure 4. Adagio, p. 259 [Edition Strauss], taken from chorus, Act 3, Scene VI, Number 24, 'Oh, voto tremendo!' [NMA p. 437]. Strauss cuts bars 1 to 37, as indicated in NMA, but alters wind, brass and timpani parts from those contained in bars 37 to 40 inclusive [NMA], to the orchestration of bars 1 to 4 inclusive [NMA].

Scene 2:

Sacred Dance:

originally Act 3, Scene VII, Number 25, 'Marcia' [*NMA* p. 451].  
Unaltered.

Scene 3:

Scene:

'Vor dir, o Gott gebeugt' (Idomeneo and chorus of priests).

originally Act 3, Scene VII, Number 26, 'Accogli, oh re del mar' [*NMA* p. 452]. Unaltered.

Chorus:

'Heil dir, Idamantes'.

originally Act 3, Scene VII, 'Stupenda vittoria!' [*NMA* p.459]. Unaltered.

Scene 4:

Recitative:

'Gerettet ist die Stadt!', (Idamantes, Idomeneo)

material based on aria, Act 3, Scene IX, Number 27a, 'No, la morte' [*Anhang* 7, *NMA* p. 548]; the quartet, Act 3, Scene III, Number 21 [*NMA* p. 386]; and recitative, Act 3, Scene IX, Number 27 [*NMA* p. 461].

Scene 5:

Recitative:

'Halt ein, Fürst, ich sei das Opfer' (Ilia, Idamantes and Idomeneo).

material based on recitative, Act 3, Scene X, 'Orsù mi svena' [*Anhang* 8, *NMA* p. 561].

Off-stage Voice:

'Die Treue siegte'.

originally Act 3, Scene X, Number 28a/b/c/d. Strauss alters original material but, of the four alternatives offered by Mozart, the former's choice is closest in length and content to Act 3, Scene X, Number 28d, 'Ha vinto Amore' [*Anhang* 10, *NMA* p. 568].

Ensemble:

'Erlösung! Gnade verkündend endet ein Wunder' (Ilia, Idamantes, Idomeneo, Oberpriester and chorus).

new material by Strauss with reference to Act 3, *Scena Ultima* [*NMA* p. 477].

Chorus:

(*Schlussgesang mit Tanz*): 'Eros führt mächtige Waffen'.

originally Act 3, *Scena Ultima*, Number 31, 'Scenda Amor' [NMA p. 483]. Strauss omits middle dance section, bars 76 to 105 [NMA] and the Coda, bar 75a [NMA p.494]. Strauss brackets, and reinforces in blue pencil in his working copy, housed at the British Library, bars 71 to 74 inclusive [NMA], indicating these bars may be played *ad libitum*.

## Appendix I

### Gustav Mahler's Edition of *Così fan tutte*.

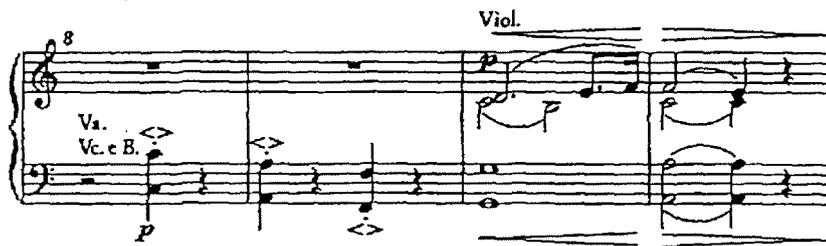
Première at the Vienna Court Opera - 24 November 1905

The following synopsis is a translation of part of Bernhard Paumgartner's booklet: *Gustav Mahlers Bearbeitung von Mozarts. "Così fan tutte"*. Mahler's amendments contrast with those of Strauss. Whereas the latter took a literalist view, Mahler made numerous alterations, not only to the dynamics, but, also, to the structure and orchestration of the work. Mahler gave fifteen performances of this version of *Così fan tutte*.

#### ACT I

##### Ouvertura:

Possible cut from bars 79-175. The strings (bars 8-11 and correspondingly in bars 228-234) coloured by "hairpins".



Interestingly (and very arbitrarily), Mahler marks tutti winds in the first bar of the presto, after the Andante-Introduction (bar 15) with the C major chord (*forte!*) with a smooth lift-off and the presto of the strings to start as soon as possible thereafter. This is repeated in the third bar of the Trio, *Una bella serenta* (No.3), where the winds pause on the first beat of the bar.

##### No. 2 Terzetto:

Bars 14-18: strings pizzicato (replacing arco), return to arco in bar 19. In the forte-episode, the second flute and second bassoon strengthen the firsts. Cut the following recitative from *Scempiaggini di vecchi* to *Pian, piano*.

##### No. 4 Duetto:

In bars 84, 85, 88 and 89, the figure in the cello and in the second bassoon is cut; this is played only by the first bassoon.

No. 6 Quintetto

Cut bars 40-69. Dynamic (bar 69ff.) altered to *ppp*. Staccatissimo marked: bar 18, violins; bar 19, viola, cello and double bass).

No. 7 Duettino

Cut.

No. 8 Coro

Begins *ppp* only in the winds, the strings omitted until the last beat of the fourth bar. Both clarinets (not in the original score) take over the violin parts. The following recitative is cut until '*Abbracciarmi, idol mio!*

No. 9 Quintetto

Pianissimo throughout, with caution and held very softly (except for the short crescendo-forte between bars 14 and 19). The viola semitones (*f<sup>a</sup>-e'* in bars 1-6 and 23, 24,25) will be played with added hairpins (<math>\diamond</math>). Dying away to the end.

No. 10 Terzettino

The clarinets and bassoons are omitted in bars 17-22 and 28-30 so as to highlight the voices. They sing at this point 'a capella'. The winds join the voices at the crescendo in bars 22, 23 and 25, 26. After the Terzettino, during the scene change, Don Alfonso sings his recitative and the short Allegro moderato *Nel mare solca*. This is immediately followed by the Coda of the Overture (bar 209 to the end). The action continues with Despina's recitative *Che vita maledetta* (Scene VIII).

No. 12 Aria

Allegretto

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is a grand staff with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. It is marked 'Allegretto' and 'p'. The bottom staff is a grand staff with a bass clef and a 2/4 time signature. It is marked 'p'. The woodwind parts are marked 'Fl. Ob.' and 'Archi'. The woodwind parts are marked 'f' and 'p'. The woodwind parts are marked 'pp'.

Retouched dynamics.

In the tutti-coda the winds are again doubled. In the following recitative (Scene X) there is an optional cut from (*temo un po' per Despina*) to *Despinetta!* - *Chi batte?*

No. 13 Sestetto

Here the marking (bars 22ff.) is always pianissimo, and as quiet as possible in the three bars before the Allegro (bars 51-53). In this Allegro the dynamics are contrasted and highlighted (*pp-ff*). In the following recitative, cut from the beginning to *cosa avete*, with an optional cut from *amici miei* to *Oh bella improvisata*.

No. 15 Aria

Cut.

No. 16 Terzetto

The pianissimo (from bar 18 onwards) is reduced to *ppp*. The crescendo is highlighted.

No. 17 Aria

Small (optional!) cut from bar 49 (third quaver) to bar 57 (second quaver). Bar 73, the orchestra, first quaver piano, and then forte.

## No. 18 Finale

Bar 100, the orchestra pianissimo. After this, bars 112-116, the woodwind are cut. A further pianissimo from bar 120. Then, at the close of this section, (bars 134 ff.) again *ppp*. Cut the woodwind in bars 212-218 and, also, the bassoons in bars 220-222. From bar 267 (after the pause) to bar 272 (second crotchet), cut the violins and cellos. In bars 286-291, cut the oboes and bassoons. A general decrescendo to the end of the section (bar 291). The crescendo in bar 316 begins in all voices with *ppp*. Bars 344-350 are as follows (the vocal line is unchanged):

Musical score for bars 344-350. The score is for five parts: Flute (Fl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Violin (Viol.), Viola (Va.), and Violoncello/Double Bass (Vc. c. B.). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The dynamics are marked as *mf* (mezzo-forte) and *p* (piano). The Flute and Bassoon parts have a fermata over the first measure of each bar. The Violin part has a fermata over the first measure of each bar and a *pizz.* (pizzicato) marking over the second measure of each bar. The Viola and Vc. c. B. parts have a fermata over the first measure of each bar. The score is divided into three measures, each with a dynamic marking of *mf* or *p*.

Musical score for bars 347-350. The score is for five parts: Flute (Fl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Violin (Viol.), Viola (Va.), and Violoncello/Double Bass (Vc. c. B.). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The dynamics are marked as *p* (piano) and *pp* (pianissimo). The Flute and Bassoon parts have a fermata over the first measure of each bar. The Violin part has a fermata over the first measure of each bar and a *pizz.* (pizzicato) marking over the second measure of each bar. The Viola and Vc. c. B. parts have a fermata over the first measure of each bar. The score is divided into three measures, each with a dynamic marking of *p* or *pp*. The second measure of the second system has a *pp espr.* (pianissimo *espressivo*) marking. The third measure of the second system has an *arco* marking. The third measure of the third system has a *pp* marking.

In bars 420-427 (first quaver), the oboes and bassoons are again cut, the strings are as follows:



Cut from bars 461 to 476, from 492 to 563 and from 635-649.

## Act II

A short introduction: the sixth movement (Finale) of the Divertimento in B $\flat$ , K287/271H (the second *Lodron Serenade*); played only by the strings and two horns. The following recitative is cut from *Per Bacco ci faresti to lasciateli venir*.

## No. 19 Aria

The bassoon is omitted in bars 1 (second half) to 5 (first half), bars 29 (second half) to 35, bars 41 (second half) to 45, bars 53 (second half) to 57 (second half), bars 59 (second half) to 65. Decrescendo to piano in bars 86-87. From the beginning to bar 90, the flute, bassoon and first violins are cut: also the winds from the second half of bars 98 and 99. There is an optional cut from bar 36 (second half, after the pause) to bar 66 (second half, after the pause).

## No. 20 Duetto

Short cut from bars 62-69.

## No. 21 Duetto con Coro

Cut the recitative after the Duetto con Coro (No. 21) from *dalla testa alle piante* to *Oh! cospetto*. Sing pianissimo in the last six bars of the Coro.

## No. 22 Quartetto

Follows the printed dynamics. The characteristic first note in the cello and bass which Mozart has put into the continuo part is cut. This cut is now hardly conceivable, but reflects Mahler's predilection throughout. From bars 47-51 the first bassoon is cut where it doubles the soprano voice an octave lower (a beautiful instrumental effect), a characteristic orchestrational effect of late Mozart. Winds and first violins are cut in bar

58. From bar 65 (second half) to bar 70, the winds are again cut. First and second violins and double basses pizzicato in bar 70 (last bar before the presto), ritardando. The last quaver in the strings is cut. In the following Presto, pianissimo throughout. Bar 79 is played *ppp*. From this bar, only the first desk of the double basses are to play the written part and the string articulation should be as light as possible to allow for the patter song (Despina, Don Alfonso) to be clear. The other double basses play pizzicato crotchets:



The second time (bars 81 and 85): crescendo to *sf ppp*. To the end (from bars 88 and 89), decrescendo to *pppp* (!).

In the following recitative [Scene V], cut from *del velen che beveste* to *crudele*.

#### No. 23 Duetto

The pauses over the rests in bars 38 and 39 are cut. Cut from bar 79-95, also make a short cut in the repeat of the concluding phrase (bars 111 and 112).

#### No. 24 Aria

Cut. The recitativo accompagnato (Scene VI, Fiordiligi and Ferrando) remains. Go immediately to Scene VII (Fiordiligi).

#### No. 25 Rondo

Cut from bars 80-94 and from bars 107-114. In the following recitative (Scene VIII), cut from *modestia in carne* to *Bravo tu*, from *l'avessi!* to *Stelle* and from *alle lusinghe tue?* to *Certo!* In the following recitativo accompagnato (*Il mio ritratto!*) there is again a large cut (from *il mio tradito affetto* to *Amico, non saprei*).

#### No. 26 Aria

Cut from bars 76-129. The recitativo accompagnato, Scene IX (*In qual fiero contrasto*), and the following *Cavatina*, Ferrando's (No. 27) are cut. Immediately after the aria No. 26, Don Alfonso begins the recitative, *Bravo! questa è costanza*, and concludes with the realized recitative, *che*

*folle è quel cervello*. Mahler adds a short postlude of fourteen bars, a simple variation of the coda of Despina's aria No. 19 (in A major!). The recitative in Scene X is cut from *eccoci entramve spose!* (with harmonic rearrangement) to *Ma non so, come mai* (E major).

#### No. 28 Aria

Cut from bars 72-82. In the following recitative, Scene XI, cut from *alla servia mia* to *Non c'è altro*. Accompanying the words *il bell' esempio*, is a modulation from E major and the recitative ends, in this key, at *per serbaci innocenti*.

#### No. 29 Duetto

Cut from the second half of bar 39 to second half of bar 57 and from bars 120-135. In the next recitative (Scene XIII) cut from *Mi pelerei la barba!* to *fu quella Fiordiligi* and also from *restate celibi in eterno* to *Frattanto un'ottava ascoltate*.

#### No. 30 Andante

Sung by Don Alfonso: remains unaltered, as does the following recitative (Scene XIV). After the recitative and before the Finale (No.31), Mahler bridges the gap of the 'empty scene change'. The short interval, without music, in the darkened auditorium, was because Mahler could not bear the sound of coughing. Therefore he added fourteen bars from the Andante of the Overture.

#### No. 31 Finale

Cut from bars 36-57, 85-143, 149-153, 372 (second half) to 387 (second half) - this cut is optional - 483 (second half) to 489 (second half), 570-574, and 603-647. The first bars of the March (maestoso, bars 290-294) will be sung 'a capella' (behind the scenes). In bars 431-433 cut the words of both women (*non capisco come v'è*), and also the clarinets and bassoons, to facilitate the audibility of Don Alfonso's words. There and later, clarify the pianissimo and the fortissimo marks; strengthening the dynamic contrast.

[translated by the author]

## Appendix J

### A Chronological Selection of Reviews of Strauss' Mozart performances, 1896-1936

#### ***Don Giovanni*, Munich Court Opera, Munich, 29 May 1896**

*The Musical Times*, 1 July 1896.

'The long-prepared model performances of Mozart's "Don Giovanni," at the Royal Residenz-Theater, which commenced on May 29, are likely to prove one of the principal attractions in the special operatic scheme now annually presented to visitors of the Bavarian capital during the summer months. The immortal work is a typical one. Originally described as "dramma giocoso," it has been practically the forerunner of the romantic opera, whereas, in the course of time, fashion and operatic *impresarios* combined have invested it more and more with the character of what is known as "grand opera." In the present Munich performances the individuality of the work has been restored, and it is being presented as closely as possible in accordance with the original production, under the composer's direction, in 1787, at Prague; divided into two acts, with an orchestra of only twenty-six performers, and under the more intimate local conditions offered by the small Residenz-Theater... The German version of Da Ponte's libretto has been specially revised for the occasion by Capellmeister Levi. Herr Richard Strauss conducted the first performance.'

#### **K551, New York Philharmonic Orchestra, Carnegie Hall, New York,<sup>1</sup> 26 March 1904 (public rehearsal, 25 March 1904).**

*The New York Telegraph* (Gustav Kobbé), 27 March 1904:

'...From Mozart to Strauss!

Everything that has been accomplished in music from 1791 to 1904, three years more than a century, lies between the two names.

Is that why Richard Strauss elected to open yesterday afternoon's Philharmonic concert with a Mozart symphony?

---

<sup>1</sup> New York reviews by courtesy of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra

He chose the so-called “Jupiter,” which was considered very grand and even pompous, in its day. Now it sounds like a limpid, graceful and pretty piece of symphonic writing. This suggests the query whether audiences a century from now will look upon “Heldenleben,” which seems so stupendous to us, as a charming trifle; and regard “The Ring of the Nibelung” as a comic opera involving four after-theatre suppers.

Strauss read the Mozart symphony neatly. But the sound he evoked, compared with the volume he draws from an orchestra when conducting his own tone poems, made one think of a man who, after finishing a set of exercises with Indian clubs, goes through them with toothpicks. There are many men less great, who could have conducted the symphony as well.

One point about it was worth noticing. Strauss looked less frequently at the score than when he is leading one of his own works and, in the repeats, didn't even take the trouble to turn back the pages.'

*The Herald*, 26 March 1904:

'...Public acquaintance with Richard Strauss as conductor was at once improved and given a somewhat new direction yesterday afternoon, when, holding the baton at the final matinee concert of the Philharmonic Society, he interpreted for the first time during his visit here a work not of his own composition.

...As a whole, the concert did not prove the most interesting of the Philharmonic's series under foreign conductors, and it is somewhat significant that Mr. Strauss' reading of the Mozart symphony should have won only perfunctory applause.

...In the first movement of the symphony Mr. Strauss sustained his reputation as a sane reader of the classics, giving a conservative, clear cut interpretation, free from affectations or eccentricities.

More individuality was noticeable in the second and third movements, which were subjected to some radical departures from the tradition in the matter of pace, and were marked by the use of unusually vigorous accents. The finale was taken at top speed and was, perhaps, over noisy at times. Considered as a whole, the reading was a powerful one.'

*The New York Evening World*, 26 March 1904:

'...At yesterday's public rehearsal of the Philharmonic Society Dr. Richard Strauss conducted this orchestra for the first time. ...Also was it the first time that this conductor has led any work other than his own during his stay here.

The exceptional composition was none other than Mozart's big C major symphony, called by admiring writers "Jupiter," which work headed the programme yesterday afternoon at Carnegie Hall. Strauss has great reputation abroad for his Mozart interpretations, so that the interest of the huge audience was tense with expectation. Strauss did not disappoint them, for he read this work with commendable daintiness and also with masterly attention to details of phrasing and characteristic effects.

The one movement that sounded least interesting was the andante, with its heavenly beauty. Here the playing of the orchestra was highly unsatisfactory, so that the audience drew but little enjoyment from this portion of the work. But the first and especially the last movements Strauss conducted admirably.'

*The Sun*, 26 March 1904:

'...The mighty one of Munich deemed it his duty to show on this occasion that he could read other scores than his own. So he elected to place at the head of the programme no less a composition than Mozart's "Jupiter" symphony. It was a proud day for Mozart, to be on the same programme with Richard Strauss and to be conducted by him. It made one recall that story which Gounod tells on himself in his memoirs. He says that he had from his youth a tremendous admiration for Mozart. When he was young he used to say, "I and Mozart." When he was older he said, "Mozart and I." When he was an aged man and had written "Faust" and "Romeo et Juliette" he said, "Mozart."

Why did Mr. Strauss conduct Mozart? One sceptic said because it was easy. Another said in order to show the contrast between that music and his, not necessarily to prove that his was the better, but just to give a lesson in musical history and a glimpse of the development of orchestral composition from 1788 till today. Let us credit Mr. Strauss with a sincere admiration for Mozart. He has expressed it often. Sometimes he even writes a little like Mozart. It is very little, but for even a fragment of Mozartian cantilena in a Strauss tone poem a man would forgive much immoderate modulation and many deferred resolutions toward a diatonic life.

Mr. or Dr. Strauss conducted Mozart's "Jupiter" symphony as if he honestly believed pure melody to be a good and wholesome thing in music and that it was possible to be an artist without being perennially cerebral. It was a sincere, straightforward, unaffected reading that Dr. Strauss gave, a little rigid in the matter of tempo, but not in that of nuance. The voice parts were brought out well and the vigorous polyphony of the finale lost nothing at his hands.'

Unidentified and undated review:

‘...It was the first time Dr. Strauss had conducted anything besides his own compositions in New York, though even so there was only one piece on the programme not signed by his own name. That was Mozart’s C major symphony, to which custom has given the title of “Jupiter.” Dr. Strauss has the name of being a special admirer and authoritative exponent of Mozart, whose music stands in so many respects at the opposite pole from his own, and his choice of this symphony for the programme of his Philharmonic concert came as a confirmation of it. His performance of it gave still more confirmation. There was by no means the technical finish and perfect clarity of articulation in it that this music, more than all other, so insistently demands; nor did the tone of the orchestra, especially of the violins, seem as fine as it usually does for some reason with which the weather may have had to do. But the reading of the symphony was strikingly beautiful.

There was no injection of the unquiet modern spirit into its serene and lovely utterance; but there were subtle touches that gave animation, spirit, vivacity, to it, and there was an understanding of the music as a vital expression of emotion, in the eighteenth century idiom, it is true, but yet charged with a meaning that a rigid and a routine playing of the notes could not set forth. All this was delicately and suggestively realized in the spirit of Mozart. There was everywhere a finely felt balance and adjustment of all the parts, a free and broad exposition of the melody, finely phrased and eloquently expressed. There was a shade of rubato in the andante, now and again a minute swelling upon a significant phrase or the salient point of a phrase in the andante, and in the final allegro there were delicate modifications of tempo that gave the whole an elasticity and a buoyancy, lucidly setting forth the contrapuntal structure and seeming the inevitable interpretation of its meaning.’

#### **K550, Frankfurt Museum Concert, 9 November 1906.<sup>2</sup>**

*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 10 November 1906:

‘...An unspoilt pleasure emanated from the performance of the Mozart symphony, along with the cantabile elements, the passionate, serious basic undertone was satisfactorily conveyed. An interesting comparison was between the contrasting main movement and the trio in the Menuett.’

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<sup>2</sup> All German-language reviews found in this dissertation were translated by the author.

**K551, Frankfurt Museum Concert, 11 November 1906.**

*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 12 November 1906:

‘...In general, a pleasingly constructed account of the ‘Jupiter’ symphony. On the other hand, in the slow movement, a certain academic coolness was at work.’

**K550, Queen’s Hall, London, 26 June 1914**

*Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, August 1914

‘But the great Richard, however, was reticent to the verge of boredom; indeed, he seemed to lack interest in these works of his youth [*Don Juan* and *Tod und Verklärung*]. In conducting Mozart’s Symphony in G minor, he did not win one’s admiration, for he ended the famous Minuet with the trio and he tampered with the tempo of the last movement quite unnecessarily.’

*The Musical Times*, 1 August 1914

‘...Mozart’s G minor Symphony a master-work of a master of whom Strauss is well known to be an ardent admirer and a specially gifted exponent. The performance of the Symphony was perfect in its rhythm and graceful phrasing. We could not fully approve of the liberties taken with the tempo of the last movement, but another individual idea - the finishing of the Minuet with a repetition of the G major Trio - was much to our taste.’

*The Times*, 27 June 1914

‘A large audience was attracted by the prospect of hearing three of Strauss’s best known works conducted by the composer, and by the unusual interest of hearing Mozart interpreted by Strauss — Mozart, the master of swift resource, of Flaxman-like economy of touch, of never-failing melody, of absolute music, and Strauss, a wielder of the mass, of cumulative effect, of fierce cogent outline, of downright “programme.” They came expecting, perhaps, that the G minor Symphony would have some new wild energy infused into it, ...It cannot exactly be said that any of these things happened. Each work spoke as pure music. ...Beyond a few touches which not quite anybody would have thought of, there was nothing unusual in the Symphony. A little more clearness in the development passage, a statelier sweep in the Andante, the third movement taken as the Minuet which it is, and not as a Scherzo. He seemed to be working with the orchestra

rather than ruling over them, and to assume that of course they would understand than to lead them to any different understanding.’

***Don Giovanni*, Municipal Theatre, Zürich, 17 May 1917**

*Zürcher Post*, 19 May 1917:

‘E.S. If anyone has penetrated right into the soul and spirit of Mozart, it is Richard Strauss. The performance of 17th May, for which we have to thank both him and the combined Meiningen and Dessau Hofkapellen, has brought evidence of this, which cannot be more convincingly and more beautifully conceived. This was evident to all who filled the theatre down to the last seat. If ever the acclaim occasioned by the many guest performances of recent weeks has been the expression of genuine enthusiasm, it was so after this performance of *Don Giovanni*. ...For the correct rendition of Mozart’s works a particular blend of instruments is necessary. This must be neither too strong nor too weak. The right balance between strings and wind instruments is of the utmost importance, for only thus do the nuances emerge as they should without any danger of the dramatic emphases being weakened. In this respect the conductor has had, thankfully, the most fortuitous touch, as his inspired excellence was perceptible at every possible stage. If one can say of a Mozart performance that not one single word was lost, then this is just as much praise for the orchestra as for the singers. The orchestra, about 50 strong, played with an accuracy and purity which could not be surpassed. In each note the love of the art in hand and the highly sensitive grasp of the genial leader’s intent could be heard. Nowhere was there excess nor deficiency; each *ritenuto* was well-rounded in its sentiment - in a word, a classic rendition. The same is true of the lady accompanist, engaged by Maestro Strauss himself, of the *secco*-recitatives at the console piano, which followed the flow of words with the very finest understanding of the natural intonation, and on the other hand succeeded in giving many places a quite particular contour by magical shades of sound, as for example the flattery in the ninth scene of the first act with which Don Giovanni attempts to turn Zerlina’s head. Never before has one felt so strongly that Mozart’s greatness and depth speak to us most powerfully precisely in his simplicity. However there has never yet been anyone who has understood how to reveal this secret as convincingly in the theatre as Richard Strauss. His achievement in this unforgettable performance extends not only to the musical direction but also to the selection of soloists and in this he had a decidedly fortunate touch.’

**For a new production of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Berlin Court Opera,<sup>3</sup>  
5 December 1917.**

Unidentified review, dated, in the hand of a librarian, 6 December 1917:

‘... Yesterday, in the Royal Opera House, “Entführung” reappeared on the programme for the first time since the departure of Hempel. ...Richard Strauss, from whom we have already had such an exquisite “Figaro” and “Cosi fan tutti”, returned to the podium, and in whose refined hand, with his tender love of Mozart, created some interesting effects. The aria, “Marten aller Arten”, could, once again, be heard without its customary cuts.’

**For a new production of *Don Juan [Don Giovanni]*, Berlin Court Opera, 25 April 1919.<sup>4</sup>**

Unidentified review, dated, in the hand of a librarian, 25 April 1919:

‘...The poster noted the revised translation of Hermann Levi...Levi has, in undertaking this task, attempted to transmit the original Italian as closely as possible. The frequent scene-changes that are required here are made simple by the revolving stage...the lighter Finale (Sextett) concludes the work within a Buffo context...Dr. Richard Strauss is an accomplished Mozart interpreter.’

Unidentified and undated review:

‘W.K. Opera House.

Now that the obstacles and dangers which have gradually become so inevitable in the Opera House have been overcome, the new production of *Don Giovanni* finally appeared yesterday. We had been threatened with the new prize-winning translation, but then heard no more of it; Hermann Levi’s edition was finally used, a version which preserves with the greatest care what is to be regarded, to judge by the model before us, as the intention of the author of the text and also of the composer. Musical direction was under Richard Strauss, so that there came from the orchestra an abundance of most exquisite sound quite impossible to describe. Indescribable in the truest sense of the word were all the fine features of nuance, the changes of tempo and the muting and swelling of the orchestra. In addition there was the inimitable style of accompaniment of the secco recitative, a sheer

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<sup>3</sup> Reviews by courtesy of the Berlin State Opera.

<sup>4</sup> Idem.

pleasure to listen to in itself. ...But the orchestra also demanded its share of attention with its fine strings and glorious wind instruments and over them all the magic baton wielded by Richard Strauss.'

***Idomeneo, Vienna State Opera, Vienna, 16 April 1931***

Unidentified review, dated 18 April 1931

"Idomeneo" by Mozart and Strauss

... "Idomeneo" is the boundary between the early works of Mozart and his masterpieces. It is Mozart's summation of the important operatic styles of his day: *opera seria* and the music dramas of Gluck. "Idomeneo" has remained unknown to the public. The audience does not warm to the Cretan King. ...The music is magnificent. There are moments of both passion and solemnity, but this does not move us personally, nor grip us in the manner of "Figaro", "Don Juan [Giovanni]" or "The Magic Flute". "Idomeneo" is a product of the eighteenth century, rather than an individual creation of Mozart. But now Richard Strauss has come on the scene. He replaces all the *recitativi secci* throughout with *recitativi accompagnati*. The latter make use of motifs. He writes an *intermezzo* [*Interludio*], bringing forth a sea monster, and adds a brilliant new finale. Strauss does not try to disguise himself as Mozart, he composes as Richard Strauss, quoting his "ägyptische Helena". His style is often chromatic, using modulations that would have terrified the eighteenth century. This aspect of the current "Idomeneo" is very intellectual. This change of style, from that of Mozart's, will aggravate most music historians. More importantly, however, Strauss binds Mozart's arias tightly together, though these linking passages are often more substantial than the subsequent aria ...Strauss conducted and Elisabeth Schumann proved to be an expert Mozartian ...The audience experienced this work as an interesting experiment and expressed their respect for both Mozart and Strauss.'

*Musical Opinion* (Alfred Kalmus), June 1931

'Mozart's "Idomeneo," in the revised Strauss-Wallerstein version, has at length been given at the State Opera, and with great success... Probably the libretto hindered previous success. In the Wallerstein version, many *secco* recitatives are omitted and others added: changes which have given Strauss an opportunity for the display of his art and the incorporation of much new music. Only a musician such as Strauss could attempt a like task with any hope of success, and he has achieved it. The arias remain for the most part unchanged, though they do not always retain their original position. The ensembles and

choruses are retained, though sometimes interwoven skilfully by Strauss with his own work.'

**K543, Queen's Hall, London, 21 October 1931**

*Musical Opinion*, November 1931

'On October 21<sup>st</sup>, Dr. Strauss conducted the B.B.C. Symphony Concert, ...On this occasion the Mozart symphony was the famous E flat. Strauss, a Mozart worshipper, regards the composer from a broad human point of view, so that the performance was singularly warm and intimate, with little of that elegance and finicking refinement indulged by several Mozart interpreters.'

*The Times*, 22 October 1931

'Dr. Richard Strauss was the hero of the symphony concert given by the B.B.C. at Queen's Hall last night. As a conductor of Mozart his reputation has always stood high, and he began the programme, which otherwise consisted of his own works, with Mozart's lovely Symphony in E flat (No. 39). His view of the function of a conductor of the classics is the very opposite of that of the modern virtuoso conductor. He has no personal interpretation to impress on the players, and he makes no appeal to the eyes of the audience. He believes in time, which his right hand indicates with precision. He uses his left hand chiefly to turn the pages of his score. Most of all, he believes, as a musician should, in Mozart's power to create his own impression if his music is played aright, and that the conductor is there to secure rightness of time, of tone, of phrasing - an unprofitable servant who, when all had gone right, has done only what it was his duty to do.'

**K550, Queen's Hall, London, 7 November 1936.**

*The Times*, 9 November 1936:

'...the programme was that of the early nineteen hundreds, when Strauss's tone poems were considered dangerously modern, when he was re-teaching Mozart to his post-Wagnerian generation, and when in fact he came to Queen's Hall to conduct Mozart's G Minor Symphony with one or more of his own works, just as he did on Saturday. ...He always played Mozart rather fast; he does so still. We do not remember that he used to repeat the trio to the Minuet so as to end the movement with it, as he did on Saturday. We

wondered why: if it was just because he thought it would be nice to hear it again he was right, for the wood-wind sounded particularly lovely.’

*The Musical Times*, December 1936:

‘...His Mozart (the G minor Symphony) was virtuous if a trifle humdrum.’

## Appendix K

### **Extracts from: *Ueber die Neueinstudierung und Neuinszenierung des Mozart'schen Don Giovanni (Don Juan) auf dem kgl. Residenztheater zu München*, by Ernst von Possart.**

Over the years, the *drama giocoso* or *opera buffa* [*Don Giovanni*] developed to be an *opera seria* later, a romantic opera and, finally, a grand opera with choruses. During this century, a complete change in the interpretation of da Ponte's and Mozart's original took place. It was the production by Schroeder and Friedrich Rochlitz, in 1801, which was the most popular edition, following the German version by Spiess, performed under Schikaneder's direction. The Royal Opera in Berlin has used this version until today and this edition accounts for most performances of *Don Giovanni*. On 29 October 1887, it was used for the celebration of the opera's 500th performance. However, this version contains fundamental and deliberate modifications.

The distortions to the original text in the first 60 years after Mozart's death, defy description.



Bernhard Gugler has produced a score of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* which exactly corresponds to the original. Apart from a few discrepancies, it contains da Ponte's original text. Owing to the initiative of Dr Leopold von Sonnleitner in Vienna, we have the opera's libretto in its original version, based on the first performance in Prague. Strangely enough, this was not released in print until 1867 and, the only traceable copy of the Prague libretto is owned by the Graf York von Wartenburg in Klein-Dels near Ohlau. It contains several additions, especially in regard to the action, which the score does not feature, but also presents what Mozart, following his own ideas, added to da Ponte's text, almost as an improvisation. Regarding the music accompanying the supper at the end of Act 2, there are reminders of three operas often performed at that time, of which Mozart names the first two: *Cosa rara* by Martini, and *I litiganti* by Sarti (*Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode*). At the third inserted passage, Figaro's aria 'Non più andrai', Mozart has added to the score, in his own hand, the following comic remark for Leporello: 'questo poi la conosco pur troppo'. This passage is not in da Ponte's libretto.

I have to mention a further addition that Mozart has made to these three musical parts and which refers to their scenic arrangement.

F.P. Lyser says, in the *Neuen Zeitschrift Für Musik* (vol. 21, p. 174), that, at their meeting in Dresden in 1834, Mozart's son, Wolfgang, had shown him, amongst other possessions of his father, a fragment of a German translation of *Don Giovanni*, produced and written by Mozart himself. Lyser was given permission to copy a few of the most interesting passages. In vol. 22 of the same magazine, p. 133, Lyser published this translation of two scenes. A comment regarding the Act 2 Finale says: 'The musicians play piece Number 1 (*Cosa rara*). Leporello lets the girls come in. They dance, differently for each new piece. They also scatter flowers in front of Don Giovanni.' Mozart has charmingly honoured Prague's orchestra, who played his *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, when he translates Don Giovanni's sentence: 'Chè ti par del bel concerto?' [What do you think of the beautiful playing?] and Leporello's answer: 'Oh they are just responding to your instructions', as follows, Don Giovanni: 'These people play beautifully.' Leporello: 'They are musicians from Prague.' Further down, it says: 'When Elvira enters, Leporello waves to the other girls and they leave. The music stops.'

Although the original manuscript was not passed on with Mozart's posthumous works to the Mozarteum in Salzburg, as Lyser had thought, and nothing has been heard about it, the fragment's authenticity cannot be doubted, given several other reasons established by Lyser.

I could, therefore, not resist using the remark about the dancers in the realisation of the last act, as it so effectively illustrates Don Giovanni's luxurious lifestyle shortly before his death, even though I thought I could do without Mozart's too liberal translation of the above-mentioned passages.

If we compare Sonnleitner's published, original manuscript, and the original musical score from 1787, with, what is nowadays common in the performances of *Don Juan*, we can draw the conclusion that, through deliberate additions on the one hand, and unjustified omissions on the other, the intentions of the poet and composer have been clearly put into a wrong perspective. It is almost unbelievable how people could have let the thoroughly logical and clear plot of the original be modified and distorted, in such an irresponsible way, throughout the century.



The orchestra conducted by Mozart, at the first performance in Prague, comprised 26 musicians: 4 first violins, 4 second violins, 2 violas, 1 cello, 2 double basses, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets and timpani. Today, the orchestra for *Don Juan*, at nearly all opera houses, is increased by an extra 25 string players. Regarding the chorus, the only ones which existed were: the chorus of peasants, for the appearance of Zerlina, and the chorus of invisible demons, in the Act 2 Finale. Today, the chorus of

servants, and the so-called 'Freiheitschor', are added, as well as one for the remainder of the Act 1 Finale.

In Act 1, Scene IV, there is an original recitative between Don Juan and Leporello. This is omitted from current versions. The recitative between Don Juan, Leporello and Elvira, which comes before the aria Number 11 (Leporello's Catalogue Aria), is very much shortened. In current versions, Elvira's recitative in Scene VI is dropped, and the subsequently composed aria, 'Mich verläßt der Undankbare' is usually sung at this point. Nowadays, Elvira's aria, Scene X, Number 8, is missed out and only the first two lines of the previous recitative are played. In the original, there is a recitative for Ottavio in Scene XIV, 'Come mai creder,' which is omitted in present versions, and the aria, Number 10b, 'Dalla sua pace' (not mentioned in the original) is played instead. In Act 2, the original recitative in Scene VII, between Leporello and Elvira, is not played, so, immediately after the change of scene, the sextet begins. The recitative in Scene IX, between Zerlina, Elvira, Ottavio and Masetto, and Leporello's aria, Number 7, 'Ah pietà Signori miei' are also omitted. In Scene X, the recitative between Elvira, Masetto and Zerlina, is nowadays played in a distorted way and, finally, the last scene (the sextet), after Don Juan's departure, is almost always completely dropped.

One can only ask, what remains of the opera's original conception and its well-ordered structure.

Somebody even believed that he had to improve Mozart's instrumentation. Up to today, the Commendatore is accompanied by an entourage of trombones in almost all performances. A legend has developed, that Mozart had intended, and achieved, a special effect, by not using the pompous instruments except for the Act 2 Finale, thus giving a solemn and eerie tone. Thirty years ago, Bernhard Gugler had irrefutably pointed out, in an essay published in the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* (1867), that the way in which these trombones are presented, so clearly contradicts the orchestration that it was impossible for Mozart to have introduced them himself. Neither the fact that, in Mozart's original score, there are no trombone parts (apart from those on the stage accompanying the Commendatore's words in the grave-yard scene) nor Gugler's evidence that they do not stress the chilling impression of the supper scene - but weaken it - could induce conductors (apart from a few exceptions) to abandon the nonsensical traditions of the past century.



When we consider the size of the orchestra, we ask ourselves, was it necessary to double the number of musicians from 26? It has often been said that, in Prague, Mozart did not have the means to set up an orchestra of the size common today at almost all opera

houses. This assumption does not hold. When Mozart arrived in Prague, for a visit, in January 1787, to convince himself personally of the general popularity and the great esteem in which his *Figaro* was held, he received the most enthusiastic welcome and people competed to please him. One of Prague's wealthiest noblemen, Graf Johann Thun, who had a splendid and well trained private orchestra himself, accommodated the Maestro in his sumptuous palace.

The Grafen Pachta, Canal and Clam, as well as the Duschecks, who were influential in musical circles and loyal to Mozart, offered their services. Duscheck, himself a brilliant pianist and composer, used to host weekly concerts by artists and art lovers. His wife, who was admired not only for being a piano virtuoso but also a singer, implored the Maestro to leave the hotel, 'Zu den drei Loewen', which was assigned to him in the contract, and to stay in the Villa Bertramka, which belonged to the Duschecks. It was here that the opera was finished.

Had Mozart had the opportunity to double the size of the orchestra at his disposal, it would not have been difficult to achieve this, with the help of such influential and wealthy patrons. ...Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *Figaro* are both intended for a smaller and more intimate audience, and for a theatre which allows the singers to be heard with ease. The orchestra should not overshadow the human voice, by exposing the singers to any strains which could affect the beauty of their tone. It should also allow the singers, by their own means, to emphasize their natural ability and acquired techniques...

...[previously] brass instruments were restricted to emphasising the tonic and dominant in the so-called *tutti* passages and, were, therefore, only useful as brilliant, noisy instruments in the main key. By providing them with valves, the chromatic scale could suddenly be played. This now made it possible to use them, not only as melodic instruments, but also, as equals with the other instrumental groups. As a consequence of this development, it was necessary to considerably strengthen the other instrumental groups (the strings and the woodwind) if they were not to be oppressed by the overwhelming sound of the brass instruments. The size of Mozart's orchestra was only intended for double woodwinds and 26 strings at most, and Wagner was forced to demand 3-4 times as many woodwinds, and 64 strings, for his later compositions.

In concert orchestras, the number of strings was also considerably increased and, because of the sound of this large body of strings, to which listeners became accustomed, earlier compositions by Mozart and Haydn were now performed by bigger orchestras. This, however, led to the irritating fact that the few woodwinds could not be heard. If one wanted to explain the orchestral effect intended by Mozart (which mainly consisted of an equal relationship between each of the instrumental groups) one had to refer back to the

orchestra's structure at that time, where even a weak flute could defend itself against a string quartet.

We now come to the increasing use of the chorus in passages that Mozart originally wrote for soloists. A chorus, as such, was not originally intended. In the opera, it mainly appears in order to strengthen the action on stage and only makes two brief appearances: joining the refrain of Masetto's and Zerlina's duet; and in the Act 2 Finale, where it sings: 'Alles ist gering gegen deine Sünden. Komm, es gibt noch schlimmere Leiden'. The passage at the beginning of the Act 1 Finale, the servants' chorus at the appearance of Don Giovanni: 'Auf munter, erwachet, wir wollen lustig sein', was originally intended to be a quartet, not a chorus, and was performed like this in Prague.



Many educated listeners have disputed the value of the Act 2 Finale. It was felt that the Commendatore's last appearance and Don Giovanni's ruin, causing deep emotion in the audience ('hier rauschen die Pforten der Ewigkeit in den Angeln,' wrote Bulthaupt), was weakened by the final sextet.

Mozart and da Ponte knew why they assembled the main characters again at the end of the drama: they did not want to leave their fate unknown and the audience should leave the theatre with a harmonious impression. Moreover, the end of the Commendatore's scene is musically not the end of the finale, but a partial end, after which further music and, finally, a conclusive ending, in the main key, is to be expected.

If we try to discover the real reasons which led to such distortions of the original, first and foremost, we will find them in external circumstances. *Don Giovanni* was planned and written for a small, intimate, opera house. Mozart and his contemporaries did not have spacious conditions. The enormous auditoriums, of the old Romans and Greeks and, of which Schiller sang: 'Wer kennt die Völker, zählt die Namen, die gastlich hier zusammen kamen?', did not exist in Mozart's and da Ponte's time. Auditoriums so big that the human voice could only be heard through a loudspeaker, and the human figure only able to act impressively when wearing especially constructed high-heeled shoes: even if we wanted, we could never have had them! The person on stage should have an effect on the person in the auditorium! Where does the artist's hard work come in, if the emotions on his face cannot be recognized, and the subtle differences in intonation not heard and appreciated? Auditoriums, as they are built nowadays, - the Imperial Opera in Moscow, the theatre in Chicago, - so big that they could accommodate the Scala of Milan and our Royal and National Theatre, are circus arenas where mass military music concerts, fairs and splendid ballets can be held. A stylish performance of Mozart's compositions, however, is impossible. *Don Giovanni* could not exist in these

circumstances. After being transferred into those modern theatres with their lack of intimacy, one very quickly begins to stretch out the corpse, which was too delicate for these widths, as if it were on a Procrustean bed; the size of the orchestra was doubled and therefore the singing voices on stage were buried. When the singers complained they could not be heard and could not act effectively in such vast auditoria, with such powerful orchestras, one was forced to strengthen the solo parts with a chorus. Too much emphasis was then put on passages where the 7 main characters should have acted alone and, by this, the Maestro's most beautiful intentions were distorted. The undying masterpiece, the opera of operas, survived in spite of such major modifications. What was given to the German nation was not the legacy of their favourite Wolfgang Amadeus, and the *Stone Guest* of Herr Rochlitz and others, remains a shadow of Mozart's and da Ponte's marvellous *Don Giovanni*.



What should we do if we want to give back, to the German audience, the wonderful *drama giocoso* in its original form? We have to meet the conditions under which it originally existed: an intimate opera house, which allows the audience to follow the performers' singing and acting; a small orchestra as required by the Maestro, which supports the singers' art and does not oppress it; excellent performers, with regard to execution and performance; an exact, unchanged reproduction of the musical score and libretto and, finally, a setting with decorations and costumes, appropriate for the period of the drama.

As a solution to this problem, we, in Munich, have a theatre which could not be better suited for performing Mozart's operas. Our Residenztheater, this most wonderful opera house in Europe, where Mozart himself directed *Idomeneo*, is ideal for representing the Prague première. The musicians in Munich's orchestra, as well as the opera's excellent singers, who have enjoyed high critical acclaim, from the national and international press, for the new production of *Le nozze di Figaro*, and have become familiar with Mozart's style after forty performances in one year, are our guarantee that the original score of *Don Giovanni* will also gain recognition.

With regard to the libretto, Professor Malymotta, who has complete command of German grammar and has proven himself as a teacher of the Italian language, translated Sonnleitner's original Italian libretto of the opera, as it was first performed in Prague, into prose. This is already a success. We then compared Grandaur's libretto, the best part of which corresponds to the original, and which has been used frequently in Munich, with Malymotta's translation, and eliminated all passages of Grandaur's work which differed, even in the slightest, from the original version. The next difficulty was to put these prose

passages into a rhythm and rhyme corresponding to Mozart's music, as is required by the original score. This time-consuming task, requires, not only a thorough understanding of the value of the words translated but, also, a solid knowledge and appreciation of musical phrasing, and a respectful handling of each note, as the vowels of each syllable have to be taken into careful consideration. It was *Generalmusikdirektor* Levi who undertook this task, during the last 6 months of his indisposition, with such an eagerness and conscientiousness that can only result from great enthusiasm for the work. We owe the successful solution to this difficult problem to his brilliant handling of the responsible task. The critics will be easily convinced of the new libretto's quality by looking at an edition by the publishing house, A. Bruckmann, Munich, which presents both the original Italian and Munich revision. These publishers had already printed an illustrated libretto of *Figaro* and, by this, enabled other opera houses to copy the Munich performance. Here, I would like to add, that I have retained Mozart's chosen name 'Don Giovanni' in all passages where the name is sung by other characters, in preference to the Spanish 'Don Juan'. I am well aware that, if one wants to translate the original Italian into German, one should adjust the characters' names, either to the country in which it takes place, or to the language in which we perform it, i.e. either Spanish or German. Neither the 3 syllables of 'Herr Johann' nor 'Don Juan' correspond to Mozart's scansion for 'Don Giovanni', containing 4 syllables. There are 6 passages where the name is sung. In the Commendatore's address in Act 2, it is so pompous in its rhythm, that the sound effect of this 'Don Giovanni' could never be achieved with a translation into 'Don Juan' with its 3 syllables. I thought I had to renounce all further doubts of the benefit of this sound effect which, by the way, eliminates the problem of various pronunciations of 'Don Juan', with its aspirated 'J', being so inconvenient for singing. The preliminary conditions relating not only to space but also to the orchestra, the musical score, the manuscript and the singing, which are necessary to genuinely perform the original version, are now fulfilled. We now have to turn to the second task, that is the outward appearance of the opera, the scenery and the costumes, in order to meet the poet's and the composer's original intentions.

Therefore, we have to answer the following questions: in which era does *Don Giovanni* take place? Has da Ponte taken the subject from history, from myth, or from his own imagination? What does da Ponte's Don Giovanni, have in common with history's Don Juan, and the myth? Who is Don Juan? ...Consequently, one could transfer the setting and the costumes into the year 1780, the time of Mozart, without ruining the subject.



How can one perform the scene changes quickly without having 6 inconvenient drop-scenes, or destroying the illusion through an open change of scene, where houses and trees fly through the air, and disguised helpers jump onto the stage, to move the furniture and implements around. Each of these scene changes have to be carried out in front of the audience without darkening the stage, and must not take longer than half a minute. When the last chord of the scene fades away, and the conductor raises his baton in order to intonate the introductory recitative of the next scene, the new scenery, with all its parts, must be in place. People have unsuccessfully tried to find a solution to this task for a century. Our modern poets and composers make it easy for stage managers and scene-shifters: they no longer create dramas which require changes of scenes during an act. They have learned from experience. Instead, they are constructed so that the setting remains the same throughout an act. However complicated the scenery then might be, we are left with a pause between the acts of 5 to 10 minutes. In that time many changes can be made on stage.

Lautenschläger's most recent achievement in the field of theatre design, the 'revolving stage', was an important improvement in this direction.

Imagine the entire stage being empty, all the wings removed. The floor contains a revolving disc forming a big circle—from the prompter's box to the back of the stage and reaches both the right and left sides. On the front half of this disc stands the first scene of the play. This scenery faces the audience. On the rear half of the disc, still invisible to the audience and back to back with the first scene, stands the complete second scene. When the first scene has been performed, the disc is turned around by an electric motor and the rear, second scene, takes the place of the first. Now, the old scene is at the back and invisible to the audience. It is removed and while the second scene is being performed at the front, a third, new scene is built on the empty space. Scene 2 ends, the disc revolves again and the third scene appears in front. One can now use the revolving disc in whatever way the needs of the piece require. A quarter or a fifth of the circle can be used for a short scene in order to have more space for the following one. Lautenschläger's revolving stage has not only practical but also artistic advantages. The city of Munich will be especially thankful. One is no longer tied to the square-shaped wings and, with it, the straightforward settings. Unique, interesting effects will take place.

The monotony of rectangular rooms and halls will end, the street settings, cut off at the back, will be replaced by picturesque and ingenious views and, where, on old stages, only painted screens were possible, which could be quickly pulled up or let down, the use of fixed, different pieces of scenery increase the natural effect. Lautenschläger's revolving stage has proved to be adequate to perform the 4 changes of scene in each act of *Don Giovanni*, in front of the audience, a task not solved until now.



When, some of our loyal theatre-goers find the words of one of their familiar and favourite operas has changed, they will probably say to their neighbours: ‘I preferred it when they sang “Treibt der Champagner das Blut erst in Kreise” and “Herr Gouverneur zu Pferde, ich beuge mich zur Ende.’ - my grandfather always sang it like that, why should I hear it differently? This is no longer my *Don Juan* or yours.”- Certainly, it is not your or his *Don Juan* but it is Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*. To let him come alive in his original form and completeness is an aim which is worth the greatest endeavours!

[translated by the author]

## Appendix L

### A table showing the annotations in Strauss' marked symphonic scores of Mozart and the metronomic speeds derived from his commercial recordings

WORK	MOVEMENT	SECTION/SUBJECT	BAR	TEMPO	DYNAMICS	EXPRESSION MARKS	BOWING & ARTICULATION	NOTATIONAL CORRECTIONS
K201/186a	1	First subject (exposition)	1-26			Violins II: espr.[essivo] bar 1 (beat 2 <sup>1</sup> ).* <sup>2</sup>	Violins I: down-bows bar 1 (beat 1 first & second half); up-bow bar 1 (beat 2 second quaver). The above bowing is re-marked at all subsequent repeats of the material in the first seventeen bars (up-bows only annotated in bars 1, 3 & 5).* Violins I & II: up-bows bars 23 (beat 1 second half & beat 2 first and second half) to 24 (beat 1 only); bars 25-6, as for bars 23-4.* Oboe II: minims slurred under one curve bars 19 & 20: minims and semibreve slurred under a second curve bars 21 & 22.† <sup>3</sup>	
K201/186a	1	Second subject (exposition)	32-43			Violins I: espr.[essivo] bar 32 (beat 2 second half).* Viola: espr.[essivo] bars 38 (beat 2) & 40 (beat 2).*	Violins I: all crotchets in bar 33, along with the anacrustic crotchet (each marked staccato), are slurred under an up-bow;* second pair of quavers and the following crotchet (beat 2 first half) slurred under an implied up-bow.* Bars 35-6, as for bars 33-4 (grace-note, bar 35 beat 1, slurred to first crotchet; qualifying up-bow added, bar 36 - beat 2 second half).* Violins I & II: grace-notes altered from appoggiaturas to acciaccaturas bars 41-3.*	
K201/186a	1	Second subject (exposition)	53-8		Tutti strings: crescendi bars 57 (beat 2) to 58 (beat 1).*	Violins I & II: espr.[essivi] bars 53-4.*	Celli & Bassi: pizz.[icato] bars 53-6;* arco from bar 57.*	
K201/186a	1	Development	92-106		Violins I: crescendi bars 92, 94 & 96 (tied minims only). Tutti strings: crescendi bar 98. Violins I, violins II and violas: mezzo forte bar 99. Celli & bassi: piano bar 99.		Violins I & II: up-bow bar 105 (two-note phrase).	
K201/186a	1	First subject (recap.)	119-123				Violins I & II: up-bows bars 119 (beat 2 second quaver), 121 (beat 2 second quaver) & 123 (beat 2 second quaver). Lower strings: up-bows bars 120 (beat 1 second quaver) & 122 (beat 1 second quaver).	

<sup>1</sup> When beaten in two.

<sup>2</sup> \* Denotes repeat of annotation(s) or instruction(s) in the relevant passage at the recapitulation.

<sup>3</sup> † Denotes annotation(s) and instruction(s) not repeated in the relevant passage of the recapitulation.

K201/ 186a	1	Coda	183-93		Violins I & II: decrescendi bars 187 (second half) & 188. Violins II: missing forte added bar 189.	Violins I & II: espr.[essivi] bar 185.	Violins I: grace-notes altered from appoggiaturas to acciaccaturas bars 183 (beat 2) to 184. Tutti strings: bowing bars 189-93, as for bars 1-17.	
K201/ 186a	2	First subject (exposition)	2-5		Violins I & II: crescendo bar 2 (beats 3 <sup>4</sup> & 4); <sup>‡</sup> decrescendo bar 4 (beats 2-3). <sup>‡</sup>	Violins II: espr.[essivo] bar 5 (with the anacrusic semi-quaver).*		
K201/ 186a	2	Bridge passage (exposition)	10-12		Violins I: crescendi bars 10, 11 & 12 (tied crotchet only).*			
K201/ 186a	2	Second subject (exposition)	14-23		Violins I: mezzo forte bar 14 (with the anacrusic quaver);* crescendo bar 14 (beats 3-4);* decrescendo bar 17 (beats 1-3).* Violins I & II: mezzo forte bars 21-3 (violins II: piano bar 22 - beat 4 last demi-semi-quaver; mezzo forte restored bar 22 - beat 4 last demi-semi-quaver).* Tutti strings: crescendi bar 19 (beats 1-2 - extended in violins I & II to include anacrusic demi-semi/semi-quavers);* decrescendo bar 20. Oboes: pianissimo bars 21-4 (beat 2).*		Tutti strings: general up-bow bar 19 (beat 4).* Violins I & lower strings: up-bow bar 20 (beats 2-4)*	
K201/ 186a	2	Codetta	38		Violins I: crescendo (beats 2-4).			
K201/ 186a	2	Development	39-52		Violins I: mezzo forte bar 39 (with the anacrusic semi-quaver). Violins II: mezzo forte bar 46 (beat 3). Violins I & II: dim.[inuendo] bar 48 (beat 3); piano bar 49. Oboes & horns: piano bar 51.		Violins I: slurs, one bow to a beat, bar 39 (beats 2-4). Oboes: slurred bar 52 (beat 4 - grace-notes written-out as <i>d'</i> & <i>e'</i> demi-semi-quavers) to bar 53 (beat 1).	
K201/ 186a	2	First subject (recap.)	53-6			Violins I: espr.[essivo] bar 53 (with the anacrusic semi-quaver).		
K201/ 186a	2	Second subject (recap.)	76-82				Horn I: bar 77 slurred in two halves; quavers slurred to match strings bar 79 (beats 2-4); pianissimo bar 82; rising figure slurred as a two-note phrase (bar 82 only).	
K201/ 186a	3	Menuetto					Tutti strings: down-bow at each anacrusic semi-quaver; bar 12 (beat 3 <sup>5</sup> ) slurred, so as to be played as an up-bow (last semi-quaver marked staccato in all parts).	
K201/ 186a	4	First subject (exposition)	9-12		Violins I: mezzo forte bar 9 (with the anacrusic quaver).*			
K201/ 186a	4	Second subject (exposition)	34-51		Oboes: pianissimo bar 48.* Violins II: decrescendo bars 49 & 51 (second half <sup>6</sup> of each bar only).*	Violins II: espr.[essivo] bar 36.* Violins I & II: espr.[essivi] bar 48.*	Violins I & II: grace-notes altered from appoggiaturas to acciaccaturas bars 34-42.*	

4 When beaten in four.

5 When beaten in three.

6 When beaten in two.

K201/ 186a	4	Development	96					Celli & bassi: g <sub>3</sub> bar 96 (first quaver) altered to e.
K385	1	First subject (exposition)	6-10					Violins I: tenuto bar 6 (beat 1 <sup>7</sup> first crotchet only),* staccati bar 6 (beat 2 first and second crotchets);* bar 8 as for bar 6;* tenuto bar 10 (beat 1 first crotchet only).*
K385	1	Bridge passage (exposition)	48-54			Violins I & II: crescendi bar 48 (beat 2).* Violins I: crescendi bars 50 (beat 2), 52 (beat 2) & 54 (beat 2).* Violins II: crescendi bars 51 (beat 2) & 53 (beat 2).*		
K385	1	Second Subject (exposition)	67-72			Oboes: crescendi bars 67 & 69.* Oboes & bassoons: crescendi- diminuendi bar 70 (beat 2 second half) - 71 (beat 1) & bars 71 (beat 2 second half) - 72 (beat 1).*		
K385	1	Development	101-2			Violins I & II: decrescendi bars 101 (beat 1 second half to the end of the bar) & 102 (beat 1 second half to the end of the bar). Brass: mezzo forte bar 107; decrescendi bar 110.		
K385	1	First subject (recap.)	139			Violins I: tenuto (beat 1 first half).		
K385	1	Bridge passage (recap.)	161			Violins II: crescendo (second half).		
K385	1	Coda	194-8			Brass & timpani: fortepiani bar 194; crescendi bar 195; fortepiani bar 196; crescendi bar 197 (second half); forte bar 198.		
K385	2	Second subject (exposition)	18-20					Celli & bassi: pizz.[icato] bar 18 (beat 2 <sup>8</sup> );* arco bar 22. <sup>‡</sup>
K385	2	Development	39-41			Violins I: piano pencilled-in bars 39 & 41.		
K385	2	Coda	79-81			Violins I: crescendo bar 80 (beat 4); decrescendo bar 81 (beat 4). Tutti winds: pianissimo bar 80 (beat 1 second half).		Violins I & II: hairpin accents (-) bar 79 (beats 2, 3 & 4).
K385	4	Transitional episode	218	accel- erando				
K385	4	Coda	232	Presto				
K504	1	Introduction	6-31			Violins I: crescendi bars 6 (beat 4 <sup>9</sup> ), 7 (beat 4), 8 (beat 4), 9 (beat 3 & beat 4 second half) & 11 (beat 2 second half); mezzo forte bar 15. Violins II: crescendi bar 9 (beats 1 second half & 3 second half). Violins I & II: decrescendo bar 10 (beat 2 second half & beat 3 second half). Tutti winds: crescendi bars 29 (beat 4) & 31 (beat 4).	Violins I: espr.[essivo] bar 6 (beat 4).	Violins I, celli & bassi: semi- staccati, to be played under an implied up-bow, bar 11 (beat 3 second half & 4).

7 When beaten in two.

8 When beaten in four.

9 When beaten in four.

K504	1	First subject (exposition)	42-55		Trumpets & timpani: mezzo forte bars 43* & 55.		Violins I: legato slur, implying a single bow, bar 42 (beat 2 <sup>10</sup> second half) to 43 (first crotchet);‡ bars 50-1, as for bars 42-3. Violins II & violas: bars 51-2,* as for violins I bars 42-3 (slurred to first quaver of bar 52 only).	
K504	1	Second subject (exposition)	95-127		Violins I: mezzo forte bars 96 (beat 2 second quaver),* 97 (beat 2 second quaver), 99 (beat 2 second quaver)* & 101 (beat 1 second quaver);* piano bar 98 (beat 1 second quaver)* & bar 100 (beat 1 second quaver);* crescendo bars 98 (beat 1 third quaver to the end of the bar)* & 100 (beat 1 third quaver to the end of the bar);* decrescendo bar 102 (beat 1).* Violins II & violas: mezzo forte bar 101 (beat 1 third quaver).* Tutti strings: piano bar 103;* crescendo bar 118;* piano bar 119.* Violins I & II: piano bar 104 (beat 2 second quaver) & bar 107;* pianissimo bars 106 (beat 1 second quaver)* & 108 (beat 1 second quaver);* crescendo bars 106 (beat 2),‡ 108 (beat 2),* 112 & 114.* decrescendo bar 113 (beat 1).* Violins I, violins II & violas: diminuendo bar 109 (beat 2);* pianissimo bar 110 (beat 2).* Flutes & oboes: pianissimo bar 110 (beat 2).* Bassoons: pianissimo bars 106 (beat 1 third quaver)* & 108 (beat 1 third quaver);* piano bars 107 (beat 1 second quaver),‡ 112 (beat 1 second quaver)* & 114 (beat 1 second quaver);* mezzo piano bar 111 (beat 2 second quaver); ‡ mezzo forte bar 113 (beat 2 second quaver).* Horns: pianissimo bar 119; mezzo forte bar 125 (beat 1 third quaver). Trumpets & timpani: mezzo forte bar 127.	Violins I: espr.[essivo] bar 95 (beat 2 second quaver).* Violins I & II: espr.[essivo] bar 112.* Bassoons: espr.[essivo] bar 111 (beat 2 second quaver).‡	Tutti strings: all crotchets staccato bar 103.*	
K504	1	Codetta	129-33		Brass & timpani: crescendi bar 129;* forte bar 130;* mezzo forte bar 133 (beat 2). Brass: forte bar 140 (beat 2 second half).			

K504	1	Development	151-206		<p>Violins I &amp; II: mezzo forte bar 196.</p> <p>Violas: square brackets around bar 151; fortissimo bar 152.</p> <p>Horns: mezzo forte bar 157; mezzo forte bar 170; crescendo bar 171 (beat 2); forte 172.</p> <p>Trumpets &amp; timpani: mezzo forte bar 158; mezzo forte bar 170; mezzo forte bar 178 (beat 2); forte bar 180 (beat 2).</p> <p>Brass: piano bar 164 (beat 2); piani bar 168; mezzo forte bar 184 (beat 1 third quaver)</p> <p>Brass &amp; timpani: forte bar 177 (beat 1 second half).</p> <p>Tutti orchestra: dim.[inuendo] bar 206 (beat 2).</p>			
K504	1	First subject (recap.)	208-28		<p>Tutti orchestra: pianissimo bar 208.</p> <p>Tutti strings &amp; horns: cresc.[endo] bar 212 (beat 2); piano bar 213.</p>		Violins I: phrasing bars 225-6 & 227-8, as for bars 50-1 & 51-2.	
K504	1	Second subject (recap.)	254-68		<p>Violins I &amp; II: piano bar 254 (beat 2 second quaver); decrescendo bar 262 (beat 1); crescendo bar 263 (beat 1 second half to the end of the bar).</p> <p>Oboes: pianissimo bar 263 (beat 1 second quaver); crescendo bar 263 (beat 2).</p> <p>Bassoons: pianissimo bar 254; mezzo forte bar 258 (beat 2 second quaver).</p> <p>Tutti winds &amp; horns: pianissimo bar 268.</p>			
K504	1	Coda	275-83		<p>Trumpets &amp; timpani: mezzo forte bar 275 (beat 2).</p> <p>Brass &amp; timpani: mezzo forte bar 277 (beat 2 third quaver).</p>			
K504	2	First subject (exposition)	10-15		<p>Tutti strings &amp; horns: pianissimo bar 10 (violins I from beat 3<sup>11</sup>; violins II &amp; violas from beat 1 second half; celli &amp; bassi from beat 6).‡</p> <p>Celli &amp; bassi: crescendo bar 14 (first half).‡</p>	Violins I/II & violas: espr.[essivo] bar 14 (violins I from beat 3; violins II & violas from beat 4).‡		
K504	2	Second subject (exposition)	39-50		<p>Bassoons: mezzo forte bar 39 (beat 4).*</p> <p>Oboe &amp; bassoons: crescendi bars 45 (second half) &amp; 47 (second half).*</p> <p>Tutti winds: piano bar 49; pianissimo bar 50.*</p> <p>Tutti strings: piano bars 46 (beat 3) &amp; 48 (beat 3).*</p>	Bassoons: espr.[essivo] bar 39 (beat 4).‡		

<sup>11</sup>

When beaten in six.

K504	2	Codetta	51-8a		Tutti strings: pianissimo bar 51 (beat 2);* dim.[inuendo] bar 54 (first half).* Tutti winds: dim.[inuendo] bar 54 (second half);* decrescendo bar 57 (second half). Tutti orchestra: cresc.[endo] bar 52 (second half);* pianissimo bar 58a. Violins II & lower strings: pianissimo bar 54 (beat 4);* piano bar 55.* Violins I: crescendo bar 55 (first half); decrescendo bar 55 (second half). Oboes, bassoons & horns: piano bar 56.	Violins I: espr.[essivo] bar 54 (beat 5).*		
K504	2	Development	58b-78		Tutti orchestra: pianissimo bar 58b; cresc.[endo] bar 62 (second half); mezzo forte bar 64; piano bar 68 (except flutes). Oboes: pianissimo bar 59 (second half). Oboes & bassoons: sforzando bars 72 & 78. Flutes: pianissimo bar 61 (second half); piano bar 69. Oboes & violins I: decrescendo bar 67 (second half).	Violins I: espr.[essivo] bars 58b (beat 5) & 64 (beat 3).		
K504	2	Second subject (recap.)	135-46		Tutti strings: pianissimo bar 135 (beat 3); piano bar 136 (beat 3). Tutti orchestra: crescendo bar 144 (second half). Tutti winds: pianissimo bar 142. Horns: piano bar 140; crescendo bar 140. Bassoons: piano bar 142 (second half). Oboes: piano bar 143. Flutes: piano bar 143 (beat 4). Flutes, oboes & bassoons: piano bar 146 (beat 3). Violins I: piano bar 145 (beat 3). Violins II, violas, & celli: piano bar 145 (beat 6).	Tutti strings: semi-staccato, implying a single up-bow, bar 138 (beat 2-6).		
K504	3	First subject (exposition)	12-17		Tutti winds, brass & timpani: pianissimo bar 12 (second half) <sup>12</sup> . Brass & timpani: mezzo forte bar 17.			
K504	3	Bridge passage (exposition)	55		Trumpets: mezzo forte.			
K504	3	Second subject (exposition)	64-6		Violins I: crescendo bars 64 (second half) & 65 (first half); decrescendo bars 65 (second half) & 66.*			
K504	3	Codetta	138		Brass & timpani: mezzo forte.†			

<sup>12</sup>

When beaten in one.

K543 13	1	Introduction		♩=96 (bar 1); ♩=104 (bar 21); ♩=92 (bar 25 second half).				
K543	1	First subject		♩=52 (bars 26-53); ♩=56 (bar 54).				
K543	1	Second subject		♩=48 (bar 98)				
K543	1	Coda		♩=56 (bar 119)				
K543	2	First subject		♩=92 (bar 1)				
K543	2	Bridge passage		♩=104 (bar 30)				
K543	2	Second subject		♩=92 (bar 53)				
K543	3	Menuetto		♩=58				
K543	3	Trio		♩=50				
K543	4	First & second subjects		♩=144				
K550	1	First subject (exposition)	1-21	♩=116 (1927-8)	Violins I & II: crescendo- diminuendo bar 13.* Tutti orchestra: crescendo bar 14 (second half);* decrescendo bar 15 (first half).*		Violins I & II: down-bows bars 1-4 (each pair of quavers) & 20-1 (each pair of quavers).‡	
K550	1	Second subject (exposition)	55-58	♩=102 (1927) ♩=112 (1928)	Tutti strings: decrescendo bar 44;* crescendo bar 46 (second half);* decrescendo bar 47 (first half);* decrescendo bar 49;* decrescendo bar 57. Tutti winds: decrescendo bar 52;* crescendo bar 54 (second half);* decrescendo bar 55 (first half).* Tutti orchestra: pianissimo bar 58.*			
K550	1	Codetta	72-84	♩=+116 (1927) ♩=116 (1928)	Violins I: crescendo bar 72 (second half);* decrescendo bar 73 (first half);* bars 74-5, 81-2 & 83-4, as for bars 72-3.* Lower strings: bars 73-4, 75-6, 80-1 & 82-3, as for violins I bars 72-3.*			
K550	1	Development	103- 47	♩=116 (1927-8)	Tutti winds: crescendo bar 164 (second half); decrescendo bar 165 (first half).		Violins I & II: bowing bars 103-4 & 146-7, as for violins I & II bars 1-4. Celli: bowing bars 146-7, as for violins I & II bars 1-4. Lower strings: bowing bars 114-5, as for violins I & II bars 1-4.	
K550	1	First subject (recap.)	170	♩=116 (1927-8)		Bassoon I: espressivo.		

K550	1	Second subject (recap.)	234-40	♩=102 (1927) ♩=112 (1928)	Tutti winds: pianissimo bar 234. Tutti orchestra: decrescendo bars 239-40.			
K550	1	Coda	285-92	♩=116 (1927-8)	Violins II: crescendo bar 287; decrescendo bar 288 (first half). Violins I: bars 289-90, as for violins II bars 287-8. Violas: bars 291-2, as for violins II bars 287-8.		Violins II: bowing bars 285-6, as for violins I & II bars 1-4. Tutti winds: V-sign inserted before the last semi-quaver of bar 284, indicating a clear separation between the ascending material in bars 281-4 and the descending wind motif in bars 285-6.	
K550	2	First subject (exposition)	1-14	♩=+100 (1927) ♩=100 (1928)	Violins I & II: crescendo bars 4 (beat 6 <sup>14</sup> ) & 5 (beat 6).‡ Lower strings: bars 12 & 13, as for violins I & II bars 4 & 5.*		Violas: anacrustic quaver slurred to bar 1 (beat 1), implying a single down-bow;* bar 10, as for bar 1.* Violins II: bar 2 (with the anacrustic quaver), as for violas bar 1;* bar 11, as for violas bar 1.* Violins I: bar 3 (with the anacrustic quaver), as for violas bar 1.* Celli & bassi: bar 9 (with the anacrustic quaver), as for violas bar 1.* Horns: semi-staccato bars 4 (beats 2-6) - 6 (beats 2-6);‡ anacrustic quaver slurred to bar 9, remainder of the bar played semi-staccato, as for bar 4-6.‡	
K550	2	Bridge passage (exposition)	20-35	♩=104-12 (1927) ♩=104 (1928)	Violins I & II: piano bar 20 (beat 5).‡ Tutti orchestra: dim.[inuendo] bar 28.* Flute: pianissimo bar 29. Bassoon I: pianissimo bar 30. Oboe I: pianissimo bar 31. Lower strings: pianissimo bar 29.* Violins II: pianissimo bar 30 (with the anacrustic quaver).* Violins I: pianissimo bar 30 (beat 3).* Flute, oboes & bassoons: mezzo forte bar 34. Horns & tutti strings: mezzo forte bar 34 (beat 2).* Tutti orchestra: crescendo bar 35 (beats 5 & 6).*		Violas: bar 29 (with the anacrustic quaver), as for bar 1.* Violins II: bars 30 (with the anacrustic quaver) & 31, as for violas bar 1.* Violins I: bars 30 (beat 3) & 32 (beat 3), as for violas bar 1.*	Bassoon I: g <sub>3</sub> corrected to read g <sub>3</sub> bar 33 (beat 1-3).
K550	2	Second subject (exposition)	45	♩=+100 (1927) ♩=100 (1928)	Lower strings: mezzo forte bar 45 (second half).‡			
K550	2	Development	53-70	♩=100-16 (1927) ♩=100-4 (1928)	Tutti strings: mezzo forte bars 58 (beat 2), 60 (beat 2) & 62 (beat 2).	Bassoon II: espr.[essivo] bar 70 (with the anacrustic quaver).	Violins I (implied tutti strings): semi-staccato, implying a single up-bow, bars 53 (beats 2-6) & 56 (beats 1-6). Bassoon I: bar 69 (with the anacrustic quaver), as for violas bar 1.	
K550	2	First subject (recap.)	73-85	♩=104-+8 (1927) ♩=100 (1928)	Tutti strings: decrescendo bar 84; pianissimo bar 85.		Violas: V-sign inserted before the last quaver of bar 73, highlighting the recapitulation.	

K550	2	Bridge passage (recap.)	100-2	♩=108-12 (1927) ♩=104 (1928)	Oboe I: pianissimo bar 100. Bassoon I: pianissimo bar 101. Flute: pianissimo bar 102.			
K550	2	Second subject (recap.)	107-8	♩=104 (1927) ♩=100 (1928)				
K550	3	Menuetto		♩=60-3 (1927) ♩=60 (1928)				
K550	3	Trio	36	♩=56 (1927-8)	Horns: decrescendo.			
K550	4	First subject (exposition)	16	♩=138 (1927) ♩=132 (1928)			Tutti orchestra: down-bow indicated above all parts (including the winds but not horn I) bar 16 (beat 2 <sup>15</sup> second half).‡	
K550	4	Second subject (exposition)	80-97	♩=126 (1927) ♩=120 (1928)	Tutti strings: decrescendo bar 80 (second half); pianissimo bar 81. Oboe I & bassoon I: crescendo bar 88; decrescendo bar 89 (first half). Tutti orchestra: pianissimo bar 95. Flute & bassoon I: pianissimo bar 96. Bassoon II: pianissimo bar 97.			
K550	4	Codetta	119-21	♩=138 (1927) ♩=132 (1928)			Celli & bassi: hairpin accents (-) bars 119 (beat 1 first quaver) & 121 (beat 1 first quaver).	
K550	4	Development	125-75	♩=138 (1927) ♩=120 - bars 125-32 - to ♩=132 - bar 35 (1928)	Tutti orchestra: fortissimo bar 125 (with the anacrustic crotchet). Violins I & II: mezzo forte bar 175 (beat 1 second quaver).			Celli & bassi: printed <i>D</i> altered to <i>d</i> bar 141.
K550	4	Second subject (recap.)	251-74	♩=126 (1927) ♩=120 (1928)	Violins I: crescendo bar 251; decrescendo bar 252; crescendo-decrescendo bar 254; crescendo bars 255 (beat 2 second half) & 256 (first half); decrescendo bars 256 (beat 2 second half) & 257 (first half); crescendo bar 258 (second half); decrescendo bar 259. Oboes & bassoons: crescendo bar 265 (first half).		Tutti winds: tenuti bar 272 (beats 1 & 2). Violins I, violins II & violas: tenuti bar 274 (beats 1 & 2).	Violins I: printed dotted crotchet <i>b</i> , quaver <i>a</i> corrected to read: dotted crotchet <i>c'</i> quaver <i>b</i> , bar 251; printed dotted crotchet <i>c'</i> quaver <i>b</i> , corrected to read: dotted crotchet <i>b</i> , quaver <i>a</i> bar 252.

K551	1	First subject	3-9	$\text{♩}=84-8$	Tutti strings: decrescendo bars 3 (second half) & 4. Violins I & II: crescendo bar 7.* Brass & timpani: mezzo forte bar 9.*			
K551	1	Bridge passage (exposition)	26-39,	$\text{♩}=84$	Violins I & II: decrescendo bar 27;* crescendo bar 30 (second half)*; crescendo bar 35; decrescendo bar 36. Brass & timpani: piano bar 39.*		Violins I & II: tenuto bar 26 (first dotted crotchet).*	
K551	1	Second subject (exposition)	56-100	$\text{♩}=+80$	Violins I: decrescendo bar 56 (beat 2 <sup>16</sup> second half)*; piano bar 58;* crescendo bar 61 (second half); decrescendo bars 62 (beat 2 second half) & 63 (first crotchet); piano bar 64;* crescendo bar 86 (beat 1 second half to beat 2); printed piano crossed through bar 99;* decrescendo bar 99 (second half)*; piano bar 100.* Violas: crescendo bar 70. Lower strings: pianissimo bar 60;* decrescendo bar 64 (beat 2 second half); pianissimo bar 66;* piano bar 71* decrescendo bar 72 (second half)*; pianissimo bar 73;* piano bar 75;* decrescendo bar 76;* pianissimo bar 77. Tutti strings: dim.[inuendo] bar 78;* pianissimo bar 79.* Bassoon I: decrescendo bars 62 (beat 2 second half) & 63 (first crotchet); piano bar 64.* Brass & timpani: decrescendo bar 84 (beat 1 second half to beat 2 end); mezzo forte bar 85. Brass: piano bar 93; mezzo forte bar 94; decrescendo bar 98 (second half).	Violins I: espr.[essivo] bar 56;* grazioso bar 58;* N.B. bar 59. Lower strings: espr.[essivo] bar 58;* espr.[essivo] bar 71;* espr.[essivo] bar 75.*		
K551	1	Codetta	104-111	$\text{♩}=88$	Violins I & II: crescendo bars 104 (beat 2 last quaver) to 105 (first crotchet)*; crescendo bar 107 (second half)*; decrescendo bar 108 (second half)*; crescendo bar 109 (second half)*. Bassoon I: crescendo bar 107 (second half); decrescendo bar 108 (second half). Flute & bassoon I: crescendo bar 109 (second half)*. Brass: mezzo forte bar 111.			

K551	1	Development	121-82	$\text{♩}=88$	<p>Violins I &amp; II: crescendo bar 127 (first half); crescendo bar 129 (second half); decrescendo bar 130 (first half); mezzo forte bar 133; mezzo forte bar 143; piano bar 162 (beat 2 fourth quaver); decrescendo bars 163 (beat 2) - 164 (beat first half). Lower strings: mezzo forte bar 133 (beat 2); mezzo forte bar 143 (beat 1 third quaver); fortissimo bar 147.</p> <p>Oboe I &amp; Bassoon I: crescendo bar 131 (second half); decrescendo bar 132 (first half).</p> <p>Flute &amp; oboes: fortissimo bar 133 (beat 1 second half).</p> <p>Bassoons: fortissimo bar 134.</p> <p>Bassoon I: crescendo bar 166 (beat 2).</p> <p>Flute: fortissimo bar 143 (beat 1 third quaver).</p> <p>Oboes &amp; bassoons: fortissimo bar 146 (with the anacrusic quaver).</p> <p>Violins I: piano crossed through bar 153; piano bar 154; decrescendo bar 154 (from beat 1 second half); crescendo bar 159 (second half); decrescendo bar 160 (first half); piano crossed through bar 181; decrescendo bar 181 (beat 2); piano bar 182.</p> <p>Tutti strings: pianissimo bars 161 &amp; 165.</p>	Tutti winds: tranquillo bar 121.	Violins I & II: tenuti bar 163 (first dotted crotchet).
K551	1	First subject (recap.)	191-224	$\text{♩}=88$	<p>Tutti strings: decrescendo bars 191 (beat 2) - 192; decrescendo bar 224.</p> <p>Flute: crescendo bar 224.</p> <p>Oboe I: decrescendo bar 224 (beat 2).</p>	Flute: espr.[essivo] bar 224.	Violins I: tenuto bar 191 (first dotted crotchet).
K551	1	Second subject (recap.)	249-67	$\text{♩}=80$	<p>Flute &amp; bassoon I: pianissimo bar 249; crescendo bar 249 (beat 2); decrescendo bar 250; piano bar 252.</p> <p>Horns: pianissimo bar 254; decrescendo bar 260; pianissimo bar 261.</p> <p>Tutti orchestra: dim.[inuendo] bar 266; pianissimo bar 267.</p> <p>Brass &amp; timpani: piano bar 273; crescendo bar 276; mezzo forte bar 277.</p>		
K551	1	Coda	291-311	$\text{♩}=88$	<p>Oboes, brass &amp; timpani: pianissimo bar 291; pianissimo bar 296 (second half).</p> <p>Tutti orchestra: crescendo bar 305; fortissimo bar 306.</p> <p>Brass &amp; timpani: forte bar 306 (beat 2); crescendo bar 310; fortissimo bar 311.</p>		Violins I & II: hairpin accents (↔) bars 302 (beat 2 seventh semi-quaver) & 303 (beat 2 seventh semi-quaver).

K551	2	First subject (exposition)	5-18	♩=84-8	Violins I & II: crescendo bar 5 (beats 4-6 <sup>17</sup> ); pianissimo bar 12 (beat 3);* crescendo bar 14 (beats 4-6). Violins I, flute & bassoon I: crescendo bar 9 (beats 5-6). Violins II & lower strings: decrescendo bars 8 (beats 5-6) & 10 (beats 5-6). Celli & bassi: piano bar 11. Violas: pianissimo bar 11 (beat 3).* Lower strings: pianissimo bar 15. Violins I, violins II & violas: crescendo bar 17 (beats 5-6); decrescendo bar 18 (beats 1-2). Horns: pianissimo bar 17.	Celli & bassi: espr.[essivo] bar 11.* Violins I & II: espr.[essivo] bar 15.	Bassoons & horns: repeated quavers semi-staccato bars 11 (beats 2-6) - 14.*	
K551	2	Bridge passage (exposition)	19-27	♩=92	Violins I: piano of the fortepiano crossed through bar 19; piano bar 20 (beat 2); bars 21-2, as for bars 19-20; all piani, of the fortepiani, crossed through bars 23-5; crescendo bar 26; fortissimo bar 27; dim.[inuendo] bar 27 (beats 5-6). Oboe I: piano bar 27 (beat 4 second half); dim.[inuendo] bar 27 (beats 5-6).	Tutti orchestra: agitato bar 19.		
K551	2	Second subject (exposition)	28-39	♩=84	Violins I: forte bar 28;* piano bar 32;* crescendo bar 34 (beats 5-6). Oboes & bassoons: pianissimo bar 28.* Violins II & lower strings: piano bar 28.* Flute: pianissimo bar 29; piano bar 35. Lower strings & bassoons: pianissimo bar 32. Lower strings: crescendo crossed through bar 37. Violas: crescendo-decrescendo bar 33 (beats 2-5). Oboes: pianissimo bar 34. Bassoons: pianissimo bar 35.* Tutti winds & lower strings: forte crossed through bar 38;* cresc.[endo] bar 38 (beat 4-6);* mezzo forte bar 39.*	Violins I: molto espr.[essivo] bar 28.* Flute: espr.[essivo] bar 35.		
K551	2	Codetta	39-44	♩=84	Violins I & II: decrescendo bar 39 (second half); bar 41, as for bar 39. Violins I: crescendo bar 44. Lower strings: pianissimo bar 43 (beat 3).	Flute: espr.[essivo] bar 40. Violins I & II: espr.[essivo] bar 43.	Violins I & II: tenuto bar 39 (beat 5 first semi-quaver); bar 41, as for bar 39.	
K551	2	Development	45-59	♩=84 Flute: rall.[ent ando] bar 59 (beats 5-6); a tempo bar 60.	Violins I: bars 47-50, as for bars 19-22; bars 51-5, as for bars 23-5; piano bar 56 (beat 3); bar 57 (beats 1-2), as for violins I & II bar 39 & 41 (beats 5-6). Violins II: bars 56 (beats 3-5) & 57 (beats 5-6), as for violins I & II bars 39 & 41 (beats 5-6). Tutti strings: pianissimo bar 58 (beat 3 celli & bassi, beat 4 violins I & II and violas). Oboes, bassoons & horns: pianissimo bar 59 (beats 5-6).	Violins I: molto espr.[essivo] bar 55 (beats 5-6).	Violins I: hairpin accents (v) bar 45 (beats 3-6 last semi-quaver triplet of each group); bar 57 (beats 1-2), as for violins I & II bar 39 & 41 (beats 5-6). Violins II: bars 56 & 57, as for violins I & II bar 39 & 41 (beats 5-6). Flute: bars 58 (beats 1-2 & 3-4) & 59 (beats 1-2), as for violins I & II bar 39 & 41 (beats 5-6). Oboes: bars 57 (beats 3-4) & 58 (beats 5-6), as for violins I & II bar 39 & 41 (beats 5-6).	

<sup>17</sup>

When beaten in six.

K551	2	First subject (recap.)	60-6	$\text{♩}=84-8$	Tutti strings: piano bar 60. Celli & bassi: pianissimo bar 61. Violins I: pianissimo bar 62; crescendo bar 63 (beats 4-6); bars 73-4, as for bars 19 & 21. Lower strings: pianissimo bar 66; mezzo forte bar 67 (beat 5). Horns: piano bar 67 (beat 2). Violins I & II: cresc.[endo] bar 70 (beats 3-6). Flute, bassoon I & violins I: dim.[inuendo] bar 75 (beats 4-6).		Violins II & violas: bars 60-3, as for bassoons & horns: bars 11 (beats 2-6) - 14, implying a single bow under each curve. Flute, oboes & bassoons: semi-staccato bar 71 (beats 4-6).	
K551	2	Second subject (recap.)	76-87	$\text{♩}=84$	Tutti winds, celli & bassi: crescendo crossed through bar 85. Tutti winds, horns & lower strings: forte crossed through bar 86 (beat 2). Tutti orchestra: crescendo bar 86 (beats 4-6 - violins I & II marked with hairpins, whilst the remainder of the orchestra is marked cresc.[endo]). Horns: piano bar 86. Flute: pianissimo bar 76 (see oboes & bassoons bar 28). Bassoons: pianissimo bars 80 & 83. Violas: crescendo bar 81 (beats 5-6); decrescendo bar 82 (beats 1-2). Flute, oboes & horns: pianissimo bar 82 (beat 3).	Oboe I: espr.[essivo] bar 83.		
K551	2	Coda	87-97	$\text{♩}=84$	Bassoons: bar 87 (beats 5-6), as for violins I & II bar 39 & 41 (beats 5-6). Horns: decrescendo bar 88 (beats 3-4); piano bar 90; decrescendo bar 90 (beats 4-5); pianissimo bar 90 (beat 6); mezzo forte bars 93 (beat 3), 94 (beat 3) & 95. Oboe I: pianissimo bar 90 (beat 2). Oboe II: pianissimo bar 90 (beat 5). Violins I: mezzo forte bar 91. Violins II: piano bar 92 (beat 5). Flute & bassoon I: pianissimo bar 93; decrescendo bars 93 (beats 5-6) & 94 (beats 5-6). Bassoons, horns & lower strings: decrescendo bar 96 (beats 5-6). Flute, bassoons & violins I: crescendo bar 97 (beats 5-6).	Violins I: espr.[essivo] bar 91.	Bassoons: bar 89 (beats 5-6), as for violins I & II bar 39 & 41 (beats 5-6). Violins I & II: tenuti bar 89 (beat 5 first semi-quaver).	
K551	3	Menuetto	3-52	$\text{♩}=46-5\frac{1}{2}$	Brass & timpani: pianissimo bar 3; mezzo forte bar 30; forte bar 40; mezzo forte bars 42 & 52. Trumpets & timpani: mezzo forte bar 9; mezzo forte bar 26. Oboes, brass, timpani, celli & bassi: pianissimo bar 17. Violins I, violins II & violas: forte bar 28. Tutti orchestra: crescendo bar 39. Tutti winds & strings: fortissimo bar 40. Bassoons: pianissimo bar 18. Bassoon I: decrescendo bar 46. Oboes: decrescendo bar 47.	Violins I, violins II and oboes: 'sotto voce' bar 17-18.		

K551	3	Trio	1-28	$\text{♩} = 50$	Bassoons & horn II: decrescendo bar 1. Flute bassoons & horn II: piano bar 5; decrescendo bar 5; decrescendo bar 21. Flute, oboes, bassoons & horn II: decrescendo bar 25. Brass: mezzo forte bar 9. Violins I, violins II & violas: decrescendo bar 19.		Tutti winds & violins I: tenuti bar 28 (second crotchet).	
K551	4	First subject (exposition)	2-26	$\text{♩} = 80$	Violins I: crescendo bar 2;* mezzo forte bar 5. Brass & timpani: mezzo forte bar 9;* piano bar 13; mezzo forte bar 16 (second crotchet). Horns: fortissimo bar 19. Brass: mezzo forte bar 25. Timpani: fortissimo bar 25; mezzo forte bar 26 (second half).		Violins I: accents (-) bar 5 (each repeated crotchet).	
K551	4	Bridge passage (exposition)	37-73	$\text{♩} = 80$	Violins II: crescendo bars 37-8; piano bar 39 (quavers). Violins I: crescendo bar 41; piano bar 42 (quavers). Violas: crescendo bars 44 (second half) & 45; piano bar 46 (quavers). Celli: crotchet bars 47-8; piano bar 49 (quavers). Bassi: crescendo bars 51 (second half) and 52. Brass & timpani: mezzo forte bar 53. Brass: piano bar 57; crescendo bars 72 (second half) & 73. Flute, violins I & violins II: forte bar 64 (second half). Oboes, bassoons & lower strings: forte bar 65. Horns: forte bar 65 (second half); piano bar 66 (second half); forte bar 68 (second half); piano bar 69 (second half). Trumpets: piano bars 67 & 70.			
K551	4	Second subject (exposition)	74-114	$\text{♩} = 80$	Violins I: decrescendo bar 77;* bar 83, as for bar 77.* forte bar 94 (second half). Violins II: forte bar 94 (second quaver). Lower strings: pianissimo bar 78;* piano bar 80 (second half);* decrescendo bar 83 (first half);* pianissimo bar 84.* Violins I & II: pianissimo bar 86 (first half second quaver).* Tutti strings: forte crossed through bar 94; each fugato entry forte bars 98 (second half - violins I) - 108.* Tutti winds: fortissimo bar 99 (second half); mezzo forte bar 101 (second half); fortissimo bar 103 (second half); mezzo forte bar 105 (second half); fortissimo bar 107 (second half). Brass: mezzo forte bar 94 (second half); piano bar 96 (second half); decrescendo 114. Brass & timpani: piano bar 106 (second half); mezzo forte bar 109 (second half). Timpani: piano bar 99. Trumpets: piano bar 102 (second half).	Violins I: espr.[essivo] bar 74;* bar 80, as for bar 74.*		

K551	4	Transitional passage (exposition)	115-156	$\text{♩}=80$	Brass: piano bar 116; piano bar 123; decrescendo bar 132 (second half); mezzo forte bar 134. Brass & timpani: crescendo bar 127 (crotchet 2-4), piano bars 136, 139 & 142. Timpani: mezzo forte bars 115 & 123. Tutti winds: fortissimo bar 136. Lower strings: fortissimo bar 135 (second half). Violins I & II: fortissimo bar 136 (second half). Bassoon I, violins I & II and violas: decrescendo bar 156 (second half).	Tutti orchestra: cal[ando] bar 153.	Oboe I: quavers two slurred two detached bar 153 (first & second half).	
K551	4	Development	158-224	$\text{♩}=63$ (bar 158) $\text{♩}=80$ (bar 172) Meno mosso bar 158; tempo primo bar 172; poco calando bars 220-1; tempo primo bar 223 (from the pair of quavers)	Horns & tutti strings: piano bar 158. Horns: pianissimo bar 166. Tutti strings: crescendo bar 167; decrescendo bar 171. Flute & bassoon I: decrescendo bar 171 (second half). Brass & timpani: mezzo forte bars 172 (second half), 179 (second half), 183, 186 (second half), 192 & 196 (second half). Brass: mezzo forte: bar 176; forte crossed through replaced with piano bar 202. Bassoons, brass & timpani: pianissimo bar 223. Violins I & II: decrescendo bars 189 (first half) & 199 (first half). Violins I: decrescendo bars 193 (second half) & 203 (second half). Violins II & lower strings: decrescendo bars 194 (first half) & 204 (first half). Lower strings: decrescendo bar 198 (second half). Tutti winds & strings: decrescendo bar 218 (second half); piano bar 219. Bassoons, horns, celli & bassi: decrescendo bar 222.		Oboe I & bassoon I: bar 163, as for oboe I bar 153.	
K551	4	First subject (recap.)	227-52	$\text{♩}=80$ (bar 223 second half) Verbreiten bar 241.	Tutti winds, brass & timpani: pianissimo bar 227. Violins I: mezzo piano bar 229. Brass & timpani: mezzo forte bar 233. Tutti winds: fortissimo bar 233 (second half). Brass: piano bar 237; mezzo forte bar 241.			
K551	4	Bridge passage (recap.)	253	$\text{♩}=80$ A tempo bar 253.	Brass & timpani: mezzo forte bar 253; crescendo bar 270 (second to fourth crotchet). Brass: piano bar 255. Flute, violins I & II: forte bar 262 (second half). Oboes, bassoons & lower strings: forte bar 263. Brass: forte bar 263 (second half); piano bar 264 (second half); forte bar 266 (second half); piano bar 267 (second half). Timpani: forte bars 264 & 267.			

K551	4	Second subject (recap.)	284-352	♩=80	<p>Brass, timpani &amp; lower strings: pianissimo bar 284.</p> <p>Brass &amp; timpani: piano bars 292 (second half), 300 (second half), 304 (second half), 336 &amp; 343; crescendo bar 325 (second to fourth crotchet); mezzo forte bar 330; forte bar 332.</p> <p>Tutti winds: forte bar 297 (second half); mezzo forte bars 299 (second half) &amp; 303 (second half); fortissimo bar 335.</p> <p>Bassoons: forte bar 301.</p> <p>Flute &amp; oboes: forte bar 301 (second half).</p> <p>Violins I: mezzo forte bar 313 (second crotchet).</p> <p>Violins I &amp; II: fortissimo bars 335 (second half) &amp; 338 (second half); crescendo bar 351; decrescendo bar 352.</p> <p>Timpani: forte bar 321 (second crotchet); fortissimo bars 334, 337, 340 &amp; 347; piano bar 335 (second half); piano bars 341 (second half) &amp; 348 (second half).</p> <p>Lower strings: fortissimo bars 334 (second half) &amp; 337 (second half).</p> <p>Brass: mezzo forte bars 335, 338 &amp; 341.</p>	Tutti orchestra: cal. [ando] bar 352.		Tutti orchestra: bar 356a crossed through.
K551	4	Coda	356a-419	<p>♩=76 (bar 372)</p> <p>♩=80 (bar 402 second crotchet)</p> <p>)Poco meno mosso bar 356b (second half); 'a tempo aber bis zum Schluss bedeutend breiter als das Anfangs tempo.' bar 373; tempo I bar 402 (second crotchet).</p>	<p>Violins I &amp; II: crescendo bar 360-1; decrescendo bar 362; crescendo bar 365; decrescendo bar 367.</p> <p>Lower strings: crescendo bar 363; decrescendo bar 364.</p> <p>Violins I: crescendo bar 369; decrescendo bar 370.</p> <p>Violas: fortissimo bars 376 &amp; 396.</p> <p>Violins II: fortissimo bar 380.</p> <p>Bassi: fortissimo bar 388.</p> <p>Celli: fortissimo bar 392.</p> <p>Brass &amp; timpani: forte crossed through, piano inserted bar 388; mezzo forte bar 399 (second half); forte bars 405 (second crotchet) &amp; 414; fortissimo bar 419.</p> <p>Tutti winds &amp; strings: fortissimo bar 405 (second crotchet).</p> <p>Horns: fortissimo bar 408.</p> <p>Tutti orchestra: crescendo bar 418 (second half).</p>	Tutti orchestra: tranquillo bar 360.	Tutti strings: marcato bar 372.	

Overt. K.620. 18		Introduction		♩=42 (bars 1-3) ♩=58 (bar 4)				
Overt. K.620.		First subject		♩=100 (bar 16)*				
Overt. K.620.		Second subject		♩=84 (bar 57)*				
Overt. K.620.		Codetta		♩=+104 (bars 84-96)*				
Overt. K.620.		Adagio	97-102	♩=60				

## Appendix M

### The Unpublished Sources

#### The symphonic & operatic scores

As noted in Chapter Two, Strauss conducted Mozart from the *Gesamtausgabe* of Breitkopf & Härtel. Over the years, many of the volumes from Strauss' set seem to have been either lost or given away. The late Dr. Trenner was given Strauss' marked score of the *Requiem* by the latter's daughter-in-law, Alice. Dr. Trenner's widow currently holds this score. Franz Strauss' set of the *Œuvres complètes*, also published by Breitkopf & Härtel, is no longer extant. One may assume, therefore, that the scores now missing were either given to colleagues, in the manner of some of the sketchbooks<sup>1</sup> and the aforementioned *Requiem*, or were lost when Strauss' Viennese home was occupied at the end of the Second World War.<sup>2</sup>

The scores at the Villa Strauss which contain markings, are as follows:

- K201/186a
- K385
- K504
- K550
- K551
- *Così fan tutte*
- *Don Giovanni*

Other Mozart scores housed at the villa are: Strauss' autograph of his edition of *Idomeneo*; *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, which has some cursory stage directions, and an unmarked score of K.543.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For example, the conductor, Karl Böhm, was given four sketchbooks, including those that pertain to *Ariadne auf Naxos* and *Daphne*. Böhm was *Daphne's* dedicatee. cf. K Böhm, *A Life Remembered: Memoirs*, trans. J. Kehoc, pp. 83-4.

<sup>2</sup> Many of Strauss' possessions were taken during the Russian occupation of the house in the Jacquingasse. The loss of the property and its contents was a source of great distress to Strauss in his final years.

<sup>3</sup> see Appendix G.

## **The diaries**

The diaries made available to the author take the form of date-books. Along with his day-to-day engagements, Strauss often recorded the various fees that he received, both as a conductor and as a composer. These documents are remarkably accurate, corresponding closely to corroborating evidence found at the various opera houses and orchestras approached by the author.

Those at the Villa Strauss cover the period 1895-1936. The diaries for the years 1909 & 1934, as well as those post-1936, are missing. The condition of the paper is commensurate with books that were used on a daily basis by a performing musician. Strauss often abbreviates his engagements and makes note of his travel arrangements where appropriate. His abbreviations are problematic for the reader. For some of his entries, he merely notes the country where the performance was to have taken place and, on other occasions, simply the name of the work to be performed. In compiling Appendix E, the author was able to re-construct Strauss' performing calendar by balancing the information found in these volumes, against that gleaned from the archives of the various orchestras and opera houses with which Strauss worked.

## **The condition of the symphonic & operatic scores**

Each of the symphonic and operatic scores found at the Villa Strauss are hard bound. Both the binding and the paper display only minimal wear. Strauss' annotations are carefully inserted; avoid corrections, and are made once only, often marking each voice individually. This, along with the condition of the paper, gives rise to the question: did Strauss use these scores as a form of template, sent in advance to the various orchestras that he conducted? If one considers the schedule that Strauss followed - he often arrived at a venue early in the morning, took a mid-morning rehearsal and, later, in the evening, directed a performance - then this hypothesis can not be dismissed. From his diaries, one is aware that his schedule precluded him from marking the parts himself. Moreover, from the sheer number of annotations in, for example, K551, it would seem unlikely that he gave instructions 'from the desk.' Therefore, the task of marking the parts would have been left to an orchestral librarian. As noted earlier in the dissertation, the markings found in the scores are realized in the recordings. This is evident when one examines the score of K551, where Strauss' annotations are carefully observed in the 1926 recording. This may lead one to assume that this score dates from that period. However, when one considers the nature of the criticism found in the unidentified and undated review<sup>4</sup> of

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<sup>4</sup> see Appendix J.

Strauss' 1904 performance of the work with the New York Philharmonic, then one may date the score somewhat earlier.

Whilst the general condition of the paper in the marked scores is good, some of the markings in that of K385 are seeping through the page. For example, the upper strings' crescendi, in the *Allegro con spirito*, bars 50-4, are clearly visible in bars 39, 40 and 42. Similarly, the oboes' and bassoons' crescendi/crescendi-diminuendi, found in bars 67-72, now appear in reverse order in bars 80-4. As Strauss conducted this work once only, 4 December 1913, it would seem that this score dates from that time.

Strauss' grandson, Richard,<sup>5</sup> believes that his grandfather obtained the *Gesammtausgabe* scores after the turn of the century, as his earlier financial position precluded any such purchase. Until that time, Herr Strauss stated, his grandfather used house scores. This seems to be the case for *Don Giovanni*. The score found at the villa appears to be that used by Strauss for the 1931 Vienna production. The condition of the paper, along with the annotations found in the score,<sup>6</sup> supports this view. If the extant score dated from his second Munich period, then one might assume that the paper would be heavily worn. This is not the case, as the condition of the paper is commensurate with a score used only rarely.<sup>7</sup> The score is annotated in an exacting manner and is clearly intended to be used in performance.

Strauss' score of *Così fan tutte* contains fewer markings than *Don Giovanni* but is in a similar physical condition to that of the earlier opera. As noted in Chapter Two, he annotated a number of cuts in his score of *Così fan tutte*. The questions arising as to their possible implementation have already been discussed. The annotations do not give any clues as to the date of this score. However, the condition of the paper may lead one to assume that this score, like that of *Don Giovanni*, and in step with Strauss' grandson's assertion, dates from after the turn of the century. As Strauss gave many performances of this work during the final years of the nineteenth and the early years of twentieth centuries, one might expect the score to be heavily worn. This is not the case and the score housed at the Villa Strauss may be a later copy of an earlier volume.

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<sup>5</sup> Conversation with the author, April 1994.

<sup>6</sup> see Chapter 2.

<sup>7</sup> Strauss conducted five performances only of *Don Giovanni* between 1931 and 1936. see Appendix E.

## Orchestral Material

No orchestral material was found at the villa in Garmisch. In a conversation with the author,<sup>8</sup> Strauss' grandson, who often accompanied his grandfather on tour, stated that the latter used house parts. This practice was not restricted simply to the performances of his own compositions but, also, to those of other composers' works. Herr Strauss also said that he had recently visited a number of opera houses at which his grandfather had performed. There, he had the opportunity to examine some of the material used by Strauss. In Munich, the *Salome* material was badly worn and had been marked by a number of other conductors. Herr Strauss stated that he had not found any orchestral material used by his grandfather pertaining to a Mozart opera. This is in line with the author's researches. Each of the opera houses and orchestras approached in the course of researching this dissertation were questioned with regard to orchestral material, but none were able to provide any positive answers. As Strauss was a working conductor for most of his career, it is not surprising that this material is no longer extant. If one considers Sir John Pritchard's habits concerning orchestral material, then one may draw a parallel with Strauss. Whilst continuing to perform as guest conductors, both Strauss and Pritchard held senior operatic positions. Pritchard invariably used house parts for his operatic performances and, more often than not, for his concert appearances also. If, however, he was conducting a work that he regularly performed with one of his resident orchestras, and that orchestra retained a set of marked parts, he would often ask for this material to be sent to the orchestra or opera house at which he was guest conducting. On the other hand, if the parts were being used by another conductor, then Pritchard used the existing orchestral material. In such circumstances, he often sent a marked score in advance, requesting that the orchestral librarian insert his annotations into the parts. This also seems, at least in part, to have been Strauss' practice. When one considers the sheer number of markings found in the symphonic scores and that of *Don Giovanni*, it would seem, as noted above, that Strauss must, out of necessity, have acted in a similar manner to Pritchard.

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<sup>8</sup> Conversation with the author, Garmisch, April 1994.

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<sup>1</sup> \* indicates visit to the archive.

<sup>2</sup> ‡ indicates both visit and correspondence with archive.

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MOZART, W.A., *Idomeneo*, Glyndebourne Festival Opera, Pritchard, J., Melodram MEL27003

MOZART, W.A., *Idomeneo*, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Pritchard, J., Decca 411805-2

MOZART, W.A., *Idomeneo*, Glyndebourne Festival Opera, Pritchard, J., SL2004 (video)

MOZART, W.A., *Così fan tutte*, New Philharmonia Orchestra, Klemperer, O., EMI SLS961

MOZART, W.A., *Don Giovanni*, New Philharmonia Orchestra, Klemperer, O., EMI  
CMS7638412

STRAUSS, R., *Alpine Symphony*, Bayerisches Staatskapelle, Strauss, R., EMI CDC7546102

STRAUSS, R., *Der Rosenkavalier*, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Bernstein, L., CBS  
M3K42564

TCHAIKOVSKY, P., *Symphony No. 4*, London Symphony Orchestra, Szell, G., Decca 425  
972-2