

Richard Strauss – Der Komponist und sein Werk

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Der Komponist und sein Werk  
Überlieferung, Interpretation, Rezeption  
Bericht über das internationale Symposium zum 150. Geburtstag  
München, 26.–28. Juni 2014

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Herausgegeben von  
Sebastian Bolz, Adrian Kech  
und Hartmut Schick

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## Vorwort

Der 150. Geburtstag von Richard Strauss am 11. Juni 2014 war für das Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München und das dort angesiedelte, 2011 gegründete Forschungsprojekt *Kritische Ausgabe der Werke von Richard Strauss* der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften ein willkommener Anlass, die internationale Strauss-Forschung zu einem großen Symposium in die Geburtsstadt des Komponisten einzuladen. Der vorliegende Band präsentiert in schriftlicher Form die Ergebnisse dieser Tagung, die vom 26. bis 28. Juni 2014 in den Räumen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften München stattfand und durch zwei Konzerte ergänzt wurde: einen von Andreas Pernpointner moderierten Liederabend mit Anja-Nina Bahrmann und Dieter Paier sowie ein großes Konzert zum Thema »Richard Strauss und Gustav Mahler«, das vom Chor des Bayerischen Rundfunks unter Leitung von Peter Dijkstra, dem Rezitator Georg Blüml und dem Pianisten Anthony Spiri gestaltet wurde.

Da die Werke von Richard Strauss – zumindest die Tondichtungen und die bekannteren unter den Opern und den Liedern – im Repertoire der Opern- und Konzerthäuser auf der ganzen Welt prominent vertreten sind, bedurfte es des Richard-Strauss-Jahres 2014 im Prinzip nicht, um an den Komponisten zu erinnern. Eigentümlich war aber doch die ambivalente Art und Weise, in der die Medien, zumal am 150. Geburtstag, das Phänomen Richard Strauss thematisierten – nämlich zumeist mit einem Unterton, aus dem man deutliche Vorbehalte heraushören konnte, wohl auch ein Unbehagen am Publikumserfolg dieses vermutlich meistaufgeführten Komponisten des 20. Jahrhunderts. »Klangzauberer im Zwielficht« titelte eine der großen deutschsprachigen Zeitungen, »Voller Widersprüche« eine andere, »Strauss – ein schwieriges Erbe«, »Gebt dem Mann einen Schatten!« und (durchaus doppelsinnig) »Die überlebte Moderne« lauteten die Überschriften weiterer Artikel über einen »Komponisten, der noch immer zum Widerspruch reizt«. Leben und Werk von Strauss wurden gegeneinander ausgespielt, bis hin zu Eleonore Büning's Aufruf, seine »himmlische Musik« endlich nicht mehr »von seinem spießigen irdischen Lebenslauf zu trennen.«

Mindestens ebenso interessant wie die trotz aller Popularität schwierige und komplizierte Musik von Strauss scheint für die mediale Öffentlichkeit immer noch das ambivalente Verhalten des Komponisten gegenüber den Machthabern in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus, sein ausgeprägter Geschäftssinn oder sein betont bürgerlicher, dem romantischen Geniebild sich entziehender Habitus zu sein – ungeachtet dessen, dass solche Themen mittlerweile recht gut aufgearbeitet sind, wie nicht zuletzt das 2014 von Walter Werbeck herausgegebene *Richard Strauss Handbuch* zeigt. Musik und Biografie halten aber immer noch mehr als genug Forschungsdefizite und anspruchsvolle Heraus-

forderungen bereit, denen zu widmen sich lohnt. Bereits der Umstand, dass Strauss nach wie vor polarisiert und zum Widerspruch reizt, zeigt jedenfalls, dass es bei diesem Komponisten noch viel zu diskutieren und auszufechten gibt.

Nachdem die Musikwissenschaft das Thema Richard Strauss in den Nachkriegsjahrzehnten weitgehend gemieden hatte (wie Bryan Gilliams Beitrag in diesem Band illustriert), entwickelte sich im Wesentlichen erst in den letzten 30 Jahren national und international eine ernsthafte, kritische Strauss-Forschung, die seitdem stetig wächst und inzwischen mit dem *Richard-Strauss-Quellenverzeichnis* ([www.rsi-rsqv.de](http://www.rsi-rsqv.de)) und dem Langzeitprojekt *Kritische Ausgabe der Werke von Richard Strauss* auch eine solide philologische Basis bekommt. Bahnbrechend gewirkt haben hier besonders die Forschungen von Franz Trenner, Bryan Gilliam und Walter Werbeck sowie die Aktivitäten des Richard-Strauss-Instituts in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, aber auch die 1999 in München veranstaltete Konferenz *Richard Strauss und die Moderne* und die gleichzeitige große Strauss-Ausstellung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zum 50. Todestag des Komponisten mit ihrem wunderbaren Ausstellungskatalog.

Für jüngere WissenschaftlerInnen und aktuell Studierende scheinen die alten, namentlich von Theodor W. Adorno geschürten Vorbehalte gegenüber dem »begabten Kegelbruder« (so Thomas Mann) und seinem angeblichen Verrat an der Moderne schon weitgehend obsolet geworden zu sein. Und in einer Zeit, die bereits durch die Postmoderne hindurchgegangen ist, spricht nicht zuletzt auch das Interesse von Komponisten wie Helmut Lachenmann, Wolfgang Rihm, Manfred Trojahn oder Jörg Widmann an den komplexen Partituren von Richard Strauss für dessen wiederkehrende Aktualität. Dass dabei irritierende und problematische Aspekte im Leben und Wirken des Komponisten nicht ausgeblendet werden, versteht sich von selbst und zeigen auch die Beiträge des vorliegenden Bandes, die einen weiten Bogen spannen – von biografisch-kulturgeschichtlichen und rezeptionsästhetischen Themen (mit dem Fokus auf Strauss' Berliner Zeit und seiner Wirkung in den USA) über die Interpretation von Orchesterwerken, Opern und Liedern bis hin zu philologischen Fragen.

Nicht weniger als vier Generationen von Strauss-Forschern haben zum Symposium von 2014 beigetragen und ihre Beiträge in vielfach erweiterter Form hier publiziert: vom mittlerweile 91-jährigen Nestor der Strauss-Forschung, Reinhold Schlötterer – der 1977 an der Universität München die bis heute existierende Richard-Strauss-Arbeitsgruppe begründet hatte –, bis hin zu sechs Jahrzehnte jüngeren Mitarbeitern der Münchner Forschungsstelle Richard-Strauss-Ausgabe. Zwei Namen allerdings fehlen tragischerweise. Roswitha Schlötterer-Traimer verstarb im Oktober 2013 und konnte so die Tagung, auf die sie sich gefreut hatte, nicht mehr erleben und berechnen. Salome Reiser, die als Editionsleiterin der Richard-Strauss-Ausgabe die kritische Ausgabe der Oper *Salome* vorbereitet und beim Symposium noch referiert hatte, erlag im Dezember 2014 ihrer schweren Krankheit. Dem ehrenden Gedenken an beide Kolleginnen sei dieser Band gewidmet.

Viele haben dabei mitgewirkt, das Symposium von 2014 und den Druck des vorliegenden Bandes zu ermöglichen. Allen voran gebührt der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und ihren MitarbeiterInnen Dank für die Überlassung der Räume und Technik sowie die organisatorische Hilfe bei der Durchführung des Symposiums. Den Kollegen Jürgen May und Wolfgang Rathert danken wir für die Mitwirkung bei der Planung des Programms. Als Förderer haben die Tagung und die begleitenden Konzerte finanziell großzügig unterstützt: die Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, die Regierung von Oberbayern und der Kulturfonds Bayern mit dem vom Bayerischen Staatsministerium für Bildung und Kultus, Wissenschaft und Kunst aufgelegten Förderprogramm zum Richard-Strauss-Jahr 2014, ferner das Kulturreferat der Landeshauptstadt München, der Verein der Freunde der Musikwissenschaft München und das Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Ihnen allen gilt unser herzlicher Dank. Der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft danken wir zudem für die Förderung der Drucklegung dieses Bandes aus Mitteln der Union der deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften und dem Münchner Allitera Verlag für die umsichtige verlegerische Betreuung. Für die Reproduktionsgenehmigung für Quellen- und Notenabbildungen sind wir der Familie Strauss und den betreffenden Verlagen zu Dank verpflichtet. Und nicht zuletzt sei allen Autorinnen und Autoren herzlich gedankt für ihre Beteiligung am Symposium und an der vorliegenden Publikation. Zusammen mit ihnen hoffen wir auf eine breite und produktive Resonanz.

München, im Februar 2017

Die Herausgeber

# The Works of Richard Strauss in the American Repertoire: A Preliminary Study

Morten Kristiansen

Richard Strauss's first encounter with the American musical establishment took place in 1882 when the conductor Theodore Thomas met the 18-year-old composer in Munich and left with a manuscript copy of the first movement of the Symphony in F Minor.<sup>1</sup> Thomas presented the work in New York in December of 1884 and went on to become Strauss's foremost American advocate, leading the United States premieres of *Aus Italien*, *Till Eulenspiegel*, *Also sprach Zarathustra*, *Don Quixote*, and *Ein Heldenleben*. As Mark-Daniel Schmid has chronicled, the time lag between the world and American premieres of most tone poems was short, and although their popularity grew slowly at first, by 1908 only London rivaled the number of performances witnessed in New York, Boston, and Chicago.<sup>2</sup> When Strauss visited America for six months in 1904, orchestras and audiences greeted him as the world's most prominent living composer and treated him like royalty. Along the way he conducted the world premiere of *Symphonia domestica* in New York, visited with President Roosevelt at the White House, and received the key to a small town in West Virginia.<sup>3</sup> The critical reception did not differ markedly from that in Germany: praise for the brilliant orchestration, for example, and criticism of the excessive polyphony and dissonance. However, no amount of negative press could keep the tone poems from gaining a firm foothold in the American orchestral repertoire, a position they have yet to relinquish. We shall return to a more detailed history of their place in the repertoire later and now turn to the operas, whose path of entry into the American repertoire was long and thorny.

The Austrian general manager of New York's Metropolitan Opera, Heinrich Conried, was no stranger to controversy, since he had secured the first performance of *Parsifal* outside Bayreuth in 1903 against the wishes of Richard Wagner's widow Cosima, but when he acquired the rights to the American premiere of *Salome*, he was unprepared for the scandal that would force him to withdraw the work after just one

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1 Henry T. Finck, *Richard Strauss. The Man and His Works*, Boston, MA 1917, p. 297–300.

2 Mark-Daniel Schmid, »The Early Reception of Richard Strauss's Tone Poems,« in: *The Richard Strauss Companion*, ed. by Mark-Daniel Schmid, Westport, CT and London 2003, p. 169–78.

3 Robert Breuer, »Richard Strauss in Amerika, Teil I: 1904,« in: *RSB* 8 (1976), p. 1–17.

performance. The details are well known, but I will summarize briefly.<sup>4</sup> The daughter of J. P. Morgan, powerful industrialist and board member of the Metropolitan Opera House and Real Estate Company that rented the building to Conried's company, attended the premiere on January 22, 1907, and complained to her father. He lobbied other board members to draft a protest demanding the removal of the opera that was »objectionable and detrimental to the best interests of the Metropolitan Opera House.«<sup>5</sup> In a lengthy defense, Conried objected that *Salome* was recognized as great by critics, had been performed in more than 20 European cities, was allowed by the Kaiser himself, treated John the Baptist with dignity, and should be judged by its music rather than its text, but the board did not relent, and Conried canceled the remaining performances.<sup>6</sup> Since operagoers had eagerly bought tickets for those performances and the conductor of the premiere, Alfred Hertz, claimed to have received more than 50 grateful letters from musicians, the act of censorship resulted from the actions of just a few individuals.<sup>7</sup> A rarely reported fact is that none other than Giacomo Puccini attended the ill-fated premiere and retained a strong fascination with *Salome*.<sup>8</sup>

As might be expected, the reviews of the premiere were mostly negative. Henry Krehbiel infamously wrote that the critic should be »stung into righteous fury by the moral stench with which *Salome* fills the nostrils of humanity.«<sup>9</sup> He noted the presence of »a vast deal of ugly music« but believed the ugliness to be justified by the drama and found much to praise: the innovative orchestration, astute tone painting, and three »supremely beautiful musical moments«: an instrumental interlude, the dance, and the final scene.<sup>10</sup> After the performance, »the effect of horror was pronounced, many voices were hushed as the crowd passed into the night, many faces were white [...]. The grip of a strange horror or disgust was on the majority.« A few days before Conried withdrew the work, newspaper headlines showed the amount

4 For a recent account of the incident see Charles Affron and Mirella J. Affron, *Grand Opera. The Story of the MET*, Oakland, CA 2014, p. 60–67.

5 »Protest Against ›Salome‹,« in: *The Sun*, 27 January 1907, p. 1.

6 Montrose J. Moses, *The Life of Heinrich Conried*, New York 1916, p. 308–15.

7 »Protest Against ›Salome‹,« p. 1.

8 The Metropolitan opera had paid Puccini to be at its disposal for six weeks (18 January–28 February 1907) to assist with productions of *Manon Lescaut* and *Madama Butterfly*; see Maria F. Rich, »Opera USA-Perspective: Puccini in America,« in: *Opera Quarterly* 2/3 (1984), p. 27–45. About a year later, on 1 February 1908, Puccini attended the Naples premiere of *Salome* with Strauss himself conducting. Although the orchestra played »like a badly mixed Russian salad,« Puccini pronounced the performance a success; see *Letters of Giacomo Puccini. Mainly Connected with the Composition of his Operas*, ed. by Giuseppe Adami and Mosco Carner, trans. by Ena Makin, London 1974, p. 185.

9 H[enry] E. K[rehbiel], »The ›Salome‹ of Wilde and Strauss,« in: *New-York Daily Tribune*, 23 January 1907, p. 7.

10 Ibid.

of attention the scandal was generating: »Boston can hear *Salome*« (the mayor had declared that Boston could hear the opera if it so desired) and »Chicago does not fear *Salome*.«<sup>11</sup>

While Metropolitan Opera audiences had to wait 27 years to hear the work again, Oscar Hammerstein's competing Manhattan Opera House produced it just two years later in 1909. Sung in French and featuring star attraction Mary Garden, its 10 performances caused no scandal and ran to sold out houses at doubled prices. A less suggestive dance (performed by Garden herself), severed head partially obscured in a deeper dish, and a darker stage for the kiss episode showed that Hammerstein had learned from the Metropolitan Opera debacle. One reviewer felt that the French language brought the opera closer to Wilde's original and that the gentler orchestra »polished Teutonic barbarism to a Parisian finish.«<sup>12</sup> The fact that burlesque *Salome* dances using papier-mâché John the Baptist heads had been all the rage in vaudeville since 1907 may also have helped prevent renewed controversy.<sup>13</sup> »Salomania,« as the craze sparked by Strauss's opera was dubbed, included a host of popular songs, such as Irving Berlin's »Sadie Salome (Go Home)« (1909), and even a »school for Salomes« that produced 150 graduates each month.<sup>14</sup> But just as it seemed that *Salome* would no longer spark outrage, it continued. In Philadelphia, clergy tried to stop Hammerstein's five guest performances there in February of 1910, but the mayor refused to intervene, and in November Chicago canceled the opera after two performances following a protest submitted to the chief of police.<sup>15</sup> Remarkably, Mary Garden sang and danced all 17 performances of 1909–10, and her talents were not to blame for the fact that, in spite of a few performances in 1912 and 1921–24, *Salome* would not gain stable entry into the repertoire until its revival at the Metropolitan Opera in 1934.<sup>16</sup>

Before selling its rights to the Metropolitan Opera and ceasing operations in 1910, the Manhattan Opera introduced America to Strauss's less controversial *Elektra* on February 2, like *Salome* sung in French. This time reviewers found nearly nothing

11 *New-York Daily Tribune*, 30 January 1907, p. 7.

12 »Mary Garden in ›Salome‹,« in: *The Sun*, 29 January 1909, p. 7.

13 Nadine Sine, »Selling *Salome* in America,« in: *Opera and the Golden West: The Past, Present, and Future of Opera in the U. S. A.*, ed. by John L. DiGaetani and Josef P. Sirefman, Cranbury, NJ 1994, p. 188.

14 For a detailed chronicle of the American context and reception of *Salome*'s dance, see Larry Hamberlin, »Visions of *Salome*: The Femme Fatale in American Popular Songs before 1920,« in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006), No. 3, p. 631–696.

15 Sine, »Selling *Salome* in America,« p. 193.

16 Performance data from Günther Lesnig, *Die Aufführungen der Opern von Richard Strauss im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vol. 2, Tutzing 2010, p. 45–54. Strauss was supposed to attend the Chicago performance in December of 1921, but Mary Garden was ill; see Robert Breuer, »Richard Strauss in Amerika, Teil II: 1921–1922,« in: *RSB* 9 (1977), p. 2.

positive to say. The *New York Times* praised the many novel orchestral effects but disapproved of the poor themes, cacophony, unsingable vocal parts, and constant musical illustration.<sup>17</sup> Calling the work »deadly dull« and Elektra's part »one long series of screams in the upper register,« *The Sun* noted that Hofmannsthal was »under the guidance of that appetite for the sensuous which has in recent years overspread German literature« and found that Strauss »plunges his own hands into the muck and then holds them up for his own adoration.«<sup>18</sup> Krehbiel saw the opera as an »offence against all that is good in art,« remarked that virtuosity had replaced creative energy, and found in both Strauss operas »no healthy nourishment in them, nothing to warm the emotions, exalt the mind, permanently to charm the senses, awaken the desire for frequent companionship.«<sup>19</sup> Although the Manhattan Opera performances were quite successful, as even Krehbiel had to acknowledge, the interest in *Elektra* disappeared instantly; Lesnig recorded no performances in the United States until those in Philadelphia and New York two decades later in 1931 and 1932, respectively.

It probably surprises no one that the first Strauss opera to enter the American repertoire without delay was *Der Rosenkavalier*, first performed at the Metropolitan Opera in December of 1913. Although reviewers had more positive things to say about this work than about the previous two Strauss operas, the tone of their comments was surprisingly negative. Krehbiel, predictably, was the least enthusiastic, as the headline »vapid and salacious comedy« suggests.<sup>20</sup> On the positive side he placed the frequent »phrases of genuine beauty,« on the negative side the anachronistic waltzes that are never allowed to finish, absence of continuous melodic flow, and unintelligible dialogue obscured by the orchestra. In his opinion, the work compared very unfavorably to *Le Nozze di Figaro* by Mozart in that *Der Rosenkavalier* is an immoral comedy without redeeming features. The *New York Times* praised the more vocal style and specific passages (Marschallin's soliloquy, rose presentation, trio) but panned the poor themes, mediocre waltzes, excessive length, theatrical platitudes, and »heavily Teutonic humor.«<sup>21</sup> William Henderson called the music »frequently charming, sometimes almost beautiful, often prosaic, dull and lifeless« and a few days later declared that »the thing has no standing as a work of art.«<sup>22</sup> Quipping that Baron Ochs »yells to the accompaniment of four cannon

17 »Strauss's ›Elektra‹ at the Manhattan,« in: *New York Times*, 2 February 1910, p. 7.

18 »The ›Elektra‹ of Strauss,« in: *The Sun*, 2 February 1910, p. 7.

19 H[enry] E. K[rehbiel], »Richard Strauss's ›Elektra‹,« in: *New-York Daily Tribune*, 2 February 1910, p. 7.

20 H[enry] E. K[rehbiel], »›Rosenkavalier‹ at Metropolitan,« in: *New-York Daily Tribune*, 10 December 1913, p. 9.

21 »Der Rosenkavalier Greeted by Throng,« in: *New York Times*, 10 December 1913, p. 11.

22 [William J. Henderson], »›Der Rosenkavalier‹ at Metropolitan,« in: *The Sun*, 10 December 1913, p. 7; and W[illiam] J. Henderson, »›Der Rosenkavalier‹ Viewed as a Work of Art,« in: *The Sun*, 14

explosions in the orchestra when his hand is dressed,« Sylvester Rawling satirized the unusually heavy orchestral apparatus for a comic opera.<sup>23</sup> As in the case of the tone poems, negative press could not prevent the opera's immediate entry into the repertoire, where it remains a fixture a century later.

The American premiere of *Der Rosenkavalier* took place about seven months before the start of World War I in 1914 (Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated on June 28, precisely a century before an earlier version of this essay was presented at the conference), an event that had a profound impact on German music and musicians in the United States, especially once America entered the war in April of 1917. Following America's war declaration, anti-German hysteria intensified to a dangerous level; the about 25,000 investigators of the American Protective League created a nation of spies who scrutinized the lives of so-called »enemy aliens« in order to identify suspicious activities.<sup>24</sup> The most absurd example of this scrutiny is probably the fact that the government file on Alfred Hertz, who had conducted the American premiere of *Salome*, notes that he bought German butter at the grocery store.<sup>25</sup> Since the conductors, musicians, and rehearsal language of most major American symphony orchestras were German and about two thirds of the repertoire Germanic, the hysteria threatened to cripple the classical music establishment. The prospects for the musicians were bleak: resignation, firing, citizenship application, or internment – 29 German-born members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra were interned, for example.<sup>26</sup> The most famous story of persecution is that of Karl Muck, the conductor of that orchestra from 1906. His omission of the unofficial national anthem »The Star-Spangled Banner« at a concert on October 30, 1917, fueled such a vehement and highly publicized reaction that, although he included the anthem after the incident, Muck was arrested six months later and sent to a prison camp until his deportation in August of 1919.

Initially, it seemed as if the American entry into World War I might not affect the repertoire. The United States officially declared war on April 6, 1917, in the middle of a Metropolitan Opera performance of *Parsifal* on Good Friday, and performances of *Tristan* and *Meistersinger* proceeded without incident during the remaining week of the season. A headline on April 8 read »no war on German music,« and Henderson wondered »what have Haydn and Mozart and Schubert and Schumann

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December 1913, Section 9, p. 4.

23 Sylvester Rawling, »Richard Strauss's »Rosenkavalier« Rich in Melody,« in: *Evening World*, 10 December 1913, p. 17.

24 Edmund A. Bowles, »Karl Muck and His Compatriots: German Conductors in America during World War I (and How They Coped),« in: *American Music* 25 (2007), No. 4, p. 406–408.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 410–411.

26 Barbara Tischler, »One Hundred Percent Americanism and Music in Boston during World War I,« in: *American Music* 4 (1986), No. 2, p. 176.



and Wagner to do with the last Titanic agonies of the Hohenzollerns? [...] No, we shall not give up the deep and beautiful joys which the older Germany bestowed upon us.«<sup>27</sup> Two weeks later Richard Aldrich proclaimed that »this public, patriotic though it is, has the good sense not to allow its patriotism to become chauvinism in matters of art. [...] This country does not wage war upon art.«<sup>28</sup> Giulio Gatti-Casazza, general manager of the Metropolitan Opera 1908–1935, continued to deny the rumors of a ban on German opera, but by October the rising tide of anti-German sentiment made it all but inevitable. Suspecting it would come to this, he had already prepared an alternate repertoire, and he announced the ban on »opera in the German language« on November 2.<sup>29</sup> In order to appreciate the magnitude of the ban we must be aware that 30% of performances during the 1916–17 season were in German, and that Wagner alone made up 20% of the repertoire.<sup>30</sup> After the war, German opera slowly returned to the Metropolitan: *Parsifal* in English in February of 1920 came first, followed by *Tristan* and *Lohengrin*, also in English, the following season, and finally the resumption of opera in German in 1921–22. Strauss's exile ended the next season when *Der Rosenkavalier* resurfaced on November 17, 1922. All was normal again in New York, even if Strauss still only had one opera in the repertoire.

American symphony orchestras also limited their performances of Germanic works during these years, but less extensively and not for as long for two likely reasons: instrumental works did not use the German language, and the orchestral repertoire was unthinkable without Mozart, Beethoven, and Brahms. As the New York Philharmonic and Boston Symphony Orchestra repertoires for the 1916–1922 period show (see Table 1), the percentage of Germanic works in New York dropped from 60% in 1916–17 to 47% in 1917–18, reached its lowest point at 32% in 1918–19, and then recovered fairly quickly.<sup>31</sup>

Boston displayed the same pattern, only with a slower recovery due to the Karl Muck affair. The number of Strauss works programmed by each orchestra also followed this curve, but with complete censorship for two seasons 1918–20.

27 W[illiam] J. Henderson, »No War on German Music; Singers Should be Discreet,« in: *The Sun*, 8 April 1917, Section 3, p. 7.

28 Richard Aldrich, »The Close of the Opera Season—Mr. Gatti-Casazza Carries Out All His Promises,« in: *New York Times*, 22 April 1917, p. XX2.

29 Giulio Gatti-Casazza, *Memories of the Opera*, New York 1941, 181; and »Metropolitan Bars Operas in German,« in: *New York Times*, 3 November 1917, p. 13.

30 Statistics derived from H[enry] E. Krehbiel, »The Operatic Season in Retrospect,« in: *New York Tribune*, 22 April 1917, Part 4, p. 2.

31 Percentages are from Tischler, »One Hundred Percent Americanism,« p. 172. The Strauss numbers are compiled from the orchestras' online databases (Boston: [archives.bso.org](http://archives.bso.org); New York: [archives.nyphil.org/performancehistory/#program](http://archives.nyphil.org/performancehistory/#program); accessed 17 October 2016).

Season	Germanic Music		Strauss Works	
	Boston	New York	Boston	New York
1916–17	62%	60%	3	7
1917–18	43%	47%	1	4
1918–19	30%	32%	0	0
1919–20	43%	51%	0	0
1920–21	44%	67%	2	5
1921–22	50%	65%	4	7

Table 1: Boston & New York Orchestral Repertoire 1916–1922

Orchestras targeted living and more recent composers such as Strauss and Wagner in part because their works were still under copyright and would therefore accumulate payments, and although such payments ceased during the war, »playing Strauss could indeed be construed to have subvented the manufacture of a bullet that killed a Tommie,« as Alan Howard Levy phrased it.<sup>32</sup> When Strauss again visited America in the fall of 1921, memories of the war were still fresh. A letter to his wife Pauline describing a successful concert in Boston shows that Strauss was aware of that city's particularly strong anti-German past, and that he considered himself to be an emissary on behalf of German art: »our greatest success, which must be prized even more since Boston is the stronghold of the French and the English [...] and since this concert in particular was anticipated with some trepidation. Now I have also broken through the ice of hatred here, and German art can now move in everywhere.«<sup>33</sup>

While the latter half of the 1920s saw Strauss's orchestral works peak in popularity, developments in opera were less encouraging: the American premieres of *Feuersnot*, *Ariadne*, and *Die Ägyptische Helena* in 1927–28 did not inspire repetition, Olin Downes calling the Metropolitan Opera's *Helena* »the most distinguished dud of

32 Alan Howard Levy, »The American Symphony at War: German-American Musicians and Federal Authorities During World War I,« in: *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 71 (1989), No. 1, p. 6–7.

33 Letter of 13 November 1921; Breuer, Part II, p. 2: »unser größter Erfolg, der umso höher anzuschlagen ist, als Boston die Hochburg der Franzosen und Engländer [...] und man gerade diesem Concert mit einigem Bangen entgegensah. Nun habe ich auch hier das Eis des Hasses durchbrochen, und die deutsche Kunst kann nun überall Einzug halten.« The November 14 diary entry of Elisabeth Schumann, the soprano who accompanied him on his second trip to America, notes the success and that Boston was supposed to be the most anti-German city: »Und gerade diese Stadt soll die anti-deutscheste gewesen sein.« Cited from [www.elisabethschumann.org/1921diary/diary21d.htm](http://www.elisabethschumann.org/1921diary/diary21d.htm) (accessed 17 October 2016).

the season.«<sup>34</sup> New York's revival of *Elektra* and *Salome*, this time as permanent additions to the repertoire, initiated a long-term increase of Strauss's operatic presence in America, however. Not heard in New York since 1910, *Elektra* staged a triumphant return in December of 1932. Praising both music and text, Downes's two articles noted that »the music is no longer abstruse or merely ugly to us« due to the decreased impact of its dissonances, and that Hofmannsthal's version of the myth now appeared »cool, sculpturesque and classic« next to American playwright Eugene O'Neill's »feast of horrors« *Mourning Becomes Elektra* which ran on Broadway in 1931–32.<sup>35</sup> Since Gatti-Casazza admired *Salome* and had engaged in a race for the Italian premiere in 1906 while manager of La Scala, audiences could not blame him for the work's 27-year absence, but in January of 1934 they greeted it nearly as enthusiastically as *Elektra*.<sup>36</sup> Downes spoke of »Strauss's magnificent music, which is surely among the most inspired that he ever composed« but, ironically, found the performance too tame: John the Baptist's head was barely visible and about the size of a ham sandwich – Irving Kolodin said the singer »fondled the ›head‹ (a bewigged grapefruit) in the shelter of the prompter's box« – and the dance was neither well executed nor sensual.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile old timers reminisced about 1907, no doubt preferring the scandal to the new toothless *Salome*.

A few years later the Metropolitan Opera's new general manager Edward Johnson further boosted Strauss's status when he announced that »it is our desire to make the Strauss works as familiar [...] as are the music dramas of Wagner.«<sup>38</sup> Although he did not deliver on that promise, he did produce *Salome*, *Elektra*, and *Der Rosenkavalier* during the 1937–38 and 1938–39 seasons, and scheduling more than one Strauss work per season would become increasingly common over time. It is worth noting that the Second World War did not trigger a ban on opera in German as had the first. Although Strauss's presence in the American opera repertoire had now stabilized, the works still to appear at the Metropolitan Opera would do so at significant delay and without fanfare: *Arabella* in 1955, *Ariadne* in 1962, *Frau ohne Schatten* in 1966, and *Capriccio* in 1998.

In order to round out this selective picture of the American reception of Richard Strauss, we will consider a handful of journalistic appraisals penned between 1928 and 2014 before proceeding to performance statistics for his works. In an article

34 Olin Downes, »American Premiere of ›Egyptian Helen‹,« in: *New York Times*, 7 November 1928, p. 31.

35 Olin Downes, »Strauss's ›Elektra‹ Creates a Furor« and »Opera Becomes ›Elektra‹,« in: *New York Times*, 4 and 11 December 1932, pp. 34 and X8.

36 Gatti-Casazza, *Memories of the Opera*, p. 11–12.

37 Olin Downes, »Salome is Revived after 27 Years; Once Shocking Opera is Modified,« in: *New York Times*, 14 January 1934, pp. 1 and 30; Irving Kolodin, *The Metropolitan Opera 1883–1966: A Candid History*, New York 1966, p. 378.

38 Kolodin, *The Metropolitan Opera 1883–1966*, p. 405.

titled »The Aftermath of Strauss« Downes painted the now familiar portrait of a modernist firebrand »who has become as settled in his views and as unimportant to the world of progress as the former German Kaiser.«<sup>39</sup> Following Strauss's death in 1949 he merely nuanced that assessment, singling out the tone poems through *Don Quixote* along with *Salome* and *Elektra* for praise while *Heldenleben* and *Symphonia domestica* »make plump, healthy, superbly organized, but increasingly vulgar music.«<sup>40</sup> Downes dismissed all of Strauss's works from *Ariadne* on, »which it is just as well to admit do not and never will require detailed discussion,« and speculated that Strauss may have suffered from »a modern disease [...]: a tendency to grow old in spirit and essentially uncreative before the natural time [...], a sort of dry rot of the creative spirit« shared with Puccini, Debussy, and Stravinsky.<sup>41</sup>

When Harold Schonberg gauged Strauss's presence in 1980, he felt that only the »Big Three« – *Salome*, *Elektra*, and *Rosenkavalier* – were consistently in the repertoire, and that even the early tone poems were beginning to disappear (both claims are exaggerated in service of Schonberg's negative view of Strauss's works after *Der Rosenkavalier*).<sup>42</sup> In an article titled »Why Strauss, Why Now?« written just eight years later in 1988, John Rockwell observed the opposite trend, specifically a growing interest in little-known operas such as *Daphne* and *Ägyptische Helena*.<sup>43</sup> Noting that *Ariadne* and *Frau ohne Schatten* were catching up with the »Big Three« and that audiences now routinely encountered *Arabella* and *Capriccio*, he is the first among these critics to mention Strauss's lyrical rejuvenation of the 1940s, now often called his »Indian summer« – the equivalent of the German »Altweibersommer.« Rockwell saw two explanations: the return to tonality and new Romanticism among modern composers and the search for exotic offerings to supplement the operatic canon.

Subtitled »Richard Strauss, for better or for worse, is the composer of the century,« Alex Ross's article of 1999 incorporated scholarship and correspondence to draw an extraordinary, multifaceted portrait of the composer.<sup>44</sup> Pointing to *Salome* as the

39 Olin Downes, »The Aftermath of Strauss,« in: *New York Times*, 10 June 1928, p. 108.

40 Olin Downes, »Historic Figure: Richard Strauss's Place as One of the Great Composers Stands Secure,« in: *New York Times*, 18 September 1949, p. X7.

41 On 23 October 1949 (p. X7) the *New York Times* published two letters to the editor (including one from Robert Breuer) that protested Downes's wholesale rejection of Strauss's late works.

42 Harold C. Schonberg, »The Genius of Richard Strauss,« in: *New York Times*, 27 January 1980, p. D19. While the »Big Three« were indeed produced more often than other Strauss operas during the 1970s, the Metropolitan Opera had produced *Ariadne* in 1975 and 1978, *Die Frau ohne Schatten* in 1977. With regard to the early tone poems, the New York Philharmonic had programmed *Till Eulenspiegel* every year during 1975–80 and *Don Juan* during four of those five seasons. Only *Tod und Verklärung* was in fact beginning to disappear, being programmed during 1975–76 and not again until 1982–83.

43 John Rockwell, »Why Strauss, Why Now?,« in: *New York Times*, 26 June 1988, p. H23.

44 Alex Ross, »The Last Emperor,« in: *New Yorker*, 20 December 1999, p. 86–94.

birth of modern music and observing Strauss's recent acceptance in academia, Ross traced the anarchism and »intellectual chaos that lay behind the bourgeois façade« to Stirner and *Guntram* and asserted that Strauss's late works »destroyed, single-handedly, the modernist imperative of progress.« Ross viewed the »awesome lapses of taste« as a human element and wrote in his blog in 2004 that »there is something profoundly representative about Strauss's work, in all its strengths and flaws.«<sup>45</sup>

While Ross still clearly found it necessary to write in conscious opposition to the image of Strauss as a conservative who turned his back on modernism, that minority attitude, remarkably, had nearly disappeared when Anthony Tommasini published a profile to acknowledge the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Strauss's birth in June of 2014.<sup>46</sup> Challenging the apparent shift that began with *Der Rosenkavalier*, he asked: »Yet is this the way to view Strauss's career? Only if you have a narrow definition of what it meant to be modern at the time.« Tommasini's pluralistic perspective allowed him to move beyond the typical conservative vs. modernist rhetoric:

»Strauss did not share Schoenberg's conviction that music was an evolving art form in which each innovation [...] represented the next stage of advancement. Both as a man and a musician, Strauss thought himself part of the real world, a professional with astute literary tastes and cultural sensibilities. For him, the continuous pursuit of modernism would have felt too agenda driven. [...] Today's wonderfully inclusive climate for new music is well suited to appreciating Strauss on his terms. The polemical era when brainy uptown composers battled downtown exponents of postmodernism is, thankfully, past.«

His final paragraph, about Strauss's last opera *Capriccio*, echoed Ross's assessment of the late works: »In the final scene, you get the payoff: a soliloquy for the countess overflowing with sublime melodic lines and plush harmonic orchestral writing only Strauss could do. Who cares if it's modern?«

We now turn to a more detailed look at the presence of Strauss's works in the American repertoire, beginning with the operas, more specifically the relative performance frequency of each work. As a baseline we will use Günther Lesnig's formidable *Die Aufführungen der Opern von Richard Strauss im 20. Jahrhundert* for which he gathered information on nearly 50,000 performances in 45 countries through the calendar year 2000. Figure 1 shows the global distribution of Strauss's operas derived from Lesnig's data.<sup>47</sup>

45 See [www.therestisnoise.com/2004/09/strauss\\_and\\_the.html](http://www.therestisnoise.com/2004/09/strauss_and_the.html) (accessed 17 October 2016).

46 Anthony Tommasini, »Drifting Back to the Real World: A Look at Strauss's Legacy After 150 Years,« in: *New York Times*, 6 June 2014, p. AR14. All quotations are from that page.

47 Lesnig, *Die Aufführungen der Opern von Richard Strauss*, p. 8. *Der Rosenkavalier* accounted for almost a third of all performances with 16,200 while *Guntram* barely registered with 29.

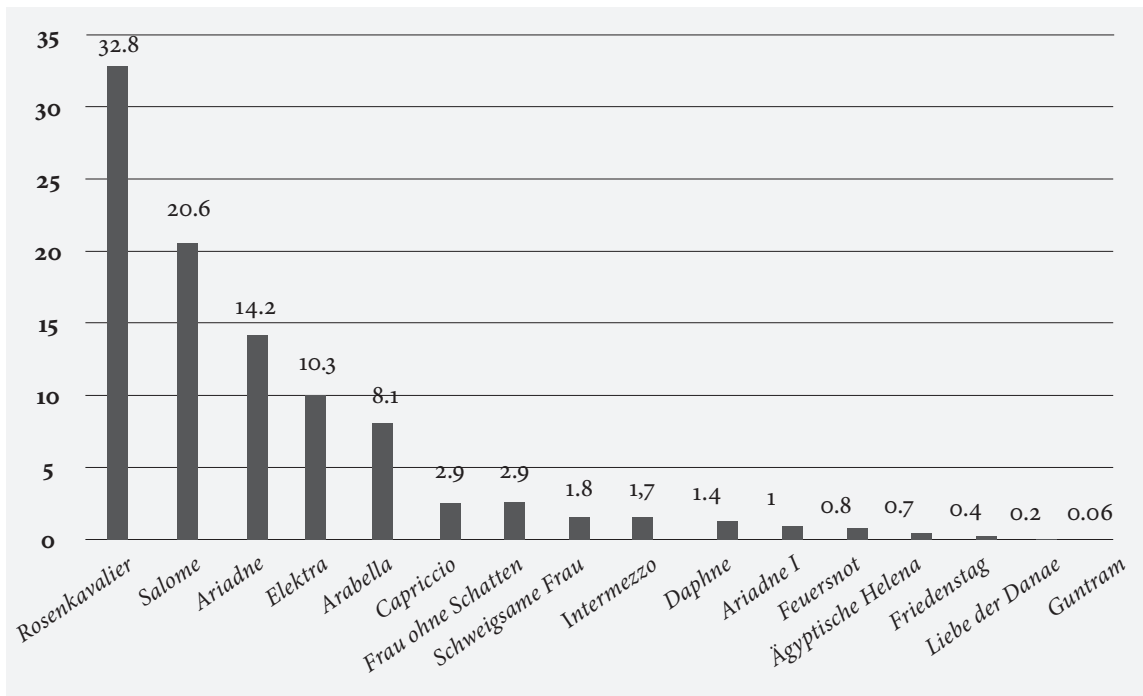


Figure 1: Global Distribution of Strauss's Operas Until 2000 (in %)

	<i>Rosenkav.</i>	<i>Salome</i>	<i>Ariadne</i>	<i>Elektra</i>	<i>Arabella</i>	<i>Capriccio</i>	<i>Frau o. S.</i>
<b>Global</b>	32.8	20.6	14.2	10.3	8.1	2.9	2.9
<b>New York</b>	43.5	17.8	10.3	11.5	6.6	1.5	7.4
<b>San Fran.</b>	30.3	21.1	11.5	16.1	5.0	5.7	9.6
<b>Chicago</b>	19.1	27.2	16.7	13.6	4.3	9.3	9.9
<b>Vienna</b>	33.7	18.2	16.4	10.9	6.0	4.2	2.9

Table 2: Distribution of Strauss's Most Performed Operas to 2015 (in %)

As Table 2 reveals, the repertoire of three major American opera houses – New York, San Francisco, and Chicago – shows a very similar distribution.<sup>48</sup>

We should note that the Metropolitan Opera with its 200–250 performances per season is much more prolific than any other opera house in the United States, and that many current American opera houses were not founded until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (San Francisco Opera in 1923, Chicago Lyric Opera in 1954, and Houston Grand Opera in 1955, for example). When we compare the American opera houses to a European opera house with more than three times as many Strauss performances (see Table 2), the Wiener Staatsoper, we notice again a very similar allocation with two main differences: a greater American interest in *Elektra* and *Frau ohne Schatten*.<sup>49</sup>

More important than the relative popularity of each opera is their position within the repertoire as a whole. Figure 2 shows the Metropolitan Opera breakdown since 1913, when *Der Rosenkavalier* had its premiere, and that of Vienna since 1955.

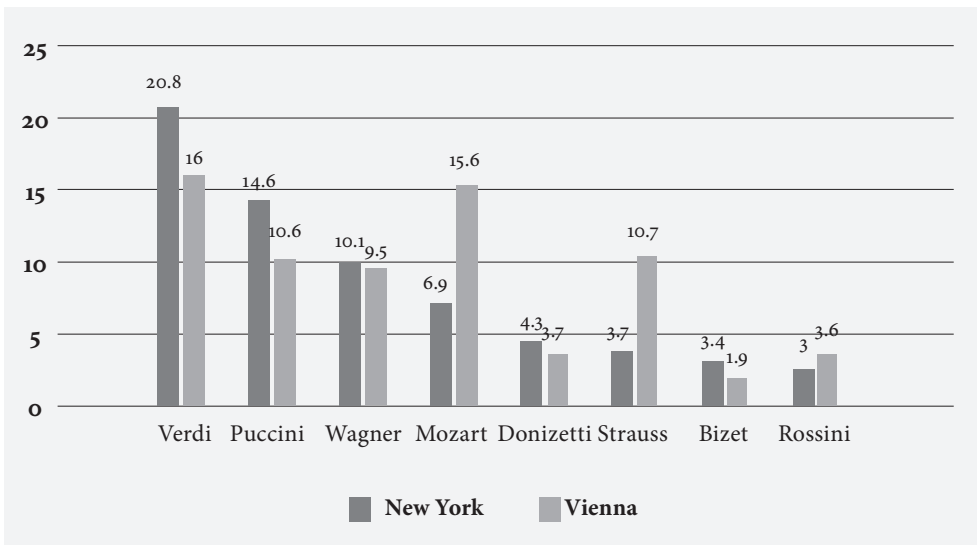


Figure 2: New York vs. Vienna Composer Breakdown to 2015 (% of Repertoire)

48 Performance data for the three opera houses were calculated using online databases (New York: [archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm](http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm); San Francisco: [archive.sfopera.com/qryiopealists.asp](http://archive.sfopera.com/qryiopealists.asp); Chicago: [www.lyricopera.org/about/performance-and-cast-archive.aspx](http://www.lyricopera.org/about/performance-and-cast-archive.aspx); accessed 17 October 2016).

49 The Viennese performance database ([db-staatsoper.die-antwort.eu](http://db-staatsoper.die-antwort.eu)) is complete only from 1955 to the present, but all performances of Strauss's operas since their premieres have been entered. Through the 2014–15 season Vienna has staged a total of 2,916 Strauss performances, New York 882, San Francisco 261, and Chicago 162.

Although Verdi tops both lists, Vienna displays a rather different pattern with Mozart and Strauss in much more prominent positions (both are Germanic with close ties to Vienna).

Comparing the Metropolitan Opera repertoire to those of San Francisco and Chicago (see Table 3), on the other hand, reveals a nearly identical hierarchy with Strauss in sixth place in each house.

	Verdi	Puccini	Wagner	Mozart	Donizetti	Strauss	Bizet	Rossini
<b>New York</b>	20.8	14.6	10.1	6.9	4.3	3.7	3.4	3.0
<b>San Fran.</b>	18.4	15.3	8.1	7.8	4.9	4.5	3.0	4.2
<b>Chicago</b>	17.7	13.7	7.4	8.1	5.2	4.6	2.9	4.0
<b>Vienna</b>	16.0	10.6	9.5	15.6	3.7	10.7	1.9	3.6

Table 3: *Composer Breakdown to 2015 (% of Repertoire)*

Table 3 also allows us to calculate the large portion of the repertoire devoted to the top five composers with 56.7%, 52.5%, 52.1%, and 62.4% respectively. The repertoire is not static but evolving, however. Figure 3 shows Strauss's percentage of total repertoire in five-year increments, and we may observe the following about Strauss at the Metropolitan Opera: a gradual ascent to a peak in 1945–50, downward trend in the 1950s, second peak in the early 1960s followed by relative stability above 4% through 1990, then peaks followed by declines.

The past decade has seen a steady decline with the 2010–15 average (2.4%) reaching the lowest point since the 1920s. The Viennese trends were relatively similar: two stable decades 1955–75 followed by a peak 1975–85 and then a decline interrupted by a resurgence in the early 1990s but with a recovery in progress since the early 2000s that exhibits the reverse trend of the Metropolitan Opera.

While the operatic repertoire appears to have attracted no scholarly attention, a small number of studies (almost none of them recent) have addressed orchestral works, and American sociologist John H. Mueller's *The American Symphony Orchestra* of 1951 laid the foundation.<sup>50</sup> Studying 11 major American orchestras and using work length to obtain his data, Mueller included Richard Strauss among the ascending composers and noted that his popularity had peaked around 5% in 1925–30 (see Figure 4).<sup>51</sup>

50 John H. Mueller, *The American Symphony Orchestra. A Social History of Musical Taste*, Bloomington, IN 1951.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 216.



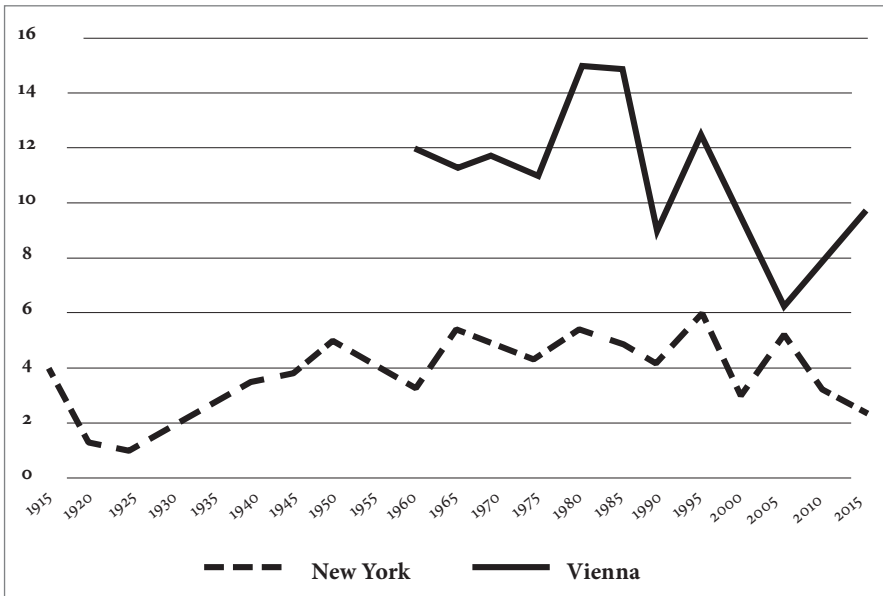


Figure 3: Strauss's Share of New York & Vienna Opera Repertoire (in %)

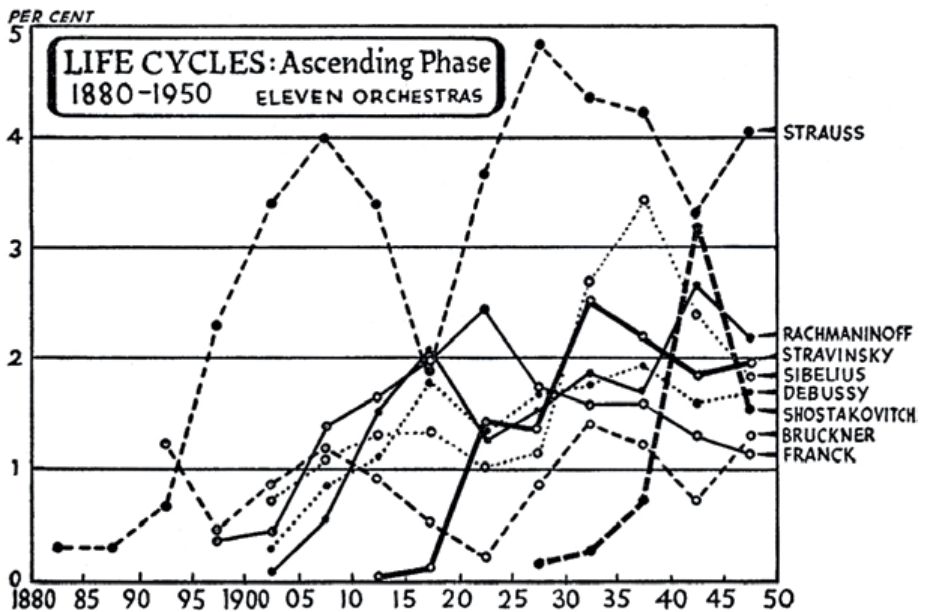


Figure 4: Mueller (1951): Ascending Composers, Reprinted by permission of Indiana University Press

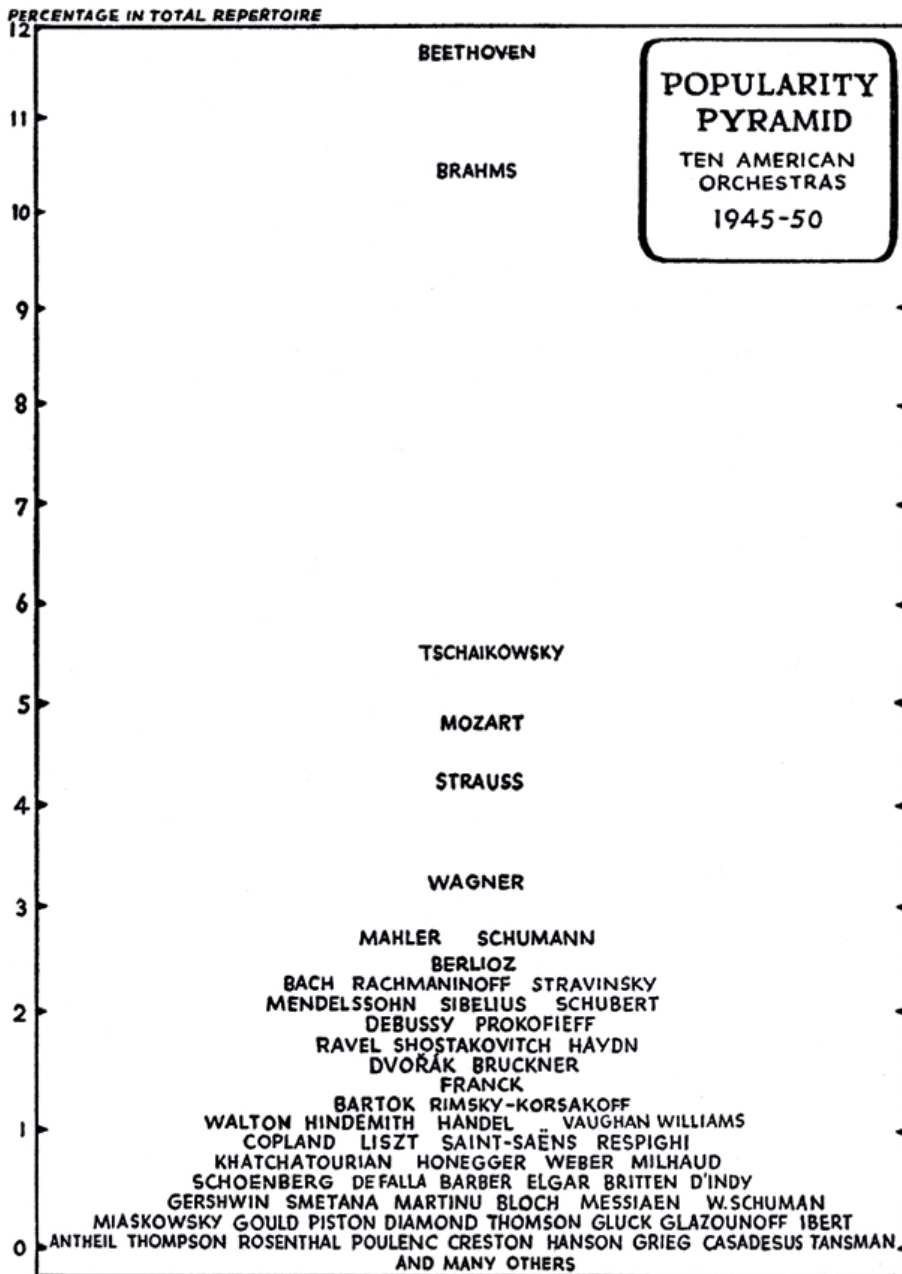


Figure 5: Mueller: Popularity Pyramid 1945-50; reprinted by permission of Indiana University Press

Mueller's »popularity pyramid« for 1945–50 (Figure 5) shows Strauss in fifth place.<sup>52</sup> He viewed Strauss as the culmination of an illustrious succession: »Although his compositions will undoubtedly linger many years after his passing, he nevertheless will be remembered as the last of the German dynasty of musical titans which has held sway in the concert halls of the world for over a century. Strauss brings to a sputtering close the Golden Age of Teutonic music.«<sup>53</sup> The standard repertoire of 1940–50, a work programmed at least twice by 8–10 (of 10 studied) orchestras as defined by Mueller, included *Don Juan*, *Tod und Verklärung*, *Till Eulenspiegel*, and *Don Quixote*, and the semi-standard repertoire (works programmed at least twice by 5–7 orchestras) included the *Rosenkavalier Suite*.<sup>54</sup> When Kate Hevner Mueller updated the study in 1973 and increased the number of orchestras to 27, she placed Strauss in the »indeterminate« category and noted his recent decline (see Figure 6).<sup>55</sup>

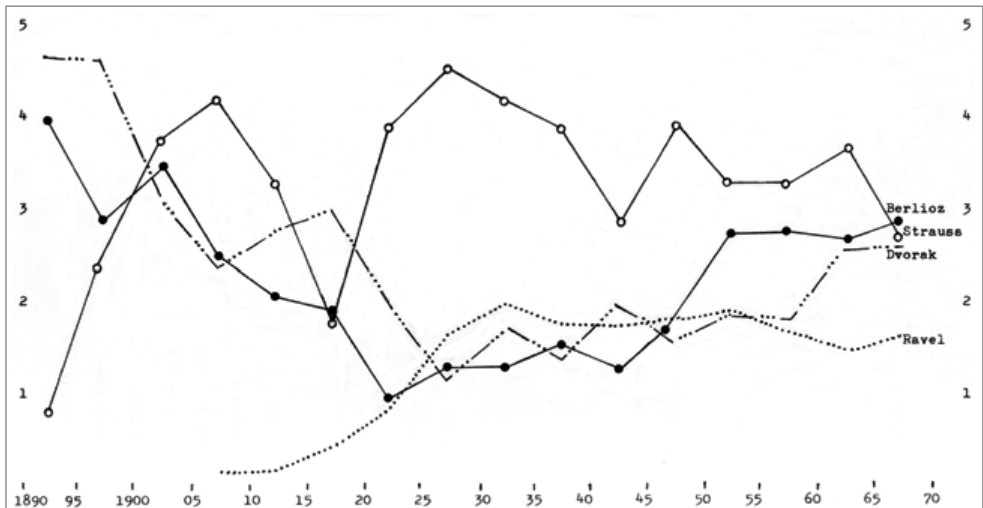


Figure 6: Hevner Mueller (1973): Indeterminate Composers; reprinted by permission of Indiana University Press

52 Ibid., p. 188.

53 Ibid., p. 219.

54 Ibid., p. 375–79.

55 Kate Hevner Mueller, *Twenty-Seven Major American Symphony Orchestras. A History and Analysis of Their Repertoires, Seasons 1842–43 Through 1969–70*, Bloomington, IN 1973, p. xliii.

In Harry Price's 34-orchestra study of 1982–87, Strauss placed sixth by frequency and seventh by duration, showing a slight preference for his shorter works.<sup>56</sup> His list of the 100 most performed works included five by Strauss between 41<sup>st</sup> and 95<sup>th</sup> place: *Also sprach Zarathustra*, *Ein Heldenleben*, *Don Juan*, *Don Quixote*, and *Till Eulenspiegel*. Only five composers had more works in the top 100 during this period: Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms, Dvořák, and Schumann. Price did not calculate percentages of total repertoire, but E. Christine Hall's dissertation contributed those through 1990 using 25 orchestras (see Table 4), placing Strauss at 2.98% in 1985–90 by duration, an increase from 2.56% in 1965–70 and ascent into ninth place from tenth, but still lower than the 1920–65 period.<sup>57</sup>

	Duration	Minutes	Rank	Frequency	Rank
1945–50	ca. 4%		5		
1965–70	2.56%	4924	10		
1985–90	2.98%	6898	9	2.96%	6

Table 4: Strauss's Share of Orchestral Repertoire

When she used programming frequency, Strauss retained almost the same percentage, 2.96%, but rose to sixth place by overtaking composers of longer works (Mahler, Dvořák, and Shostakovich in this case).<sup>58</sup> The microscopic difference between the two percentages suggests a close balance between short and long works. We may briefly place these numbers in a Germanic perspective (see Figure 7).

At the Vienna Philharmonic (using duration), Strauss rose to nearly 10% in 1950, but fell to 4% by 1974 and averaged 4.5% in 1974–94, and at the Berlin Philharmonic (using frequency) reached 4.4% in 1955–60 and dropped to 1.65% by 1970–75 but

56 Harry E. Price, »Orchestral Programming 1982–1987: An Indication of Musical Taste,« in: *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 106 (1990), p. 26.

57 E. Christine Hall, *Survey and Analysis of the Repertory of Twenty-Six American Symphony Orchestras 1982–83 Through 1993–94*, Diss. Johns Hopkins University 1997, p. 39. Hall used Hevner Mueller's original worksheets (housed at Indiana University) to calculate the 1965–70 percentage (not provided by Hevner Mueller) and unpublished orchestra repertoire reports of the American Symphony Orchestra League (now the League of American Orchestras) to arrive at the 1985–90 number. I added the 1945–50 number from John H. Muellers popularity pyramid (see Figure 5). Since he did not report exact numbers, the »ca. 4%« (based on total duration) is gleaned from the pyramid graph.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

steadily increased to its highest point of 4.56% in 1995–2000.<sup>59</sup> As might be expected, the Germanic numbers are higher, but without data from more orchestras we cannot know to what extent these trends are representative.

Using the same orchestras and inclusion criteria, Hall replicated Mueller's study of the 1940–50 standard repertoire for 1982–92, and data from the League of American Orchestras allow us to do the same for 2000–2010 (see Table 5).<sup>60</sup>

Based on this comparison and methodology, the most noteworthy trends are the stable presence of *Don Juan* and *Till Eulenspiegel*, decline of *Don Quixote* and *Tod und Verklärung*, and rise of the longer *Also sprach Zarathustra* and *Ein Heldenleben*.<sup>61</sup> Although this method may serve to highlight certain tendencies, it cannot adequately track changes in performance frequency over time, and this leads us

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- 59 Desmond Mark, *Wem gehört der Konzertsaal?*, Vienna and Mülheim a. d. Ruhr 1998, pp. 97 and 102–104; Annemarie Vogt, *Repertoire und Programmgestaltung des Berliner Philharmonischen Orchesters 1945–2000*, Diss. Technische Universität Berlin 2002, Appendix 4, p. 12. The period 1975–94 is »flat« for the Vienna Philharmonic because Mark reported an average for the entire period derived from Karoline Hinterleitner's *Analysen des Repertoires führender Wiener Symphonieorchester von 1975–1994*, Diplomarbeit Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Wien 1997, a document I was unable to consult (see Mark, *Wem gehört der Konzertsaal*, 102–104). Hinterleitner's research shows Strauss in sixth place far behind five composers with direct ties to Austria / Vienna: Beethoven (11.5%), Mozart (10.5%), Mahler (10.5%), Brahms (10%), and Bruckner (9.5%).
- 60 Hall, *Survey and Analysis*, pp. 93 and 100. The 10 orchestras are: Boston Symphony Orchestra, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, Cleveland Orchestra, Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, Minnesota Orchestra, New York Philharmonic Orchestra, Philadelphia Orchestra, Saint Louis Symphony Orchestra, and San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. The annual repertoire reports of the League of American Orchestras (formerly the American Symphony Orchestra League) are available for 2000–2011 at the League's website (see [www.americanorchestras.org/knowledge-research-innovation/orr-survey/orr-archive.html](http://www.americanorchestras.org/knowledge-research-innovation/orr-survey/orr-archive.html), accessed 17 October 2016). It should be noted that not all 10 orchestras reported their repertoire to the League each season; the missing repertoire data (Cincinnati and Los Angeles 2000–01, New York 2006–07, Boston 2008–09, and San Francisco 2009–10) were supplied using online databases (Boston, New York) or by contacting the orchestras (Cincinnati, Los Angeles, San Francisco).
- 61 Mueller's method of dividing works into two discrete groups rather than using a sliding scale obscures many nuances, such as which works are in the upper and lower end of each category, which are close to becoming semi-standard repertoire, and which have been programmed most frequently. In 2000–2010, for example, *Heldenleben* was programmed twice by 7 orchestras and thus close to being standard repertoire, and 3 works programmed twice by 4 orchestras (*Don Quixote*, *Rosenkavalier Suite*, and *Alpensinfonie*) disappear from view while the *Four Last Songs*, programmed twice by 5 orchestras, qualifies as semi-standard repertoire. A total programming count for each work reveals a different hierarchy: *Don Juan* (25), *Also sprach Zarathustra* (24), *Heldenleben* (22), *Till Eulenspiegel* (21), *Rosenkavalier Suite* (17), *Four Last Songs* (15), *Don Quixote* (11), *Alpensinfonie* (11), *Burleske* (10), and *Tod und Verklärung* (10).

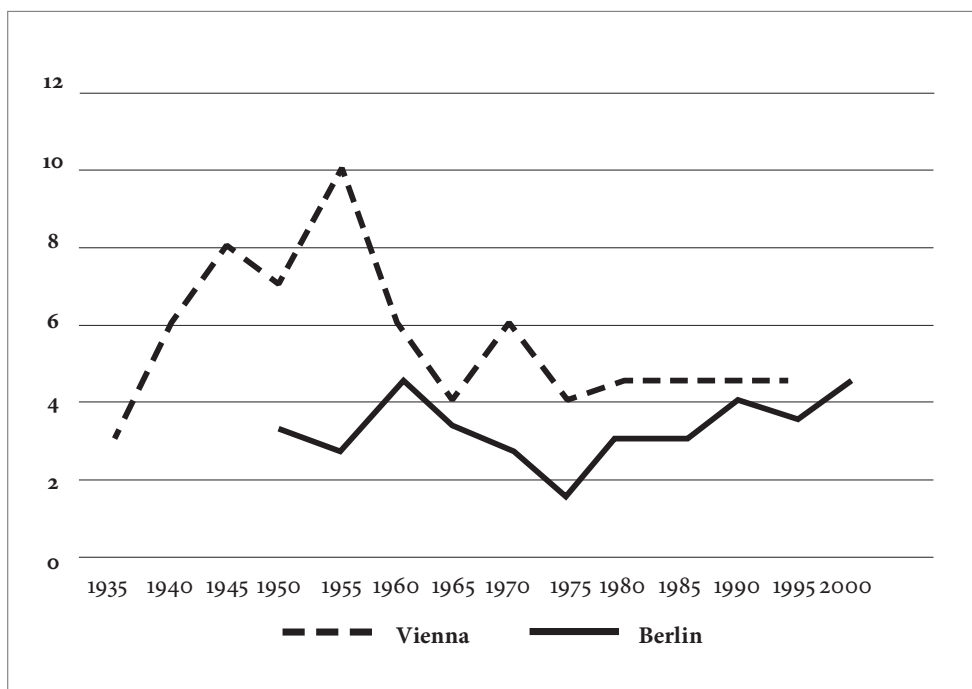


Figure 7: Strauss's Share of Orchestral Repertoire: Vienna & Berlin (in %)

to the main limitation of most of the repertoire studies: the lack of attention to individual works within a composer's output. I will briefly address this issue by comparing my own data gathered from five major orchestras spanning 125 seasons 1890–2015 with numbers collected by the League of American Orchestras for 10 seasons 2001–2011 from up to 333 orchestras.<sup>62</sup>

62 The 5 orchestras are a subset of Mueller's: Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and San Francisco (the repertoire of the Philadelphia Orchestra was not available for study as its archive has closed indefinitely due to financial difficulties). The numbers (like Mueller's) track whether or not a work was programmed, not repetitions of a program. I would like to thank archivists Deborah Hefling (Cleveland) and Joseph Evans (San Francisco) for providing performance data without which this study could not have been completed. The numbers for Boston and New York are from the online databases (cited above), those for Chicago from the orchestra's archive at Symphony Center.

	1940–1950	1982–1992	2000–2010
<b>Standard</b>	<i>Don Juan</i>	<i>Ein Heldenleben</i>	<i>Don Juan</i>
	<i>Tod und Verklärung</i>		<i>Till Eulenspiegel</i>
	<i>Till Eulenspiegel</i>		<i>Also sprach Zarathustra</i>
	<i>Don Quixote</i>		
<b>Semi-Standard</b>	<i>Rosenkavalier Suite</i>	<i>Don Juan</i>	<i>Ein Heldenleben</i>
		<i>Tod und Verklärung</i>	<i>Four Last Songs</i>
		<i>Till Eulenspiegel</i>	
		<i>Don Quixote</i>	
		<i>Also sprach Zarathustra</i>	

Table 5: Strauss Works in Standard Repertoire of 10 American Orchestras

The progression in the number of Strauss works programmed by these five orchestras across more than a century suggests the following trends (see Figure 8): peaks in 1925–35 and again 1945–50, consistently high numbers 1950–65 followed by a decade of low numbers 1965–75, improvement in 1975–90 (where earlier repertoire studies ended), another slump in the early 1990s leading to an excellent decade in 1995–2005, and finally a steep decline in 2005–15 to the lowest number since World War I.<sup>63</sup>

We may use the same data to trace the performance history of individual works. Figure 9 shows the paths of four works with noteworthy patterns: on the ascending side the intensified interest in *Alpensinfonie* in the late 1980s and resurgence of the *Rosenkavalier Suite* around 2000, on the descending side the gentle and fairly steep declines of *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Tod und Verklärung*, respectively.

63 Since the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra (1911) and Cleveland Orchestra (1918) were founded much later than the other three, they are of course not included in the numbers of the early decades. It is important to note that (with the exception of those of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra) these numbers (unlike those of Mueller) include tours and other non-subscription events. The numbers include the entire 2014–15 season (with the assumption that performances scheduled after 1 March 2015 will actually take place).

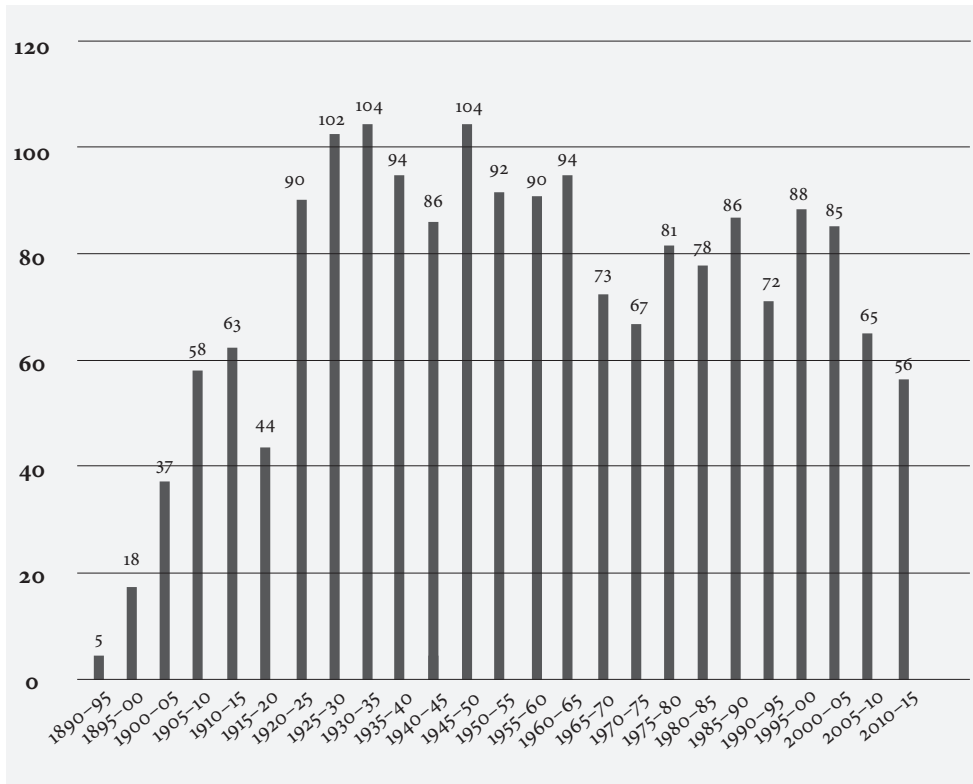


Figure 8: Strauss Works Programmed by 5 American Orchestras 1890–2015

Finally, the numbers allow us to rank Strauss's works from most to least performed, as an average of the entire 125-year period in the repertoires of these particular five orchestras (see Table 6).

Surely, it surprises no one to see *Don Juan* and *Till Eulenspiegel* in the top two positions, tone poems in the first six, and three short followed by three long tone poems. The bottom portion of the list contains mainly early and late works, several of which have been rediscovered in recent years. Juxtaposing the average for 1890–2001 with the recent decade 2001–2011 reveals a more egalitarian distribution with diminished focus on the most popular works; where the top three works, the short tone poems, used to account for 45% of Strauss performances, they now claim just 30%. With respect to individual works, the *Alpensinfonie*, *Four Last Songs*, *Rosenkavalier Suite*, *Oboe Concerto*, and *Metamorphosen* have seen significant gains in ranking while *Tod und Verklärung* and *Symphonia domestica* have experienced substantial falls (as indicated in the +/– column, which indicates only significant changes). If we compare this pattern to that found in the repertoire reports of the League of American



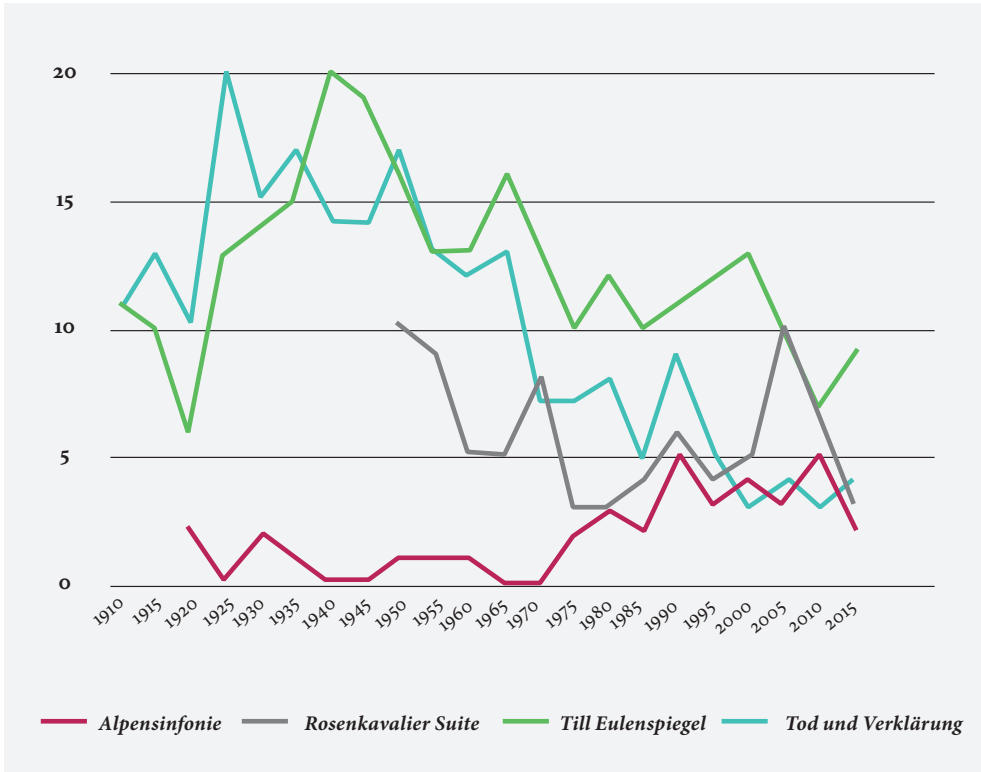


Figure 9: Programming of 4 Strauss Works by 5 American Orchestras 1905–2015

Orchestras for the same years, we encounter a few interesting differences (the League's +/– column indicates difference in rank as compared to the five-orchestra rank for the same years): Horn Concerto No. 1, *Tod und Verklärung*, and the Serenade for 13 Wind Instruments are ranked higher, and *Salome* excerpts, *Symphonia domestica*, and *Alpensinfonie* are ranked lower.<sup>64</sup> Since the League collected repertoire from an average of 180 orchestras each season, the inclusion of many smaller orchestras that might prefer the shorter and less virtuosic works could help explain these ranking differences. Most noteworthy, perhaps, is the discovery that the precipitous decline of *Tod und Verklärung* appears to be confined to the elite orchestras. Given the prominence of the latter through broadcasts, touring, and recordings, however, it is not a foregone conclusion that the numbers collected by the League of American Orchestras represent the »real« Strauss picture. Ultimate-

64 Each orchestra reports its repertoire to the League, but the number of orchestras reporting has varied greatly from 62 to 333 (out of ca. 800 member orchestras).

	5 American Orchestras							League of Am Or		
	1890–2011		1890–2001		2001–2011			2001–2011		
Work	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	+/-	%	Rank	+/-
<i>Don Juan</i>	15.60	1	16.02	1	13.38	1		12.18	1	
<i>Till Eulenspiegel</i>	15.44	2	15.71	2	11.97	2		9.72	2	
<i>Tod und Verklärung</i>	12.77	3	13.64	3	4.93	9	-6	8.29	4	+5
<i>Heldenleben</i>	8.02	4	7.73	4	10.56	4		7.57	5	
<i>Also sprach Zarathustra</i>	7.09	5	7.13	5	6.34	5		9.11	3	
<i>Don Quixote</i>	6.49	6	6.58	6	5.63	6		5.83	8	
<i>Salome Excerpts</i>	5.56	7	5.72	7	4.93	9		2.35	16	-7
<i>Rosenkavalier Suite</i>	4.91	8	4.38	8	11.27	3	+5	7.37	6	
<i>Symphonia Domestica</i>	3.16	9	3.29	9	2.11	14	-5	0.92	20	-6
<i>Burleske</i>	2.95	10	2.68	10	4.93	9		3.79	10	
<i>Bourgeois Gentilhomme</i>	2.51	11	2.50	11	2.87	13		3.17	13	
<i>Four Last Songs</i>	2.29	12	2.01	12	5.63	6	+6	7.16	7	
<i>Alpensinfonie</i>	2.02	13	1.64	15	5.63	6	+9	3.38	12	-6
<i>Serenade for 13 Winds</i>	1.91	14	1.77	13	2.11	14		3.58	11	+3
<i>Feuersnot Love Scene</i>	1.58	15	1.77	13	0			0		
<i>Metamorphosen</i>	1.36	16	1.10	18	3.52	12	+6	2.87	14	
<i>Horn Concerto No. 1</i>	1.31	17	1.28	16	1.41	17		3.89	9	+8
<i>Rosenkavalier Waltzes</i>	1.15	18	1.28	16	0			1.33	18	
<i>Oboe Concerto</i>	0.93	19	0.73	19	2.11	14	+5	2.66	15	
<i>Aus Italien</i>	0.82	20	0.73	19	0.7	18		0.61	22	

Table 6: Relative Programming Frequency of Strauss's Works

ly, we need much more performance data in order to gain a better understanding of the canon and its development.

Although Strauss's works have seen a number of peaks and valleys in the American repertoire over the past 125 years, and although they appear to be experiencing a relative lull at the moment, nothing is likely to threaten their status as firmly anchored in the standard repertoire, and a recovery will no doubt follow the current recession. I would like to imagine that if Strauss were alive today, he might try to encourage performance of his works by modifying the final lines sung by Baron Ochs at the end of the second act of *Der Rosenkavalier*: »mit mir – kein Konzert Dir zu lang.«