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RICHARD STRAUSS AS COMPOSER AND CONDUCTOR (1881–1885): HANS VON BÜLOW, THE MEININGEN COURT ORCHESTRA, AND THE *SERENADE IN Eb MAJOR* (OP.7) AND *SUITE IN Bb MAJOR* (OP.4)

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RICHARD STRAUSS AS COMPOSER AND CONDUCTOR (1881–1885): HANS VON BÜLOW, THE MEININGEN COURT ORCHESTRA, AND THE *SERENADE IN E♭ MAJOR* (OP.7) AND *SUITE IN B♭ MAJOR* (OP.4)

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Abstract

Richard Strauss (1864-1949) is celebrated today as a composer of operas and tone poems. Strauss was also a conductor of great significance, having directed ensembles such as the Meiningen Court Orchestra, Munich Court Opera, Berlin Philharmonic, Berlin Royal Opera, and the Vienna State Opera. Most of the literature on Strauss focuses more heavily toward his compositional output. I believe his significance as a conductor needs to be taken into greater account.

Richard Strauss's life between 1881 and 1885 is the focus of this document. It is during this time when his dual career as a composer and conductor began to take shape. Using biographical sources, memoirs, letters, scholarly articles, and analysis this document shows how Strauss's evolution as a composer played a part in the formation of his conducting career. Additionally, this account focuses on Hans von Bülow's selection of Strauss for a position with the Meiningen Court Orchestra as he began to establish a dual career as a composer and conductor. An analysis of Strauss's compositional style during this time, particularly his *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 and the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4, will attempt to show a link to Hans von Bülow's musical preferences while giving conductors context for better understanding these important works.

Chapter 1

Purpose

Richard Strauss (1864-1949) is recognized as one of the great celebrated composers of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The world's eminent musical institutions regularly perform his catalog of tone poems, operas, wind works, and vocal works. Many western music history texts state his importance and significant contributions as a composer. Through even a cursory examination of the literature, one finds that much of the academic and biographical material concerning Richard Strauss focuses primarily on topics related to his compositions - specifically of tone poems and operas - and the evolution of his philosophy and politics later in life.

Among the biographical literature on Strauss, research on his early wind ensemble works is limited, but arguably proportionate considering the breadth of his compositional output; however, the volume of research concerning his conducting career falls significantly short when considering his career-long role as a conductor. Due to the lack of research on these two areas, this document will examine the timeline of events that led Richard Strauss to the creation of his first serious chamber wind works, Op. 7 and Op. 4; and how those works led to his placement as assistant conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra.

Additionally, this document will evaluate the influence Strauss's family, friends, and mentors and their impact on his early conducting career.

This document will also explore the possible motivations of Hans von Bülow when selecting Strauss for the assistantship with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. At the time of the position opening in 1885, Hans Von Bülow was one of the most dynamic conductors in Europe, the Meiningen Court Orchestra had gained an outstanding reputation due to their high performance standards, touring schedule, and artistic leadership.[1] The position as assistant conductor was an attractive one for many young conductors. It is important to gain understanding of what prompted Han von Bülow to select the young and inexperienced Strauss to assist him with one of the most significant music ensembles of the time. Analysis of Strauss's life and music from 1881 - 1885 will more clearly show what attracted Bülow to Strauss.

This document will provide a plausible explanation for Bülow's selection of Strauss while also exploring the role the *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 and the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4 had in that decision.

The significance of Richard Strauss's father, Franz Strauss, in the initiation of his musical career is well documented. He was an accomplished and influential musician with a desire to promote his son Richard as a child musical

1. David Wooldridge, *Conductor's World* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 69.

prodigy, especially as a composer. Franz Strauss had great influence among musicians in Munich due to his position as principal horn with the Bavarian Court Opera and as such, developed professional relationships with Hermann Levi, Hans von Bülow, Hans Richter, and many influential music critics.[2]

Despite Richard's limited success with early compositional premieres and his father's relentless promotion, Franz became displeased, disappointed, and even pessimistic with Richard's career outlook in his mid-teenage years.[3] In the late 1870s, Franz Strauss pushed his son toward a general education at the *Ludwigsgymnasium* in Munich instead of the Munich Conservatory where Franz served as a professor.[4] He thought the path of a professional musician would be too difficult for young Richard to achieve, and his son would only be recognized as a 'good' musician. He expressed fear that Richard would have trouble earning a living through music alone.[5] Despite the lack of faith he apparently had about his son, evidence suggests that Franz still persisted in shaping Richard's life and

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2. Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1999), 14.

3. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 13.

4. Charles D. Youmans, "The Development of Richard Strauss's Worldview," in *The Richard Strauss Companion*, ed. Mark-Daniel Schmid (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 65.

5. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 13.

compositional activities, with evidence suggesting Franz had influence over his son's conducting style toward the end of Richard's short tenure at Meiningen.[6] Franz Strauss's relationship with his son will be examined closely to ascertain how his ideas may have influenced the young Richard Strauss's conducting career.

In the early 1880s, Richard Strauss's success as a composer began to change. By 1881, he had four successful premieres of his works in Munich. He was beginning to establish himself as a composer.[7] It was also in 1881, Richard Strauss wrote his *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7. The premiere of this work took place in Dresden on November 27, 1882. It was the premiere of this *Serenade* in Dresden that caught the attention of music publisher Eugen Spitzweg who immediately encouraged his friend and famous conductor, Hans von Bülow, to examine the score for possible performance.[8] This correspondence, and later examination of the score, led to Bülow's captivation with Strauss as a composer and set the beginnings of a significant professional relationship. The score to *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 impressed Bülow, and he scheduled a performance of the

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6. Raymond Holden, *Richard Strauss: A Musical Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 23.

7. Holden, *Strauss: A Musical Life*, 13.

8. Holden, *Strauss: A Musical Life*, 14.

work by the Meiningen Court Orchestra for December of 1883. Bülow was so pleased with its quality that he commissioned Strauss to create a new work for winds with the same instrumentation. This commissioned work became the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4. Bülow programmed this work for performance by the Meiningen Court Orchestra the following fall of 1884.[9] This premiere and its reception changed the life and professional trajectory of the young Richard Strauss. In his biography about Richard Strauss, Mathew Boyden writes the following about the premiere of the *Suite in Bb*, Op.4:

> Bülow wanted Strauss to conduct the premiere of his *Suite in Bb* but Strauss didn't have the experience. Bülow's critics said that he was turning the hallowed Meiningen podium into a sacrificial altar. Hans von Bülow was probably the most skilled European conductor of the day and Richard was terrified of this concert. The terror was magnified when Strauss discovered he had to conduct the work's premiere without a rehearsal with the group. The debut went off well considering the circumstances but was ruined for Richard right after the concert due to a disagreement Franz Strauss had with von Bülow.[10]

Despite the argument between Franz Strauss and Hans von Bülow, the debut certainly must have gone well enough. Richard Strauss's conducting premiere with the group along with the perceived quality of the *Serenade in Eb,* Op.7 and the *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4 would eventually lead to his appointment as

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9. Bryan Randolph Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Musical Lives. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 24.

10. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 21.

assistant conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. Even though Franz Strauss and Hans von Bülow were rivals, Bülow was able to appreciate Richard Strauss's talent independent of any negative feelings toward his father. Hans von Bülow took Richard Strauss under his tutelage and made him the assistant conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra at the age of twenty-one.[11] The commissioning and premiere of the *Suite in Bb, Op.4* will be examined in relation to how those events affected the beginning of Strauss' conducting career. There are a few discrepancies and inconsistent details among the different biographies concerning these events that this document will attempt to reconcile. It is also unclear if Bülow took Strauss as his assistant conductor on his merits as a conductor, a composer, or both. This document will provide a clear account of the events from 1881 to Strauss's placement at Meiningen as assistant conductor in 1885 and will also explore Bülow's possible reasons for selecting Strauss.

The fact that the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7, was written before the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4, is an important point to clarify. It is a bit confusing that the *Suite in Bb* is listed as Op. 4 while the *Serenade in Eb* written almost three years earlier is listed as Op. 7. This is because the *Suite in Bb* was in manuscript form for a while and was not published until 1911 by Fürstner. Due to its later publication date, the

11. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 30.

Suite in Bb was given an opus number originally intended for a concert overture that was never published.[12]

The mentorship of Hans von Bülow played an important part in Richard Strauss's career. The Meiningen assistantship under Bülow represented an enormous opportunity for Strauss to work with one of the leading conductors of the time. Many talented musicians were interested in the position as assistant conductor at Meiningen including 25-year-old Gustav Mahler and a young Felix Weingartner. According to some biographers, the interest in the position by experienced applicants combined with the quality of the orchestra and its conductor made the selection of the inexperienced Strauss a surprising choice. Research suggests that Strauss did not even formally apply for the position.[13] This document will explore reasons Bülow invited Strauss to be his assistant conductor. This document examines the interactions they had together as well as the musical merits of *Serenade,* Op. 7 and *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4 that Bülow would have found appealing. Research also suggests that Bülow wanted to influence Strauss due to his talent and potential as a composer. Hans von Bülow referred

12. Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss; a Critical Commentary on His Life and Works,* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book, 1969), 12-13.

13. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 31.

to Strauss as being the "most original composer since Brahms."[14] The mentor-mentee relationship between Strauss and Bülow is fascinating. This document explores the nature of these interactions to gain a more clear picture of their student-teacher relationship.

It is uncertain what Strauss thought about his own path as a musician during the early 1880s. He had already begun general studies and it is doubtful, or at least, debatable whether he would have been able to persist in a professional music career without the success associated with the premieres of Op. 7 and Op. 4. It would have been difficult to establish his eventual professional career without the early guidance of Franz Strauss as well as the mentorship and promotion by Hans von Bülow. This document strengthens the argument that the *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 changed the overall perception of Richard Strauss by Bülow and launched him on a new professional course toward conducting. It was his posting as assistant conductor and his study under Bülow as a conductor that shaped his career as both a conductor and composer.

This document will create an account of the events from 1881-1885 that led Richard Strauss to a career as a conductor for readers interested in these formative events and the significance of Strauss's early mentors. Some conductors and students of conducting may be unaware of many circumstances

14. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 31.

explored in this document. Members of the wind conducting community would be interested in the creation and premieres of Op. 7 and Op. 4 as they relate to Strauss's professional relationships and origins as a conductor.

Procedures

This document examines the life of Richard Strauss in the early 1880s as his compositional skill evolved and he began his career as a conductor. Through the examination of biographical materials, scholarly articles, newspaper reviews, concert programs, and personal letters written by, and about, Richard Strauss during this time period, a rich narrative of this time period emerges. This document also examines the letters and writing of Franz Strauss and Hans von Bülow as they relate to Richard Strauss from 1881 - 1885. Additionally, this document compiles and analyzes programs of Hans von Bülow and the Meiningen Court Orchestra in order to reveal Bülow's programing habits and musical preferences. The analysis of his musical preferences and programing practices from 1881-1885 will provide further insight into Bülow's preference for Strauss and his music. In summary, the document constructs a timeline between 1881 and 1885 using various sources in order to reveal a clear historical account of Strauss's path to selection at Meiningen. The result of this timeline's

construction, the examination of musical and professional influences on Strauss, and the analysis of the chamber wind works Op. 7 and Op. 4 in relation to Bülow's musical goals will clarify the motivations for Strauss's first professional conducting appointment.

Limitations

This document focuses primarily on the events and musical works that relate to Strauss's appointment as assistant with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. As such, this document explores Strauss's life prior to 1886. Strauss's professional advancement toward his eventual appointment as a conductor is the primary focus. Musical analysis in this document will focus most heavily on the *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 and the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4 in order to rationalize Bülow's reasons for programing these works. This document does not provide detailed narrative of Strauss's life before 1881 or after his time at Meiningen. This document studies the major personal influences on Richard Strauss, especially the influences of Franz Strauss and Hans von Bülow, as they relate to the establishment of his composing, performing, and conducting career prior to his time in Meiningen. Materials examined include biographies, the correspondence of Richard Strauss, Franz Strauss, and Hans von Bülow, programs, newspaper

accounts and reviews, and relevant scholarly articles. The materials examined in this document are either originally written in, or translated to, English. The focus of the compositional works and musical mileposts discussed are the *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7 and the *Suite in Bb major*, Op. 4, as their creation and premieres were essential in initiating Strauss's conducting career and selection by Hans von Bülow.

Chapter 2

Survey of Related Literature

This survey of related literature examines Richard Strauss in the early years of his career as a conductor. There is extensive information on Strauss as a composer, especially in his various biographies, but these materials also contain information on the events surrounding the beginning of his career as a conductor. Some of this literature concerning Strauss's early life as assistant conductor at the Meiningen Court Orchestra provides insight into his relationship with his father, Franz Strauss, his conducting mentor, Hans von Bülow, and the events surrounding his first conducting appointment.

Bryan Gilliam in his biography, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, asserts that one of the best-known pieces early in Strauss's compositional output was the *Serenade for Winds in Eb*, Op.7.[1] He wrote this work in 1881 when he was a teenager. Even at that age, Strauss was beginning to enjoy increased notoriety due to several premieres of his music throughout Germany during this time. These works included chamber works, keyboard works, and his first symphony. Gilliam states that critics offered Strauss's works positive praise and he even earned a favorable

1. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 19-20.

review by famed music critic, Eduard Hanslick.[2] Gilliam states that it was the creation and premiere of the *Serenade for Winds in Eb*, Op.7 that caught the attention of famous conductor Hans von Bülow, the music director of the Meiningen Court Orchestra.

Matthew Boyden presents additional detail on how Hans von Bülow came to know the *Serenade for Winds in Eb*, Op. 7 in his biography titled *Richard Strauss*. Boyden provides detail on Strauss's first publishers and discusses the influence of publisher Eugen Spitzweg on Bülow. According to Boyden, Spitzweg was the person who encouraged Bülow to examine the score in detail.[3] Boyden also describes the performances of the *Serenade* under the direction of Hans von Bülow, including an 1883 performance by the Berlin Philharmonic Wind Orchestra where Strauss was in attendance.[4] Bülow had the work performed in Meiningen later in 1884 under the baton of his assistant, Franz Mannstädt, whom Strauss would later replace. Boyden indicates that Bülow was impressed with the *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 and exclaimed praise about Richard Strauss's gifts as a composer. This must have been unusual since Boyden also reveals that Bülow was notorious for being a 'vicious despot' and a man who does not give praise

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2. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 31.

3. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 22.

4. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 17.

often or freely.[5] Both Gilliam and Boyden agree that it was the success of the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 that inspired Hans von Bülow to commission a larger work for winds with the same instrumentation as the *Serenade*.

Strauss spent the year after the Meiningen premiere of the *Serenade* preparing his new *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4 in response to that commission. Gilliam and another biographer, Raymond Holden, talk about the events of the premiere of the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4. They both write about how Hans von Bülow asked Richard Strauss to conduct the premiere without rehearsal, even though Richard was a young man with no conducting experience. They remark that this was an odd decision by Bülow that, hopefully, other biographies and materials will explore. Hans von Bülow's Meiningen Court Orchestra performed this premiere performance. Gilliam and Boyden contrast the vast difference between Bülow, who was considered to be one of the most skilled conductors and interpreters of music in Europe at the time, to the young and inexperienced Strauss who had to premiere the work with the master musicians of Meiningen on tour without rehearsal. Like Gilliam and Holden, Boyden also writes about Richard Strauss's conducting premiere, yet he claims that Strauss conducted the *Serenade in Eb*, Op.

5. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 27.

7 at that performance instead of the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4.[6] This statement represents a major inconsistency that needs to be addressed by further research.

Boyden also discusses the relationship between Hans von Bülow and Franz Strauss. Boyden asserts that Hans von Bülow was a well-known enemy of Richard Strauss's father, Franz, and could have put on the stunt of Richard's conducting premiere as a means to humiliate both Franz and Richard. Boyden, along with most of the biographers that write about this premiere, resolve this notion indicating Bülow obviously pushed aside his differences with Franz Strauss enough to take his son as an apprentice and assistant conductor.

All three biographers discuss how important Franz was in promoting the talents of his son. Richard and Franz had a complicated relationship, according to Boyden, that often teetered between Franz's enthusiastic promotion of Richard to his disappointment in his son's development. Boyden even discusses how a disagreement between Hans von Bülow and his father ruined an otherwise successful conducting premiere for Strauss. An argument between Franz Strauss and Bülow broke out backstage about Franz thanking him for giving Richard the opportunity to conduct as a favor to Franz. Boyden discusses how Bülow strongly expressed this was not the case. Boyden surmises that Richard Strauss

6. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 22.

received the unique opportunity to have his career championed by Bülow on his own merits. [7]

Boyden, Gilliam, and Holden all discuss the appointment of Richard Strauss as the assistant conductor of Meiningen by Hans von Bülow following the conducting premiere. Boyden goes into more detail about the role of father figure and mentor Bülow took with Richard and the many professional challenges presented to Richard Strauss for developing him as a musician and conductor. Boyden even discusses Richard's impression of rehearsals and Strauss's duties with the court orchestra found through letters and correspondence.

Tim Ashley presents detail regarding Strauss's technique as a young conductor and his habits as a conducting assistant. After the Duke appointed Richard as *Hofmusikdirector* at Meiningen following Hans von Bülow's sudden departure from the post, Ashley finds that Franz becomes critical of Richard's conducting and encourages Richard to make significant changes.[8] According to his *Recollections and Reflections*, Strauss not only takes his father's advice as a young conductor of twenty-three years, but incorporates the changes for the rest of his conducting career. These changes caused later criticism of Strauss's

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7. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 24.

8. Tim Ashley, Richard Strauss (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), 32.

conducting style. Another biographer, Holden also talks about the difficulties Strauss had after taking over the head conductor position at Meiningen. Strauss faced such challenges as budget cuts, orchestra personnel reduction, and personal and professional tension between himself and the musicians. Del Mar, in his book, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on his Life and Works*, also discusses the Duke's intention to reduce the orchestra during Strauss's tenure.

Wilhelm's biography on Richard Strauss discusses the events surrounding the premieres of both Op. 7 and Op. 4 but this discussion is very brief. The examination of this time period seems to be lacking in comparison to the biographies mentioned above. Wilhelm briefly examines the main points of the other biographers in a more compressed format. After the discussion of the Op. 7 and Op. 4 premieres, Wilhelm describes Strauss's time and duties with his assistantship at the Meiningen Court Orchestra. He offers description of Strauss's relationship as mentee to Hans von Bülow and also description of some of Strauss's specific responsibilities as both a conducting assistant and student. It is interesting to note an excerpt of a review of the Meiningen Orchestra in a Munich Sunday newspaper that Wilhelm brings to light:

> "Dr. Bülow perambulated about the stage and surveyed the auditorium. A pale, long-haired youth is to conduct the overture. He looks as though for the last fortnight he has eaten nought but newborn lambs and drunk nought but Karlsbad water. The duke and his wife enter the little ducal box and the orchestra strikes up. Herr von Bülow works away

> at Swedish drill, swinging the upper part of his body vigorously to and fro, and the long-haired youth seems from his gestures to be seasick."[9]

The long-haired youth mentioned was, of course, Richard Strauss. According to Wilhelm, Strauss thought this review and account of that particular performance was 'heavenly.'[10]

The Wilhelm biography does call attention to a fact that places the book in conflict with a few other sources. Wilhelm asserts that Hans von Bülow left the Meiningen Court Orchestra in the spring of 1886 where most other sources say that he left Meiningen in November of 1885.[11] Based on preliminary reading and an examination of programs, other sources will easily resolve this discrepancy.

Tim Ashley's biography only briefly presents Strauss's time at Meiningen and his work as a conductor with Hans von Bülow. Compared with the Wilhelm biography, the account exploring this portion of Strauss's life is even shorter. This biography omits any overt reference to the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4, by name or opus number. He only notes that Bülow commissioned a "more formal suite for

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9. Kurt Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss: An Intimate Portrait*, trans. Mary Whittall (Munich: Kindler Verlag, 1989), 34.

10. Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss*, 34.

11. Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss*, 34.

wind instruments."[12] Even when the author mentions Strauss's appointment at Meiningen, he misses the mark:

> "Strauss duly moved to Meiningen in September 1885 to take up his appointment on 1 October. It was one of the most important events in what proved a remarkable, if at times unhappy, year. First of all, it marked his emergence as a *lieder* composer of considerable stature, with the composition of nine songs to poems by Hermann von Gilm, an Austrian whose work Thuille had discovered by Innsbruck."[13]

As seen from the quote above, Tim Ashley talks about Strauss's move to Meiningen as related first to the important creation of *lieder.* Ashley does, however, talk about conducting later in the chapter. By describing Franz Strauss's relentless criticism of his son's conducting technique. What follows is a brief, but interesting, exploration of the Strauss family dynamic.

Discrepancies and omissions occur not only in the biographical material but in various periodicals dating to the early twentieth century. In a 1904 article by G.W. Harris in a New York periodical titled *The Independent*, the author presents a brief biography of Richard Strauss. This article coincides with Strauss's conducting tour of the United States in 1904 and presented as a way to educate New Yorkers about his accomplishments. The biographical article is

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12. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 30.

13. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 31.

short, but a few major statements conflict with other biographical materials. The first questionable states that Bülow conducted the premiere of Op. 7 in 1883. The second discrepancy is more of an omission; the *Suite in Bb* Op. 4 is not mentioned. The third discrepancy is a larger one in relation to Strauss's official position with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. The article states that Richard Strauss took a position as violinist and, later, concert master with the Meiningen Court Orchestra.[14]

An article from 1904 found in *Current Literature* highlights Richard Strauss's skill as a conductor. The article asserts that he is considered as great a conductor as he is a composer in his own country.[15] The article also goes into some detail about Strauss's conducting practices and technique, and even compares his conducting favorably to his contemporaries. This article presents a positive review of his conducting in contrast to other articles that are critical of his conducting style.

David Wooldridge's book, *Conductor's World*, explores several different conductors' practices starting from Carl Maria von Weber and ending with

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14. G.W. Harris, "Richard Strauss and His Music." *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts (1848-1921)* 56, no. 2883 (1904): 491.

15. "Music and Art." *Current Literature (1888-1912)* xxxvi., No. 4 (1904): 437.

Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic. In the early parts of his book, Wooldridge examines and applauds composer/conductors including Weber, Berlioz, Wagner, Liszt, Brahms, Weingartner, Bülow, Strauss, and Mahler. Wooldridge subscribes to point of view Wagner placed on "the ability to compose as a necessary adjunct to the art of conducting."[16]

Concerning the conducting of Richard Strauss, Woolridge suggests a powerful statement about the need for further study:

> Adherent and adversary, biographer and critic alike, have been predominantly concerned with an examination of Strauss the composer, and while they have shown a more or less cursory interest in his activities as conductor, it has never seriously been suggested that these were anything more than incidental to his activities as a "creative artist.[17]

This is a rare argument among the existing literature, but one that is of critical importance to this document. Wooldridge follows this powerful statement even further:

> It is not the purpose of this book to try and assess Strauss's importance as a composer, save to remark that the musical ideal to which he subscribed in his composition was that which he consistently applied in his music-making, and to assert that every page of his operas and orchestral writing furnishes abundant evidence of his mastery as a conductor.
>
> That Strauss did not retire from the stage of active and full-time music-making until he was sixty is a testimony enough of the emphasis which he

16. Wooldridge, *Conductor's World*, 57.

17. Wooldridge, *Conductor's World*, 84.

> placed upon his work as an interpretative artist, always regarding composition as of secondary importance to his career as conductor.[18]

Despite this powerful assertion, and stated need by the author, the information found in this book concerning the origins of Strauss as a conductor is incomplete compared with other biographical sources. The focus of the book's Richard Strauss chapter centers mostly on his opera conducting. There is limited description of his time at Meiningen and stated facts found in this book are at odds with statements and timelines found in other biographical material. For example, he mentions the *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 but not by opus number. He does not mention the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4 at all.

Wooldridge discusses baton technique in relation to the practice of both Hans von Bülow and Richard Strauss. While this exploration is appropriate to Wooldridge's goals of exploring Strauss as a conductor. However, the fact that this book explores several conductors does leave the exploration of Strauss short out of necessity.

Research in Hans von Bülow's time with the Meiningen Orchestra and his musical preferences is appropriate to meet the goals of this document. A few

18. Wooldridge, *Conductor's World*, 84-85.

books have given some insight into this dynamic conductor's professional habits and tastes as relevant to the initiation of Richard Strauss's conducting career.

David Wooldridge's *Conductor's World* offers insight to many great conductor and dual-career composer/conductors. In a few chapters early in the book, he briefly explores the conducting careers of both Hans von Bülow and Richard Strauss, although the material is understandably brief in order to explore many different conductors within the same book. One of the more interesting and relevant quotes found in this book was a comment from Franz Liszt concerning Hans von Bülow and the Meiningen Court Orchestra:

> Under Bülow's conducting the Meiningen orchestra achieves miracles. Nowhere is there to be found such intelligence in diverse works – precision in performance with the most correct and subtle rhythmic and dynamic shading. The fact of opera having been abolished at Meiningen by the Duke some twenty years ago is most favorable to concerts. In this way the orchestra has time to have a proper number of sectional and full rehearsals without too much fatigue, as the opera work has been done away with. Bülow is almost as lavish of rehearsals as Berlioz would have been, had he had the means. The result is admirable and in certain respects matchless – not excepting the Paris Conservatoire and other celebrated concert institutions. The little Meiningen phalanx, thanks to its present general, is in advance of the largest battalions. It is said that Rubinstein and some others have expressed themselves disapprovingly about some of the unusual tempi and nuances of Bülow, but to my thinking their criticism is devoid of foundation… Always the same complete understanding both in the ensemble and the detail of these scores – the same vigor, energy, refinement, accuracy, relief, vitality and superior characterization in their interpretation.[19]

19. Wooldridge, *Conductor's World*, 69.

Wooldridge also discusses Bülow's style of teaching. Wooldridge notes the teaching style of Bülow and states that he despised teachers in the traditional, professorial sense. It is apparent that Bülow, instead, preferred teaching through mentorship, much in the way that Liszt had offered his mentorship to him.[20] It is this role of Bülow as mentor to Strauss that is explored in this source as well using quotes from correspondence and memoirs from the two men.

Bülow had his choice of capable conductors in 1885 when the post for his assistant conductor at the Meiningen Court Orchestra came open. In the study of Richard Strauss's conducting career, it is relevant to study his contemporaries, especially conductors who were also interested in the same position. One article, Peter Franklin's "Richard Strauss and His Contemporaries: Critical Perspectives" compares Richard Strauss to Gustav Mahler. Franklin discusses the two composer/conductors in terms of their rivalry and their friendship. Franklin also talks about their many similarities in career path, philosophies, and artistic sensibility. Most of the comparisons reference the general scope of their careers rather than focusing specifically on the early part of their careers.

Another article, Charles D. Youmans's "The Development of Richard Strauss's Worldview" goes into some detail of Richard Strauss's childhood and

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20. Wooldridge, *Conductor's World*, 70.

how his upbringing and general education could have shaped his tastes and personality as an adult. Youmans explores Strauss's general education, giving detail on the quality and scope of his time at the *Ludwigsgymnasium*. The article then discusses his entrance and exit at the University of Munich and gives reasons for both. Youmans also discusses Strauss's more informal education through mentor-mentee relationships. Youmans also explores relationships between Strauss and Bülow and Strauss and Ritter. He presents the relationship between Strauss and Ritter with a more detail and analysis then some of the other sources explored in this review, especially the end of their relationship which involved betrayal and the rejection of Ritter's ideas.

In the article, "From 'Too Many Works' to 'Wrist Exercises': The Abstract Instrumental Compositions of Richard Strauss" by Scott Warfield, there is discussion of Richard Strauss as a child composer and the relationship between him and his father. Warfield frames this father-son dynamic through the lens of Richard Strauss's early professional successes and failures. This article highlights some of the more abstract compositions of Richard Strauss's youth and the various purposes and outlets for performance those works had. Warfield states that the Pschorr family - Richard Strauss's mother's side, and Franz Strauss's amateur Wild Gung'l Orchestra played important roles in promoting and performing the early works of the young Richard Strauss. Warfield also provides

information on Strauss's childhood music studies with Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer, second conductor at the Munich Court Opera.[21] Warfield states that Meyer taught Richard Strauss for five years in the areas of theory, counterpoint, orchestration, and composition. Warfield also give analysis positing that it was an interesting choice for Franz to employ Meyer. Some view the choice of Meyer as an anomaly because of his relative anonymity. Franz was a leading musician in the city of Munich and could have had his pick of teachers for young Richard. Warfield states that Franz carefully considered this decision and Meyer was the correct choice for Richard Strauss given Franz's long working relationship with Meyer.[22]

The Warfield article delves further into the amount of influence and control Franz Strauss had over his son's early compositional career. Warfield gives evidence that Franz would improve and edit Richard's works that he wrote as a boy. He claims that Franz would not only adjust the orchestration to fit the instrumentation of his Wild Gung'l, but also make range adjustments, and adjustments to counterpoint and melody.[23]

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21. Scott Warfield, "From 'Too Many Works' to 'Wrist Exercises': The Abstract Instrumental Compositions of Richard Strauss," in *The Richard Strauss Companion*, ed. by Mark-Daniel Schmid (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 194.

22. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 194.

23. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 197.

The Warfield article also offers more details concerning the early publishers of Richard Strauss's works. Multiple performances and new success of Strauss's works in Munich around 1881 aided in securing the Munich publishing firm of Aibl to issue his works. Warfield observes that Eugen Spitzweg played a large role at the firm, being the son of the firm's owner, and took a risk taking on the works of the young Richard Strauss. Franz advocated for his son while Bülow argued against publishing Richard's works. Gilliam offers similar background on Strauss's early publishers but does not offer as much detail and analysis as Warfield does.

Warfield also talks about some of the major events in Strauss's life around 1885. He discusses the open assistant conducting position in the Meiningen Court Orchestra like many of the other sources, but specifically names Felix Weingartner and Gustav Mahler as potential applicants for the position.

In the biography by Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma,* Kennedy presents the life of Richard Strauss in a timeline similar to biographies previously mentioned but goes several steps further into research and analysis. Kennedy brings richer description to the timeline of events in general. Where many biographies focus superficially on the history of Strauss's works, Kennedy succeeds in enriching the view of Strauss as a person. Kennedy brings a previously unexplored perspective of the young Strauss's romantic

relationships. It is unclear precisely how those relationships may have impact on his composing or conducting at the time, but it provides further insight into Strauss's motivations and emotional life as a young man around the times of 1881-1885.

The Kennedy biography also discusses other works as being important around this time in his life including his *Symphony No. 2*, his *Piano Concerto in D minor,* and his *Cello Sonata*. Kennedy does state, very strongly, that the most important of any of the pieces premiered during Strauss's 1884 tour in Berlin was the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7. Kennedy is one of the few biographers to emphasize the importance of this work. Kennedy is also one of the few biographers to note Strauss's social habits and how well he seemed to integrate into a world of parties and high society. Kennedy also goes into additional detail on Strauss's hiring and contract with the Meiningen Court Orchestra.

One of the more authentic views into Richard Strauss's life are a collection of his own *Recollections and Reflections*. This compilation is a remarkable resource that gives insight to the events surrounding his first appointment as a conductor according to his own perceived experiences. He discusses his relationship with Bülow and gives colorful accounts of their relationship and interactions. The most relevant account he gives for the purpose of this paper is of his premier as a conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra, directing his Op. 4. Strauss

discusses the nature of his work with Bülow once he began his role as assistant conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. Another insight Strauss gives us in his memoirs are his thoughts on conducting. He talks about his famous "Ten Golden Rules" for young conductors and also discusses some of the critiques that people have about his own conducting, especially in regard to tempo choice.[24] Strauss discusses his own early musical influences while also discussing the role his father had in shaping his own musical taste. As some biographers value Strauss's contributions as a composer over his contributions as a conductor, Strauss approaches the memories of both professions evenly in his formative years. In the chapter, "Recollections of my youth and years of apprenticeship," he describes a history of his conducting and of his mentors in equal weight, if not overshadowing, his discussion of his own music.

In Gordon Rogoff's article "The Cheerful Workshop of Richard Strauss" he discusses the end of Strauss's life and time as a composer. Specifically, Rogoff details the events surrounding the creation of some of his best-known final works, including the *Sonatina No. 1 in F Major* and the *Sonatina No. 2 in Eb Major for 16 Winds*, subtitled "*The Cheerful Workshop*." The timeframe discussed in this article centers around Strauss's creative life and home life as Germany transitions

24. Richard Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, ed. Willi Schuh, trans. L.J. Lawrence (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953).

out of World War II and toward the post-war era. This article does not purely focus on the compositions themselves but studies the humanity of Richard Strauss. Rogoff explores Strauss's frame of mind as he tackles the politics of the Nazi Germany, political differences with his son, the slaughter of his daughter-in-law's relatives by the Nazis, his depression during the war, his wife's failing health, and his relief at the end of the war. This article could be relevant to the research goals of this paper as it highlights Strauss's return to composing for chamber winds; a genre he had not explored since his youth with the *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4. Rogoff suggests the composition of the two chamber-wind Sonatinas at the end of his life as a return to the past. Rogoff observes that Strauss dedicated the *Sonatina No. 2* to Mozart, paying homage to the *Serenade in Bb Major, K. 361 (Gran Partita).*[25]

In Norman Del Mar's *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works, Vol. 1*, Del Mar adds valuable critical perspective to Strauss's early life as a composer and conductor. Del Mar explores the thoughts and ambitions of a young Richard Strauss. In the *Commentary*, Del Mar presents a letter written by Richard Strauss to the publishers Breitkopf and Härtel in 1881. In the letter, Strauss introduces himself and petitions Herr Breitkopf to publish his *Festmarsch*.

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26. Gordon Rogoff, "The Cheerful Workshop of Richard Strauss," *Parnassus: Poetry in Review* 32, 1/2 (2011): 216.

The letter indicates that Strauss's uncle, George Pschorr of the famous brewing family on Richard's mother's side, would completely defray the printing costs. Del Mar calls the request "precocious but, by no means, objectionable."[26]

Del Mar cites the musical analysis of various landmark works that helped defined the life and career of Richard Strauss. Some of the earlier works analyzed were the *Festmarsch,* Op. 1, *Piano Sonata*, Op. 5, and the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7. The analysis of the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 is brief and superficial. What is more relevant to this document is Strauss's own words about this work. Strauss said in a letter from 1909 that he viewed the Op. 7 as the "respectable work of a music student."[27] Even with that fact, Del Mar does call the Op. 7 a work "by no means without imagination."[28]

Del Mar discusses both the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 and the *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4. In this discussion, he uncovers more details about Bülow's commissioning of the *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4 and asserts that Bülow desired a work for the same combination of instruments that honored the old form of a Baroque suite. Specifically, Bülow requested a gavotte and a fugue but did not realize that

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27. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary*, 3.

28. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary*, 10.

29. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary*, 10.

Strauss had already drafted two of the movements.[29] Del Mar also goes on to quote Strauss's thoughts on the premiere of the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4 from his own *Recollections and Reflections*. Many of the sources in this literature review reference Strauss's *Recollections and Reflections* which reinforces its value as a resource. Del Mar also discusses Strauss's shift in musical style in the spring of 1884 as he moves away from the symphonic methods of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schumann, and begins to emulate the style of Brahms. This shift in style toward Brahms happened just one year before his appointment to the Meiningen Court Orchestra as the assistant conductor and during the time he was composing the *Suite in Bb*.

An exploration of the initiation of Richard Strauss's conducting career as assistant with the Meiningen Court Orchestra in 1885 warrants research in Meiningen's chief conductor and artistic director, Hans von Bülow. A valuable resource about the life of Hans von Bülow is Kenneth Birkin's 2011 biography titled, *Hans von Bülow: A Life for Music*. Birkin gives perspective on the life, musical activities, tastes, and politics of Hans von Bülow. The book details his relationships, especially relationships with composers such as Strauss, Wagner, and Brahms. The biography talks about Bülow's time in Munich, Hanover,

29. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary*, 10.

Meiningen, Berlin, and how his professional and personal life intersects some of the most famous composers and performers of the late German Romantic era.

Birkin explains the personal and professional conflict Bülow had with Franz Strauss while Bülow was the conductor in Munich with the Court Opera and Franz served as principal horn. Birkin gives a few examples of times when both men were directly in conflict with each other. The biography also explores the temperament of Hans von Bülow. Birkin describes Bülow as a complicated person who was capable of being loyal to some and famously combative toward others. Bülow was the enthusiastic champion of his favorite composers, according to Birkin. In each city he held conducting posts, Bülow worked hard to educate and expose audiences and musicians to the composers he admired. Birkin also highlights Bülow's work ethic, passion, and craft he brought to the profession of conducting. Birkin presents many different critiques and reviews in order to establish how music critics viewed the conducting and musical decisions made by Hans von Bülow.

Birkin provides insight into the musical tastes of Hans von Bülow, including a thorough account of his concert programming as both a performer and a conductor. Birkin offers a complete compilation of Bülow's programing during his time at Meiningen in the appendix of the book. With this list of programs, dates, and tour cities, a clear representation emerges of Bülow's

musical goals as director of the Meiningen Court Orchestra. This programing also reveals when, and how much, Bülow performed Richard Strauss's music. The list of programs reveals Bülow's enthusiasm for Beethoven and, later, his passion for championing the works of both Richard Strauss and Johannes Brahms. The programing also reveals a return to Wagner's works as Bülow reconciled prior personal conflicts and drama. Birkin presents evidence, during 1884, of Bülow exploring and programming the works of Felix Weingartner, another young composer and conductor. The programming of Weingartner's work by Bülow could indicate a span of time when Bülow was considering the merits of both young men for the assistant position at Meiningen. Birkin's book gives valuable insight into the personality and habits of Hans von Bülow which could aide in clarifying his preference for Richard Strauss.

Chapter 3

Strauss's Path to Meiningen

Introduction

The timeline that leads to Richard Strauss's appointment with the Meiningen Court Orchestra as Assistant Conductor is a series of fascinating events. When Hans von Bülow selected Strauss for the assistant conductor position in 1885, he was a young man of twenty-one. Strauss's selection as a young man in relation to the significance of the position at Meiningen may seem exceptional, but this was not a decision based in randomness or fortune. A combination of events and artistic milestones that defined Richard Strauss's teenage years influenced Bülow's ultimate selection. The timeline presented in this chapter follows Strauss's transition from untested child prodigy to a young man with emerging compositional and conducting talent. This timeline shows the events that had an influence on Hans von Bülow's perception and selection of Richard Strauss. This timeline also explores the influences placed upon Richard Strauss by his father, Franz Strauss, and his mentor, Hans von Bülow.

Franz Strauss

Richard Strauss's father had a difficult life as a young man. Franz Strauss was born poor and raised by relatives. He fought to establish a career as a musician and a establish a normal family life early in adulthood. As a musician, he achieved success as one of the most respected horn players in Europe. He tried to start a family in the early 1850s but tragically, his first child and wife died in 1854.[1] Just a few years later, Franz Strauss, now in his early thirties, met Josephine Pschorr - the woman who would become Richard Strauss's mother. At that time, Josephine was the eighteen-year-old daughter of a brewery owner, Georg Pschorr. By the time Franz and Josephine married in 1863, the Pschorr family had risen the local social and wealth ladder and were known for being generous regional patrons of the arts.[2] Franz Strauss, now middle aged, had attained greater security through marriage and had come a long way from his illegitimate and impoverished origins. One year after their marriage, Franz and Josephine Strauss welcomed their first son, Richard Strauss, into the world on June 11, 1864.

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1. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 1.

2. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 1-2.

At the time, Franz Strauss was regarded as one of the finest horn players in Germany and cemented himself as a significant artistic presence within the Munich Court Orchestra and the city of Munich. By his own son's later recollection, Franz Strauss was also viewed as one of the more conservative musicians in the court orchestra. According to Richard Strauss, Franz:

> …worshipped the trinity of Mozart (above the others), Haydn and Beethoven. These were followed by the lieder composer Schubert, by Weber, and at some distance, by Mendelssohn and Spohr. To him, the late Beethoven works, from the finale of the seventh symphony and onward, were no longer "pure music" ... Where music ceased to be a play of sounds and became, quite consciously, music as expression, my father only followed with mental reservations ... he was incapable of appreciating the later Wagner, although no one gave as spirited a rendering of the horn solo in Tristan and Die Meistersinger as he.[3]

The language of the quote in the portion concerning Franz Strauss's lack of appreciation for Wagner understates the depth of his feelings. By many accounts, Franz Strauss had a dislike for the music of Wagner but a stronger hatred for Wagner the man. Willi Schuh provides a quote from Franz Strauss in the biography about Richard:

> You can have no conception of the idolatry that surrounds this drunken ruffian. There is no ridding me now of my conviction that the man is ill with immeasurable megalomania and delirium, because he drinks so much, and strong liquor at that, that he is permanently intoxicated. Recently he was so tight at a rehearsal that he almost fell into the pit.[4]

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3. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 4.

4. Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years 1864-1898*, translated by Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 6.

To further illustrate Franz's disgust, when Wagner died in 1883, the news of the death reached Hermann Levi who was the director of the Munich *Staatsoper* at the time. During rehearsal Levi suggested that the orchestra rise to their feet as a mark of respect. Franz Strauss alone refused to stand.[5] This was a powerful show of disobedience and disdain. That said, Franz Strauss still fulfilled his professional obligations as an ensemble musician and performed the works of Wagner when required. He even played the first complete performance of the *Ring Cycle* in Bayreuth during the summer of 1876.[6]

These anecdotes and recollections are meant to give a picture of the conservative musical tastes of Franz Strauss. Franz's apparent obstinance and moral convictions also give more clarity to the type of father he may have been to Richard. Franz Strauss's conservative nature had heavy influence on the early musical tastes and compositions of Richard Strauss. Like many teenagers, however, it was also his father's held beliefs that Richard occasionally tested or rebelled against. As Richard Strauss grew up and explored his own personal

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5. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 4.

6. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 7.

artistic tastes, he fluctuated between emulating the conservative masters and the more progressive works of Wagner.

Richard Strauss's Youth

Richard Strauss was, in many ways, a musical reflection of his father, at least in his youth. Franz Strauss nurtured and encouraged his son's musical development. He shaped his son's early tastes. As music was the profession of the father, it was the pursuit and passion of the son. In fact, music was a regular part of the entire Pschorr family. At an early age, Richard Strauss participated in private family performances that featured the works of Haydn, Mozart, and early Beethoven.[7] In the mid 1870s, the young Richard Strauss used this family ensemble to test some of his own compositions. He was prolific for such a young boy and had composed over one hundred small works before his sixteenth birthday. These works included piano pieces, chamber ensemble works, and vocal works including lieder. Richard Strauss wrote many of these works without formal instruction and purely out of his obvious youthful passion for composition. [8]

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7. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 193.

8. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 193.

Strauss's Musical Education and General Education

Franz recognized Richard's enthusiasm for composition and, in 1875, hired his friend and professional colleague Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer to instruct Richard in music theory, counterpoint, orchestration and composition.[9] Meyer was the assistant conductor with the Munich Court Opera and was a man whose conservative musical tastes matched those of Franz Strauss. Franz Strauss had his pick of friends and colleagues who would be willing to take on his son as a pupil. Some may think the choice of Meyer, a musician who lived in anonymity relative to the Strauss family, was an odd one.[10] To justify the selection, Scott Warfield makes an interesting point in his article, *"From 'Too Many Works' to 'Wrist Exercises': The Abstract Instrumental Compositions of Richard Strauss,"* when he states:

> The boy studied with Meyer for five years, from the age of 11 to 16, during which time he received his only formal training in composition in his life. Franz's choice of Meyer as his son's teacher might seem curious, given Meyer's relative anonymity (both then and now) and the availably of more prestigious teachers in Munich. On the other hand, Franz had known and worked with Meyer for nearly two decades, and thus he could be sure of the man's character and musical tastes. Franz would have no fear that Meyer, an ordinary musician of conventional and conservative training, might poison young Richard's mind with radical ideas.[11]

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9. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 194.

10. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 194.

11. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 194.

From this analysis, Warfield feels that it is clear Franz Strauss carefully considered the quality of his son's musical education. He was comfortable leaving his son's education in the hands of a trusted professional colleague. The hiring of Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer was also a way to ensure that Richard stay grounded in musical conservatism during his formative musical instruction.

The musical performance outlets Richard Strauss and his father had at their disposal increased in 1875. It was in this year that Franz Strauss took over leadership and conducting duties of the Wilde Gung'l Orchestra in Munich.[12] The Wilde Gung'l was a semi-professional orchestra of varying instrumentation.[13] Attending rehearsals with his father allowed Richard Strauss insight into practical orchestration and the musical demands placed on more amateur players.[14] From 1875 to the early 1880s, Richard used this group as a vehicle for both early experimentation and premieres of his first public works. From 1875 to the early 1880s, both of Richard Strauss's primary musical influences – Friedrich Meyer and Franz Strauss – were both conductors of orchestras.

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12. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 18.

13. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 26.

14. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 18.

As mentioned earlier, Richard Strauss already had a number of works completed before he began formal study with Friedrich Meyer. He wrote the *Weihnachtslied*, the *Schneiderpolka*, the *Panzenburg Polka*, and a *Fantasia* for solo piano. He was close and appreciative of his family and dedicated the *Fantasia* to his father. He also dedicated some of his early lieder to his Aunt Johanna.[15] In 1875, in addition to studying composition with Meyer, Richard Strauss began serious piano study with Carl Niest.[16] Aside from his formal composition instruction and piano instruction, he sought out other musical education within the family. Benno Walter was a cousin of Richard Strauss who played in the Munich Court Orchestra and taught him violin.[17] As a violinist and family member, Benno Walter helped premiere some of Richard Strauss's early string works.

During this era, Richard Strauss's general education was typical according to German societal norms. Music was a natural part of German and Bavarian society and included in a child's regular upbringing. He started this general education at the *Ludwigsgymnasium* in 1874, a year before his more serious

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15. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 22.

16. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 9.

17. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 22.

musical study began to take shape under Meyer and Niest.[18] Matthew Boyden states the following about Richard Strauss's general education as a child:

> That Richard was considered merely a 'promising musical talent' might, in retrospect, seem odd; but in 1875 (the year he first began piano lessons with Carl Niest) he was no more remarkable than many another gifted child. Music in the 1870's was a luxury for the many, and the heart of most German domestic life. Nearly everyone with an education could read music, and elemental skill with an instrument was taken for granted.[19]

It was one of Richard Strauss's general education instructors at the lower school of the *Lugwigsgymnasium*, a Grammar School in Munich, that referred to him as a 'promising musical talent.' While Boyden suggests that assessment to be a slight, one can also see the instructor's statement as genuine praise based on the amount of his early compositional output before study with Meyer. Another teacher of Richard Strauss, Carl Welzhofer, described him as a model student who had great enthusiasm for school, learning, and music.[20] Richard was proud of his general education as a result of his time at the *Ludwigsgymnasium* and later short stint at the University of Munich. Charles Youmans states in his article, "The Development of Richard Strauss's Worldview,":

> As a youth he had received as thorough a general education as any Austro-German nineteenth-century composer other than Felix

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18. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 22.

19. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 9.

20. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 9.

> Mendelssohn. An enthusiastic autodidact throughout his career, he took pride in his broad knowledge of European culture, believing that intellectual consciousness was a determining feature of his artistic persona.[21]

At this time, in Munich, attending and passing the final examination in the classical curriculum at the *Gymnasium* was a required step toward obtaining a career as a civil servant or placement at a university.[22] The alternative route to study at the *Ludwigsgymnasium* for Richard Strauss would have been to study at the Munich Conservatory, where his father taught. This would have been an obvious choice for Richard if he and his father felt that the profession of music would have been a prudent course. Franz Strauss felt otherwise about his son's study at the conservatory and steered Richard toward a general education, telling his son about study at the *Ludwigsgymnasium*: "There you will be free to take advantage of every opportunity. Whether your talent will last has yet to be seen. Even good musicians find it hard to earn a crust. You'd be better off as a shoemaker or tailor."[23]

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21. Youmans, "Strauss's Worldview," 63.

22. Youmans, "Strauss's Worldview," 66.

23. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 13.

Franz Strauss was cognizant of the realities of the music profession and felt that obtaining a humanist education in classical culture, literature, art, philosophy, and history was the best path for his son's future.[24]

Despite what must have seemed like his father's lack of confidence in his professional future as a musician, Richard Strauss approached his *Ludwigsgymnasium* general education with enthusiasm. He was a good student, a teacher favorite, and a faithful son, but it was apparent Richard Strauss embraced music even more. He admitted to preferring musical composition to studying, especially math, as indicated by the musical sketches found in his math book.[25] Richard read and studied both classical and contemporary literature and expanded his knowledge of the humanities. In his maturity, an older Richard Strauss deeply appreciated the general education he had as a young man. According to Charles Youmans, "he took pride in his broad knowledge of European culture, believing that intellectual consciousness was a determining feature of his artistic persona."[26] Strauss saw the merits of this path and discovered ways it could strengthen him as an artist.

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24. Youmans, "Strauss's Worldview," 66.

25. Ashley, *Richard Strauss,* 23.

26. Youmans, "Strauss's Worldview," 63.

Editing Works

After he began study with Meyer, Strauss took an interest in more expansive forms and orchestration. In 1876 he wrote a *Concert Overture in B minor* and his *Festmarsch,* Op.1, for orchestra. Since Richard Strauss had little experience in orchestration at this point in his life, Friedrich Meyer assisted him with orchestrating the *Concert Overture*. Richard attempted his own orchestration of the *Festmarsch* but, in the end, the work was heavily edited by his father, Franz.[27]

Franz Strauss edited his son's works, even though Meyer was teaching Richard the elements of composition. Since Franz Strauss's orchestra read or performed many of Richard Strauss's works during this era, he felt it was important to adjust these works to aid in a successful performance. Richard Strauss wrote a *Serenade* (TrV 52) in 1877, performed by Franz and his Wilde Gung'l Orchestra. It was the first of his pieces played by the group. Franz Strauss, as he later did with the *Festmarsch*, put his own edits and improvements on the work. According to Scott Warfield in his article, "From "Too Many Works" to "Wrist Exercises": The Abstract Instrumental Compositions of Richard Strauss," he states:

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27. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 197.

> Again, the putative impetus was to adapt Richard's standard double-wind orchestration to the particular needs of the Wilde Gung'l, but Franz also took the opportunity to make numerous improvements in his son's score. Many changes are just obvious corrections, such as key signature of transposed parts or the revoicing of parts that are too high or too low for certain instruments. In some cases, however, Franz went so far as to change melodic and contrapuntal details, and thereby transformed Richard's minimally competent material into evocations of eighteenth-century masters.[28]

Franz Strauss helped his son by revising his works. It is likely that Richard himself knew of his father's edits and used the information to improve his craft. As Richard developed the quality of his composition, his father's marks became fewer and less transformational – eventually vanishing altogether.[29] In 1879, Richard Strauss composed his *Gavotte* (TrV 82/5) scored for the unique orchestration of the Wilde Gung'l. At the time, the orchestra contained just over thirty musicians which limited the programing choices for the group.[30] Franz copied the parts for his son with no edits.[31] Richard Strauss improved his

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28. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 198-198.

29. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 198.

30. James Deaville, "The Musical World of Strauss's Youth," In *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss,* ed. by Charles Youmans. Cambridge Companions to Musi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3–21, at 12.

31. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 199.

understanding of orchestration diligently from the time of his first studies with Meyer in 1875 to the year 1879.

Richard had a growing passion for composition. He was eager to learn from both his father and from Meyer in order to hone his craft. That eagerness manifested itself in many works between 1876 and 1880.

In 1876 he composed both the *Concert Overture in B minor* and the *Festmarsch, Op. 1.* [32] *Serenade (TrV 52)* in 1877, *Gavotte (TrV 82/5)* in 1879. There were also a number of works he wrote above and beyond his requirements for Friedrich Meyer. In 1878 he wrote the *G Major Serenade for Orchestra,* o. Op. 32; the *A Major Piano Trio,* o. Op. 37; an *E Major Piano Sonata,* o. Op. 38; and numerous others. He was just as prolific in 1879. [33] Later, in 1895, Strauss would admit that he had composed "too many works" during this time.[34]

Strauss's Early Musical Tastes

Richard Strauss's works from 1875 to 1877 still exhibited signs of musical conservativism. They payed homage to, or even imitated Haydn, Mozart,

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32. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 18.

33. Schuh, *A Chronicle*, 31-34.

34. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 200.

Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schumann. He held Mozart and Beethoven in particularly high esteem.[35] Some people even could view a few of his works in the late 1870's and early 1880's as derivative. This would be especially evident during Richard Strauss's *Brahmsschwärmere* period in the mid – 1880's.[36] The *Serenade (TrV52)*, mentioned previously, took much of its inspiration from Haydn.[37] The *Festmarsch*, *Op. 1,* had its main theme modeled after a theme of Beethoven's *Symphony No. 7*.[38] Richard Strauss during this time was still trying to strike a balance between imitation and forging his own artistic path. He learned from his previous mistakes, learned from his father's modifications, and learned from Meyer as he worked during this time to revise a number of his earlier lieder and piano works.[39]

In 1878, Richard Strauss started to show musical rebellion against his father. This rebellion came in Richard Strauss's emerging interest in Wagner's music. Richard Strauss regularly attended performances at the Munich Court

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35. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 12.

36. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 207.

37. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 197.

38. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 23.

39. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 10.

Opera and, in June of 1878, attended a performance of *Siegfried*. At this point in the summer of 1878, Strauss still retains many of his father's conservative ideals in a letter he wrote to his friend Ludwig Thuille about the performance: "I was quite frightfully bored… so horrible that I cannot even tell you… Of coherent melodies not a trace… The dissonances were so horrible that even rocks would have turned to puddles… the last act is so boring that you could die… all this terrible howling and whining."[40]

Richard was still loyal to his Father's musical ideals in the summer of 1878. As a boy, he mirrored his father's conservative and anti-Wagnerian tastes. During this time, Richard Strauss was a critic of Wagner's *Die Walküre* and *Lohengrin,* and proclaimed that *Lohengrin* was roughly orchestrated and derivative of Weber's *Euryanthe*.[41]

Later in 1878, however, Strauss's curiosity emerged as he obtained a score to the opera and began to play parts of it on the piano at home. According to Matthew Boyden:

> As Richard started playing, Franz, who was practicing in the next room, realized that his son was airing the dissonant evils of Wagner's most controversial score. Bursting in, he found not his son but 'a mule,' and as he told his colleagues the following morning, he was powerless when confronted by such enthusiasm. As the weeks passed, Richard's passion

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40. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 24-25.

41. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 25.

> for Wagner deepened: the more of his music he heard in Munich, the more he understood the gulf that separated Wagner's intentions from the Opera's second-rate performances.[42]

Until this point, Franz's son was in concord with his musical preferences. The sounding of familiar "dissonant evils" threatened the existing musical paradigm that existed between father and son. Franz Strauss seemed to be beside himself when confronted with his son's newfound interest in the music of Richard Wagner, even expressing a "powerlessness" to his colleagues.

Richard Strauss's anti-Wagnerian views began to lessen with this exploration into his opera works. Previously, Richard had words of criticism for Wagner's *Die Walküre*. In October 1878, he wrote to his friend, Ludwig Thuille, in a completely different tone:

> I have become a Wagnerian: I was in *Die Walküre*, I am in raptures; I don't even comprehend people who claim a Mozart might be beautiful, who can go so far as to do harm to their tongue and their gullet by expressing such a thing ... damn simpleton M-, impudent that he is; and may Wagner, in his splendor, be raised to his magnificently portrayed Wotan as a god in Halvalla [sic].[43]

The letter to Thuille and the analysis of it given by Matthew Boyden reveals a new interest in Wagner's music. Richard Strauss took his exploration of Wagner's music further in 1879 by attending a performance of Wagner's *Tristan*

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42. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 12.

43. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 12.

and Isolde.[44] Though enthusiasm for Wagner's music may seem clear at this point, it wouldn't be until later, during his time at Meiningen, that Richard Strauss would befriend Alexander Ritter and be converted to a full Wagnerian.[45]

Early Works and Premieres

Early in 1880, Richard Strauss completed his studies under Friedrich Meyer but still continued his compositional output. Some of those compositions written in 1880 included works that would secure early opus numbers such as the *Piano Sonata,* Op. 5, and the Five Pieces for *Piano,* Op. 3.[46] In early 1881, Strauss's fame as a composer began to spread, at least regionally. Strauss had several different premieres given around Munich, just in the month of March. On the fourteenth, Strauss's *String Quartet in A major,* Op. 2 was premiered by his cousin, Benno Walter, and his string quartet that included members Michael Steiger, Anton Thoms, and famous cellist Hans Wihan.[47] Also, on the fourteenth, the Wilde Gung'l Orchestra performed Richard Strauss's *Festmarsch* with Franz

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44. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 12.

45. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 212.

46. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 18.

47. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 14.

Strauss conducting. On the sixteenth of March, singer Cornelia Meysenheym sang three of his lieder in a public recital.[48] Richard Strauss completed his *Symphony No.1 in D minor* in October of 1880 and it was given its premiere on March 28, 1881 by the *Munich Akademie Hoforchester* of the Munich Court Opera with Herman Levi conducting.[49] The work was received positively by a critic in the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*:

> The third of the Musical Academy's subscription concerts included on new work, a *Symphony in D minor* by Richard Strauss. The recent performance of his String Quartet had already drawn our attention to the significant talent possessed by this still very young composer. The symphony, too, shows considerable competence in the treatment of the form as well as remarkable skill in orchestration. It must be said that the work cannot lay any claim to true originality, but it demonstrates throughout a fertile musical imagination, to which composition comes easily. [50]

The quote offers evidence at this time, according to the critic, that Richard Strauss progressed further in his orchestration talents to the point of acclaim. However, the critic also points out that the Symphony lacks 'true originality.' Richard Strauss was still a young composer who was trying to find his compositional voice.

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48. Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 23.

49. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 200.

50. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 14.

March of 1881 was a successful month for Richard Strauss's work as a composer and represented the emergence of his works on a much bigger stage. Up to this point, the majority of Strauss's works were intended for use either by the Pschorr family or Franz Strauss's Wilde Gung'l.[51] To have premieres outside the family such as Meysenheym's recital and the *Munich Akademie Hoforchester Symphony in D minor* premiere was a big step for Richard Strauss's reputation as a composer.

Strauss's works were starting to attract a wider audience and his father was still heavily involved in the promotion of those works. It was Franz Strauss who showed the score of the *Symphony in D minor* to Hermann Levi for consideration.[52] Franz Strauss was in the perfect position to advocate for his son's emerging talent as a composer. Franz Strauss, who pushed Richard toward a general education few years earlier, was also the same father who ardently promoted his son's works. It seems that the push toward the general education was not necessarily representative of a complete lack of faith in Richard's abilities as a composer. Franz considered Richard's future through his own lens

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51. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 199.

52. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 26.

as a working musician and decided to hedge his bets by trying to secure multiple pathways for success.

Publishing

The larger scale of these premieres gave Richard Strauss and his family renewed confidence in his abilities as he sought to have his works published in 1881. Richard wrote to one of the most respected publishing firms of the time – Breitkopf & Härtel. In the letter he submits the *Festmarsch*, written in 1876 and premiered in March of 1881, for publication consideration:

> Most honored Herr Breitkopf! I am permitting myself to approach you by letter since I am burdening you on behalf of someone wholly unknown to you. My name is Richard Strauss and I was born on June 11th in the year '64, the son of the chamber music player and professor at the local Conservatoire. I am at present at the Gymnasium in the Lower Sixth form, but have decided to dedicate myself wholly to music and moreover directly to composition. I have had instruction in Counterpoint from Herr Hofkapellmeister Fr. W. Meyer. Accompanying this letter is one of my compositions which I have dedicated to my uncle, Herr George Pschorr, the owner of the beer brewery, and he is most anxious that it should appear in print in the edition of one of the foremost music publishing firms. He would himself defray the printing costs. I am therefore turning to you with the request that you be so good as to take the Festmarsch into your edition in order that your famous name which has such influence in the world of music may help the name of a young aspiring musician to become known....[53]

53. Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary*, 3.

According to Del Mar's observation, this letter "if precocious, is by no means objectionable."[54] In his letter, Richard Strauss projects himself as respectful and confident. He also makes it known that he is the son of a conservatory professor, was the student of Friedrich Meyer, and a member of the famous beer brewing Pschorr family. The most significant sell in the letter to Herr Breitkopf came with the news that George Pschorr would defray the printing costs. Because of this, publishing Richard Strauss's *Festmarsch* now carried a smaller risk to the firm. This is how, in 1881, the *Festmarsch* was accepted into the Breitkopf & Härtel orchestral library as Richard Strauss's Op. 1.

Though Breitkopf & Härtel published Richard Strauss's *Festmarsch*, Op. 1, the firm, later in 1881, rejected his new *String Quartet in A major* premiered earlier that year by cousin Benno Walter and his quartet.[55] If only the firm would have known who this well-connected teenager would become, they might not have passed on the opportunity to publish his works. This rejection left room for another publishing firm to take on the works of Richard Strauss. Eugen Spitzweg, who worked for the publishing firm Aibl, struck and agreement with Franz Strauss and Richard Strauss to start publishing Richard's works. Aibl

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54. Del Mar, *A Critical Commentary*, 3.

55. Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, 135.

remained with Richard Strauss through his eventual rise to notoriety and ended up publishing his works for the next twenty years.[56] The *String Quartet in A major* became Op. 2. under Aibl.

It was a risk for Aibl to take on such a young composer, even one as well connected to the musical community as Richard Strauss. Eugen Spitzweg eventually became one of Strauss's greatest promoters but in the early days of their business relationship, he did thorough research when exploring the quality of Richard Strauss's work. After Strauss presented the *String Quartet in A major* for publication, he also presented his *Five Pieces for Piano* for consideration as Op. 3. In the process of checking the piece for quality, Spitzweg turned to conductor Hans von Bülow for a trusted opinion. Hans von Bülow did not have a very positive opinion of Richard Strauss's *Five Pieces for Piano*. Bülow wrote back to Eugen Spitzweg in October 1881 after examining the work: "I do not care at all for the piano pieces by Richard Strauss - immature and overdone. Lachner has the imagination of Chopin in contrast. I fail to see the youth in his invention. No genius according to my innermost convictions, but rather at best a talent."[57]

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56. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 203.

57. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 204.

Despite this assessment, Spitzweg and Aibl went ahead and published the *Five Pieces for Piano* as Op. 3.

The Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7

1881 was a milestone year for Richard Strauss due to multiple premieres and the official publishing of his works. The end of 1881 saw the creation of one of Richard Strauss's best and most professionally impactful works of his young career, the single-movement *Serenade for Winds in Eb major,* Op. 7. Strauss scored the work for thirteen wind instruments – pairs of flutes, pairs of oboes, pairs of clarinets, pairs of bassoons, a contrabassoon, and four horns. Aibl published the *Serenade for Winds,* Op. 7 a year later in 1882 and had its premiere on November 27, 1882 by the Dresden Court Orchestra with Franz Wüllner conducting.[58] This performance was another big step for Richard Strauss's career and notoriety. The performance was led by a person outside of his family and it was given outside the city of Munich.

The *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 represented a significant advance in the quality of Richard Strauss's composition and the scope of its acceptance among a larger musical community. Since the perceived quality of the Serenade was high, it

58. Del Mar, *A Critical Commentary*, 9-10.

received more performances than his previous works. As discussed, Franz Wüllner gave the premier of the *Serenade* with the Dresden Court Orchestra. Franz Wüllner also famously gave many other Richard Strauss premieres, including the premieres of the now-famous tone poems *Till Eulenspiegel*, Op. 28, and *Don Quixote*, Op. 35.[59] There were also many more performances of the work in the months following the premiere. One of the conductors to program the work was Hans von Bülow of the Meiningen Court Orchestra. In 1881, Bülow expressed a negative opinion of Strauss's abilities as a composer after Spitzweg sent Bülow the *Five Pieces for Piano,* Op. 3, for perusal. The quality of the *Serenade,* Op. 7 changed his opinion of Strauss. Bülow accepted this new work and programmed it for multiple performances on tour with the Meiningen Court Orchestra.[60] This Document will provide analysis in Chapter 4 on Bülow's tour programming habits as they related to the *Serenade* and its many performances.

Growing Success

From 1881 to 1882, Richard Strauss received increased recognition for his talents. It may have made sense for Strauss, in consideration of the growing

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59. Del Mar, *A Critical Commentary*, 9.

60. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 19.

success of his compositions, to transfer from the *Ludwigsgymnasium* to the Munich Conservatory for his education. Despite increased success, he saw his education at the *Ludwigsgymnasium* to completion. Upon passing his matriculation examination in the spring of 1882, and at the urging of his father, Richard Strauss continued his general education at the University of Munich.[61] Richard enrolled at the university for the winter term of 1882, furthering his education in the areas of aesthetics, cultural history, Shakespeare, and the study of Schopenhauer.[62] Strauss continued to compose even as his enrollment at the university was about to begin. During the end of his studies at the *Ludwigsgymnasium* he wrote the *Violin Concerto,* Op. 8, the *Stimmungsbilder,* Op. 9, and the *Horn Concerto No. 1,* Op. 11.[63] Strauss also stayed active in musical performance, joining his father's orchestra, the Wilde Gung'l as a first violinist that winter.[64]

In the fall of 1882, Richard Strauss traveled with his father to Bayreuth where Franz Strauss performed in the first production of Wagner's *Parsifal* under

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61. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 15.

62. Youmans, "Strauss's Worldview," 67.

63. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 26.

64. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 27.

the direction of Hermann Levi.[65] This trip exposed Richard Strauss to new music of Wagner as well as the impressiveness of Bayreuth. By that time, Richard Strauss was familiar with Wagner's operas and his interest in Wagner's music was growing.[66] Less than a year after that premiere, Wagner died of a heart attack in Venice.[67]

Richard Strauss's success in composition was clearly growing in late 1882. The premiere of his *Serenade for Winds, Op. 7* in November of that year, and consequent performances, seemed to clarify resolve in the musical heart of Richard Strauss. Richard Strauss made the decision to leave his studies at the University of Munich after just one semester to dedicate himself completely to his musical career which was now beginning to show expanding promise.

Franz saw that musical growth in his son was undeniable, and he would not be able to convince his son to continue at the university.[68] If there was any disappointment in Richard Strauss's decision to discontinue his studies, Franz Strauss did not show it. Franz showed full support of his son and helped

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65. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 19.

65. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 15.

66. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 18.

67. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 27.

68. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 18.

introduce Richard Strauss to the larger musical world as soon has he finished with his semester in December.

That winter, Franz convinced his son to travel to Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna in order to seek out more performances of his works and to make professional connections with musicians and patrons. Richard Strauss's first trip was to Vienna in December of 1882 where took his most recent works - the *Sonata for Cello,* Op. 6, the *Concerto for Violin,* Op. 8, and the *Concerto for Horn,* Op. 11.[69]

That December, Richard's cousin Benno Walter gave the premiere of the *Concerto for Violin,* Op. 8 (albeit a reduction for violin and piano) in Vienna with Eugene Menter as pianist.[70] This performance of the *Concerto for Violin,* Op. 8, took place on December 5th. Richard Strauss was in attendance and wrote to his parents about the premiere: "My violin concerto was very well received; applause after the first F major trill, applause after each movement, two bows at the end. Otherwise Walter and Menter took only one bow after each item, both played wonderfully, I at least didn't make a mess of the accompaniment."[71]

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69. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 16.

70. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 19.

71. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 16.

Franz Strauss's help went even further than just enthusiastically pushing Richard toward Vienna. He also helped open doors by using his connections to make several appointments of introduction in Vienna for his son. It was one of Franz Strauss's main goals to have Richard make positive acquaintances with the regional music critics. Although, in Vienna, he failed to meet with famous critic Eduard Hanslick, Strauss managed to attend meeting with critic Max Kalbeck. This meeting turned out to be fruitful as Kalbeck was persuaded to write a short article on Strauss a day before the premiere of the *Concerto for Violin, Op. 8*.[72] Richard Strauss, with help from his father, also managed meetings with conductor, Hans Richter and conductor, Wilhelm Jahn.[73] These meetings helped the career of the eighteen-year-old Richard Strauss by exposing him to a wider and higher-profile musical community. Franz's motivations were clear – he wished for his son's success. Franz Strauss's connections and advantages, along with the benefits of Pschorr family membership, created a much different upbringing for Richard Strauss that contrasted the harsh conditions that met Franz Strauss when he entered the world. Matthew Boyden offers additional insight in his analysis:

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72. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 20.

73. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 20.

> He had been prompted by his father to make the best of Franz's contacts and, recalling his own difficult, hard-fought youth, Franz excited in Richard a cynical enthusiasm for making 'friends', an awareness of the blight of politics and an aptitude for self-promotion that were at odds with the propriety and detachment of middle-class tradition.[74]

The premiere of the *Violin Concerto* went well according to other metrics. Even though Richard Strauss was not able to meet with the esteemed critic, Eduard Hanslick wrote a positive review of the work's debut performance saying that Richard possessed "unusual talent."[75]

The beginning of 1883 wasn't as eventful for Richard Strauss as the activity of 1881 and 1882. He did compose a few works in the first half of the year including some lieder, small piano works, and a *Romance in F major for Cello and Orchestra*. On February 8th, Strauss brought his *Violin Concerto* back to Munich for a performance. Benno Walter performed the violin part once again and, this time, Richard Strauss performed the accompaniment on piano. Richard also continued playing in the Wilde Gung'l Orchestra under his father's baton. At this point, the Wilde Gung'l was becoming popular in Munich. The orchestra was certainly a time for father and son to spend some time together. It also gave Franz Strauss an opportunity to set a musical example for his son as a conductor – an

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74. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 16.

75. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 27.

interaction that certainly must have had an impact on Richard given his eventual career path as a conductor. Carl Aschenbrenner, a cousin of Richard Strauss, friend and cellist in the Wilde Gung'l,[76] gave this perspective on the rehearsal habits of Richard Strauss as a violinist and the relationship he had with his father:

> Quite apart from his sunny nature and over-flowing high spirits, which won him the friendship of all who knew him, he often came into the most severe – though good-humored – conflict with his father. The latter attached the greatest importance to orderly tuning, and there was nothing he hated more than that on player should still be plucking at a string after he had raised his baton to start. But our friend Richard was almost always still plucking or stroking his E string, which was almost never in tune. Every time it happened his father was beside himself at this undutiful son's musical transgression. But the way Richard was unable to control his laughter made all of us laugh too, and in the end pacified his scolding father as well.[77]

The father/son dynamic played out in an interesting fashion while they also navigated their roles as conductor and musician. Aschenbrenner's assessment of Richard Strauss's personality at the time was positive – sunny, high-spirited, friendly, and charismatic. These personality traits served Richard Strauss well in his quest to raise his profile as a composer.

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76. Schuh, *A Chronicle*, 39.

77. Schuh, *A Chronicle*, 58.

Hans von Bülow's Interest in Strauss

As stated earlier, a review of the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 score helped Hans von Bülow reverse an earlier negative opinion of Richard Strauss's works. In the *Serenade*, Hans von Bülow now saw talent and potential. Because of this negative opinion held earlier, favorable and careful consideration by Bülow didn't come easily or randomly. Richard had two agents working on his behalf – his father, Franz Strauss, and his publisher, Eugen Spitzweg. There is evidence that both men worked to get Strauss's score viewed by Hans von Bülow.[78] Spitzweg had an established relationship with Bülow and sent him scores for his opinion. Franz Strauss and Bülow had a complicated and tense past dating back to Bülow's time in Munich but Hans von Bülow could separate personal feelings from professional judgement in this case. On December 1, 1883, Eugen Spitzweg informed Richard Strauss that Hans von Bülow was impressed enough with the *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7 to program the work for performance with his Meiningen Court Orchestra. Spitzweg informed Strauss that the Meiningen

78. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 17.

Court Orchestra would perform the Serenade on the December 26, 1883 concert in Berlin as part of their tour.[79]

A performance by Hans von Bülow and the Meiningen Court Orchestra was enormously impactful for the composing career of Richard Strauss. Bülow made the orchestra famous in a very short amount of time through increased rehearsals, attention to musical detail, and touring.[80] Composers and critics gave high praise to both the Meiningen Court Orchestra and Hans von Bülow. Here is a quote from Franz Liszt given toward the end of his life about the quality of both the Meiningen Court Orchestra and Bülow:

> Under Bülow's conducting the Meiningen orchestra achieves miracles. Nowhere is there to be found such intelligence in diverse works – precision in performance with the most correct and subtle rhythmic and dynamic shading. The fact of opera having been abolished at Meiningen by the Duke some twenty years ago is most favorable to concerts. In this way the orchestra has time to have a proper number of sectional and full rehearsals without too much fatigue, as the opera work has been done away with. Bülow is almost as lavish of rehearsals as Berlioz would have been, had he had the means … The result is admirable and in certain respects matchless – not excepting the Paris Conservatoire and other celebrated concert institutions. The little Meiningen phalanx, thanks to its present general, is in advance of the largest battalions. It is said that Rubinstein and some others have expressed themselves disapprovingly about some of the unusual tempi and nuances of Bülow, but to my thinking their criticism is devoid of foundation… … Always the same complete understanding both in the ensemble and the detail of these

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79. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 17.

80. Wooldridge, *Conductor's World*, 69.

> scores – the same vigor, energy, refinement, accuracy, relief, vitality and superior characterization in their interpretation.[81]

Strauss's Travels in the Winter of 1883

Coincidentally, Richard was already planning travel, including a trip to Berlin. A few days later, Franz Strauss sent Richard on trips to Leipzig, Dresden, and Berlin in order to further his professional contacts and introduce conductors to his music. He was in Dresden by December 5, 1883 where he met with Carl Reinecke, conductor of the Gewandhaus Orchestra, in order to show him a portion of the new *Second Symphony* and his *Concert Overture*.[82] Reinecke did not show enthusiasm for the works and Richard was quick to leave Leipzig for Dresden.

At that time the Staatskapelle in Dresden was famous, and under new a conductor – Ernst von Schuch.[83] Ferdinand Böckmann, a cellist in the orchestra who boarded Strauss during his stay in Dresden, introduced him to Ernst von Schuch.[84] Strauss attended rehearsals and evidence suggests that Strauss was

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81. Wooldridge, *Conductor's World*, 69.

82. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 21.

83. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 21.

84. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 17.

paying attention, not just to the music being played, but von Schuch's conducting and rehearsing. A quote from Helene Böckmann reveals Strauss's potential infatuation with Ernst von Schuh's conducting as well as a comedic moment during his stay in Dresden:

> He practiced conducting with one of my large wooden knitting needles, modelling himself on our celebrated von Schuch; my husband was in the middle of long and demanding rehearsals of Wagner at the time - he took the needle away from him with the words: "My dear Richard, just stop that! I've had Schuch fumbling about under my nose for three hours today, and I've had enough of it![85]

Ernst von Schuch would eventually conduct several premieres of Strauss's works including *Feuersnot*, *Salome*, *Elektra*, *Der Rosenkavalier*, *Intermezzo*, *Die ägyptishe Helena*, *Arabella*, *Die schweigsame Frau*, and *Daphne*.[86] It is hard to say what impression Strauss and his music left on Ernst von Schuch in the winter of 1883, but that string of impressive premieres by the conductor starting in 1901 and going until 1938 indicates at least a love for Strauss's music in a more mature form.

The next stop on Strauss's tour was Berlin where he was had letters of introduction from both his father and from Herman Levi, who gave Strauss his

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85. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 17.

86. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 22.

first big break by conducting the *Symphony in D minor* with the Munich Court Orchestra two years earlier.[87] Strauss arrived in Berlin on December 21, 1883 where he stayed for three months.[88] Strauss made professional contacts with musicians and tried to integrate himself in Berlin society. Strauss spent most evenings at social events or attending concerts.[89] He attended plays and operas in Berlin and studied the performances of d'Albert, Joahchim, and Hans von Bülow.[90] In these three months, Strauss was able to learn from artists, intellectuals, and the bustling social activities of one of Europe's most thriving metropolitan centers.

During this time in Berlin, Strauss was still diligent in maintaining is compositional output. Strauss started writing his *Symphony in F minor,* Op. 12, late in 1883 and finished in late January while in Berlin. Strauss was able to get this work seen by several conductors while in Berlin and the piece had its first performance later that year in New York with his friend, Theodore Thomas, conducting the New York Philharmonic. *Symphony in F minor,* Op.12 achieved

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87. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 31.

88. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 21.

89. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 33.

90. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 20.

further success with performances in 1885 in the cities of Cologne, Meiningen, Munich, and Berlin.[91]

Bülow and the *Serenade*

The city of Berlin also enjoyed two different performances of Richard Strauss's *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7. Meiningen Court Orchestra gave the first performance on December 26, 1883 with Hans von Bülow's assistant conductor, Franz Mannstädt, conducting the group. Bülow included the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 in the Meiningen Court Orchestra's regular tour rotation beginning in February of 1884, due to the strength of the work and its successful performance.[92] According to his own writing, Strauss recalled the event:

> Thus it happened that Bülow in his magnanimity took the first opportunity of heaping coals of fire upon the head of the hated old Strauss when my first publisher, Bülow's friend Eugen Spitzweg, sent to the leader of the Meiningen orchestra my Serenade for Woodwind, Op. 7. He incorporated the piece, which is nothing more than the respectable work of a music student, into his touring repertoire. It was on the occasion of one such performance in Berlin in the winter of 1883 that I made his acquaintance. He commissioned me to write a similar piece for the Meiningen Orchestra. I went to work immediately (happy days of my youth, when I could still work to order) and sent him, during that summer, my Suite for Woodwinds in B flat major, in four movements.[93]

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91. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 209.

92. Kenneth Birkin, *Hans Von Bülow: A Life for Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 597-610.

93. Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, 118.

There are a few statements worth emphasizing in this quote. The first is that Strauss, later in life when writing his recollections and reflections, considered his own Op.7 to be 'the respectable work of a music student.'[94] In consideration of his entire oeuvre, it would be easy to understand this perspective. That view, however, should not diminish the work's appeal at that time to Hans von Bülow. Bülow was impressed by the work, as stated earlier when discussing his previous negative view of Strauss's compositional talents.

This positive impression held real and positive consequences for Richard Strauss's career. The first immediate consequence was that the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 received regular performances by the Meiningen Court Orchestra on tour. It became a regular fixture in Bülow's programs in order to fill an apparent need for a chamber winds piece.[95] More analysis of Bülow's Meiningen Court Orchestra touring programs will be given in the next chapter to examine the *Serenade in Eb's* functional place within his concerts as well as the frequency of performances. The second consequence of Bülow's affinity for the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 was his commissioning of Richard Strauss to write another work for the same instrumentation. This work is in four movements with titles like *Gavotte*

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94. Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, 118.

95. Birkin, *Hans Von Bülow,* 597-610.

and *Fugue* that evoke older, baroque forms. The work itself would carry the title of *Suite in Bb major* and would eventually carry the number of Op. 4 even though it was written in 1884.

Strauss got a chance to witness Bülow in rehearsal while in Berlin and meet with him in person. Bülow had the reputation for elevating the Meiningen Court Orchestra's level of performance and renown. Strauss wrote to his parents and, according to Gilliam, "Strauss was astonished that this man not only conducted concerts from memory but rehearsals as well, and though he was not entirely won over at first, Strauss was soon won over by Bülow's probing interpretations of orchestral music – he also intensified Strauss's growing interest in Brahms."[96] It is unclear exactly when Strauss and Bülow first met. The first meeting could have been in December or it could have been around February when Bülow again visited Berlin. What is clear is that Bülow left an impression on Strauss and Strauss left an obvious impression on Bülow.

The Meiningen Court Orchestra began another short tour, their fifth tour with Bülow, in January which would take them away from Strauss in Berlin. The orchestra would soon be back in Berlin during their sixth tour on February 27, 1884. This time, according to Gilliam, Strauss was in the audience to

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96. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 24.

see them perform his *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7.[97] By the time of this performance date, the *Serenade* had been performed by the Meiningen Court Orchestra six times on tour, with performances in the cities of Munich, Nuremburg, Worms, Neustadt, Göttingen, and Lübeck.[98] This was great exposure for Strauss, to have one of his works performed by one of the finest orchestras in the region with such a dynamic conductor. Concert goers in all those cities were getting exposure to his music thanks to Hans von Bülow.

A press release announced the Meiningen Court Orchestra's February 27th Berlin performance of the *Serenade*.[99] The *Serenade*'s popularity, however, incited competition for performance of the work which was gaining more exposure in various regional cities. Benjamin Bilse, whom Boyden describes as a hack conductor, gave a performance of the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 with his group at the Konzerthaus in Berlin on February 17th.[100] Even though this performance was given by a perceived 'hack conductor', Strauss was in attendance for the performance.

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97. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 24.

98. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 610-612.

99. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 21.

100. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 21.

After the performance, as indicated in one of his letters, Strauss gave a critique of the performance saying that Bilse's performance was "much too slow, I thought they were all going to sleep."[101] Aside from being a criticism of the performance, this quote has interesting implications considering the modern wind conducting community. There has been debate about the performance tempo of Strauss's Op. 7. Its published performance tempo at the beginning of the work is *Andante*, yet carries a metronome marking of the eighth note being equal to 56 beats per minute which is a marking slower than *Andante*.[102] It can be intuited from the critique above, that Richard Strauss would not want this work performed too slowly. This fact would point toward an interpretation of tempo being must closer to the indicated *Andante* rather than a literal interpretation of the published metronome mark. The title of *Serenade* in combination with its chamber wind orchestration strongly elicits the wind serenades of Mozart. Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda, respected scholars and interpreters of Mozart, suggest performance of his Andante markings contain a sense of both solemnity and fluidity.[103] Most *Andante* tempos they suggest have the quarter note in a range

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101. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 33.

102. Richard Strauss, *Serenade in Eb, Op. 7* (Wien: Universal Edition, n.d., Plate U.E. 7500/W.Ph.V. 245. Leipzig: Jos. Aibl, 1882.)

103. Eva Badura-Skoda and Paul Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard.* translated by Leo Black. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1962) 35.

from 50 – 63 beats per minute depending on the music or the eighth note in a range from 83 – 96 beats per minute.[104] They also suggest that the *Andante* of Beethoven's second movement of his *Symphony No. 2* be a fluid one, suggesting the quarter note equal 92 beats per minute.[105]

Further evidence in support of the *Andante* interpretation exist in a later published piano arrangement of the *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7. Richard Strauss crafted this arrangement himself and Aibl published it in 1900, later reissuing the work under Universal Editions A.G. in Vienna. The tempo indicated at the beginning of the piano arrangement just indicates the mark of Andante and is absent a specific metronome mark.[106]

According to Boyden, Bilse's performance at the Konzerthaus was meant to "steal a march on Bülow."[107] Boyden also states the following on the news of Bilse's performance: "Strauss was horrified, since Bülow's sensitive nature might well have caused him to back down from his initial promise, but the performance

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104. Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart*, 35.

105. Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart*, 32.

106. Richard Strauss, *Serenade in Eb, Op. 7*., arranged for Piano Solo by Richard Strauss. (Leipzig: Jos. Aibl, 1900. Plate R. 2514. reissue: Wien: Universal Edition, n.d., Plate U.E. 1009/V.A. 2749.)

107. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 21.

went ahead – even if it was conducted by the less prestigious assistant with Meiningen, Franz Mannstädt."[108]

Despite Franz Mannstädt conducting the work in concert, it was Hans von Bülow who prepared the *Serenade* in rehearsal.[109] Strauss was able to attend a rehearsal and the concert. Michael Kennedy suggests that Strauss was "apprehensive about meeting Bülow, knowing of the past clashes with his father."[110] Any feelings of apprehension that may have existed must have been quelled by Strauss's positive interaction with Bülow and the Meiningen Court Orchestra. He later writes to his father about Bülow:

> He was very amiable, very well-disposed, and very witty … Moreover he talked about you with the most colossal respect, you were the most refined musician, the most beautiful tone, magnificent phrasing and execution. "I learned a lot from him," he told me, "do write and tell him so."[111]

Bülow even led the musicians of the Meiningen Court orchestra in giving Richard Strauss a round of applause at rehearsal.[112] Even though Franz Strauss and Hans von Bülow had their differences in the past, the quote above indicates

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108. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 21.

109. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 33.

110. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 33.

111. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 33.

112. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 21.

that Bülow had immense respect for Franz Strauss. Perhaps Bülow saw the same musical potential in Franz's son after his musical probing of the *Serenade*. The performances and Bülow's perceived quality of the *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7, was enough to warrant the commissioning of a work for the same chamber wind instrumentation, the *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4. This commission was one of Richard Strauss's most important projects in the first part of 1884.

The End of Strauss's Time in Berlin

During Richard Strauss's stay in Berlin, in addition to working on his new commission for wind instruments, he also finished his *Second Symphony,* Op. 12, and his *Stimmungsbilder,* Op. 9, for piano. He also became more acquainted with the works of Wagner and Brahms while in Berlin. On January 28th, Strauss heard a performance of Brahm's *Symphony No.3* with the composer conducting and on the next day attended a performance of the *Piano Concerto No. 1* with Brahms performing. Richard Strauss revealed his impressions of Brahms's music in a note to his father:

> This symphony (F major) is one of the most beautiful, original, and fresh that Brahms has ever created. Under Brahms's able direction, the orchestra played dashingly. Also he played his D minor concerto with great execution and verve. The concerto is not as fresh and original as the symphony, but on the whole quite interesting.[113]

113. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 23.

This heightened interest in the work of Brahms soon had influence on Richard Strauss's compositional work. Within a month of this performance, evidence in letters shows Strauss giving great respect and admiration toward Brahms. Strauss's further explorations of Brahms's work would soon lead to what he called his *Brahmsschwärmerei* – literally translated as a 'Brahms enthusiasm.'[114] For Richard Strauss, Brahms was an example of a composer who also conducted and performed his own works.

One of the final performances Strauss attended in Berlin was of his *Concert Overture in C minor* on March 21st with Robert Radecke conducting the Berlin Court Orchestra.[115] Strauss ended his stay in Berlin shortly after this performance and traveled back to Munich. In Munich, Richard Strauss rejoined his father's Wilde Gung'l and kept working on his compositional output. In addition to his continued work on his new commission for winds, he wrote some works that showcased his new affinity for the music of Brahms. Richard Strauss composed the *Wandrers Sturmlied,* Op. 14 for chorus and orchestra which was modeled on Brahms's *Gesang der Parzen* written in 1882. Strauss also composed the *Piano*

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114. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 207.

115. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 33.

Quartet in C minor, Op. 13, which was modeled after the C minor piano quartet of Brahms.[116] The influence of Brahms on both these works is undeniable. Strauss was also working on his commission, *Suite in Bb major*, Op. 4 around the time he was experimenting with his *Brahmsschwärmerei.*

Though the spring and summer of 1884 in Munich was unexciting for Strauss, his life and career became more active in the winter. He had two major events that took place in the last part of 1884. The first event was the November premiere of the *Suite in Bb major*, Op.4, and the second major event was the American December premiere of the *Second Symphony* by the New York Philharmonic Society conducted by Theodore Thomas.

Strauss's Conducting Premiere

Strauss finished the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4 early in the fall of 1884 and its premiere marks one of the most bizarre and fortunate events in Richard Strauss's young life.[117] There is some discrepancy among the major biographers on how Strauss learned about Bülow's intent to premiere the *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4. Boyden claims that Eugen Spitzweg, Strauss's publisher, notified him on October 22, 1884

116. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 34.

117. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 26.

that Bülow intended to program his work for a premiere in Munich at the Odeonsall. This notification, according to Boyden, also indicated that Bülow wanted Strauss to conduct the premiere. Discrepancy exists between Boyden's writing and Strauss's recollections combined with Bülow's Meiningen Court Orchestra tour programs. Boyden indicates the work Bülow wanted to program was the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 and not the *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4.[118] Strauss himself wrote the following about the invitation in his own reflections:

> In the winter of 1884 Bülow came to Munich and surprised me, when I visited him, by informing me that he would give a matinée performance before an invited audience … the program of which was to contain as its second item my Suite for Woodwinds, which I was to conduct. I thanked him, overjoyed, but told him that I had never had a baton in my hand before and asked him when I could rehearse. "There will be no time for rehearsals, the orchestra has no time for such things on tour."[119]

This offer to conduct gave Strauss mixed emotions. He was overjoyed by the opportunity to conduct but it is clear that he worried about his lack of experience. His father hadn't even given him an opportunity to conduct the Wilde Gung'l and now Bülow was asking him to conduct the famous Meiningen Court Orchestra.[120] The offer had potential to intimidate any experienced young

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118. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 22.

119. Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, 118.

120. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 23.

conductor. The focus of Strauss's concern was the lack of rehearsal time he would get with the orchestra. The premiere was to be in Munich on November 18th and given without Strauss rehearsing the ensemble beforehand.[121]

Nevertheless, Richard Strauss went ahead with conducting the premiere of his *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4. Here is Strauss's description of the premiere day:

> The morning of the day arrived. I went to fetch Bülow at his hotel; he was in a dreadful mood. As we went up the steps of the Odeon, he positively raved against Munich, which had driven out Wagner and himself, and against old Perfall; he called the Odeon a cross between a church and a stock exchange, in short, he was as charmingly unbearable as only he could be when he was furious about something. The matinée took its course. I conducted my piece in a state of slight coma; I can only remember today that I made no blunders. What it was like apart from that I could not say. Bülow did not even listen to my début; smoking one cigarette after another, he paced furiously up and down in the music room. When I went in, my father, profoundly moved, came in through the opposite door in order to thank Bülow. That was what Bülow had been waiting for; like a furious lion he pounced upon my father. 'You have nothing to thank me for', he shouted, 'I have not forgotten what you have done to me in this dammed city of Munich. What I did today I did because your son has talent and not for you.' Without saying a word my father left the music room from which all others had long since fled when they saw Bülow explode. This scene had, of course thoroughly spoilt my début for me. Only Bülow was suddenly in the best of spirits.[122]

Bülow's outburst at Franz Strauss revealed a lot about Bülow's state of mind. The first thing the outburst reveals is that Bülow was still hurt for being forced out of Munich. A history of bad feelings between the men had bubbled up

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121. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 34.

122. Del Mar, *A Critical Commentary*, 11-12.

in this conflict. Bülow felt that Strauss made his time in Munich in the late 1860s very difficult. Franz Strauss opposed Bülow's musical ideas, especially his affection for the music of Wagner. Afterall, it was the Munich Court Orchestra and Hans von Bülow that gave the first performances of Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde* and *Die Meistersinger.* Franz, as principal horn, presented open opposition to both Wagner and Bülow in rehearsals.[123] The 'old Perfall' mentioned in the quote as the person Bülow was raving against was the Baron Perfall. Strauss recalls this about the relationship between Perfall and Bülow:

> The Baron Perfall mentioned above, who had at one time courted Richard Wagner and Bülow like a humble petitioner, until, on leaving Munich, they recommended him to the King as Intendant of the theatre because they thought they would leave behind in him a faithful supporter, turned out to be an opponent of Wagner as soon as Wagner had left Munich. He succeeded also in removing Bülow. In short, he was a disgusting cad.[124]

At this time, Bülow's poor feelings toward Munich and Franz Strauss were legitimate given the history and still fresh given the severity of the reaction backstage.

Bülow's outburst after Op. 4's premiere also revealed how he felt about Richard Strauss. Given all the sore feelings between Bülow and Franz Strauss it was surprising that Bülow would have given any professional consideration to

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123. Birkin, Hans von Bülow, 157.

124. Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, 130.

Richard Strauss at all. Previous quotes in this document did confirm that, even though they had personal conflict, Bülow had great respect for Franz Strauss as a musician. The outburst from Bülow revealed that he gave Richard Strauss the amazing opportunity to conduct the Meiningen Court Orchestra independent of his feelings toward Richard's father. Bülow gave to Strauss the opportunity because he had faith in Strauss's musicianship. By the time of the Op. 4 premiere, Bülow had spent significant time on the Meiningen Court Orchestra tour conducting and rehearsing Strauss's *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7. The music of Richard Strauss, starting with Op. 7, reversed Bülow's earlier negative opinion. Bülow felt confident of the quality of the *Suite in Bb,* Op.4 to program it with the orchestra and have Strauss himself premiere the work in his hometown.

This interpretation of Bülow's motivations is very positive. It suggests that Bülow had brilliant prescience and was willing to put aside old hatred. Matthew Boyden suggests considering a slightly darker interpretation of the events:

> Only the cynical would suggest Bülow had helped Strauss purely for the pleasure of humiliating his father; but the conductor must have been aware that of all those who could have assisted Richard's career he was the last person Franz would have wished upon his son. After all, Bülow was wholly ignorant of Richard's skills as a performer, and it is worth noting the relative mediocrity of the Serenade that drew master and student together in the first place. Richard claimed that Franz 'bore no grudge against his son's benefactor', but there is no evidence for any such atonement. Indeed, of the two, Bülow was demonstrably the more

forgiving.[125]

It is hard to believe that Bülow promoted the work of Richard Strauss, and later took him as a mentee, purely to irritate Franz Strauss. Boyden mentions the relative mediocrity of the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7. That relative mediocrity of the *Serenade* could be an accurate observation when viewed against the famous tone poems that were to come from Richard Strauss just a few years later. That relative mediocrity of the *Serenade* could also be true when viewed against the inventive works of *Salome* and *Elektra*. Bülow obviously could not see what Strauss would eventually attain in his career but, according to his actions and programming, did see undeniable potential in the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 and the *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4. Beyond this potential must have existed enough passable quality for Bülow to perform it as much as he did on tour.

The conducting premiere of Richard Strauss, regardless of Bülow's motivations for allowing Richard Strauss to conduct without experience or rehearsal, could have resulted in one of two distinct outcomes: success or failure. The result of failure could have created an embarrassment for both Richard Strauss and Franz Strauss in their hometown of Munich. Public failure with Bülow's Meiningen Court Orchestra may also have either tempered or temporarily derailed the rise of Richard Strauss's career. Boyden claims that the

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125. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 24.

critics of Hans von Bülow suggested that he was "turning the hallowed Meiningen podium into a sacrificial altar" by letting the young and inexperienced Richard Strauss conduct his work.[126] Some almost expected failure. However, failure was not the result. Strauss 'made no blunders' and, at least after Franz Strauss left the room, Bülow 'was in the best of spirits.' Bülow gave Richard Strauss a difficult test and he emerged from the experience unscathed. Strauss was able to build a relationship with Bülow based on his musical achievement and not because, or despite, his father. Bülow judged Strauss remarkable based on his own merit.

Bülow as a Mentor

As a result of this passed test, Hans von Bülow began to take more of a mentor role toward Richard Strauss. Previously, in Berlin, Bülow remarked that Strauss was the "most original composer since Brahms."[127] Brahms was a composer that Bülow had worked with closely and held in very high esteem at the time. Bülow, as an act of mentorship, encouraged Strauss to have Brahms examine the *Suite in Bb,* Op.4 the day after its premiere. According to Kennedy:

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126. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 23.

127. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 31.

> The next day Strauss was advised by Bülow to send the *Suite* to Brahms for his opinion. He sent the score via Meiningen principal horn player Gustav Leinhos, whom he had met in Berlin. Leinhos wrote on December 15 (1884) : "When he gave me back your Suite, Herr Dr. Brahms spoke very highly of your work, though he had looked in vain for the spring of melody which ought to be overflowing at your age."[128]

Brahms was favorable toward the work except for its lack of melody. As shown in the next chapter, this is a fair assessment due to Strauss's heavy reliance on small, cellular motives in his primary themes. Brahms echoed this criticism a year later when he and Strauss discussed Strauss's music in Meiningen.[129] Bülow's suggestion to send a score to Brahms indicated increased interest in assisting Strauss with his career and development.

As discussed previously, more success came for Strauss a month after his conducting premiere with the American premiere of his *Second Symphony in F minor* by the New York Philharmonic Society.[130] The German premiere of the *Symphony in F minor* was given a month later in Cologne by Franz Wüllner.[131]

Bülow continued his affinity for Richard Strauss by premiering his *Horn Concerto No.1 in Eb,* Op. 11 on tour with the Meiningen Court Orchestra in

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128. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 34.

129. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 27.

130. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 23.

131. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 27.

Bremen on March 12, 1885 with Gustav Leinhos as soloist. This was the eighth tour Bülow gave with the Meiningen Court Orchestra as their director and tour and he still featured the *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 in the programming rotation.[132]

An Open Position at Meiningen

In the spring of 1885, Bülow's assistant conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra, Franz Mannstädt, left his job in Meiningen for a position in Berlin. This action by Mannstädt obviously left Bülow and the Meiningen Court Orchestra in need of another conductor. Given the rising stature of the orchestra's reputation and the notoriety of Hans von Bülow as a conductor, this was an open position that was attractive to many young conductors. According to Warfield, there were about a dozen practicing and professional conductors who made applications for the position. Among the applicants were Felix Weingartner and Gustav Mahler who, at that time, were already professional conductors. Jean Louis Nicodé, who over a decade older that Strauss and already teaching at the Dresden Royal Conservatoire, was also an applicant.[133] Richard

132. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 631-634.

133. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 25.

Strauss, having no experience with conducting other than his premiere of the *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4, did not formally apply for the position.[134]

Warfield states that Bülow's decision to show preference for Richard Strauss over more experienced conductors was not entirely clear.[135] Gilliam called Bülow's selection "a curious choice" and said Strauss was "only a remarkable talent, a composer whose music was well crafted but hardly extraordinary."[136] Boyden called the offer "extraordinary" and stated that either Mahler, Nicodé, or Weingartner would have made better choices.[137] Boyden does, however, acknowledge that Bülow had "taken a paternal interest" in Strauss at this point.[138] Boyden also makes a brief case for Strauss's selection and points out some things that would have made the other applicants weak choices for Bülow. He said that Mahler, being Jewish, would have disqualified him since Bülow had openly expressed strong anti-Semitic statements and views.[139] Weingartner, according to Boyden, was not doing well in his new conducting post in

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134. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 212.

135. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 212.

136. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 30.

137. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 25.

138. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 24.

139. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 25.

Königsberg and Nicodé was a favorite of Wüllner, a rival of Bülow.[140] There are reasons for selection that can either be weighed for or against any of these applicants. In the summary chapter, a strong case will be made for Richard Strauss.

Even though Richard Strauss did not apply for the position, Hans von Bülow contacted Strauss through his publisher, Eugen Spitzweg, to see if he was interested in the position.[141] Bülow also extended an invitation to Richard Strauss to join him in Frankfurt in June of 1885 in order to study under him at the Raff Conservatory.

Study at Raff Conservatory and the Meiningen Offer

According to Willi Schuh, Bülow extended this invitation to Strauss for two reasons.[142] The first reason was to make the acquaintance of the Duke of Meiningen's sister, Princess Marie who was a good pianist and among one of Bülow's students. It was important for Bülow to see how Strauss, as a potential assistant, would interact with the princess. The second reason was, as stated

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140. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 25.

141. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 38.

142. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 9-10.*

earlier, to attend Bülow's piano course at the conservatory in order to further their mentor-mentee relationship.[143] Another reason would have been, obviously, for Hans von Bülow to spend more time with Richard Strauss and run him through a series of tests to gage his strength as a potential assistant conductor. Even though a letter was to Strauss from Bülow about the assistant conductor position at Meiningen, there was still no formal contract offered before Richard Strauss's study in Frankfurt. This is a position that required the approval of the Duke.

At the conservatory, Bülow exposed his students in Frankfurt to the works of his favorite composers. Bülow taught lessons on those composers systematically within the structure of his classroom. Bülow taught the works of Bach and Handel on Monday and Thursday mornings, Beethoven and Brahms were explored on Tuesday and Friday mornings, Mozart and Mendelssohn on Wednesday, and Joachim Raff on Sunday evenings.[144]

Joachim Raff was one of Bülow's favorite composers at the time and was a life-long friend and mentor to him.[145] Richard Strauss was eager to please Bülow

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143. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 9-10.*

144. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 317.

145. Alan Walker, *Hans Von Bülow: A Life and times.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 41.

by personally exploring the works of Raff.[146] He made his new interest in Raff very clear in a couple of ways. First, he arranged two of Raff's marches for piano duet. Second, Strauss performed in a benefit concert to raise money for a memorial to Raff while in Frankfurt.[147] These two actions could either point to a new infatuation with Raff as a composer or, more likely, as an effort to win the favor of Hans von Bülow.

Strauss' people pleasing didn't stop at the new enthusiasm for Joachim Raff's music. As mentioned previously, it was Bülow's intent to have Strauss interact with Princess Marie of Meiningen during his stay in Frankfurt. Richard Strauss wasted no time. He began taking Hans von Bülow's piano course of study on June 9 and, on June 10, met with both Hans von Bülow and Princess Marie in order to perform his *14 Improvisationen und Fuge* for them. This performance allowed Strauss to interact with Princess Marie but also to perform this work for its dedicatee, Hans von Bülow.[148] As some may interpret Strauss's conducting premiere as a test from Bülow, so could this social and musical interaction with royalty be interpreted. According to Bülow, he played well

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146. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 92.*

147. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 92.*

148. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 38.

enough and the exercise seemed be a test similar to the *Suite in Bb*, Op.4 premiere in importance.[149] Strauss also recalls Hans von Bülow's reaction upon completing the *Variations*:

> By Jove! Here's a dangerous rival.' He was very complimentary about the Variations, so I reminded him that they were dedicated to him. He said to me later: "It's a good thing the princess has been impressed by your piano playing, since you will have to play duets with her in Meiningen.[150]

This quote reveals Bülow's preference for Strauss to join him at Meiningen. If playing for Princess Marie successfully was a test, then, according to this quote, Richard Strauss passed. Passing this test would be the final obstacle he would have to endure before becoming Bülow's assistant. Hans von Bülow sent the Duke of Meiningen a letter about Richard Strauss on the day after the performance: June 11, 1885. Bülow wrote about Richard Strauss's incredible talent and maturity beyond his years. He requested permission from the Duke to draw up an arrangement and also stated:

> Twenty-two years old [in fact Richard had only just celebrated his twenty-first birthday] but everything about him commends him to the respect of the orchestra, which has already learned to esteem him as a composer. Yesterday he played a new work, a set of variations, to the Princess, which Her Highness was greatly pleased. At the same time, he presented his credentials as a competent duet partner for Her Highness.[151]

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149. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 93.*

150. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 93.*

151. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 93.*

The Duke replied quickly and on June 18th, 1885 Richard Strauss received his formal offer of the position as assistant conductor at Meiningen along with his contract. The contract offered him the position as *Hofmusikdirektor* of the ducal court orchestra from October 1, 1885 to April 15, 1886 with a salary of 1,500 marks paid in twice-monthly instalments.[152] The contract also defined the nature of Richard Strauss's professional relationship with Hans von Bülow:

> The said Herr Strauss will undertake to observe at all times and without question all directives of the intendancy of the Ducal Court Orchestra with regard to performances, public concerts and concerts at court, and to the necessary rehearsals. In particular he will be obliged to act as the representative of the intendancy whenever the intendant, Hans Freiherr von Bülow, requires it.[153]

Strauss in Meiningen

Richard Strauss moved to Meiningen in the fall and began his duties as *Hofmusikdirektor* on October 1, 1885. Strauss, a twenty-one-year-old novice conductor, found himself assisting in the direction of one of Europe's most esteemed ensembles and learning from one of the world's most revered conductors. At that time, Strauss considered Bülow to be "the world's greatest

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152. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 93.*

153. Schuh, *Richard Strauss, A Chronicle of the Early Years, 94.*

performing musician."[154] Even though Strauss placed Bülow in such high regard, this fact did not impact his ability to perform for Bülow or pass any of his tests. Strauss reflected on this first posting as a conductor in his recollections:

> On the first of October 1885 I embarked in my new post upon an apprenticeship which could hardly have been more interesting, impressive and - amazing. Every day, from nine o'clock until noon, were held the memorable rehearsals such as Bülow alone could conduct. Ever since that time the memory of the works he then conducted, all of them by heart, has never been effaced for me. In particular, I found that way in which he brought out the poetic content of Beethoven's and Wagner's works absolutely convincing. There was no trace anywhere of arbitrariness. Everything was of compelling necessity, born of the form and content of the work itself; his captivating temperament, governed always by the strictest artistic discipline, and his loyalty to the spirit and the letter of the work of art (the two are more akin than is commonly believed) ensured that by dint of painstaking rehearsals these works were performed with a clarity which constitutes to me this day the zenith of perfection in the performance of orchestral works.[155]

From the quote it is clear that the early days at Meiningen with Bülow left a lasting professional and musical impression on Richard Strauss. He was an observant and studious assistant. There is evidence presented by Boyden, however, that suggests that Bülow could have also been a difficult person to learn under. Strauss said the following about Bülow: "when he suddenly turned away from the rostrum and put a question to the pupil reading the score, the

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154. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 26.

155. Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, 120.

latter had to answer quickly if he were not to be taunted by a sarcastic remark by the master in front of the assembled orchestra."[156] Students were constantly alert in rehearsals out fear of negative remarks from Bülow. That said, the quote about Strauss's daily rehearsal observations at Meiningen mention Bülow's preparation of the score, his interpretive skills, and his service to the composer's music as art. Bülow held himself and his students to a high standard. He must has seen Strauss as someone who was capable of meeting those standards at the time of his selection. Strauss's respect for Bülow as an artist and conductor isn't necessarily incongruent with his interactions with students.

Bülow put his new assistant to use immediately when Strauss started his position with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. In just his first week, he was able to absorb a tremendous amount of literature in rehearsal. During that week, the orchestra rehearsed Beethoven's 1st, 5th, 6th, and 7th Symphonies in addition to *Egmont* and his *Piano Concerto #4*. The Meiningen Court Orchestra also rehearsed the piano concertos of Brahms, in addition to *Symphony No. 1*, *Symphony No. 3*, and Brahms's *Tragic Overture*.[157]

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156. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 27.

157. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 32.

One of Strauss's main duties was to rehearse the Choral Society. In the first week, he began rehearsals of Mozart's Requiem. Here is a quote dated on October 13, 1885 from Hans von Bülow's wife, Marie, who sang in the Choral Society:

> Strauss keeps up his frenetic rehearsing. Three hours yesterday morning on his symphony alone. At the end applause from the orchestra - which he received skeptically and yearns for criticism. Very sensible. Once again the choral rehearsal went very well. I sang so energetically that Strauss paid me the charming compliment of asking me to step out and listen in some difficult passages, so that he could find out how the others manage without my assistance.[158]

This quote by Marie gives insight on Strauss's rehearsals with the Choral Society. Marie indicated that he also yearned for criticism which indicated his desire to learn and improve. He also paid Marie a 'charming compliment' in rehearsal. It is uncertain whether this compliment was genuine or a political move to gain favor with Bülow's wife. Either way, the description of Strauss's rehearsal indicates that he was learning quickly and was developing a rapport with the musicians.

Strauss conducted his first orchestral rehearsals with the Meiningen Court Orchestra in his second week of work. He rehearsed his new *Symphony No.2 in F minor* for a performance with the orchestra. He also rehearsed Brahms's *Violin*

158. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 27.

Concerto and the *Serenade in A major*.[159] Also during the second week, Hans von Bülow had to leave town and leave the orchestra in Richard Strauss's unsupervised care. On the day Bülow left, Princess Marie visited one of Strauss's rehearsals while he was rehearsing Brahms's *Serenade in A major.* As was custom in the court, the Princess requested a reading of a work, in this case it was the *Overture to the Flying Dutchman* by Wagner. Though Strauss knew the music of the overture, he had obviously never conducted it before so would have had to read the work at sight with the ensemble. Luckily the orchestra knew the work well and, according to Gilliam and Boyden, Strauss was successful.[160] The impromptu request could have been another test coordinated by Bülow. If it was, it was another test passed.

Strauss flourished in his new position at Meiningen. He conducted his own works as well as the works of other composers, he learned from Hans von Bülow, he performed as a piano soloist with the orchestra, and interacted with Brahms when he came to Meiningen to work on the premiere of his *Symphony No. 4*. Brahms was present in the audience when Richard Strauss conducted his

159. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 32.

160. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 32; Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 28.

own *Symphony No. 2 in F minor*. Strauss recalls the following about the experience:

> After this, I conducted my F minor symphony. No less a man than Johannes Brahms was in the audience and I was very anxious to hear his criticism. In his laconic manner he said to me 'Quite nice', but then added the following memorable piece of advice: "Take a good look at Schubert's dances, young man, and try your luck at the invention of simple eight-bar melodies." I owe it mainly to Johannes Brahms that I have never since refrained from incorporating a popular melody in my work, although our dogmatic critics today think little of such melodies. I also remember clearly a further criticism made by the great master: "Your symphony is too full of thematic irrelevancies. There is no point in this piling up of many themes which are only contrasted rhythmically on one triad." It was then that I realized that counterpoint is only justified when poetic necessity compels a temporary union of two or several themes contrasted as sharply as possible, not only rhythmically but especially harmonically. The most shining example of this sort of poetic counterpoint is found in the third act of Tristan und Isolde.[161]

Strauss received this criticism well from Brahms and incorporated the advice in his future compositions. This is more evidence that he was an excellent student who desired critique. Brahms wasn't the only critic of Strauss's while at Meiningen. Franz Strauss was still very interested and invested in his son's career. Some of Franz's critique was related to his composition, telling him: "Don't forget, my dear Richard, what I have often told you, to make the last notes in a figure clear and not to dash them off in too much of a hurry… devote a

161. Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, 123.

little more care to the bass line." Franz aimed his criticism toward his son's conducting:

> You have to get over this habit of conducting with snake-like arm movements. It looks ugly, particularly when one is as tall as you are. It is not even pleasing when Bülow does it and he is small and graceful… When conducting, the left hand should do nothing except turn the pages of the score, and if there is no score, it should remain at rest … I ask you, dear Richard to follow my counsel and not to "carry on."[162]

This critique hurt Richard Strauss as he later wrote to his mother to make his father's feelings known to her and to ask for her sympathy.[163] Strauss was able to handle criticism from Bülow and Brahms well, but he was left hurt by this remark from his father. This account of Strauss's conducting shows he was significantly more flamboyant than how he conducted in his later years. Documentary video footage of Richard Strauss conducting toward the end of his career in the 1940s showed a conductor who was precise, efficient, emotionally reserved, and who used his left hand sparingly.[164] The description of Strauss's conducting in his maturity, by most people's estimations, would not be

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162. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 32.

163. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 32.

164. Thomas Beecham et al, "The Art of Conducting: Great Conductors of the Past". Hamburg: Teldec Video, 1994. video, 1:57:00. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LYnqU4AJvtA.

characterized as snake-like or flamboyant. Either Richard Strauss took his father's critique very seriously and implemented changes or just changed over time as a conductor. Either way, this evidence suggests that the young Richard Strauss at Meiningen was a very different conductor than Richard Strauss in his maturity.

The End of Strauss's Time at Meiningen

Richard Strauss was a capable and eager assistant to Hans von Bülow at Meiningen. That power dynamic changed in November of 1885 when Hans von Bülow unexpectedly resigned from leadership of the Meiningen Court Orchestra. The resignation was due in large part to a conflict with Johannes Brahms.[165] Bülow's ninth (and final as it would turn out) Meiningen Orchestra tour began on November 3, 1885 in the city of Frankfurt. Brahms took the podium for the performance of the *Symphony No. 4* on this first day. This tour heavily showcased Brahms, Beethoven and Wagner with some occasional performances of Raff, Berlioz, and Saint-Saëns. The tour was very busy, with the Meiningen Court Orchestra performing twenty-two concerts in sixteen different cities within a span of twenty-one days. According to the programs, Brahms conducted his own *Symphony No. 4* on every concert except for the Rotterdam concert on November

165. Del Mar, *A Critical Commentary*, 35.

11, 1885. Bülow conducted all the other Brahms works on tour including the other Symphonies and his Haydn Variations. Bülow abandoned both the tour and the Meiningen orchestra before the Frankfurt concert on November 24, 1885.[166]

The friction between Bülow and Brahms heightened on this tour due to the fact that Brahms conducted most of the performances of *Symphony No. 4.* That tension elevated when Brahms had also accepted an invitation to conduct a rival orchestra in Frankfurt, the *Museumgesellschaft*, on his *Symphony No. 4*. Bülow left the orchestra and Brahms conducted the final concert on tour in his absence. On this final tour, the orchestra performs Beethoven's *Rondino* several times but not Strauss's *Serenade Op. 7* and *Suite Op. 4*.

Just a little more than a month into his appointment as assistant conductor, Richard Strauss was placed in charge of the Meiningen Court Orchestra as its principal conductor. Strauss stayed in that position until April of 1886, at the termination of his original contract. Strauss stayed at court with the orchestra and did not tour during his tenure. The absence of Hans von Bülow allowed the Duke to make some changes to the orchestra. The Duke offered Strauss a new contract for three more years with the court orchestra, but he also

166. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 638-641.

intended to reduce the orchestra to thirty-nine players.[167] Strauss viewed this as a disappointment, especially considering the tremendous reputation that Hans von Bülow had achieved in just five years with the Meiningen Court Orchestra.[168]

After leaving Meiningen, Strauss returned home to Munich, taking a job as the third conductor of the Munich Opera.[169] His time at Meiningen and with Bülow was short but that time had molded him into a professional conductor. When Bülow appointed Strauss as his assistant with the Meiningen Court Orchestra, that marked the beginning of a life-long career as a conductor.

167. Del Mar, *A Critical Commentary*, 35.

168. Del Mar, *A Critical Commentary*, 35.

169. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 214.

Chapter 4

Beethoven's *Rondino in Eb major*, WoO 25 and Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7: A Comparative Analysis

An examination of Hans von Bülow's Meiningen Tour Programming

Hans von Bülow selected Richard Strauss as his assistant partly because of the familiarity he gained through performing Strauss's music with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. The inclusion of Richard Strauss's *Serenade* was a conscious decision on Bülow's part and not done out of any obligation to outside influences. Bülow programmed the *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7 with the Meiningen Court Orchestra because the *Serenade* fulfilled a specific need in his programming habits. That need was that of a chamber wind work that could provide the audience with variety at the mid-point of a program. When Hans von Bülow started touring with the Meiningen Court Orchestra in 1880, he presented concerts that featured the works of Beethoven exclusively. In many of these concerts, Beethoven's *Rondino for Winds in Eb major,* WoO 25 served as that variety piece. *Rondino* is a single-movement work for wind octet, and it takes about seven minutes to perform in its entirety. Hans von Bülow would usually program it as the third work in a concert program and fit it between a concerto and either a symphony or an overture. As Bülow started including other

composer's works on tour, a need emerged for a work similar to *Rondino*. Richard Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7 met that need. It is a single movement work for thirteen winds that can be performed in approximately nine minutes. The following discussion charts Hans von Bülow's programing practices with the Meiningen Court Orchestra from 1880 – 1885 in relation to Beethoven's *Rondino for Winds in Eb major*, WoO 25 and the works of Richard Strauss, particularly his *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7. The appendix of this document chronologically lists all the programs discussed in relation to these works.

In his first few concerts at Meiningen, it was clear that Bülow intended to be a champion of Beethoven's works. Concerts given in the months of November and December (his first performances at Meiningen) in 1880 exclusively featured the works of Beethoven. Bülow first conducted Beethoven's *Rondino for Wind Octet in Eb Major,* WoO 25 on the November 14, 1880 concert and again on the December 27, 1880 concert in Eisenach. Beethoven's *Rondino* is a popular work among college wind conductors and those studying wind conducting at the graduate level. It is a single movement wind octet in Eb Major written in 1792, intended as dinner music for Elector Maximilian Franz.[1] Bülow also programmed

1. Ludwig van Beethoven, *Rondino, WoO 25*. ed. by Helmut May (Mainz: Schott Musik International, 1968) 2.

the *Rondino* for the Meiningen Orchestra's first tour, which started on January 21, 1881 in the city of Coburg. Bülow conducted performances of the *Rondino* in Bamberg on the 22nd and Nuremberg on the 24th, with all performances by the Meiningen Court Orchestra. The second tour of the Meiningen Orchestra began on March 5, 1881. Bülow conducted *Rondino* with the orchestra on March 6, 1881 in Jena, March 19th in Bamberg, March 20th in Ansbach, March 22nd in Regensburg, and March 23rd in Würzburg.[2]

Hans von Bülow showed an affinity for *Rondino* by performing it regularly on the first and second Meiningen orchestra tours. The work was always the third piece performed on the program. In most of the programs, *Rondino* was placed between a concerto of some type and an overture. Hans von Bülow used it in his programs as a chamber work to provided contrast between the showpiece of a concerto and the full orchestration of an overture. These concerts featured the works of Beethoven exclusively, but Bülow was able to showcase the many different aspects and orchestrations of his music. Bülow programmed differently when the orchestra performed at Meiningen. Earlier in 1881, when playing in Meiningen at court, the orchestra played a mixed program

2. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 583-589.

of Weber, Liszt, and Schubert. When the orchestra went on its first two tours, it was Bülow's goal to promote only Beethoven.[3]

The third Meiningen tour began on January 3, 1882. The music of Beethoven was still the main focus, but this tour also featured the works of Brahms and Mendelssohn; a clear departure from his Beethoven-only formula. The different composer's works on the third tour never mixed in the same program. A concert was either exclusively Beethoven, exclusively Brahms, or exclusively Mendelssohn. Bülow also made a change from the previous tour program, with the omission of *Rondino* for sixteen concerts. It finally received a tour performance on January 17, 1882. The all-Beethoven concerts on this tour were shorter than the all-Beethoven concerts on the first two tours, and, up until the concert in Berlin on January 17, only had four works instead of the usual five or six. The program on the 17th had Beethoven's *Rondino* listed as the third piece out of five. Despite its inclusion on this program, the orchestra only performed *Rondino* once on the third tour. The next four concerts were exclusively Beethoven programs, but only had four programed works each, omitting the *Rondino*.[4]

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3. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 583-589.

4. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 592-594.

The fourth Meiningen tour began on March 3, 1882 with a concert in Hanover. Bülow programmed Beethoven's music heavily on this tour with the works of Brahms, Mendelssohn, and Schumann also making appearances. Bülow programmed Beethoven's works on concerts separate from the other composers. On the non-Beethoven concerts, Bülow mixed the works of different composers instead of using his previous programming habit of composer exclusivity. The Meiningen Court Orchestra performed Beethoven's *Rondino* in Dresden on March 15, 1882 along with the *Egmont Overture*, *Symphony No. 1*, *Leonore Overture No. 1*, and *Symphony No. 6*. The orchestra performed *Rondino* again in Hamburg on the 18th of March, and in Breslau on the 24th of March. In total, the touring orchestra performed Beethoven's *Rondino* three times on the fourth tour out of the fourteen times they presented an all-Beethoven program.[5] On the Breslau concert, Beethoven's *Rondino* was the fourth piece - an unusual ordering for Hans von Bülow:

5. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 597-599.

Program
Breslau - March 24, 1882 (4th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)[6]

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Triple Concerto in C major, Op. 56
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: König Stephan, Op. 117
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Richard Strauss's *Serenade for Winds in Eb major,* Op. 7 received its first performance with the Meiningen Orchestra on December 26, 1883 with Bülow's assistant, Franz Mannstädt conducting. The program order for that concert consisted of Weber's *Overture to Euryanthe*, the Liszt/Schubert *Wandererfantasie* R 459 (Bulow performing with Mannstädt conducting), Mercadante's *La Poesia for 4 celli*, Strauss's Op. 7 with Mannstädt conducting, Raff's *Die Liebesfee* (for violin & orchestra) Op. 67 with Fleischhauer as soloist, Berlioz's *Overture: Le Carnaval romain* Op. 9, Wagner's overture*: Rienzi*, Liszt's *Die Ideale* R 423, and Rossini's overture*: Wilhelm Tell* to end the concert.[7]

The fifth Meiningen Orchestra tour began on January 6, 1884. This tour featured the works of Beethoven along with Weber, Raff, Berlioz, Brahms, Strauss, Rheinberger, and Spohr. On this tour, Beethoven's works mixed with

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6. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 599.

7. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 606.

other composer's works in some programs, although Bülow still presented some all-Beethoven concerts. The Meiningen Orchestra performed *Rondino* in the second concert tour in Frankfurt on January 7, 1884. Bülow placed the work fourth in the program, similar to its last performance on the fourth tour.

Bülow experimented with Strauss's *Serenade* in the tour rotation after a successful concert in Meiningen. Its tour premiere was in Nuremberg on January 12, in a program that included Raff, Weber, Rheinberger and Liszt. Strauss's *Serenade* was, once again, conducted by Mannstädt; placed third in a program of seven works. Although this concert did not have any Beethoven works, Bülow did follow his previous programing pattern found in the all-Beethoven concerts by placing the chamber wind piece, in this case the *Serenade* and not the *Rondino*, third in the program. Bülow placed Strauss's *Serenade* between a piano concerto by Raff and a Weber overture. This program order, in relation to the function of the works, mirrors the programing order found in most of the all-Beethoven concerts in previous tours when Beethoven's *Rondino* was performed. In this non-Beethoven concert, it is clear that Hans von Bülow thought Richard Strauss's *Serenade in Eb,* Op. 7 a functional substitute. The addition of Strauss's *Serenade* in future programs strengthens this theory.[8]

8. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 606-609

After a successful tour premiere, the *Serenade* becomes a regular work in Meiningen's tour repertoire. Hans von Bülow also became more experimental in his programming in comparison to previous tours. The orchestra performed Beethoven's *Rondino* on January 16, 1884, in an all-Beethoven concert in Karlsruhe. The orchestra performed Strauss's Op. 7 two days later in Worms on January 18, 1884, complimenting works by Raff, Beethoven, and Rheinberger. As evidence of Bülow's increased experimentation, the Worms concert was the first time Bülow mixed the works of Beethoven and Richard Strauss together in a program. Bülow also experimented slightly with the program order by placing the chamber wind work fourth in the order — placed between a Rheinberger symphony and a Beethoven symphony. From this point on, a pattern of alternation between the two chamber works is evident when the *Rondino* is played the very next day in Mainz at an all-Beethoven concert. Strauss's Op. 7 makes its return in Neustadt on January 20, programmed in between Beethoven *Symphony No. 1* and *Leonore Overture No. 3*. The *Serenade* is third on the program, and its placement between two Beethoven works further suggests its place as a functional *Rondino* substitute. *Rondino* returns to the program in Wiesbaden on January 22, 1884, and again on the 24th in Kassel, programmed fifth and third respectively.[9]

9. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 608-609.

The sixth tour started in Göttingen on February 17, 1884. The program on this date featured Weber's overture*: Oberon*, Beethoven's *Symphony No. 1*, Strauss's *Serenade,* Op. 7, Weingartner's *Serenade for Strings in F major,* Op. 6, Beethoven's *Symphony No. 8*, and Brahms's *Academic Festival Overture*. As a possible rival to Richard Strauss, this first program on tour included the work of an equally young Felix Weingartner's *Serenade for Strings,* Op. 6. It is possible that Hans von Bülow was auditioning Weingartner against Richard Strauss. The purpose of this possible audition is not known, unless Hans von Bülow suspected Franz Mannstädt would be leaving the Meiningen Court Orchestra soon. Both works were by young, emerging composers whom Bülow showed keen interest in. Inserting both smaller-scale works back-to-back between two Beethoven symphonies was certainly unprecedented in Bülow's previous programming choices.[10] Felix Weingartner was just a year older than Strauss, turning 21 that June of 1884 and was one of Liszt's final students in Weimar. Weingartner, who eventually took the directorship of the Königsberg Opera later in 1884, was a young composer who also had designs on the profession of

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10. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 610-612.

conducting.[11] The comparison between Strauss and Weingartner, in this case, is direct and obvious.[12]

After the Göttingen concert, the orchestra performs *Rondino* in Kiel on February 20, 1884 in a typical all-Beethoven tour program. Bülow conducts Strauss's *Serenade,* Op. 7, in Lübeck on February 21, 1884 in a program surrounded by Beethoven, Raff, and Weber. The orchestra performs *Rondino* on all-Beethoven programs in Bremen on the 22nd and Berlin on the 25th. Strauss's *Serenade,* Op.7, and Weingartner's *Serenade for Strings,* Op. 6, are, once again, paired back to back in Berlin on a concert on February 27. Richard Strauss was able to attend rehearsals beforehand, and he sat in the audience as he watched Franz Mannstädt conduct his work. He, most likely, also heard the Meiningen Court Orchestra perform Weingartner's *String Serenade,* Op. 6, immediately following his own *Serenade*.[13] It is also reasonable to assume, knowing that Strauss was in Berlin at the time, that he would have also attended the orchestra's all-Beethoven concert two days earlier.

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11. Raymond Holden, *The Virtuoso Conductors: The Central European Tradition from Wagner to Karajan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 100.

12. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 25.

13. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 610-612.

The seventh Meiningen Tour began in Würzburg on October 31, 1884. During this tour, Bülow didn't program the *Serenade* or the *Rondino* until the seventh concert on tour with the *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7, in Wiesbaden. The orchestra performed *Rondino* in Freiburg by on November 9, 1884 in an all-Beethoven concert. Instead of alternating the works like in previous tours, Bülow programmed *Rondino* again on the concert at Stuttgart on November 12. On November 14, Stuttgart would also hear the Meiningen Orchestra perform Strauss's *Serenade in Eb Major,* Op. 7 in a program featuring the works of Berlioz, Brahms, Raff, and Weber. At this concert, Bülow placed the *Serenade* in typical program order. It was third on the program, between Brahms's *Piano Concerto No. 2 in Bb major,* Op. 83, and Raff's *Symphony No. 4 in G minor,* Op. 167. Bülow scheduled a performance of Beethoven's *Rondino* in Strauss's hometown of Munich on November 15, 1884 in an all-Beethoven concert. During his time in Munich, Bülow could have either informed Richard Strauss, or confirmed as Spitzweg's letter might suggest, that he would conduct his new *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4, with the Meiningen Court Orchestra without any rehearsal due to their busy touring schedule. The programs confirm that it was a busy schedule during this time. After the Munich performance on the 15th of November, the orchestra took a trip to Augsburg the next day to perform Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7 along with a concert of Raff, Spohr, Beethoven's *Egmont*, Brahms's *Haydn*

Variations, and Beethoven's *Symphony No. 4*.[14] The Meiningen Court Orchestra was back in Munich for an all Brahms concert on the night of November 17.[15]

Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4 premiere occurred in a matinee concert in Munich with Strauss conducting on November 18, 1884. The program included Rheinberger's *Symphony in D minor,* Op. 10, Strauss's *Suite in Bb major,* Op.4, *Raff's Piano Concerto in C minor,* Op. 185 with Bülow performing as soloist (which would explain way Bülow was in the green room during Strauss's conducting performance), and ended with Raff's *Overture: Eine feste Burg,* Op. 127, which had been paired with the *Serenade in Eb,* Op.7 in previous programs. The evening concert featured Berlioz's *Corsair Overture,* Op. 21, Liszt/Schubert's *Wandererfantasie* with Bülow on the keyboard, Raff's *Suite in ungarischer Weise,* Op. 194, and ended with three Weber overtures: *Oberon, Euryanthe*, and *Der Freischütz*.[16]

The Meiningen Court Orchestra performed *Rondino* on November 20, 1884 in Vienna on an all-Beethoven concert and on the 21st in Preßburg. The orchestra performed *Rondino* in Prague on December 12, 1884 in another all-Beethoven

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14. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 620-623.

15. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 620-623.

16. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 623-625.

concert.[17] A work absent from the seventh tour, and any future programming, was Weingartner's *Serenade for Strings,* Op. 6. If there was any competition between the two musicians in the mind of Hans von Bülow, it can be inferred that Richard Strauss emerged as the preferred candidate of the two, due, not only to the continued programming of the *Serenade in Eb major,* Op.7, but also to the additional programming of the *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4 and the *Horn Concerto in Eb major,* Op. 11.

The Meiningen Court Orchestra gave its premiere of Richard Strauss's *Horn Concerto in Eb major,* Op. 11 on March 4, 1885 at home. Franz Mannstädt conducted the work and the Gustav Leinhos performed the solo horn part. The orchestra performed the work second on the concert; a typical order for Bülow's placement of a concerto.[18]

The eighth Meiningen Orchestra tour began March 7, 1885 in the city of Hamburg. On March 8, the orchestra travelled to Lüneburg for a concert and immediately returned to Hamburg for a performance on the 9th. On March 9, 1885, the orchestra performed Richard Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op.7 in a program of Wagner, Brahms, Glinka, and Raff. The orchestra played the *Serenade* again the next day in Bremen in a program that included Weber's *Overture to*

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17. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 623-625.

18. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 631.

Euryanthe, Lalo's *Symphonie espagnole,* Op. 21, Beethoven's overture*: Prometheus,* Op. 43, and Raff's *Suite in ungarischer Weise,* Op. 194. On tour, the orchestra performed Richard Strauss's *Horn Concerto in Eb major,* Op. 11 in Bremen on March 12, 1885 with Leinhos as soloist. Although Strauss's *Horn Concerto* received additional performances by the Meiningen Court Orchestra, the *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4, did not. Works also included on the Bremen program were Berlioz's *Overture: Corsair,* Op. 21, Strauss's *Horn Concerto*, Saint-Saëns *Tarantella* Op. 6, Weber's *Overture: Oberon*, Beethoven's *Symphony No. 4*, and Weber's *Euryanthe Overture* played as an encore. The Meiningen Court Orchestra performed eight more concerts on this tour before performing Beethoven's *Rondino* again during an all-Beethoven program in Königsberg, March 21, 1885. Three days later on the 24th, the orchestra performed *Rondino* in another all-Beethoven concert - this time in the city of Bromberg. Throughout the eighth tour, Bülow retained both Beethoven's *Rondino* and Richard Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7, but did not integrate Strauss's *Suite in Bb major,* Op.4, or any of its movements.[19] Bülow could have passed on programming Strauss's *Suite in Bb* for multiple reasons. The first reason could have been that the orchestra did not have time to rehearse the work on tour and Richard Strauss was the only person that conducted the work. The second reason relates to the *Suite's* performance

19. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 631-634.

time. At around twenty-three minutes in length, the work was too long to serve as a substitute for either the *Serenade* or *Rondino* and could have been difficult for Bülow to fit in to any of his established programming choices. The third reason could have been that Bülow simply did not think the *Suite* equaled the quality of the *Serenade*.

In October of 1885, Richard Strauss began his tenure as the assistant conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. Since the first performance of Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7 in Meiningen on December 26, 1883, Hans von Bülow had a significant amount of time learning about Richard Strauss and his music. The successful performances of the *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7, the *Suite in Bb major*, Op. 4, and the *Horn Concerto in Eb major,* Op. 11, certainly helped Hans von Bülow view Richard Strauss as quickly rising musical talent.[20] Richard Strauss gave his first performance at Meiningen by performing as a soloist on Mozart's *Piano Concerto in C minor, K 491*, and then conducting his *Symphony in F minor,* Op. 12, on a concert held on October 18, 1885. The orchestra gave two more concerts at home before leaving for Bülow's final tour.[21]

Bülow's ninth and final tour with the Meiningen Court Orchestra began in the city of Frankfurt on November 3, 1885. Brahms joined this tour after

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20. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 638-641.

21. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 638-641.

spending time with Bülow and Strauss in Meiningen. Brahms had been with Bülow and the orchestra since the 16th of October in order to assist with the preparation and premiere performance of his *Symphony No. 4*. This tour heavily showcased Brahms, Beethoven, and Wagner with some occasional performances of Raff, Berlioz, and Saint-Saëns. The tour was demanding for the musicians, with the orchestra performing twenty-two concerts in sixteen different cities within a span of twenty-one days. According to the programs, it would seem that Brahms insisted on conducting his own *Symphony No. 4* on every concert except for the Rotterdam concert on November 11th, 1885. Bülow conducted all the other Brahms works on tour including the other symphonies and the *Haydn Variations*. Bülow resigned from both the tour and the Meiningen orchestra before the Frankfurt concert on November 24, 1885, forcing Brahms to conduct the final concert on tour in Bülow's absence. On this final tour, the orchestra performed *Rondino* but Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7, and *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4, did not receive performances. The orchestra performed Beethoven's *Rondino* in Dortmund on November 5, 1885, and Arnhem on November 16. The orchestra gave its final performance of *Rondino* on November 22, 1885 in Bonn on the last all-Beethoven concert on the ninth tour.[22]

22. Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 638-640.

As explored in the analysis of Hans von Bülow's programming, Richard Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7, became a functional substitute for Beethoven's *Rondino for Winds in Eb major,* WoO. 25. In many ways, Richard Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7 was a perfect fit within Bülow's programming. In the analysis of Bülow's tour programs, it is clear to see how Strauss's *Serenade* functioned as an equal substitute to Beethoven's *Rondino*. Hans von Bülow programmed Richard Strauss's *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 twelve times with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. Certainly, both Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb major*, Op. 4, and Felix Weingartner's *Serenade for Strings*, Op. 6, could have also been regular works in Bülow's Meiningen Orchestra tour programs, but Bülow used the *Serenade* as a functional substitute to *Rondino*. The Meiningen Orchestra only played Strauss's *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4 once on tour and Weingartner's *Serenade for Strings,* Op. 6 only twice. Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7 was a functional program substitute to Beethoven's *Rondino in Eb major, WoO. 25*, as revealed through the program analysis.

Comparing Strauss's Op. 7 and Op. 4 with the Music of Beethoven and Brahms

The following musical analysis will illustrate how similar the two works are in salient composition traits and will provide reasons as to why Hans von Bülow found Strauss's *Serenade* as a functional musical substitute for Beethoven's *Rondino* on multiple tours with the Meiningen Court Orchestra.

Some similarities between the two works are obvious. They are both single-movement works in Eb major. Both works are written for a chamber wind instrumentation. Beethoven scored *Rondino* for a wind octet consisting of two oboes, two clarinets in Bb, two horns in F, and two bassoons. Strauss scored the *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7 for thirteen instruments – two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets in Bb, two horns in Eb, two horns in Bb, two bassoons, and either one contrabassoon or tuba. The performance time of both works is also similar. Both works are less than ten minutes in length with *Rondino's* performance lasting approximately seven minutes, and the *Serenade* lasting approximately nine minutes.

The tempo and meter of both pieces are also very similar. The composers mark each works with a tempo of *Andante*, and an initial meter of 2/4. Beethoven's *Rondino* is in a rondo form, a standard classical form. The form of Strauss's *Serenade* is in a strict sonata form. Even though the use of sonata form is not exclusive to the classical era and is found in modern works, Strauss was

trying to emulate a classical form with his use of phrase structure and cadences. For Strauss, use of the sonata form in the *Serenade* could have been a chance to learn and emulate the classical style found in Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn. As stated in the previous chapter, Strauss's naming of this chamber wind work as a *Serenade* evokes the classical wind serenades of Mozart.

Deeper analysis of the initial motives of each work also reveal similarities. In the beginning of the primary theme of each composer uses similar, simple harmonic structure and rhythmic motives to initiate the theme. In *Rondino*, the first part of the principal theme sounds in the 1st horn part as shown in Figure 1.

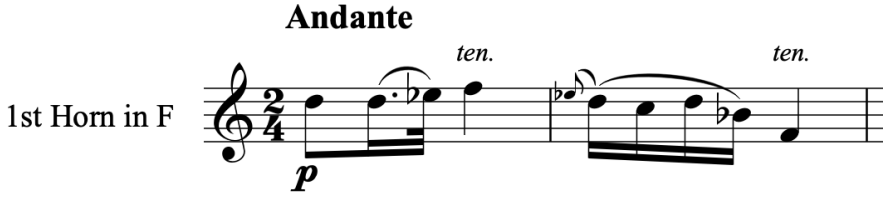

Figure 1. M.1 – M.2: 1st Horn in F, beginning of principal theme - Beethoven's *Rondino for Winds in Eb major*, WoO. 25.

Taking the transposed score into consideration, the first note begins on the third scale degree and rises, after a pitch repetition, to the fifth scale degree at the end of the first measure. In Strauss's *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7, the first part of the principal theme sounds in the 1st oboe part as shown in Figure 2.

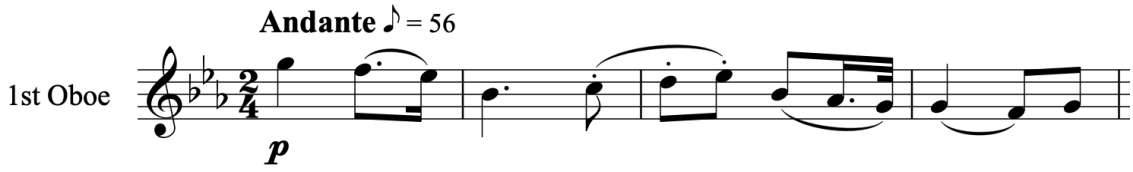

Figure 2. M.1 – M.4: 1st Oboe, beginning of principal theme – Strauss's *Serenade for Winds in Eb major*, Op. 7.

Tonally, the *Serenade's* principal theme has obvious similarities to the *Rondino* principal theme. The beginning of the *Serenade's* principal theme also starts on the third scale degree and within its first motivic unit, comes to rest at the beginning of the second measure on the fifth scale degree.

There are also similarities in the rhythmic material at the beginning of both principal themes. In both the *Serenade* and the *Rondino*, the move to the fifth scale degree is initiated by a dotted rhythm. In the *Rondino* excerpt shown in Figure 3, the 1st oboe shows a more direct parallel to the primary theme rhythm presented in Strauss's *Serenade.* At M. 114 in *Rondino*, the initial principal theme is presented in augmentation. That theme sounds in octaves between the 1st oboe and the 1st clarinet. This augmented principal motive matches the rhythm of the *Serenade's* initial motive of its principal theme. The *Serenade* and *Rondino* motives also have a tonal link, with the both lines initiating the motive on the third scale degree and coming to rest on the fifth scale degree.

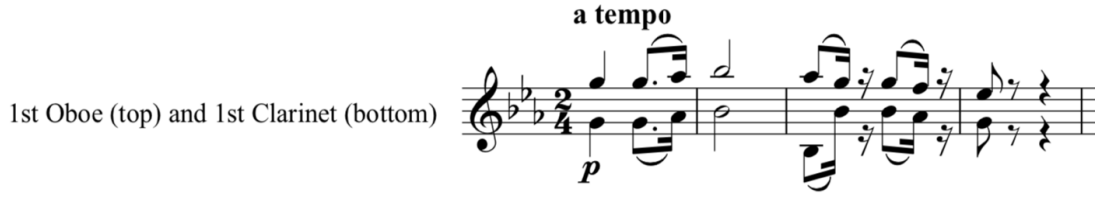

Figure 3. M.114 – M.117: 1st Oboe and 1st Clarinet, principal theme in augmentation at the Coda - Beethoven's *Rondino for Winds in Eb major*, WoO. 25.

Both Beethoven and Strauss employ the dotted rhythm heavily in *Rondino* and *Serenade*. The dotted rhythm, in its variations, is used as a rhythmic motive. It functions throughout each work as a unifying device and musical reminder of the initial motive of the primary theme. In Beethoven's *Rondino*, the dotted rhythm, as stated, is found at the beginning of the primary theme and found in augmentation during the coda. Because the work is in rondo form this rhythmic motive returns in each A section. Beethoven also uses the dotted rhythm in the B section as melodic material in mm. 25, 29, and 35. Those rhythmic motives appear in the second half of the B section and prepare the first return of the A section.

Each A section of the *Rondino* employs a transitional phrase that prepares the return of the primary melodic motive. As seen in Figure 4, the dotted rhythm motive from the principal theme is used within the melody of this transitional phrase.

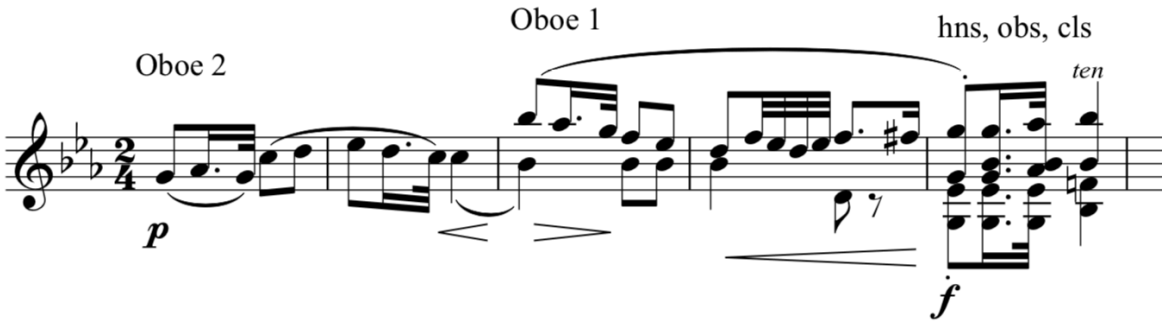

Figure 4. M. 9 – M. 13: 2nd Oboe, 1st Oboe, Full Ensemble, A section transitional phrase - Beethoven's *Rondino for Winds in Eb major*, WoO. 25.

In the first A section, the above melodic transition is found starting at M. 9, and is sounded in octaves by the 2nd oboe and 1st bassoon. The melodic transition, along with its rhythmic echo of the primary theme, functions as a dramatic herald signaling the return of the primary theme in its most heroic statement.

The dotted rhythmic motive also functions as light accompaniment in the second half of the D section in *Rondino* which starts at M. 93. Beethoven inserts the dotted rhythmic motive in the 1st bassoon part starting at M. 97. The motive is initially scored against the intricate lines presented in the 2nd horn part and 2nd clarinet part. The motive begins to stand out starting at M. 101 in the 1st bassoon part as the texture of the orchestration thins, and then at M. 102 in the 1st oboe part as seen in the reduction in Figure 5.

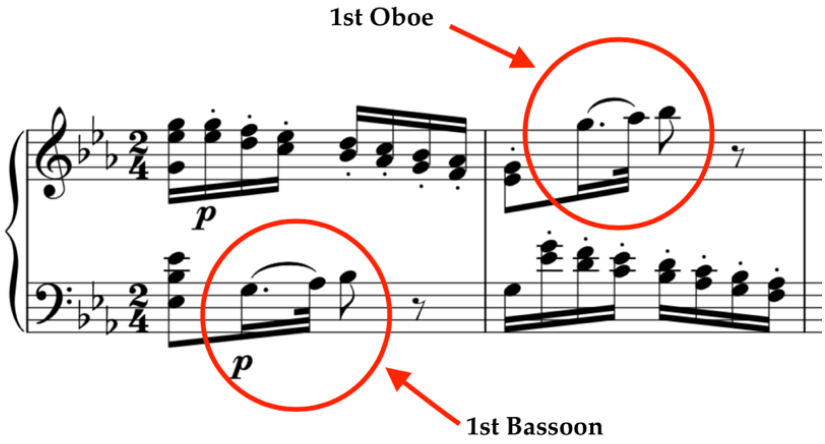

Figure 5. M. 101 – M. 102: Full Ensemble Reduction, principal theme motive in 1st Bassoon and 1st Oboe - Beethoven's *Rondino for Winds in Eb major*, WoO. 25.

The motive is recognizable as a fragment of the principal theme motive from the A section. This fragment passes the span of two octaves between M. 101 and M. 102. In M. 103 the fragment sounds in octaves between the 1st oboe, 1st clarinet, and 2nd clarinet parts. This principal theme fragment prepares the sounding of the principal theme motive in the 1st horn for a false return of the A section in M. 108. This false return features an echo effect from the horn parts that repeats portions of the principal theme. The fragments of the principal theme function to prepare the false return of the A section in M. 108. The musical material found in M. 108 interrupts the steady rhythmic flow of the work by repeating material in a section that is 'senza tempo.' The absence of the previous continuous sixteenth notes and steady pulse of the D section work to diffuse the

energy of the piece. Beethoven uses this diffusion of energy to send the work to a calm conclusion. This diffusion of pulse and rhythmic energy prepares the entrance of the Coda in M. 114, which features the principal theme in augmentation.

Richard Strauss uses a dotted rhythmic motive in *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7, very similarly to how Beethoven used his dotted rhythmic motive in *Rondino*. As discussed, the principal motive of the *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7 closely resembles the rhythm and pitches that make up the augmented coda theme in Beethoven's *Rondino*. Strauss however, goes several steps further in his use of the dotted rhythmic motive in comparison to Beethoven. As shown in Figure 6, the initial rhythmic motive appears in M. 1 played by the 1st oboe, clarinets, and bassoons.

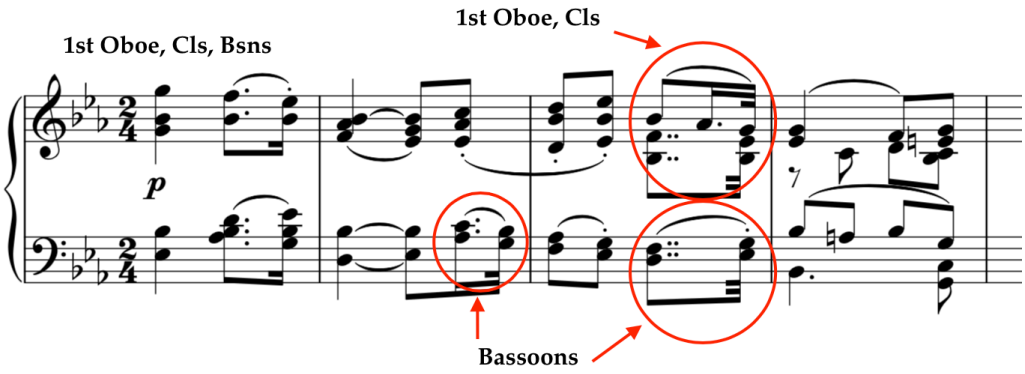

Figure 6. M. 1 – M. 4: Full Ensemble Reduction, Richard Strauss's *Serenade for Winds in Eb major*, Op. 7.

At the end of M. 2, the bassoons have the dotted rhythmic motive in diminution, sounding in descending thirds. In M. 3, the 1st oboe sounds the dotted rhythmic motive in diminution when compared with the original motive. In the texture underneath the main melodic line of the 1st oboe in M. 3, the clarinets and the bassoons have a double-dotted eighth note linked to a thirty-second note which meets the 1st oboe part at the end of M. 3. At M. 7, right before the end of the first phrase and cadence, a final dotted rhythm against a double-dotted version sounds in the 1st oboe and 1st clarinet.

From the previous example, it is clear that Strauss leans much more heavily on this rhythmic motive than Beethoven did in his *Rondino*. This is true throughout the work. The rhythmic motive sounds in its next iteration at M. 10 as seen in Figure 7.

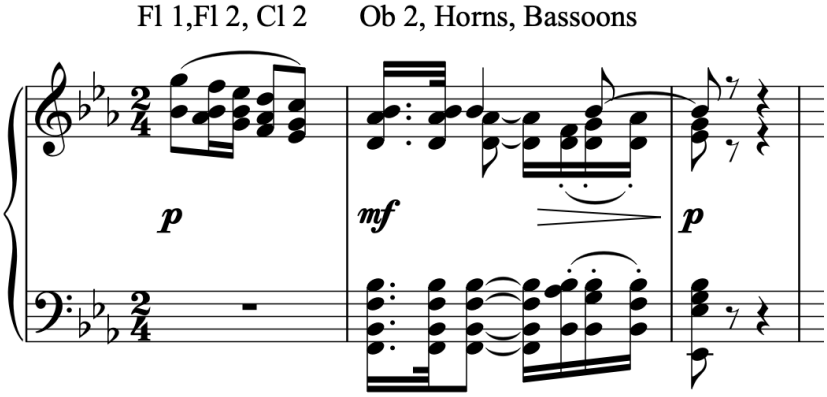

Figure 7. M. 9 – M. 11: Full Ensemble Reduction, Richard Strauss's *Serenade for Winds in Eb major*, Op. 7.

In M. 10, Strauss uses the dotted rhythmic motive as a heroic answer to flutes and 2nd clarinet starting the second phrase in a *dolce* statement. The interjection of this dotted rhythm answer is orchestrated for the 1st oboe, all horns and bassoons, creating a hunting call figure.

Another version of the dotted rhythm's use exists in the transition from the A section to the B section starting at M. 25. At its beginning, this figure looks like it could be a repeat of the heroic answer from M. 10 with different orchestration. Strauss fools the listener at the beginning of this transition phrase by sounding the heroic dotted rhythm and then transforming the phrase into something different. After the horn presents the dotted rhythm as seen in Figure 8, pairs of oboes and clarinets continue the dotted rhythmic gesture by picking up with the next thirty-second note.

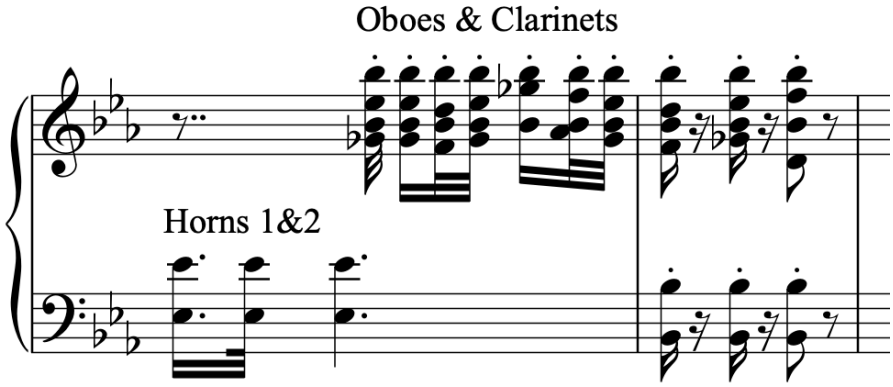

Figure 8. M. 25 – M. 26: Full Ensemble Reduction, Richard Strauss's *Serenade for Winds in Eb major*, Op. 7.

Throughout the *Serenade's* primary theme, the heroic answer in M. 10, and the transition at M. 25, the dotted rhythm goes through three different transformations. Each of these small motives and themes preserve a rhythmic link to the primary theme's rhythmic motive yet each retain a unique identity through the aforementioned transformation.

The analysis presented shows how similar Strauss's *Serenade* is to Beethoven's *Rondino*. Strauss's use of the dotted rhythmic motive in his primary theme and beyond echo some motivic devices Beethoven used in *Rondino.* Beethoven employs this compositional style, not only in *Rondino,* but throughout his career. This style was especially prevalent in his middle period, although these motivic devices are also apparent in his later works.[23] The dotted rhythmic motive and reliance on basic harmony, even triadic and diatonic outlines, can found in the primary theme of the *Appassionata Piano Sonata*, Op. 57.[24] The finales of Beethoven's *Symphony No. 3* and *Symphony No. 5* also use the dotted rhythmic motive in various forms to convey varied shades of heroism. The primary themes of each of these definitive works also rely on simple harmony. These descriptions of simplicity and universal character typify Beethoven's themes, especially in the

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23. Jeffery Swinkin, "The Middle Style/Late Style Dialectic: Problematizing Adorno's Theory of Beethoven," *The Journal of Musicology* 30, no. 3 (2013): 287.

24. Swinkin, "The Middle Style," 289.

middle period.[25] Strauss's combination of simple harmonic motion with a heroic dotted rhythm suggests an emulation of the heroic works of Beethoven's second period.

Evidence suggests that Strauss sought to emulate Beethoven's *Rondino* directly. In doing so, he also employed basic elements that are definitively *'Beethovenian.'* These *Beethovenian* elements used by Strauss in the *Serenade* are the reliance on rhythmic motive throughout the work in combination with the heroic dotted rhythm.

In the *Suite in Bb Major*, Op. 4 Strauss relies heavily on similar *Beethovenian* gestures. In the *Suite in Bb,* Strauss begins the first three movements and the start of the Fugue section in movement four with very basic cellular motives. These motivic cells are the primary connective material used heavily in transformation and variation in each of the movements.

In the first movement the cellular motive consists of four notes: Bb, A, G, and then the return to the Bb. A simple rhythm contains these pitches to complete the cellular motive as seen in M.1 of Figure 9. The full scoring in Figure 9 reveals how immediately reliant Strauss is on this cellular motive and how immediately begins to develop and vary it.

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25. Swinkin, "The Middle Style," 288.

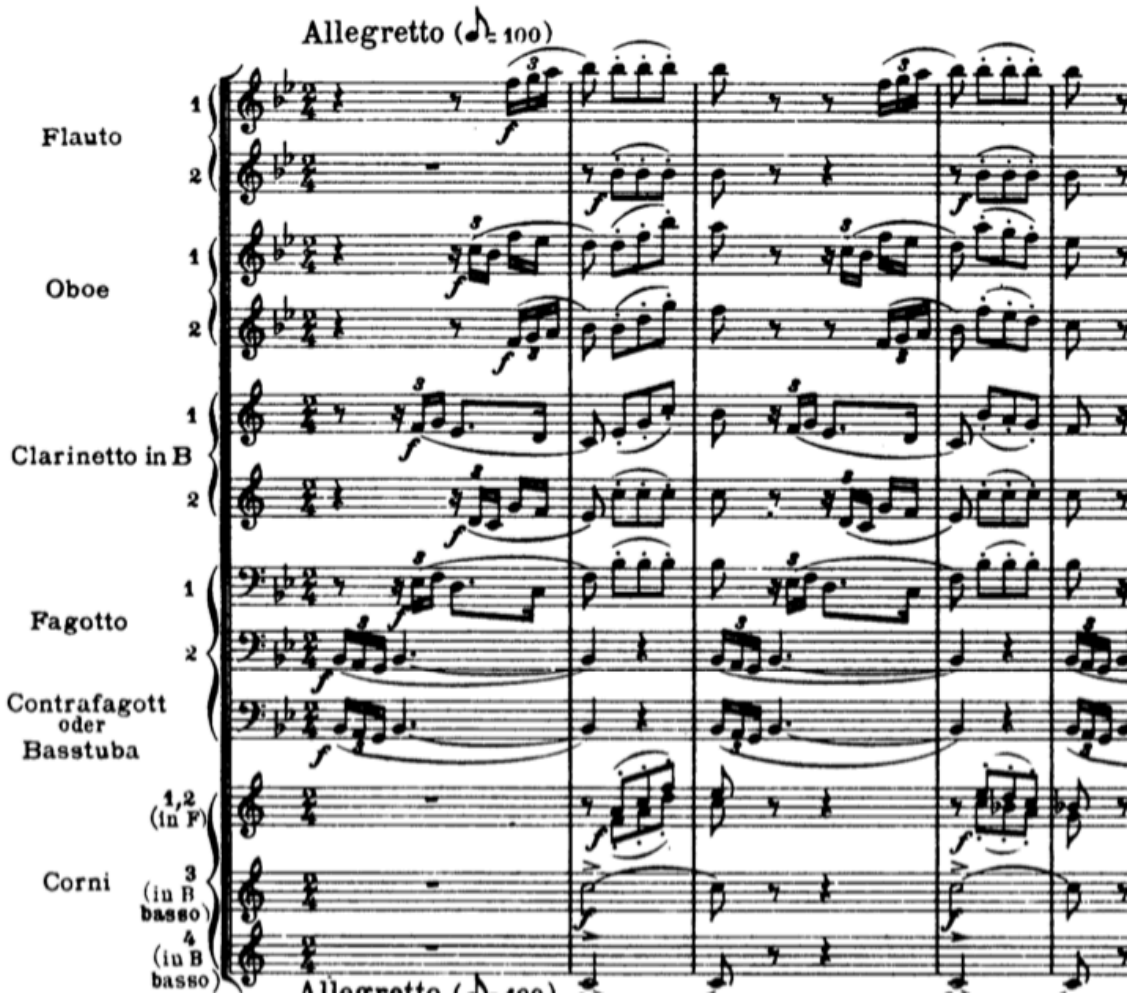

Figure 9. M. 1 – M.4 : Full Score: Mvt. I, *Praeludium*, Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb Major*, Op. 4.

The clarinets and oboes vary the rhythm immediately after its first sounding in the lower bassoons. At the end of the first measure, the 1st flute and 2nd oboe have the initial rhythm on the weak part of the beat with the pitches ascending to the Bb stepwise from the F. In the end of the second measure, most instruments of the ensemble have an augmented variation of the initial cellular

rhythmic gesture. One can interpret this gesture as three short notes (by their grouping) plus one terminal note.

In all four movements, there is similar reliance on a basic cellular motive. One of the clearest examples of this compositional device occurs in the beginning of the third movement, *Gavotte*. As seen in Figure 10, the bassoons start with a very simple cellular motive sounded at the *piano* dynamic level. In M. 5, Beethoven uses this motive in diminution at the *forte* level and contains the same descending pitches: G, Gb, F. The motive repeats in M. 6, surrounded by additional harmony, and is varied immediately in M. 7 and M. 8. The variance in M. 7 found in the 1st flute gives birth to a new rhythmic cell which is varied in M.8 by the horns and imitated in M. 9 by the 1st clarinet.

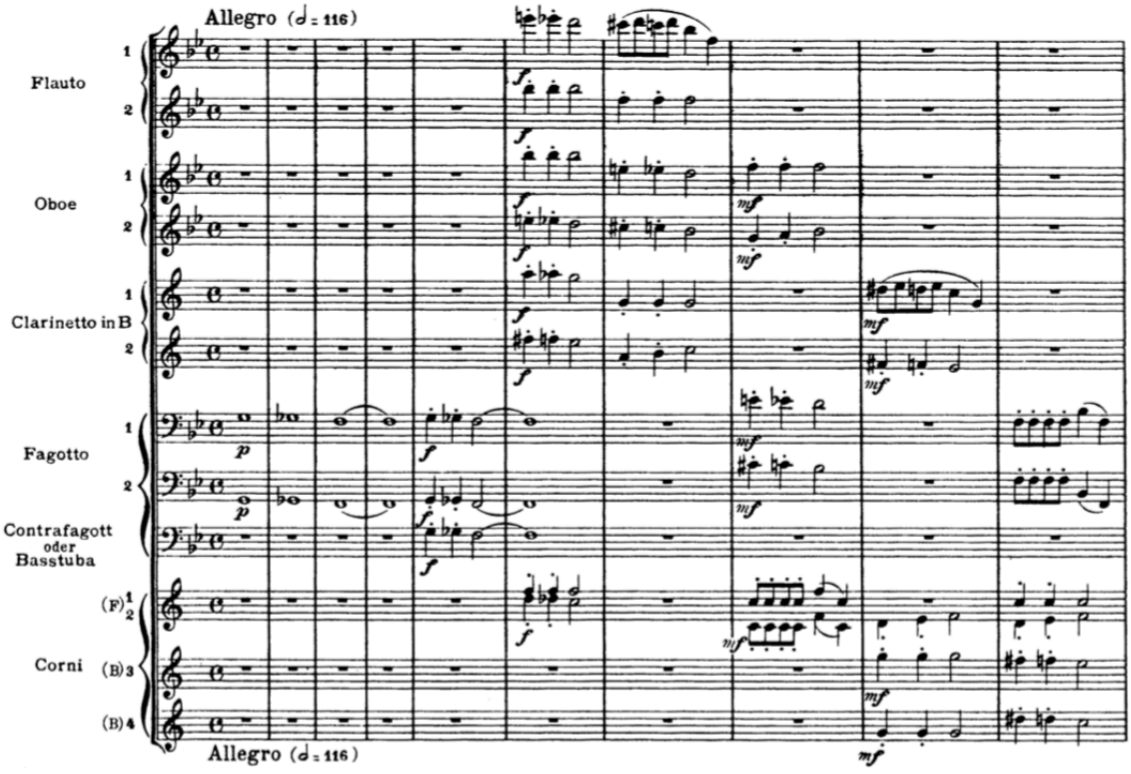

Figure 10. M. 1 – M.10: Full Score: Mvt. III, *Gavotte*, Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb Major*, Op. 4

Strauss's use of smaller cellular motives in *Suite in Bb*, Op. 4 emulates a facet of Beethoven's middle period technique. Beethoven's primary theme in *Symphony No. 5* and use of its famous cellular motive throughout the work, is the clearest and most obvious parallel to the technique Strauss uses in the *Suite in Bb major*, Op. 4. The principle rhythmic motive of the Suite's *Praeludium* movement contains the same rhythmic impetus found at the start of the fugue section of the final movement. That rhythmic gesture is similar to Beethoven's opening cell of *Symphony No. 5*: short, short, short, long.

Strauss used dotted rhythmic motives and cellular motives in order to emulate Beethoven, but Strauss's style and harmonic language in the *Serenade* and *Suite in Bb* wasn't purely Beethoven's. The *Serenade* and *Suite* use techniques found in Beethoven's works frequently, but not to the point of derivation. In the examples above, Strauss demonstrates an immediate development of those motives. In the *Serenade*, the development of these motives, even within the primary theme, is more subtle than it is in the *Suite in Bb major*. The *Serenade* doesn't rely on smaller, cellular motives as much as the *Suite* does. As a result, the *Suite* is less melodic than the *Serenade* and many of the motives are more simple, isolated, and cellular. Beethoven did develop his cellular motives in his middle period but did so over a longer period of time. The motivic development and variation techniques evoke the works of Brahms.

Developing variation is a term initially coined by theorist and composer Arnold Schoenberg, and became closely associated with the music of Brahms.[26] As heroic dotted rhythms and cellular motives can be considered *Beethovenian*, developing variation is thought of as *Brahmsian*.[27] In the *Serenade*, the clearest example of this technique comes in the transformation of the dotted rhythm. In

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26. Nicole Grimes, "The Schoenberg/Brahms Critical Tradition Reconsidered," *Music Analysis* 31, no. 2 (2012): 127.

27. Grimes, "Traditions Reconsidered," 131.

M. 10 of the *Serenade*, as seen previously in Figure 7, the dotted rhythmic motive transforms from the beginning primary theme and assumes a new, more heroic, identity. At the transition to the B section starting in M. 25, as seen in Figure 8, the music continues its transformation into something new while still retaining a link to its previous identity.

There are also shades of this technique employed in the *Suite in Bb major*. In the opening of the *Gavotte* shown previously in Figure 10, basic harmonic material, through rhythmic diminution, becomes a clear metric cell by M.5. That cell, through developmental variation, is transformed into a new rhythmic cell by M. 7. Strauss presents basic material and then transforms it two different ways, all in the short span of seven measures.

In Schoenberg's conception of Brahms's developing variation, new ideas develop from material of the theme.[28] Strauss develops ideas but isn't completely successful in fulfilling Schoenberg's idea of developing variation. Strauss generates new ideas out of the basic motives quickly but does not transform them to the point of reaching a completely new and unrecognizable musical goal by the end. The movement he gets closest to the technique of developing variation is in the first movement, *Praeludium*. In developing variation, the

28. Grimes, "Tradition Reconsidered," 130.

development is constant and promotes greater thematic transformation over time.[29] To be fair, Schoenberg didn't connect is idea of developing variation to the music of Brahms until 1946 and it has taken Schoenberg, as well as many other scholars, a lot of time afterword to seek clearer definitions of the term.[30] Strauss was not seeking to fulfill any future ideas of music theorists – that would be impossible. In his writing, Strauss was exhibiting the curiosity of a developing composer. He was taking ideas from the music that surrounded him and trying to mix them with his own understanding. Strauss composed the *Suite in Bb* early in 1884 while going through his *Brahmsschwärmerei* period.[31] It was during this time that Strauss also wrote the *Wandrers Sturmlied,* Op. 14 and the *Piano Quartet in C minor,* Op. 13 which were both heavily influenced by Brahms, almost to the point of being derivative.[32] It does not appear that the *Suite in Bb* is derivative of any one piece but it is not unreasonable to conjecture that Brahms's also found is way in this work, given his compositional output of the time.

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29. Grimes, "Tradition Reconsidered," 130.

30. Walter Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation.* California Studies in 19th-Century Music; Volume 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 2.

31. Warfield, "Too Many Works," 207.

32. Kennedy, *Man, Musician, Enigma*, 34.

The following examples will show *Brahmsian* elements contained in Strauss's *Suite in Bb major*. These examples will show how Strauss approaches an idea close to that of Schoenberg's conception of Brahms's developing variation. He develops his initial theme throughout the exposition to create a thematic transformation. Grimes states that the purpose of thematic transformation within the context of developing variation " is to impart internal cohesion to multi-movement works, both within and between movements, whilst preserving a substantive relationship between the contrasting passages."[33] Figure 11 shows the reduction of the opening two measures of the first movement of the *Suite, Praeludium*.

33. Grimes, "Tradition Reconsidered," 130.

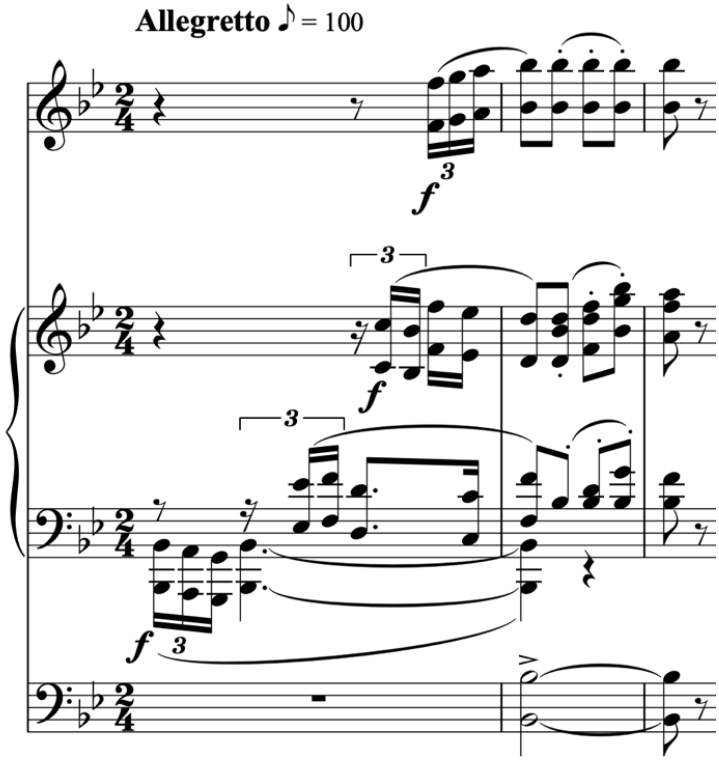

Figure 11. M. 1 – M.2: Reduction: Mvt. I, *Praeludium*, Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb Major*, Op. 4

Previously, the analysis explored the initial cellular motive of the triplet followed by the termination note. Strauss uses the triplet in each entrance of the first measure. Beyond that, he subtly transforms the initial motive through slight variation all the way through the exposition and into the development of the movement. The transition in the first theme begins at M.11 and sounds the initial motive in the 2nd flute and 2nd oboe. The motive played at M. 11 sounds, initially, as an ordinary repetition. Strauss repeats the motive in a slightly different variation going into M.13 as shown in Figure 12.

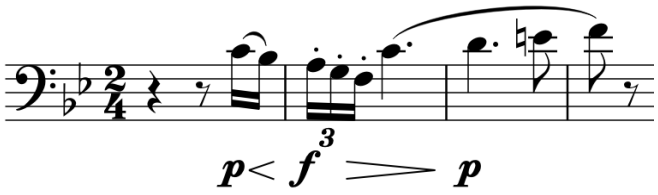

Figure 12. M.12 – M.13. 1st Bassoon, A section transition. Mvt. I, *Praeludium*, Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb Major*, Op. 4

The figure shows the 1st bassoon part demonstrating the subtle variations to the initial motive. Two descending sixteenth notes introduce the triplet figured which then propel the figure to the dotted quarter note C. In this case, unlike the initial motive the bassoons sound in M.1, the line doesn't terminate on the C, but rises stepwise spanning the interval of a fourth. In this transformation, Strauss extends the motive on both ends yet retains an obvious connection to the initial motive found in M.1.

As the A section transitions to the B section, Strauss transforms the initial motive further. In Figure 13, the 1st bassoon (represented in the bass clef) plays the initial motive which, once again, sounds like a simple repetition. That motive, however, get its own frequent repetition. To highlight the repetition, Strauss provides an answer to the initial line in the 2nd clarinet and flutes as represented in the treble clef in the reduction shown in Figure 13.

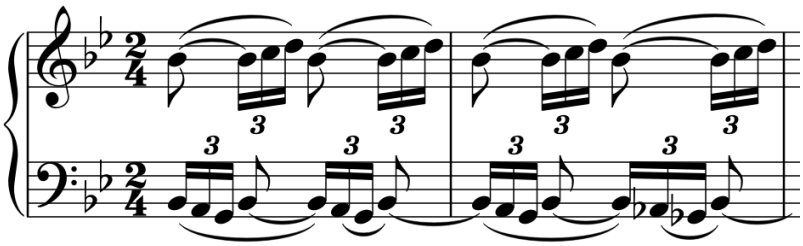

Figure 13. M.23 – M.24. Reduction. Transition to the B section. Mvt. I, *Praeludium*, Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb Major*, Op. 4

The answer Strauss provides in the higher voices in M. 23 contains a transformed version of the initial motive. The transformation is subtle, existing in the tie from the initiation note to the first note of the triplet. Strauss transfers that tie to the bassoons immediately which has the effect of subtly transforming the initial motive.

In the start of the B section at M. 29 the new theme is closely related to the A section theme and its initial motive. Strauss brings some of the transformations shown in Figure 12 and Figure 13 to this new theme. As shown in a reduction of the B section theme in Figure 14, duple rhythms are intermixed between the triplets and Strauss extends and combines motives into a longer musical idea. Strauss also seamlessly uses the tie which was introduced in M.23 as an alteration to the main motive. This new theme presented at B section still has a strong connection to the A section's initial motive, but it has been transformed using the techniques mentioned previously.

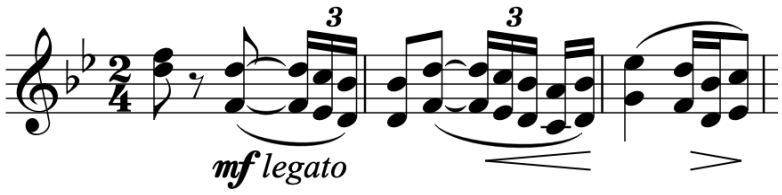

Figure 14. M.29-M.31. B section theme. Mvt. I, *Praeludium*, Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb Major*, Op. 4

Strauss presents transitional material at M.62 as seen in an excerpt of the full score in Figure 15. The bassoons introduce this transition with a version of the initial motive. This version is now varied harmonically. The new terminal note of the motive does not match the first note of the motive. Strauss uses a tie in the musical answer which is played by the upper woodwinds and the horns. This section is very similar to the transitional material found in M. 23.

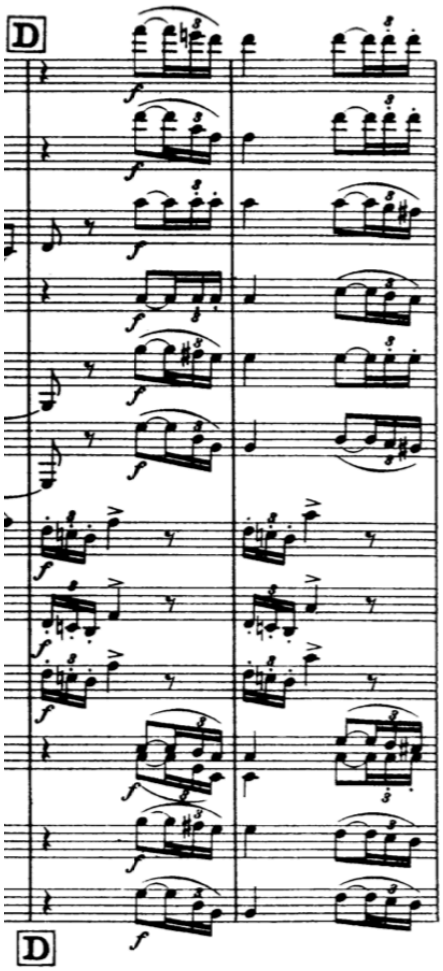

Figure 15. M. 62 – M.63. Full Score. Mvt. I, *Praeludium*, Richard *Strauss's Suite in Bb Major*, Op. 4.

This transitional material leads to a new section and theme at M. 68. Strauss transforms the rhythmic idea of the triplets into a set of three staccato sixteenth notes as seen in Figure 16.

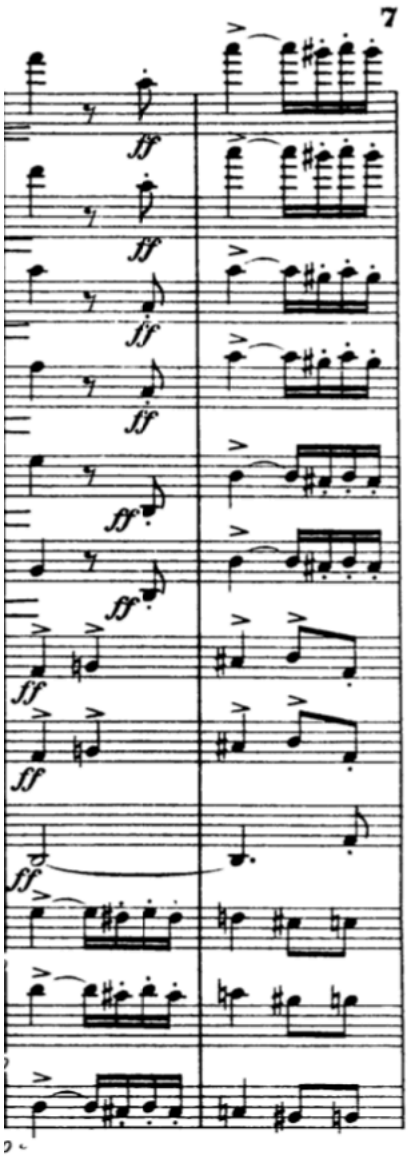

Figure 16. M. 68- M.69. Full Score. Mvt. I, *Praeludium*, Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb Major,* Op. 4.

Strauss also uses the tie in way similar to when he introduced it in M. 23. The tie has found its way into each transformation. In this new theme, the tie is necessary to isolate the group of three sixteenth notes within the measure. Strauss creates something new from ideas that he used previously in the

movement. He calls attention to this new idea in a few different ways. The first way Strauss highlights this new transformation is with fortissimo dynamic. The second way Strauss highlights this change is with fugue-like staggered entrances in the orchestration. The horns state the new theme first in M. 68. Strauss passes that theme to the flutes, oboes, and clarinets in M. 69. The new theme sounds in the bassoons and contrabassoon in M. 70 and then the first two horn parts sound it in M. 71. Strauss has the new motive played in four different entrances in the span of four measures. The original motive goes through a transformation and Strauss heralds its new iteration. Through each of these musical examples a simple, cellular motive transforms into something new while still retaining pieces of its previous identity.

Brahms scholar Peter Smith states the following about Schoenberg's admiration of Brahms:

> What Schoenberg admired about Brahms was the composer's ability to maximize opportunities for development without endangering comprehensibility. The point is not that Brahms abandons repetition, but that he exploits repetition only as much as necessary to make his ideas and their rapid evolution coherent.[34]

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34. Peter H. Smith, *Expressive Forms in Brahms's Instrumental Music: Structure and Meaning in His Werther Quartet* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), 67.

Strauss make the evolution of his initial motive coherent and certainly maximized his opportunities for development within the *Praeludium*. There is some redundancy of the initial motive and formal sections in exact repetition throughout the movement which would make this movement not align neatly with Schoenberg's idea of Brahms's developing variation. However, Strauss's use of development from phrase to phrase to create new material can be equated to a *Brahmsian* style.

At the end of the *Praeludium*, Strauss uses a very Beethoven-like technique seen previously in *Rondino* and replicated in his *Serenade in Eb.* Beginning at M. 153 in the coda of the movement seen in Figure 17, Strauss takes the phrase that starts in M. 151 and sets its continuation in rhythmic augmentation. By doing this, Strauss decreases the rhythmic energy of the movement and prepares a calm conclusion. This same technique was employed in the codas of Beethoven's *Rondino* and Strauss's *Serenade in Eb*.

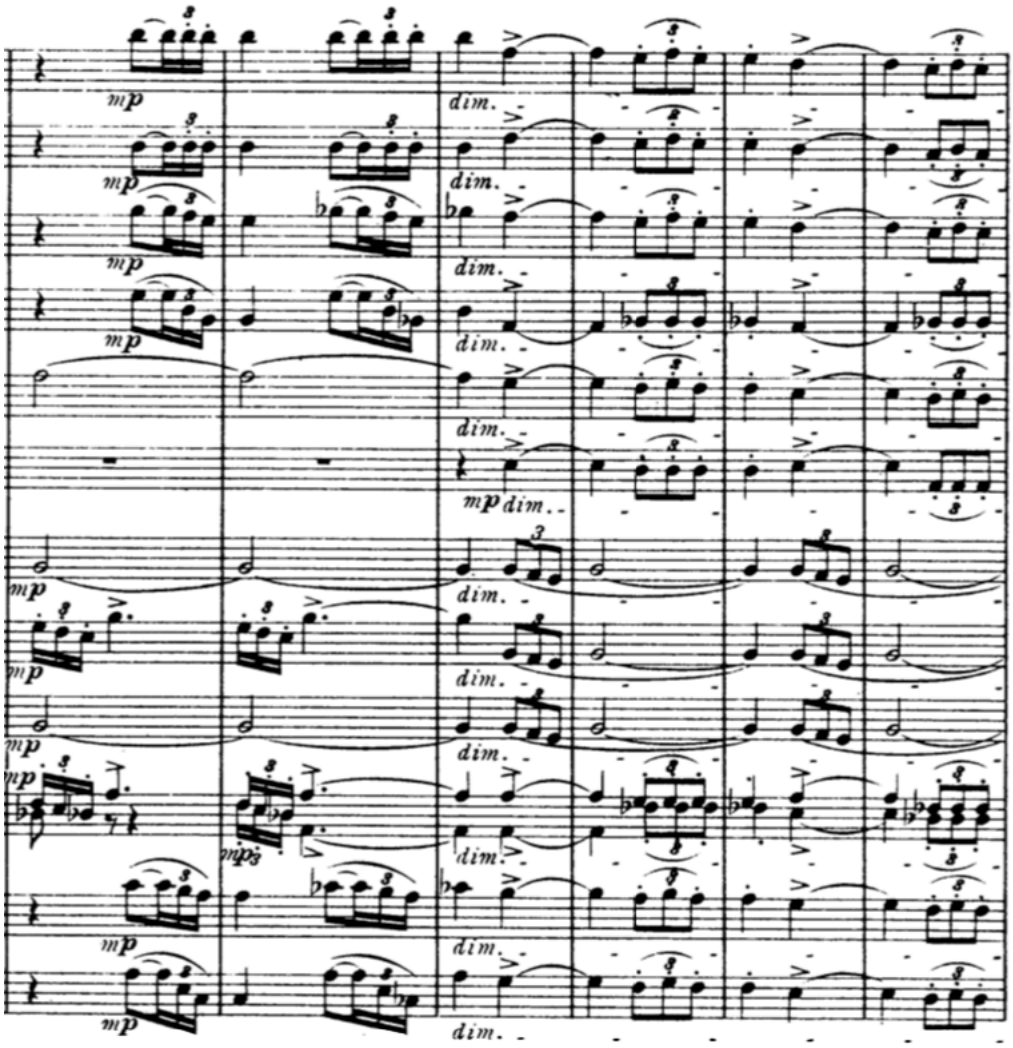

Figure 17. M. 151 – M.156. Full Score. Mvt. I, *Praeludium*, Richard Strauss's *Suite in Bb Major,* Op. 4.

Strauss claimed later in life that the *Serenade in Eb major,* Op. 7 was "nothing more than the respectable work of a music student." He clearly studied and employed the compositional techniques of Beethoven, and was experimenting with some *Brahmsian* ideas. The works of Brahms were new to Strauss around the time he wrote the *Serenade* and the *Suite*. Both of these works

display techniques associated with both Beethoven and Brahms through their use of some of the techniques associated with each composer. The heaviest connection in the works was the implementation of *Beethovenian* techniques.

Hans von Bülow's programming habits show that the *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 was able to act as a substitute for Beethoven's *Rondino*. The connection between the two works is the result of Strauss successfully adapting Beethovenian language into a similar work that could match well in programs surrounded by works by Beethoven, Raff, Weber, and Brahms. Han von Bülow's programming shows a clear affinity for the works of both Beethoven and Brahms. One of the most obvious goals of Hans von Bülow's tour programming was to promote the work of Beethoven. In his final tour, his goal was to promote the work of Brahms. The *Suite in Bb* was able to incorporate musical language that connected to Brahms but also connected to Beethoven.

For Strauss to successfully pay homage and reverence to Beethoven and Brahms meant a great deal to Bülow. Bülow publicly proclaimed his reverence for both composers, to the point of religious exuberance. Bülow has a well-known quote proclaiming he believed in "Bach the Father, Beethoven the Son, and in Brahms the Holy Ghost of music."[35] Leistra-Jones argues that Bülow

35. Karen Leistra-Jones, "Hans von Bülow and the Confessionalization of *Kunstreligion*," *The Journal of Musicology* 35, No. 1 (2018): 42.

frequently used religious rhetoric publicly when referring to these composers in order to elevate their music as a *Kunstreligion* – or secular religion.[36] Hans von Bülow elevated these composers above all others and his musical goals included spreading their music on tour to the masses. By emulating these composer's musical style with respect, Strauss proved that he was compatible with Bülow's musical goals. Strauss proved he was making an attempt to respect the masters that Bülow revered.

36. Leistra-Jones, "*Kunstreligion*," 43.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

Some biographers and researchers have puzzled over why Hans von Bülow selected the inexperienced Richard Strauss for the coveted position of assistant conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. Gilliam, Warfield, and Boyden all posed this question. Hans von Bülow selected Richard Strauss for the assistantship at Meiningen for a variety of reasons. For Richard Strauss, the path to Meiningen started in 1881 when Eugen Spitzweg first sent Bülow scores of Strauss's music. Bülow did not a have a favorable first impression of his works but that changed with the *Serenade in Eb major*, Op. 7 and later the *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4. Strauss also had a few years to give Bülow not only a favorable impression of his music, but a favorable impression of himself. There were other, more experienced applicants for the position at Meiningen as previously mentioned, but there are clear reasons why Bülow selected Richard Strauss for the position even though he did not formally apply.

Richard Strass made himself attractive as a choice for the assistant position by being an ideal student for Bülow. Bülow wanted to mentor Strauss in order to develop his potential as a capable assistant. Bülow also, through evidence of his programing with the Meiningen Court Orchestra, sought to

publicize Strauss's works. Through multiple interactions with each other, Richard presented himself as an ideal student for Bülow.

Strauss's habits as an eager and affable learner dated back to his time at the *Ludwigsgymnasium*. Although Bülow did not interact with Strauss in this general education setting, accounts of Strauss's schooling give us insight into the type of person he was. Accounts from his teachers describe him as a model student who was eager to please. It seemed that in his early general education at the *Ludwigsgymnasium*, he excelled at most of his subjects and was a teacher favorite. His general humanist education in classical culture, literature, art, philosophy, and history was important for the person in which Richard Strauss developed into. His reading of philosophy and the classics guided some of his later compositions and his command of European culture certainly helped him navigate the social and societal demands of interacting with royalty and his patrons at Meiningen. Strauss's eagerness to learn under Bülow was evident upon acceptance of his new position at Meiningen. According to Boyden he "immediately accepted Bülow's offer, admitting that it had come as 'the most joyous surprise imaginable.' He asked if he may 'occasionally conduct preliminary rehearsals,' and he hoped from Bulow to 'study closely your interpretations of our symphonic masterpieces.'"[1] At Meiningen, Strauss showed

1. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 25.

his skills as an eager student. According to Ashley: "He attended Bülow's morning rehearsals, assiduously following every piece with the score, ready to answer the searching questions that Bulow repeatedly asked."[2]

Evidence suggests he appreciated and accepted criticism which is a mark of personal growth. At Meiningen, Marie von Bülow noticed that in rehearsal, Strauss seemed to yearn for criticism. She remarked that this was very sensible of him. He had a desire to improve himself. That quality indicates that Strauss was teachable. Strauss also received critique from Brahms well, both before and while they were in Meiningen together. Brahms encouraged Strauss to incorporate more melodies in his future works. Brahms also offered improvements to his counterpoint. Strauss addressed both issues in future works.

Strauss held Hans von Bülow in high esteem. When he arrived at Meiningen, he proclaimed Bülow to be the "world's greatest performing musician."[3] Even though Strauss had prior encounters with Bülow, he was still in awe of his musicianship and obviously thought himself fortunate to assist such a highly regarded musician. Bülow thought very highly of Richard Strauss proclaiming him "the most original composer since Brahms" after their

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2. Ashley, *Richard Strauss*, 33.

3. Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, 26.

interactions in Berlin.[4] This mutual admiration translates to mutual respect, which is fundamental to any mentor-mentee relationship.

To some people, it may have seemed odd for Bülow to have passed on other experienced applicants for the assistant conductor position at Meiningen. It could have been that Strauss's lack of experience was an attractive trait for Bülow. Strauss had no previous conducting instructors and, if Bülow was truly interested in mentoring him as a young conductor, he would have no bad habits or undesirable style from a previous teacher. Strauss was unique from the other applicants in that he had no conducting teacher and no conservatory that could claim his success. Despite this lack of professional experience as a conductor and his lack of conservatory training, he had published works as a composer that were receiving performances across Germany and even a performance in the United States. Bülow performed the works of Strauss multiple times since the winter of 1883 with the Meiningen Court Orchestra. The only other applicant for the position whose works received any performances was Felix Weingartner, and the Meiningen Court orchestra only performed his *String Serenade* twice. The other applicants like Weingartner, Mahler, and Nicodé were already working as conductors, had mentors or conservatories that could claim their successes. Strauss did not study at a conservatory and his family, and close family friends

4. Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss*, 31.

such as Meyer, took responsibility for his musical education up until 1881. In Strauss, Bülow saw a rising talent who was in need of a mentor and a young musician who he could impress his musical goals upon.

Bülow put Strauss through some difficult tests as they were forming their relationship. To his credit, Strauss passed every one of the challenges presented by Bülow and did so with a combination of steadfastness and eagerness. The most difficult test was the conducting premiere of the *Suite in Bb major*, Op. 4. Strauss's conducting premiere could have been a colossal failure given the circumstances. As mentioned previously, that failure could have severely hindered Strauss's emerging reputation. Strauss succeeded where others would have failed. After his premiere, Bülow and Franz Strauss had an argument backstage after Franz tried to thank Bülow for giving his son a premiere and the opportunity to conduct. Bülow strongly asserts that he did it for Richard Strauss, with no consideration or deference to Franz. Strauss's recollection of the encounter indicates that his father left the room without word. What Strauss did not do was go after his father. Instead, he stayed in the music room with Hans von Bülow, at least long enough to note that Bülow changed his mood. Strauss demonstrated independence from his father in this act. Just as Bülow gave him the opportunity to conduct and premiere a work independent of his father's influence, Strauss was able to stay with Bülow as his guest for the concert.

The next test of Bülow's came the day after the premiere. Bülow requested that Strauss send his score of the *Suite* to Brahms. Bülow may have wanted to see how quickly Strauss would act on this advice. Bülow wanted both composers to start interacting with each other, especially for the sake of Richard's growth within Bülow's preferred aesthetic. Strauss must have sent the score quickly in order to receive a response back from Brahms through Leinhos in a letter dated December 15, 1884. By submitting the score, Strauss demonstrated that he was interested in taking Bülow's advice.

Strauss also accepted Bülow's offer to study under him at the Raff Conservatory in the summer of 1885. Bülow had an opportunity interact with Strauss and observe him over a longer period of time. He would have been able to assess whether Strauss was a good fit for the position at Meiningen. Strauss was able to win Bülow over quickly during his time at the Raff Conservatory. The first way Strauss succeeded was by showing respect for Raff's music. Raff was a life-long friend of Bülow's and one of his favorite composers. Strauss arranged two of Raff's marches for piano and played piano at a memorial benefit for Raff. The second way Strauss succeeded is by impressing Princes Marie of Meiningen on the second day at Raff. Strauss wasted no time getting acquainted with the Princess. Bülow wrote the Duke the next day recommending Strauss for the position with the orchestra.

Bülow appreciated Strauss's *Serenade* and *Suite* as shown through his programming and the analysis. With the *Serenade in Eb major,* Op.7 he showed Bülow two important qualities. The first quality is that Strauss had a desire to improve and he clearly grew enough as a composer for Bülow to change an earlier negative opinion his works. The second positive quality for Bülow was in the music itself. In the *Serenade* Strauss honored the classical masters, especially Beethoven. Bülow, at that time, was one of the leading interpreters of Beethoven's music. Bülow's zeal for Beethoven bordered on religious fervor. Leistra-Jones summarizes Bülow's zeal for Beethoven and Brahms:

> In this context, the question of how one should worship at the altar of Beethoven (or Bach or Brahms) involved public concerts in some of the most socially divisive issues surrounding religion, politics, and identity at the time. Bülow's performing career in Germany throws this principle into high relief. Most of his famous art-religious statements were made in the 1870s and 1880s, a transitional time in his career during which he gradually shed his identity as a New German firebrand and recast himself as an independent agent with a particular expertise in Beethoven, the foremost figure in Germany's pantheon of composer-gods. By the 1880s, he had totally revised his view of Beethoven's position in music history, casting him not as a trailblazer for Liszt and Wagner, but as a progenitor of Brahms and the more conservative aesthetic values associated with his music.[5]

Bülow took great pride in being an authority on Beethoven. Bülow saw a natural lineage from Beethoven to Brahms. In Brahms he saw 'conservative

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5. Leistra-Jones, "*Kunstreligion,*" 43.

aesthetic values' associated with the music of Beethoven. Given the analysis in the previous chapter, it is evident how Strauss treads along this lineage. In the *Serenade* and the *Suite*, Strauss emulates both composers in various ways. One can view these compositions as conservative as he creates music titled with classical connotations, *Serenade*, and music titled with Baroque connotations, *Suite*. The analysis showed how Strauss successfully emulated techniques found in the works of Beethoven and Brahms. For Strauss to link his work so closely to these particular composers was fortunate for him since those links matched perfectly with Bülow's musical values. By taking Strauss as a mentee, Bülow could encourage and develop this inclination in his musical output as a composer. Bülow could have also viewed Strauss's conducting training as a way to ensure another conductor to champion the works of Beethoven and Brahms. This mission was of near religious importance to Bülow and in Strauss, he saw an acolyte.

Suggestions for Further Research

Although this document gives greater insight to the reasons why Hans von Bülow selected Richard Strauss as his assistant conductor with the Meiningen Court Orchestra, especially in relation to the *Serenade in Eb major*, Op.

7 and the *Suite in Bb major,* Op. 4, there is further research that can be done concerning related information.

This document focused on why Richard Strauss would have been an attractive selection for the position of assistant conductor by Hans von Bülow. Further research could provide further depth related to all the other applicants for the position and what would have made them a less attractive selection than Strauss. Most research discussed Weingartner, Mahler, and Nicodé but more exploration into the other applicants would establish a complete picture of the people interested in the position.

A few different research projects based primarily on musical analysis could result from further exploration. This document focuses primarily on Strauss's *Serenade in Eb*, Op. 7 and the *Suite in Bb,* Op. 4. Additional exploration of other works composed by Strauss at the time could reveal further influences of Beethoven and Brahms in his writing. Based on this document, good candidates for analysis would be the *Symphony in F minor,* Op. 12, the *Concerto for Horn,* Op. 11, the *Concerto for Violin*, Op. 8, the *Sonata for Cello,* Op. 6, and the *Stimmungsbilder*, Op. 9.

From an analytical perspective focused primarily on Brahms's style, an exploration into the works composed during Strauss's *Brahmsschwärmerei* period would give greater clarity to the extent of Brahms's influence on Strauss. The

timeline explored in this document is still very early in Strauss's compositional career. Charting possible waning influence of both Beethoven and Brahms on his compositional style moving forward from this timeline could establish either new influences or his path toward greater compositional maturity.

As Strauss started his long dual career as composer-conductor with a *Serenade in Eb for Winds*, Strauss returns to writing for chamber winds at the end of his life with the *Sonatina No. 1* and the *Sonatina No. 2*. He even elects to use the key of Eb major in the *Sonatina No. 2* like in his Op. 7 but, this time, uses sixteen wind players instead of thirteen.[6] Strauss's two final wind Sonatinas could be analyzed against the Serenade and the Suite to see if any connection exists.

Research related to Strauss's conducting throughout his lifetime could shed more light on his conducting style and programming preferences. Through a review of the literature, there were varying accounts given of Strauss's conducting style. It is fortunate that a video footage exists of Strauss conducting toward the end of his career. Some would interpret his conducting style later in life as very reserved and basic. The letter Richard Strauss received from his father during his time at Meiningen suggested some of his moves were 'flamboyant' at the beginning of his career. Further research charting reviews

6. Rogoff, "The Cheerful Workshop," 216.

and accounts of Strauss as a conductor could give a clearer picture to the evolution of his professional activities and style.

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Appendix

All Performances of Beethoven's *Rondino* and the Works of Richard Strauss Programmed by Hans von Bülow and the Meiningen Court Orchestra from 1880 - 1885.[7]

Hans von Bülow conducted all the works unless otherwise noted.

Meiningen - November 14, 1880

Beethoven	Overture: Namensfeier, Op. 115
	Triple Concerto in C major, Op. 56
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Prometheus, Op. 45
	Symphony No. 3 in Eb major, Op. 55

Eisenach - December 27, 1880

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 4 in Bb major, Op. 60
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Coburg - January 21, 1881 (1st Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Triple Concerto in C major, Op. 56
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Leonore No. 1, Op. 138
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Bamberg - January 22, 1881 (1st Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Piano Concerto No.4 in G major, Op. 58
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Leonore No. 3, Op. 72a
	Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67

[7] Birkin, *Hans von Bülow*, 583-640.

Nuremberg - January 24, 1881 (1st Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Triple Concerto in C major, Op. 56
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84 (encored)
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Jena - March 6, 1881 (2nd Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Leonore No. 1, Op. 138
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Bamberg - March 19, 1881 (2nd Meiningen orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 61
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Namensfeier, Op. 115
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Ansbach - March 20, 1881 (2nd Meiningen orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Prometheus, Op. 43
	Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major, Op. 58
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 3 in Eb major, Op. 55
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84 (encore)

Regensburg - March 22, 1881 (2nd Meiningen orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Prometheus, Op. 43
	Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major, Op. 58
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 3 in Eb major, Op. 55

Würzburg - March 23, 1881 (2nd Meiningen orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Leonore No. 1, Op. 138
	Triple Concerto in C major, Op. 56
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84

Berlin - January 17, 1882 (3rd Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: König Stephan, Op. 117
	Piano Concerto No. 5 in Eb major, Op. 73
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Prometheus, Op. 43
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93

Dresden - March 15, 1882 (4th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Leonore No. 1, Op. 138
	Symphony No. 6 in F major, Op. 68

Hamburg - March 18, 1882 (4th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Namensfeier, Op. 115
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: König Stephan, Op. 117
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Breslau - March 24, 1882 (4th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Triple Concerto in C major, Op. 56
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: König Stephan, Op. 117
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Meiningen - December 26, 1883

Weber	Overture: Euryanthe
Lizst/Schubert	Wandererfantasie R 459 (c. By Mannstädt)
Mercadante	La Poesia
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7 (c. By Mannstädt)
Raff	Die Liebesfee, Op. 67
Berlioz	Overture: Le Carnaval romain, Op. 9
Wagner	Overture: Rienzi
Liszt	Die Ideale R 423
Rossini	Overture: Wilhelm Tell

Frankfurt - January 7, 1884 (5th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Piano Concerto No. 3 in C minor, Op. 37
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 133

Nuremberg - January 12, 1884 (5th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Raff	Overture: Ein feste Burg, Op. 127
Raff	Piano Concerto in C minor, Op. 185 (Bülow, soloist, c. By Mannstädt)
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7 (c. By Mannstädt)
Weber	Overture: Der Freischütz
Rheinberger	Symphony in D minor, Op. 10
Liszt	Siegesmarsch: 'Vom Fels zum Meer' R 435
Weber	Overture: Der Freischütz (encore)

Karlsruhe - January 16, 1884 (5th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Overture: Leonore No. 3, Op. 72a
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Worms - January 18, 1884 (5th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Raff	Overture: Ein feste Burg, Op. 127
Beethoven	Symphony No. 4 in Bb major, Op. 60
Rheinberger	Symphony in D minor, Op. 10
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7 (c. By Bülow)
Beethoven	Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67

Mainz - January 19, 1884 (5th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21 (c. By Mannstädt)
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25 (c. By Mannstädt)
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93

Neustadt - January 20, 1884 (5th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Spohr	Overture: Faust
Beethoven	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7 (c. By Bülow)
Beethoven	Overture: Leonore No. 3, Op. 72a
Raff	Symphony No. 4 in G minor, Op. 167

Wiesbaden - January 22, 1884 (5th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Brahms	Symphony No. 1 in C minor, Op. 68
Beethoven	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
Beethoven	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93 (Adagio)
Raff	Die Liebesfee, Op. 67
Beethoven	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25 (c. By Mannstädt)
Weber	Overture: Der Freischütz
	Overture: Oberon
	Overture: Euryanthe

Kassel - January 24, 1884 (5th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Leonore No. 3, Op. 72a
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93
	Overture: König Stephan, Op. 117

Göttingen - February 17, 1884 (6th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Weber	Overture: Oberon
Beethoven	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7 (c. By Bülow)
Weingartner	Serenade for Strings in F major, Op. 6
Beethoven	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93
Brahms	Academic Festival Overture, Op. 80

Kiel - February 20, 1884 (6th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: König Stephan, Op. 117
	Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67

Lübeck - February 21, 1884 (6th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Zur Weihe des Hauses, Op. 124
Beethoven	Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major, Op. 58 (Bülow, soloist, c. By Mannstädt)
Raff	Die Liebesfee, Op. 67
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7 (c. By Bülow)
Weber	Overture: Euryanthe
Brahms	Symphony No.2 in D major, Op. 73

Bremen - February 22, 1884 (6th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Piano Concerto No. 3 in C minor, Op. 37 (Mannstädt, soloist, c. By Bülow)
	Symphony No. 9 in D minor, Op. 125 (Adagio)
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93
	Overture: Namensfeier, Op. 115

Berlin - February 25, 1884 (6th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Prometheus, Op. 43
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Overture: König Stephan, Op. 117
	Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67

Berlin - February 27, 1884 (6th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Berlioz	Overture: Benvenuto Cellini, Op. 23
Rheinberger	Symphony in D minor, Op. 10
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7 (c. By Mannstädt)
Weingartner	String Serenade, Op.6 (c. By Mannstädt)
Humperdinck	Humoreske in E major (c. By Mannstädt)
Beethoven	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
Berlioz	Overture: Le Carnaval romain, Op. 9

Wiesbaden - November 6, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
Brahms	Piano Concerto No. 1 in D minor, Op. 15
(Adagio	& Rondo)
Beethoven	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
Berlioz	Overture: Corsair, Op. 21
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7
Weber	Overture: Oberon
	Overture: Euryanthe
	Overture: Die Freischütz

Freiburg i.B. - November 9, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Leonore No. 1, Op. 138
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Leonore No. 3, Op. 72a
	Symphony No. 3 in Eb major, Op. 55

Stuttgart - November 12, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Namensgeber, Op. 115
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Overture: Prometheus, Op. 43
	Symphony No.4 in Bb major, Op. 60

Stuttgart - November 14, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Berlioz	Overture: King Lear, Op. 4
Brahms	Piano Concerto No. 2 in Bb Major, Op. 83
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7
Raff	Symphony No. 4 in G minor, Op. 167
Weber	Overture: Oberon
	Overture: Der Freischütz

Munich - November 15, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93 (Finale encored)

Augsburg - November 16, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Raff	Overture: Ein feste Burg, Op. 127
Spohr	Symphony No. 3 in C minor, Op. 78
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7
Beethoven	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
Brahms	Variations for Orchestra (Haydn), Op. 56a
Beethoven	Symphony No. 4 in Bb major, Op. 60

Munich (Matinée) - November 18, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Rheinberger	Symphony in D minor, Op. 10
R. Strauss	Suite in Bb major for Winds, Op. 4 (c. By R. Strauss)
Raff	Piano Concerto in C minor, Op. 185 (soloist, Bülow)
Raff	Overture: Ein feste Burg, Op. 127

Vienna - November 20, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67

Preßburg - November 21, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Berlioz	Overture: King Lear
Brahms	Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15 (Adagio & Rondo)
Raff	Suite in ungarischer Weise, Op. 194 (2 movements only)
Beethoven	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
Beethoven	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
Beethoven	Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67

Prague - December 3, 1884 (7th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67

Meiningen - March 4, 1885

Weber	Overture: Euryanthe
R. Strauss	Horn Concerto in Eb major, Op. 11 (soloist, Leinhos, c. By Mannstädt)
C. Cui	Suite-Miniature, Op. 20b
Raff	Symphony No. 4 in G minor, Op. 167
Dvorák	Slavonic Rhapsody in G minor, Op. 45/2

Hamburg - March 9, 1885 (8th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Wagner	Faust Overture
Brahms	Symphony No. 3 in F major, Op. 90
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7
Glinka	Overture: Ruslan u. Ludmilla
Raff	Symphony No. 4 in G minor, Op. 167

Bremen - March 10, 1885 (8th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Weber	Overture: Euryanthe
Lalo	Symphonie espagnole, Op. 21
R. Strauss	Serenade in Eb major, Op. 7
Beethoven	Overture: Prometheus, Op. 43
Raff	Suite in ungarischer Weise, Op. 194

Bremen - March 12, 1885 (8th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Berlioz	Overture: Corsair, Op. 21
R. Strauss	Horn Concerto in Eb major, Op. 11 (soloist, Leinhos)
Saint-Saëns	Tarantella, Op. 6
Weber	Overture: Oberon
Beethoven	Symphony No. 4 in Bb major, Op. 60
Weber	Overture: Euryanthe (encore)

Königsberg - March 21, 1885 (8th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Namensgeber, Op. 115
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: König Stephan, Op. 117
	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Bromberg - March 24, 1885 (8th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Große Fuge in Bb major, Op. 133
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93

Meiningen - October 18, 1885

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
Mozart	Piano Concerto in C minor, K 491 (soloist, R. Strauss)
R. Strauss	Symphony in F minor, Op. 12 (c. By R. Strauss)
Beethoven	Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92

Dortmund - November 5, 1885 (9th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
Brahms	Tragic Overture, Op. 81
	Symphony No. 3 in F major, Op. 90

Arnhem - November 16, 1885 (9th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Egmont, Op. 84
	Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op. 93
	Overture: Leonore No. 3, Op. 72a
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
Brahms	Tragic Overture, Op. 81
	Symphony No. 3 in F major, Op. 90

Bonn - November 22, 1885 (9th Meiningen Orchestra Tour)

Beethoven	Overture: Coriolan, Op. 62
	Piano Concerto No. 5 in Eb major, Op. 73 (soloist, Bülow)
	Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21
	Rondino for Winds in Eb major, WoO. 25
	Overture: Leonore No. 3, Op. 72a
	Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67