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THE ORCHESTRAL CONDUCTING PRACTICE OF RICHARD WAGNER

City University of New York PH.D. 1984

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THE ORCHESTRAL CONDUCTING PRACTICE OF RICHARD WAGNER

by

WARREN ARTHUR BEBBINGTON

Dissertation submitted to
the Graduate Faculty in Music
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

The City University of New York

1984

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

12 January 1984
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PREFACE

When I began working on this project, I set out to discover methods and principles from the past which might guide an orchestral conductor of the present. The techniques of conducting have been explained many times by many people, anecdotes of the great conductors have been told and retold, and illustrations of famous conductors in action have been reprinted again and again. Many crucial issues, however, have seldom been addressed; the questions that interested me, for example, were how the seminal conductors of the past learned their skills, what their gestures had involved, and how they had interpreted particular works. As a student of conducting in New York, and then as a conductor of provincial operatic, choral, and orchestral performances in Australia, I was continually frustrated by the scarcity of scholarly studies of the outstanding figures in my field. To provide such a study was my ultimate goal.

I was also particularly interested in the orchestral music of the nineteenth century, which today is all too often performed as if matters of performance practice were of no consequence, even though the balance, tone, and physical disposition of the orchestra have undergone con-

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siderable change in the period since these scores were composed. Beyond this, I was greatly interested in the iconography of conducting: silhouettes, caricatures, sketches, and press illustrations of conductors predating the era of sound recording had rarely been exploited for the valuable information they contained. By examining them, it seemed to me, much might be learned about conductors of the past.

To combine these various interests in a single project, I needed to focus my investigations on a widely illustrated nineteenth-century orchestral conductor. Richard Wagner was the obvious choice: he was a professional conductor until almost his fortieth year, wrote one of the critical essays on the subject, influenced most conductors of importance in the next generation, and became the most frequently illustrated and caricatured musician in the nineteenth century. Accordingly, I made it my aim to investigate the orchestral conducting practice of Richard Wagner.

The standard English edition of Wagner's prose works was translated by William Ashton Ellis at the end of the nineteenth century. In the course of my research, I discovered shortcomings in this edition: at times, Ellis renders a passage more freely than the original allows. In any case, the edition is not complete; it does not include Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend, for example, Wagner's

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major essay on the orchestra, which came to light only after Ellis had finished his work.

In my study, therefore, save in a few passages for which adequate modern translation was available (the use of which is indicated in footnotes), all quotations from Wagner's prose have been freshly translated. Additionally, all quotations from first-hand accounts of Wagner's conducting have been translated or re-translated as necessary. Quotations from sources not directly relating to Wagner, on the other hand, have been taken where possible from existing English translations.

Wherever I have made a translation, I have given the original German, transcribed from the Fraktur, in a footnote. Where this has involved transcribing Wagner's prose, I have followed the spellings given in the sixth edition of his collected writings. In my text, however, there was one case in which I allowed Wagner his original spelling: I have always given his essay on conducting as Über das Dirigiren rather than Über das Dirigieren. Additionally, I have preferred to describe well-known musical works by their English titles where these have common currency (hence The Flying Dutchman rather than Der fliegende Holländer), while I have left little-known works in their original languages.

During my four years of research and writing, I

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have been extremely fortunate in the assistance I have received from several individuals and institutions, and I should like to express to them my abiding gratitude. For their generous financial assistance I wish to thank the Commonwealth [of Australia] Teaching Service, who awarded me a Studies Assistance Scheme Allowance and their 1982 Overseas Study Scholarship, and the Friends of the Canberra School of Music, who awarded me their 1983 Fellowship to attend my dissertation defense. I should like to acknowledge the courteous assistance of Prue Neidorf, Music Librarian of the National Library of Australia; Ann Wellman and the dedicated staff of the Canberra School of Music Library; and the unfailingly patient librarians of the Music Research Collection, Performing Arts Division, of the New York Public Library.

I wish to thank Linda Walsh, German teacher at the Canberra School of Music, for her assistance in my search of the German periodical press; Alfred Nordwall, graduate student in International Affairs, Columbia University, for his assistance with my translations from German dictionaries and critical works; Charles E. Burgess, graduate student in Germanic Languages, City University of New York, for his editorial work on my translations of Wagner's prose; and Evelyn Portek, graduate of the Canberra School of Music, for her painstaking proofreading of my several drafts.

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I am especially indebted to my Readers, Professors Carl Schachter and Rufus Hallmark of Queens College, City University of New York, for their many valuable suggestions and informed criticisms. Above all, I am grateful to my Adviser, Professor L. Michael Griffel, Chairman of the Music Department at Hunter College, City University of New York, for his concern, support, and remarkably thorough supervision over a long period and in spite of our separation by 18,000 miles.

Warren A. Bebbington

Canberra, Australia

September 1983

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

It was during the last two thirds of the nineteenth century that orchestral conductors gained the dominating position they hold in musical life today. In the 1830s, the conductor's name was sometimes absent from concert handbills, but by the 1890s it was invariably present, often in larger type than the titles of the musical works.

If we were seeking the primary cause of the orchestral conductor's changed significance, we might highlight the increased complexity of orchestral scoring in the nineteenth century; a more basic cause, however, was the changed importance of orchestral music itself. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the minds of most prominent writers on music, instrumental music ranked second to vocal music: to the critics Johann Adam Hiller (1728-1804) and Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814) and the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), for example, music was a language of sensations which needed words to be intelligible.[1] But

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[1]See, for example, Immanuel Kant, Critik der Urteilskraft (Königsberg, 1790), English version trans. J. H. Bernard (London: Macmillan, 1914) 257.

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younger poets and writers were beginning to advance a different view: Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773-1798), in his biography of the fictitious musician Joseph Berglinger, wrote of "delightful symphonies for full orchestra," in which certain passages were "so clear and forceful that their sounds seemed words."[2] Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776-1822) found a "language of the Infinite" in Beethoven's 5th Symphony, and felt that discussion of music "as an independent art" should always be restricted to instrumental music.[3]

It is true that, in his lectures on aesthetics, the philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) wrote that music "concerns itself only with the undefined movement of the inward spiritual nature," and continued to prefer the definiteness of vocal music,[4] while Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) wrote that "music is a copy of the will itself" and words in music "are a foreign extra of secondary

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[2]Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders (Berlin, 1797), English version in Source Readings in Music History from Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era, trans. Oliver Strunk (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950) 753.

[3]Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, "Beethovens Instrumentalmusik" (1813), English version in Source Readings, 775.

[4]Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik (ca. 1820), English version in On Art, Religion, Philosophy: Introductory Lectures to the Realm of the Absolute Spirit, ed. J. Glenn Gray, trans. Bernard Bosanquet (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) 54, 125.

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value."[5] Yet both of them regarded music, even without words, as more than mere sensation. In their view, as in the writings of such Romantics as Jean Paul (1763-1825) and Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853), instrumental music gained a spiritual significance it had not had in the eighteenth century.

The greater importance of instrumental music naturally enhanced the stature of the conductor, whose task it was to grasp and convey the meaning of the score. In his treatise on instrumentation, Hector Berlioz (1803-1869) took full opportunity of enlarging upon the poetic capacities of the various instruments,[6] and Wagner claimed to hear "an especially individual content" in Beethoven's instrumental works.[7] Ideas on the meaning of instrumental music were voiced by many other composer-conductors, such as Robert Schumann, Franz Liszt, Richard Strauss, and Hans Pfitzner.[8] As late as 1946, as a means of illuminating the

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[5]Arthur Schopenhauer, Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1818-44), English version trans. E. F. J. Payne (Indian Hills, Col., 1958), reprint ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1966) I, 257; II, 448.

[6]Hector Berlioz, Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes (Paris, 1844-56), English version trans. Theodore Front (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1948).

[7]Richard Wagner, "Oper und Drama," Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 6th ed., 16 vols., ed. Hans von Wolzogen and Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1914) III, 279: "einen besonderen individuellen Inhalt."

[8]Friedrich Blume, Classic and Romantic Music: a Comprehensive Survey, trans. M. D. Herter Norton (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970) 117.

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nature of music, Hermann Scherchen (1891-1966) presented a catalogue of the emotional characteristics of various instruments.[9] Although the increasingly complex scores required greater technical skill of the conductor, it was the emotional burden of the performance that seemed to fascinate the audience; interpretation became integral to conducting.

In the 1890s, with their modern status already secure, a handful of conducting celebrities commanded international attention. A Hamburg music critic of the period, the Bohemian writer Ferdinand Pfohl (1862-1949), recalled that four conductors were in universal demand--Hans von Bülow (1830-1894) of the Berlin Philharmonic, Hans Richter (1843-1916) of the Vienna Philharmonic, Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922) of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, and Felix Mottl (1856-1911) of the Karlsruhe Philharmonic and Opera.[10] It is highly significant that each of these four, although individual in style and technique, formed his conception of conducting under the personal influence of the same man--Richard Wagner.

Wagner's Importance as a Conductor

Although his compositions were ultimately the

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[9]Hermann Scherchen, Vom Wesen der Musik, English version trans. William Mann (New York, 1950), reprint ed. Saint Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press, 1972) 110-134.

[10]Ferdinand Pfohl, "Leben und Schaffen: autobiographische Skizze und kleine Erinnerungen," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft CIX/10 (October, 1942) 445.

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source of his reputation, Richard Wagner (1813-1883) was a professional conductor until his middle years. He began as chorusmaster at Würzburg in 1833; then he worked as Musikdirektor at Magdeburg (1834-1836), Königsberg (1837), and Riga (1837-1839), and as Kapellmeister at Dresden (1843-1849). Subsequently he appeared as a guest conductor in Zurich (1850-1855), London (1855, 1877), Paris (1860), and Munich (1864-1865), and on four concert tours (1861-1862, 1863, 1871-1873, 1875-1876). From London to Moscow, Hamburg to Venice, Wagner conducted in over thirty European cities during his career.

To some extent, Wagner was influential because, even when he was not himself conducting, he frequently supervised the conducting of others. Apart from Bülow, Richter, and Mottl, who had been his assistants, and Nikisch, who had played in his orchestra, conductors who came under his personal supervision included Hermann Levi (1839-1900) and Anton Seidl (1850-1898), both of whom worked under him at Bayreuth. Each in turn conveyed Wagner's methods to the next generation: Bülow taught Richard Strauss (1864-1949), Richter and Mottl taught the principal French exemplar of Wagner's methods, Alfred Cortot (1877-1962), and Levi and Mottl taught Michael Ballings (1866-1925), conductor of the first Scottish Ring. Nikisch was the principal influence on Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954), Albert Coates (1882-1953), Henry Wood (1869-1944), Adrian Boult (1889-1980) and--as much as

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anyone can be credited with influencing him--Gustav Mahler (1860-1911). Hardly any major conductor in the late nineteenth century escaped Wagner's sphere of influence: even Ernst von Schuch (1846-1914) of the Dresden Opera, who learned from the example of the conductor of the first Rheingold and Walküre, Franz Wüllner (1832-1902), was touched by the Bayreuth spell.[11] In later years, the influence of Mahler on Bruno Walter (1876-1962) and of Strauss on Willem Mengelberg (1871-1951) carried the tradition well into the twentieth century.[12]

At the same time, Wagner had wide influence through his writings on conducting--the treatise Über das Dirigiren (1869); the essays "Über die Aufführung des Tannhäuser" (1852), "Glucks Ouvertüre zu Iphigénie in Aulis" (1854), and "Zum Vortrag der neunten Symphonie Beethovens" (1872); and the Erläuterungen (Explanatory Programs) on his own overtures and various works by Beethoven.[13] Along with Felix Weingart-

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[11]For a summary of these developments, see Karl Laux, "Dirigenten," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 16 vols., ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-1979) III, 509-522.

[12]For the names of many lesser figures of the period, see Hugo Riemann, "Das Dirigenten-Virtuosentum und die reisenden Orchester," Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven (Berlin: W. Spenmann, 1901) 678-689.

[13]Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 261-337; V, 123-159; V, 111-122; IX, 231-257; V, 169-181, and XII, 344-350.

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ner (1863-1942), who continually referred to them in his own essays.[14] conductors who have acknowledged the impact of Wagner's writings upon them include Strauss,[15] Furtwängler,[16] and Walter.[17]

Oddly, Wagner's greatest influence was as a concert conductor. In his career, his operas did not feature so prominently as one might expect: he conducted the disastrous première of Das Liebesverbot in 1836, numerous performances of Rienzi, Tannhäuser, and the Flying Dutchman in his Dresden years, a single Lohengrin in 1876, and little else. Accordingly, in Über das Dirigiren, of the thirty-four works discussed, the vast majority are symphonies and overtures by Beethoven, Mozart, and Gluck. Only four passages from his own works are mentioned, and three of these are purely instrumental.

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[14]Felix Weingartner, "On Conducting," Weingartner on Music and Conducting, trans. Ernest Newman (Leipzig, 1906), reprint ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1969); idem., Akkorde: Gesammelte Schriften (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1912); idem., Ratschläge für Aufführungen klassischer Symphonien (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1906).

[15]Richard Strauss, "Preface to 'Ein Orchestermusiker über das Dirigieren," Recollections and Reflections, ed. Willi Schuh, trans. L. J. Lawrence (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953) 43.

[16]Wilhelm Furtwängler, Ton und Wort. Aufsätze und Vorträge 1918-1954 (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1955) 7.

[17]Bruno Walter, "The Conductor," Of Music and Music Making, trans. Paul Hamburger (London: Faber & Faber, 1961) 80.

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A primary idea stressed in Wagner's writings, and exemplified in his own performances, was that in instrumental music the poetic meanings had to dictate the manner of performance. In opera, the conductor could rely on the words and stage action for determining the expression; in symphonic music, he had to find and convey the drama which controls the expression. It was this interpretative aspect of Wagner's approach that was developed--and sometimes distorted--by his successors. Nikisch wrote:

> The modern conductor must create anew and therein lies the independent and creative nature of his art. . . . Once I have made a piece of music part of me, I can only build it up again from the beginning--but I must follow my own conviction, otherwise it will not be a reconstruction of integrity.[18]

In 1945, Wood wrote in About Conducting:

> Music is a lifeless thing written down; it requires interpretation to give it life. Indeed, I have no patience with these people who quote oft and loud "let the music speak for itself." You will usually find that such men are . . . completely unable to impose their own interpretation by means of will and gesture upon an orchestra, and so just let the orchestra speak for itself.[19]

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[18]Arthur Nikisch (Berlin, 1919), cited in Ferdinand Pfohl, "Arthur Nikisch," Arthur Nikisch: Leben und Wirken, ed. Heinrich Chevally (Berlin: Verlag Ed. Bote & G. Bock, 1922) 7, trans. in David Wooldridge, Conductor's World (London: Barrie & Rockliffe, 1970) 109.

[19]Henry Wood, About Conducting (London, 1945), reprint ed. (Saint Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press, 1972) 28.

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To convey its meaning, instrumental music requires interpretation: "What is best in music," Walter wrote, "is not to be found in the notes."[20]

But the ability of instrumental music to convey meaning autonomously has always been in doubt. Schopenhauer remained dubious of the validity of hearing human passion in music; to him emotion was present in it "only in abstracto and without particularization."[21] The German philosopher Ferdinand Hand (1786-1851)[22] and the influential Viennese music critic Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) developed anti-Hegelian points of view. Hanslick explained music as form in tonal motion; while designations such as "powerful" or "passionate" might be used to illustrate the musical character of a passage, they could not refer to feelings of the composer or listener. Music aims at "producing something beautiful which affects, not our feelings," wrote Hanslick, "but the organ of pure contemplation, our imagination." Therefore, the performer deals with the intrinsic beauty of tonal com-

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[20]Walter, "The Conductor," 130.

[21]Schopenhauer, Welt als Wille, II, 451.

[22]Ferdinand Hand, Aesthetik der Tonkunst (Leipzig, 1847), English version trans. Walter E. Lawson (London: William Reeves, 1880).

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binations. He finds and exposes the spirit of the composer: "little more than a correct rendering of the notes is demanded of him."[23] Similar views were expressed by the English psychologist Edmund Gurney (1847-1888), who wrote that "true art is objective," and "will gain nothing from a score of possible (and very often entirely different) subjective interpretations."[24]

The question of what music expresses inflamed the passion with which the various conductors were discussed; it led critics to replace balanced judgment with emotional distortion, and to exaggerate different styles of baton gesture and interpretation into aesthetic opposites. To Pfohl, who found Bülow to his taste, Richter was "neither romantic nor subjective . . . he possessed spirit and feeling but no sinew,"[25] while to Claude Debussy (1862-1918), who disliked Mottl and Cortot, Richter was a paradigm of good conducting:

> While his right hand, armed only with an unpretentious little baton, ensures that the rhythm is secure, his left seems to be in a hundred places at once, telling everybody exactly what to do. . . . Yet

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[23]Eduard Hanslick, Vom Musikalisch-Schönen (Vienna, 1854), English version trans. Gustav Cohen (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957) 11, 76.

[24]Edmund Gurney, The Power of Sound (London: Smith Elder, 1880) 525.

[25]Pfohl, "Leben und Schaffen," 445.

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> all this pantomime remains within the bounds of discretion: it is never distracting to the eye, nor does it come between the music and the audience.[26]

No matter which one was preferred by the critics, Wagner's successors constituted the range of choices for the principal European orchestras well into the twentieth century, and their interpretative individuality infatuated concertgoers everywhere. Even Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924), the German-Italian composer-pianist, whose "new aesthetic" involved a rejection of program music, defined performance as "emotional interpretation" in which the performer "resolved the rigidity of the signs into primitive emotion."[27]

Only the most radical musicians of the younger generation found personal differences in interpretation distasteful. Debussy, in his first published musical criticism, which appeared on April 1, 1901, in La Revue blanche, thanked Camille Chevillard (1859-1923), conductor of the Concerts Lamoureux, for "abstaining from the 'bullfight' technique so common among international conductors these days,"[28] and in his next contribution he struck out against Wagner's followers:

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[26]Claude Debussy, Debussy on Music; the Critical Writings of the Great French Composer, ed. François Lesure, trans. Richard Langham Smith (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977) 190.

[27]Ferruccio Busoni, Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Music, 2nd ed., trans. Theodore Baker (New York, 1910), reprint ed. Three Classics in the Aesthetics of Music (New York: Dover Publications, 1962) 84.

[28]Debussy, Debussy on Music, 15.

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> These last few weeks have seen the arrival of a host of German conductors. It hasn't exactly been an epidemic, but it has caused at least as much stir, what with a conductor being worth ninety times as much as an ordinary person. Now if Weingartner or Richard Strauss or Mottl (so excitable) or even the great Richter wished to come and reinstate the Masters in their true beauty, I wouldn't deny them the opportunity. . . . And if only these gentlemen would give us something of novelty in their programs, it would make life a bit more interesting. But not a bit of it! They draw their funds from the same old symphonic bank and we have to sit through the usual parade of all the different ways of conducting Beethoven symphonies. This one hurries, that one takes his time, but it is always poor old Beethoven who comes off worse in the end. The informed will declare that so-and-so conductor's got the "correct" tempo. But who are they to know! Are they in receipt of communications from the Above?[29]

Weingartner, whose gestures, according to Debussy, oscillated between "an elegance that [was] almost geometrical" and "wild, incomprehensible" outbursts,[30] eventually parted company with Wagner's followers over interpretation. Completely revising his essay Über das Dirigieren in 1905, he wrote of Bülow and others:

> . . . capriciousness . . . eccentricities that had no object . . . they sought to make the clearest passage obscure by hunting out insignificant details. Now an inner part of minor importance would be given a significance that by no means belonged to it; now an accent that should have been just lightly marked came out in a sharp sforzato, often a so-called

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[29]Debussy, Debussy on Music, 23.

[30]Ibid., 119.

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> "breath pause" would be inserted, particularly in the case of crescendo immediately followed by a piano, as if the music were sprinkled with fermate. These little tricks were helped out by continual alterations and dislocations of the tempo.[31]

Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), who conducted in Paris from 1910, hailed the value of recordings as a means of excluding interpretative conductors and preserving his music "free from any distortion of my thought."[32]

When Weingartner wrote that the conductor "is not able to increase the worth of a work. . . . He has done the best that is possible if his performance expresses just what the composer meant,"[33] he proclaimed a change in attitude that had profound implications for performance. Clinical precision and unbending faithfulness to the expressive prescriptions of the score eventually became virtues in conductors, just as historical authenticity in critical editing gained a new importance for musicologists.[34] It was sympto-

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[31]Felix Weingartner, "On Conducting," revised passage in The Conductor's Art, trans. Carl Bamberger (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) 108-109.

[32]Igor Stravinsky, Chronicle of My Life, trans. Walther Nouvel (London: Victor Gollancz, 1936) 247.

[33]Weingartner, "On Conducting." These remarks were removed by Weingartner from the 4th (1914) edition.

[34]Frederick Dorian, The History of Music in Performance; the Art of Musical Interpretation from the Renaissance to Our Day, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966) 311.

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matic that the fiery Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) came to be praised not because his tempos were in any sense creative but because they "always seemed just right."[35] The Austrian-born American conductor Erich Leinsdorf (b. 1912), surveying the conducting he had witnessed during the course of his career, reported a change--even in Bruno Walter--from "nervous overuse of nuance" towards simplicity. In 1981, his advice on interpretation was:

> To give Beethoven's 3rd Symphony compelling power today, a conductor must be completely familiar with the rhetoric of 1805. For this reason the plays of Grillparzer will serve as a better guide to the student of Beethoven than will Wagner's ideas on how to interpret the Eroica.[36]

As simplicity and authenticity became generally fashionable, so criticism of Wagner's followers grew even more passionate. Debussy, Stravinsky, and the other early advocates of a fresh approach to conducting had never seen Wagner himself conduct; even Weingartner had only the memory of the aging and erratic Bülow. The Wagnerian reputation for extremes of caprice became exaggerated--so much so that when

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[35]Harold C. Schonberg, The Great Conductors (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967) 254.

[36]Erich Leinsdorf, The Composer's Advocate: a Radical Orthodoxy for Musicians (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) 50, 60.

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the music critic of the New York Times, Harold C. Schonberg (b. 1915), first heard the 1913 Nikisch recording of Beethoven's 5th Symphony, he was surprised to find it "nowhere near as mannered as one might imagine: nor is it old-fashioned even by current standards."[37]

Probably, the conductors of recent times differ in degree rather than in kind from Wagner and his successors. Even if they have diverted the concertgoer's gaze from the dilemma over the meaning of instrumental music by focusing intently on the visible notes in the score, evidence of their connections with Wagner and the Romantic aesthetic is not difficult to find. In 1955, the French-born conductor Charles Munch (1891-1968) wrote:

> Let no-one be astonished then that I consider my work a priesthood, not a profession. It is not too strong a word. And like all sacred callings, that of the conductor supposes a total self-renunciation and a profound humility.[38]

The vaporous concept expressed here of renunciation in the service of art has its origins deep in Romantic writing:

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[37]Schonberg, Great Conductors, 215.

[38]Charles Munch, I Am a Conductor, trans. Leonard Burkat (London: Oxford University Press, 1955) 9-10.

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Beethoven's Heiligenstadt Testament (1802), as well as writings by Wackenroder and Hoffmann, is an early expression of it. In Schopenhauer's view, aesthetic mysticism was the best course for man, because the timeless, cosmic will, of which we are all part, is wicked and the cause of endless suffering.[39] In Wagner's Religion und Kunst (1880), art is charged with the task of preserving in symbolic form the meaning that religious ritual had lost; subsequently, Wagner attempted a realization of the "religion of art" in Parsifal.[40] Munch was once concertmaster to Furtwängler, but he was hardly a Wagnerian; that one of the most fanciful of the Romantic ideas should come from his pen is revealing. Although the temper of musical criticism has changed, many of the premises of Wagner's day remain basic to the attitudes of modern conductors.

Literature on Wagner's Conducting

Much of the literature on conductors of the past is popular in orientation. Schonberg's The Great Conductors

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[39]Bertrand Russell, History of Western Philosophy and Its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from Earliest Times to the Present Day, 2nd ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1961) 724-725.

[40]See Carl Dahlhaus, Richard Wagner's Music Dramas, trans. Mary Whittall (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 143-144.

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is characteristic of the type: although providing an account of the evolution of conducting style, it neither analyzes its many attractive illustrations nor exploits its numerous amusing anecdotes.[41] Apart from Die Kunst des Dirigierens by the German music educator Hermann Wolfgang von Walterhausen (1882-1954), which is a remarkably concentrated summary of the history, style, technique, psychology, and literature of conducting,[42] little of the material available to the general reader is adequate for the musicologist.

Scholarly attention to the subject has been slight. The American musicologist Benjamin Grosbayne (b. 1893) compiled a comprehensive bibliography on conducting,[43] and he published revised excerpts of his work in his manual of conducting technique.[44] His only comment about Wagner was that, in the perspective of the literature on conducting, Über das

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[41] See, for example, the unannotated illustrations of Wagner in Schonberg, Great Conductors, 156.

[42] Hermann Wolfgang von Walterhausen, Die Kunst des Dirigierens (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1954).

[43] Benjamin Grosbayne, "A Bibliography of Works and Articles on Conductors, Conducting and Related Fields in Various Languages from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Time" (mimeographed typescript, Brooklyn College, New York, 1933). See also idem., "A Perspective on the Literature of Conducting," Proceedings of the [Royal] Musical Association LXVII (1941) 73-101.

[44] Idem., Techniques of Modern Orchestral Conducting, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 331-350.

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Dirigiren is "one of the three books of the conductor's bible."[45] Invariably, in the scholarly literature, Wagner is treated in summary.

The only thoroughgoing history of conducting in print is Geschichte des Dirigierens by the German music librarian Georg Schünemann (1884-1944).[46] Schünemann assembled many theoretical works, orchestral seating plans, and contemporary documents in his work. He noted that everyone who saw Wagner conduct "praised his clear instructions and explanations in rehearsals, his pious artistic enthusiasm, and his interpretative gifts [Gestaltungsgabe]."[47] He felt that Über das Dirigiren had done a great deal of harm, because of its distortions of conducting history and its denials of merit in most conductors of the day:

> Being told that there were no other musicians apart from Wagner and his associates who understood the position of Kapellmeister does not make a good impression. The whole overview of history and of the present was painted very blackly so that the positive aspects [of Wagner's method] would stand out clearly and strongly. . . . How his honored masters Weber, Spontini, and Spohr were classified is something that Wagner himself

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[45] Grosbayne, "Bibliography on Conducting," i.

[46] Georg Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, Vol. X of Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913).

[47] Ibid., 339.

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> was not clear about. Otherwise he would have had to make a separate category for capable conductors, which, in any case, would have weakened his claims.[48]

Schünemann saw the influence of earlier principles in much of Wagner's teaching, save for his concepts of tempo modification and of programmatic content in classical works: these, he wrote, were "unprecedented in the whole literature of conducting . . . and still the yardstick of our musical practice."[49]

Since 1913, when Schünemann's book was published, the only significant contribution to historical studies in conducting has been the dissertation by the conductor, critic, and former Director of the Peabody Conservatory Elliot W. Galkin (b. 1921). Extending the subject up to the time of Toscanini, Galkin translated many primary source materials into English. He described Über das Dirigiren as "a typical Romantic creation" and a great source for nineteenth-century performance practice; but he saw Wagner on the podium as "a personality of the past." Wagner's difficulties at a London rehearsal in 1877--where he handed over the baton to Richter--are related at length by Galkin

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[48]Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, 336.

[49]Ibid., 341.

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as symbolic of the demise of the composer-conductor in the last half of the nineteenth century.[50]

Galkin's dissertation has never been published, although there is little else in English to compare with it. There is an attempt at a history of conducting in a series of articles by the Scottish composer and writer William Wallace (1860-1940), making no reference to the place of Wagner.[51] There is a brief survey by the Czech-born musicologist Paul Nettl (1889-1972) which suggests an influence of Liszt on Wagner's interpretations and describes the dominating position of the modern conductor as "unthinkable without Wagner."[52] There is a more extended account of the subject in the two historical studies of the orchestra by the English instrument collector and writer Adam Carse

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[50]Elliot W. Galkin, "The Theory and Practice of Orchestral Conducting Since 1750" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1960) 496, 510.

[51]William Wallace, "The Conductor and His Forerunners," Musical Times LXIV/967 (September 1, 1923) 609-612; LXIV/968 (October 1, 1923) 677-680; LXIV/969 (November 1, 1923) 757-759; LXIV/970 (December 1, 1928) 832-834; idem., Conductors and Conducting," Musical Times LXV/977 (July 1, 1924) 593-595; LXV/978 (August 1, 1924) 690-692; LXV/979 (September 1, 1924) 785-787; LXV/980 (October 1, 1924) 891-892; LXV/981 (November 1, 1924) 985-987; LXV/982 (December 1, 1924) 1082-1085.

[52]Paul Nettl, "Reproduzierende Kunst," Handbuch der Musikgeschichte, 2nd ed., 2 vols., ed. Guido Adler (Berlin-Wilmersdorf: H. Keller, 1930) II, 1208-1214.

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(1878-1958), but it ends with 1850.[53] The Austrian-born American musicologist Frederick Dorian (b. 1902) included conducting in his History of Music in Performance, describing Über das Dirigiren as "a complete theory of interpretation--in fact, with that of Berlioz' Traité, the most important one to appear in print during the nineteenth century."[54] Finally, there are surveys of the field by the English musicologist Jack Westrup (1904-1975) in The New Grove and by the German musicologist Karl Laux (1896-1978) in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. The former maintains that "the principles laid down by Wagner and Berlioz" have been followed "in varying degrees" up to the present day;[55] the latter classifies nineteenth-century conductors according to the degree of their involvement with composition.[56]

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[53]Adam Carse, The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century (Cambridge, 1940), reprint ed. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969); idem., The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz: A History of the Orchestra in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century and of the Development of Orchestral Baton Conducting (New York: Broude Brothers, 1949).

[54]Dorian, Music in Performance, 279.

[55]Jack Westrup, "Conducting," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) IV, 645.

[56]Laux, "Dirigenten," 512-514.

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Apart from these general surveys, there is one specialized study by the Wagner scholar Egon Voss, which provides biographies of all the conductors who have appeared at Bayreuth, together with tables of the durations of their performances and other details. But Voss only briefly retells the story of the productions supervised by Wagner himself;[57] there is no extended treatment of Wagner's conducting in the literature. The enquiries made by David Blum into the rehearsal techniques and interpretative principles of Pablo Casals[58] and by Norman Leyden into the beat patterns of Toscanini[59] have no parallels in Wagner studies. On these grounds, a study of Wagner's orchestral conducting seems easily justifiable.

Laux' criterion for classifying nineteenth-century conductors, the degree of a conductor's involvement in composition, is an important one. Adopting the Hegelian attitude that what is interior has to externalize itself if it is to be valid, Wagner recognized that, once his operas had

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[57]Egon Voss, Die Dirigenten der Bayreuther Festspiele (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1976).

[58]David Blum, Casals and the Art of Interpretation (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1977).

[59]Norman Leyden, "A Study and Analysis of the Conducting Patterns of Arturo Toscanini" (unpublished E.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968).

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been committed to paper, "the essential artistic part . . . must be ascribed solely to the performers."[60] Performance is, in a sense, the completion of the musical work; for, inasmuch as music is an audible art, a composition is not complete as a musical work until it is performed. As a recent comparison of the "Paris" Tannhäuser score with the changes in the Paris performing parts of 1861 indicates, when he was rehearsing, Wagner freely altered passages in his works that did not satisfy him.[61] When conducting the works of others, he was equally creative: for his performances he altered or rescored works of Mozart, Beethoven, and Gluck. Bülow's alterations to the symphonies of Brahms, Mottl's and Ballings' editions of the works of Wagner, Liszt's rescoring of parts of the symphonies of Beethoven, and Weingartner's various orchestral transcriptions are all examples of creative contributions to performance by conductors.[62] For these men, the end of composition and the beginning of performance were not easily separated.

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[60]Wagner, "Über Schauspieler und Sänger" (1872) Sämtliche Schriften, IX, 159: ". . . der eigentlich Kunst anteil . . . lediglich den Darstellern zugesprochen werden muss."

[61]Carolyn Abbate, "The Parisian 'Vénus' and the 'Paris' Tannhäuser," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXVI/1 (Spring 1983) 73-123.

[62]Dorian, Music in Performance, 265.

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Obviously, if he is to alter it in this way, a performer must grasp a composition as a whole. A conductor cannot begin creative work on the podium as a typist begins a letter at the keyboard; he must absorb the score until a feeling of utterance--a conviction about its intent--allows him to judge, shape, or even change passages. It was Wagner's belief that the poetic content of instrumental music was the key to the conductor's rendering, and this belief led him to write and publish Erläuterungen in conjunction with his performances, as later it led Bülow and Liszt (with his collaborator Caroline von Wittgenstein) to publish copiously on the meanings of many instrumental works. The enduring success of the concert guides begun by the conductor and founder of musical hermeneutics Hermann Kretzschmar (1848-1924) reflects the enthusiasm in the last quarter of the nineteenth century for this kind of interpretation.[63]

Conductors who looked upon conducting as a creative act were usually those who had at least flirted with the idea of a career in composition. Apart from Wagner, Mottl, Bülow, Strauss, and Mahler, these included Leo Blech (1871-1958) and Max von Schilling (1868-1933) at the Berlin Staatsoper, Siegmund von Hausegger (1872-1948) and Ernst

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[63] Hermann Kretzschmar, Führer durch den Konzertsaal (Leipzig, 1878-1880) 7th ed., 3 vols., ed. Friedrich Noack and Hugo Botstiber (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1932).

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Boehe (1880-1938) at Munich, Robert Heger (1886-1978) and Max Reger (1873-1916) at Meiningen and later at Munich, and Hans Pfitzner (1869-1949) at Strasbourg.

Conducting, however, was not universally regarded as a creative act. To Hanslick, a composition was "a finished work of art, irrespective of its performance." The illusion of music expressing emotions occurred because, in performance, the artist gives vent to his own emotions, and "his subjectiveness thus makes itself directly heard in the music."[64] Conductors who, like Richter and Schuch, had not undertaken composition, tended to adopt similar views, with the result that their interpretations tended to be less subjective. This was also true of various lesser figures: Hermann Kurtzschbach (1875-1938) at the Dresden Opera, Fritz Stiedry (1883-1968) at Berlin and later in the U.S.A., Fritz Steinbach (1855-1916) at Cologne, Max Fiedler (1859-1939) at Essen, and Franz Schalk (1863-1931) and Ferdinand Löwe (1865-1925) at Vienna. A rigid version of this view was adopted by Cosima Wagner at Bayreuth in later years, where productions came to be seen merely as the exterior form in which the unchanging substance of Wagner's operas were to be presented.

The dilemma of what a performance is in relation

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[64]Hanslick, Vom Musikalisch-Schönen, 75-76.

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to the composition performed remains unresolved. It is at the source of the recent debate at Bayreuth over the productions of Wieland Wagner and Patrice Chéreau, to whom "the history of productions of a work is the continuing history of the work itself."[65] To be sure, there is no doubt that the final decision as to the sound of each tone rests with the performer; a student of Schalk, Austrian conductor Herbert von Karajan (b. 1908), has said:

> Clearly it is impossible to convey the spirit of a work of art by means of notation alone. . . . What exactly is forte and what is piano? Is piano half forte or a third or an eighth? What sonic power do they represent? And even if it were possible to measure them, what is their effect in different halls? Does Beethoven tell us how many decibels this or that passage from the 9th should have? And how long should the echo of a chord last to give the desired length to the whole? It is clear that these questions are dead ends. We must try and establish new standards which are independent of such specific scales of values.[66]

The influential American philosopher Susanne Katherina Langer (b. 1895), whose theory of art developed from the neo-Kantian Ernst Cassirer but whose view of music seems

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[65]Dahlhaus, Wagner's Music Dramas, 157.

[66]Herbert von Karajan (1955), cited in Wooldridge, Conductor's World, 252-253.

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to be derived from Hanslick, described the way performers should decide the sound of each tone as follows:

> Artistic utterance always strives to create as complete and transparent a symbol as possible, whereas personal utterance, under the stress of actual emotion, usually contents itself with half-articulated symbols, just enough to explain the symptoms of inward pressure. . . . A performer whose utterance is inspired entirely by the commanding form of the work does not have to restrain anything, but give all he has. . . . Inward hearing, the muscular imagination of tone, the desire for outward hearing: these condition the final stages of making a musical work.[67]

This places the performer's act in a new light: actual feeling is involved, but it is "an ardor for the import conveyed," not personal moods.

In Langer's view, artistic musical utterance belongs naturally to the human voice; therefore, instrumental music must strive continually for a quality of vocal utterance.[68] In Über das Dirigiren, one of Wagner's most important maxims is that "to play an instrument well means to be able to sing well on it. . . . Likewise, only a right grasp of the Melos sets the right tempo."[69] That Langer's argument, its roots

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[67]Susanne K. Langer, Feeling and Form: a Theory of Art, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957) 139.

[68]Ibid., 143-144.

[69]Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 273-274: "ein Instrument gut spielen heisst auf demselben gut singen können. . . . Nur die richtige Erfassung des Melos giebt aber auch das richtige Zeitmaass an."

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evidently in Hanslick, should arrive at a similar modus operandi to Wagner's is instructive; although fundamentally opposed in their theoretical premises, Wagner and his more recent critical opponents share common ground in their practical recommendations.

Apart from the literature on conducting, summaries of Wagner's conducting activities may be found in the biographical literature. Surveying the field of Wagner biography might seem a monumental task, for it is likely that more has been written about him than about any other composer in the history of music.[70] Actually, comparison of the treatments of Wagner's conducting in the biographies quickly confirms Dahlhaus' complaint that "every book about him has been inspired not so much by the facts as by an earlier book about those facts."[71] The works of Robert W. Gutman and Ronald

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[70]Even in Wagner's lifetime, indexes of Wagner literature ran to over 100 pages; see E. Kastner, Wagner Catalog: chronologisches Verzeichniss der von und über Richard Wagner erschienenen Schriften Musikwerke (Offenbach, 1878), reprint ed. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), and Nikolaus Oesterlein, Katalog einer Richard-Wagner Bibliothek: nach den vorliegenden Originalien zu einem authentischen Nachschlagebuch durch die gesammte insbesondere deutsche Wagner-Literatur bearbeitet und veröffentlicht (Leipzig, 1882), reprint ed. (Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1970).

[71]Dahlhaus, Wagner's Music Dramas, 2.

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Taylor are fairly recent examples of books in this class.[72]

A small number of works on Wagner, however, are of outstanding merit and were of value to the present inquiry. All writers on Wagner are indebted to the English critic and writer on music Ernest Newman (1868-1959), whose four-volume biography brought refreshing clarity and enduring insights to the subject.[73] More recent research has been summarized by the German Wagner scholars Curt von Westernhagen (d. 1982), in his two-volume biography,[74] and Martin Gregor-Dellin (b. 1926), in his monograph.[75] The indefatigable Mary Burrell (Burk) *née* Banks (d. 1898) presented facsimiles of

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[72]Robert W. Gutman, *Richard Wagner, the Man, His Mind and His Music* (New York: Secker & Warburg, 1968); Ronald Taylor, *Richard Wagner: His Life, Art and Thought* (London: Paul Elek, 1979).

[73]Ernest Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, 4 vols. (London, 1937), reprint ed. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

[74]Curt von Westernhagen, *Wagner: a Biography*, 2 vols., trans. Mary Whittall (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[75]Martin Gregor-Dellin, *Richard Wagner: His Life, His Work, His Century*, trans. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (New York: Helen and Curt Wolff/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983).

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many important documents of Wagner's early life in her sumptuous, limited-edition biography.[76] William Ashton Ellis (d. 1919), most voluminous of Wagner's scholarly acolytes, cannot be overlooked, for one of the additions he made to his translation of the votive biography by Carl Friedrich Glasenapp was a complete transcription of the criticisms of Wagner's 1855 London appearances.[77] Even the notorious composer-pianist Ferdinand Praeger (1815-1891) proved of use to the present inquiry. He tried to amplify his own importance by publishing an apocryphal correspondence with Wagner; but he also provided a valuable first-hand account of Wagner's conducting, the veracity of which is not in question.[78] The Swiss musicologist Max Fehr (1887-1963) reproduced concert playbills, musical criticisms, and much rare material from Wagner's years in Switzerland in his two-volume study.[79]

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[76]Mary Burrell, Richard Wagner, His Life and Works from 1812-1834 (London: Allan Wyon, Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals, [1898]). For the present study, copy no. 63 (of 100 printed) was consulted at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

[77]W. Ashton Ellis, Life of Richard Wagner, 6 vols. (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908), reprint ed. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1977).

[78]Ferdinand Praeger, Wagner As I Knew Him (London: Longmans, Green, 1892); see also Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Richard Wagners echte Briefe an Ferdinand Praeger: Kritik der Praeger'schen Veröffentlichungen, 2nd ed. (Bayreuth: Grau'schen Buchhhandlung, 1908).

[79]Max Fehr, Richard Wagners Schweizer Zeit, 2 vols. (Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer, 1953).

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Finally, the Wagner editor and scholar Carl Dahlhaus (b. 1928), in his study of Wagner's music dramas, presented a stimulating critique of Wagner scholarship and a new perspective for the consideration of Wagner's art.[80]

Method of Inquiry

The aim of the present inquiry--to illuminate Wagner's orchestral conducting practice--may best be achieved by combining contextual and chronological approaches. First, Wagner's training as a conductor, his method of orchestral organization, and his repertoire are placed in the context of conducting history by comparing them with the training, principles of orchestral organization, and repertoire of the contemporaneous Kapellmeister. Second, Wagner's conducting is studied chronologically: his changing performance method is reconstructed from contemporary evidence, and his evolving interpretative principles are summarized and then tabulated for the works he conducted. His performance method and interpretative principles are separately considered, for style of gesture and interpretation are by no means interchangeable, nor should analogies between them always be expected. Strauss, despite his Romantic readings, had "neither the wild lock of hair nor the gestures of an epileptic," accord-

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[80]Dahlhaus, Wagner's Music Dramas.

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ing to Debussy;[81] while Berlioz, who avoided significant tempo modifications, nevertheless had to change his shirt during a rehearsal at London in 1855, according to Thomas Rudolfus Croger, Fellow of the London Philharmonic Society, "the operation being necessary in consequence of his intense exertions."[82]

A combination of contextual and chronological approaches avoids the limitations of the comparative approach: if one were to compare concepts that Wagner developed after 1850 with observations of his work in the 1830s, one would run the risk of painting a static picture of his work, as if his style and technique did not change during his career. The systematic approach also has its limitations for the study of conductors of the past: diagrams of baton technique, the notation of conducting, do not contain the art itself as scores do the art of composition; they are merely instructions for gesturing in isolated cases. They cannot be formed into a manual for recreating a conductor's art: for this reason, the study of beat patterns--

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[81] Debussy, Debussy on Music, 161.

[82] Thomas Rudolfus Croger, Notes on Conductors and Conducting (London: William Reeves, [1906]) 17.

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as undertaken by Leyden with ten N.B.C. films of Toscanini--even were it possible for Wagner, would be of limited value.[83]

The sources for an inquiry into Wagner's conducting include the accounts of critics and other observers of Wagner at work, Wagner's correspondence and writings, contemporary treatises on conducting and orchestration, and pictorial evidence. Accounts in the press of Wagner's work before 1850 have been collected and published by Helmut Kirchmeyer,[84] while many accounts from after 1850 are repro-

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[83]See Leyden, "The Conducting Patterns of Toscanini." Leyden's use of the stop-frame technique makes it difficult to relate his diagrams to the music, for it is not clear where in his lines the rhythmic impulse occurs. He does not indicate a scale of measurement or the speed of his frames, and therefore only the vaguest notion of the size and pace of Toscanini's gestures is conveyed. Leyden's conclusions, that Toscanini's beat patterns are unlike those given in textbooks, may say something distinctive about Toscanini--but without comparison with other conductors it says no more than that a particular case differs from the general abstractions of baton conducting.

[84]Helmut Kirchmeyer, Situationsgeschichte der Musikkritik und des musikalischen Pressewesens in Deutschland dargestellt vom Ausgange des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. Teil IV: Das zeitgenössische Wagnerbild, 3 vols., Vol. VII of Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1968).

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duced in the studies of Fehr and Ellis. Accounts by other observers include the reminiscences of the conductors Luigi Arditi[85] and Charles Hallé,[86] the writer Francis Hueffer,[87] the artist Gustav Adolph Kietz,[88] the singer-impresario Angelo Neumann,[89] and Berlioz.[90] Valuable accounts by those in Wagner's personal circle include Seidl's essay on conducting,[91] Mottl's diary and editions of Wagner's operas,[92]

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[85]Luigi Arditi, My Reminiscences, ed. and comp. Baroness von Zedlitz (London: Skeffington & Son, 1896).

[86]Charles Hallé, The Autobiography of Sir Charles Hallé (London, 1896), reprint edition ed. Michael Kennedy (London: Paul Elek, 1972).

[87]Francis Hueffer, Half a Century of Music in England, 1837-1887: Essays Towards a History (London: Chapman & Hall, 1889).

[88]Gustav Adolph Kietz, Richard Wagner in den Jahren 1842-1849 und 1873-1875: Erinnerungen, comp. Marie Kietz (Dresden: Carl Reissner, 1905).

[89]Angelo Neumann, Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner (Leipzig, 1907), English version trans. Edith Livermore (New York: H. Holt, 1908).

[90]Hector Berlioz, The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, ed. and trans. David Cairns (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969).

[91]Anton Seidl, "On Conducting," Anton Seidl: a Memorial by His Friends, ed. Henry Theophilus Finck (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899) 205-240. Originally published in The Music of the Modern World, 4 vols., ed. Anton Seidl et al. (New York: Appleton, 1895) I, 100-106.

[92]Felix Mottl's annotated vocal scores are published by C. F. Peters, Leipzig; Willy Krienitz, "Felix Mottls Tagebuchaufzeichungen aus den Jahren 1873-1876," Neue Wagner-Forschung, I (1943) 167-208.

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Cosima Wagner's diaries,[93] and the editorial remarks in Liszt's piano transcriptions from Wagner's operas.[94] The most detailed eyewitness accounts of Wagner's conducting are those by the Wagner analyst and writer Heinrich Porges, one of which appeared in an English translation in the months prior to completion of the present project.[95]

Wagner's writings on conducting have already been mentioned; apart from these, important material may be found in his autobiographical writings. He kept brief notes of his activities in a red pocketbook, of which only four pages (to September 17, 1839) survive;[96] he published an autobiographical sketch in 1842;[97] he made fresh notes, perhaps

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[93] Cosima Wagner's Diaries, 2 vols., ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980).

[94] Franz Liszt, Complete Piano Transcriptions from Wagner's Operas, ed. K. Sorokin (Moscow, 1961), reprint ed. with introduction by Charles Suttoni (New York: Dover Publications, 1981).

[95] Heinrich Porges, Die Aufführung von Beethovens neunter Symphonie unter Richard Wagner in Bayreuth. Mai 22 1872 (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1872); idem., Die Bühnenproben zu den Bayreuther Festspielen des Jahres 1876 (Leipzig, 1896), English version trans. Robert L. Jacobs (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[96] Wagner, "Die rote Brieftasche," Sämtliche Briefe, 4+ vols., ed. Gertrude Strobel and Werner Wolf (Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1967-) I, 81-84.

[97] Idem., "Autobiographische Skizze," Sämtliche Schriften, I, 4-19.

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based on his memory of the lost red pocketbook, on his life from 1846 to 1867 in his diary (The Brown Book);[98] and he included detailed accounts of his conducting up to 1864 in his autobiography, Mein Leben.[99] His correspondences with Liszt,[100] Uhlig,[101] Ludwig II of Bavaria,[102] the Wesendonks,[103] and many others[104] are invaluable. New translations of these are slowly replacing the Victorian prose of Ellis

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[98] Wagner, "Annales," Das braune Buch, ed. Joachim Bergfeld (Zurich, 1975), English version trans. George Bird (London: Victor Gollancz, 1980).

[99] Idem., Mein Leben, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: Paul List Verlag, 1976); abridged English version (London, 1911), reprint ed. (London: Constable 1963). Wagner's other autobiographical writings, the Paris "Tagebuch" (Sämtliche Schriften, XVI, 1ff.) and "Ein Mitteilung an meine Freunde" (Sämtliche Schriften, IV, 230-344) are not productive for a study of Wagner's conducting.

[100] Idem., Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt, 3rd ed., 2 vols., ed. Erich Kloss (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1910); English version ed. W. Ashton Ellis, trans. Francis Hueffer (London, 1897), reprint ed. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969).

[101] Idem., Briefe an Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, Ferdinand Heine, ed. Hans von Wolzogen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1888), English version trans. John South Shedlock (London: Scribner & Welford, 1890).

[102] Idem., König Ludwig II und Richard Wagner. Briefwechsel, mit vielem anderen Urkunden, 5 vols., ed. Otto Strobel (Karlsruhe: G. Braun Verlag, 1936-39).

[103] Idem., Richard Wagner an Mathlide und Otto Wesendonk. Tagebuchblätter und Briefe, ed. Julius Kapp (Leipzig: Hesse & Becker, 1915), excerpted English version trans. W. Ashton Ellis (London: G. Richards, 1899).

[104] Idem., Sämtliche Briefe; four volumes (until 1854) have appeared so far.

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and his contemporaries, but better work has not always been the result: Robert L. Jacobs, for example, cut 8,000 words of "unpleasant diatribe" from his translation of Über das Dirigiren.[105] The original German is given in the present project, in almost all cases with a fresh translation.

Contemporary writings consulted for a perspective on the subject include the treatise on orchestration of Berlioz (and its revision by Richard Strauss), to which in 1856 Berlioz added his essay on conducting,[106] the work on conducting by Ferdinand Simon Gassner,[107] various dictionary articles by Gustav Schilling,[108] Hugo Riemann,[109] and George Grove,[110] and the scores of the period.[111]

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[105]English translations of the passages cut by Jacobs are in On Conducting: a Treatise on Style in the Execution of Classical Music, trans. Edward Dannreuther (London: William Reeves, 1897) 66-89, 102-end.

[106]Berlioz, Grande traité.

[107]F. S. Gassner, Dirigent und Ripienist für angehende Musikdirigenten, Musiker und Musikfreunde (Karlsruhe: C. T. Groos, 1844).

[108]Gustav Schilling, Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst, 7 vols. (Stuttgart: F. H. Köhler, 1835-42).

[109]Hugo Riemann, Musik-Lexikon (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882).

[110]George Grove, A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1879-89).

[111]Richard Wagner, Sämtliche Werke, 14+ vols., ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Mainz: B. Schott, 1970-); idem., Richard Wagners Werke, 20 vols., ed. Michael Ballings (Leipzig, 1912-29),reprint ed. (London: Ernst Eulenburg, 1971).

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The appearance of the artistically independent baton conductor brought a new visual interest to orchestral conducting, which stimulated both the imagination of artists and the wit of caricaturists: Frederick Crane's bibliography of the iconography of music lists more than forty collections containing relevant pictorial material.[112] No comprehensive guide to musical iconography in the nineteenth-century press has yet been compiled, although one has been begun.[113] Many periodicals were searched by hand for the present inquiry, but until access to the Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale du Dix-Neuvième Siècle (RIPMxix) is possible, no researcher will be able to exhaust such sources.[114]

Recordings and films were only of subordinate interest to the inquiry. The recordings Edison is supposed to have made of Bülow conducting the Eroica at Carnegie Hall in 1891 have never come to light.[115] Edouard Colonne (1838-

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[112]Frederick Crane, "A Bibliography of the Iconography of Music" (typescript, University of Iowa, 1971).

[113]H. Robert Cohen et al., "Centres Internationaux de Recherche sur la Presse Musicale (CIRPM). Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale du Dix-Neuvième Siècle (RIPM xix)," Fontes Artis Musicae XXVIII/1-2 (January-June 1981) 105.

[114]In a letter to the present author (November 24, 1981), Dr Cohen, Director of RIPMxix, explained that the CIRPM would not be ready in time to be of assistance to the inquiry.

[115]John Bescoby-Chambers, The Archives of Sound: a Selective Catalogue of Historical Violin, Piano, Spoken, Documentary, Orchestral and Composers' Own Recordings (London: Oakwood Press, [1964]) 94-95.

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1910), founder of the Concerts National (later Colonne) at Paris, made twenty-one acoustic recordings for the Pathé Etched Label in 1907, including excerpts from Lohengrin, The Flying Dutchman, and the Turkish March from Beethoven's The Ruins of Athens (1812), but copies of these are not extant.[116] Still, Colonne was not under Wagner's influence; of much more importance is the recording by Nikisch of Beethoven's 5th Symphony, made for The Gramophone Company in 1913. Despite its use of only six violins and substitution of a tuba for string basses, this recording, the first of a complete symphony, is an important source for the project.[117]

In Lionel Mapelson's recordings of the Metropolitan Opera in 1901-1902, the conductor may be Liszt's former concertmaster, Walter Damrosch (1862-1950); but this is not certain, and the position of the machine--in the flytower--was not suitable for collecting sound other than that of the

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[116] Victor Girard and Harold M. Barnes, Vertical-cut Cylinders and Discs: A Catalogue of All "Hill & Dale" Recordings of Serious Worth Made and Issued between 1897-1932 circa (London: British Institute of Recorded Sound, 1964) 177.

[117] Ludwig van Beethoven, 5th Symphony in C Minor, performed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Arthur Nikisch (Berlin, 1913), reissued as "Arthur Nikisch Conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra" (Perennial 2002) and in "100 Jahre Berliner Philharmoniker. Frühe Aufnahmen 1913-1933" (Deutsche Grammophon 2740 259).

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singers.[118] The pioneering filmmaker Oskar Messter (1866-1943) made silent films in 1913 of Weingartner conducting Beethoven's Egmont Overture, Schuch conducting Weber's Der Freischütz Overture, and Oskar Fried (1871-1941) conducting Berlioz' Symphonie Fantastique; but these have not come to light.[119]

Besides his work with the orchestra, according to many reports, Wagner was a remarkably vivid coach of singers, and a gifted director with a strong sense for dramatic delivery and acting.[120] However, the study of Wagner as a stage director and vocal coach would be a major project of its own, involving his various writings on the subject and the accounts of many observers. Wagner's greatest influence as a conductor, as has already been pointed out, was in instrumental music; accordingly, the inquiry was limited to his work with orchestras.

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[118] Bescoby-Chambers, Archives of Sound, 94.

[119] Oskar Messter, Mein Weg mit dem Film (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1936).

[120] See, for example, Julius Hey, "Richard Wagner als Vortragsmeister 1864-1876," Erinnerungen von Julius Hey, ed. Hans Hey (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911).

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Chapter II

WAGNER'S TRAINING

Wagner made his professional conducting debut directing Don Giovanni at Bad Lauchstädt, near Merseburg, on August 3, 1834. He was only twenty-one years old and--strictly speaking--he had never trained as a conductor.

Actually, at that time all conductors were untrained, inasmuch as conservatory courses and pedagogical texts for them were unknown. The first conservatory in Germany to train conductors, the Leipzig Hochschule für Musik, was not established until 1843. The first manual to treat conducting as a distinct subject, Berlioz' L'art du chef d'orchestre, did not appear until 1856, and even then, following the traditional practice of addressing remarks about conducting to composers, the manual was published as an appendix to Berlioz' treatise on orchestration.[1] Undisguised pedagogical textbooks on conducting did not appear until the twentieth century.[2]

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[1]Hector Berlioz, "L'art du chef d'orchestre," Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes (Paris: Schonenberger, 1856). The treatise itself had first appeared in 1841-42.

[2]One of the earliest was Franz Mikorey, Grundzüge einer Dirigierlehre (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1917).

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Nonetheless, before his debut Wagner had served an apprenticeship: in 1833 he had been chorusmaster at the Königliches Bayerisches Theater, Würzburg. In later years he extolled the virtues of a practical apprenticeship in the theater and became critical of conductors not reared in this way. In Über das Dirigiren, he was sarcastic about conservatory-trained conductors:

> Now that was altogether another class of people from the helpless spawn of our old pedants--not musicians brought up in the orchestra or at the theater but decently trained in the newly-established conservatories, composing oratorios and psalms, and listening to the rehearsals of the subscription concerts. They had also received instruction in conducting, and possessed at that a refined breeding such as previously had not occurred at all among musicians. Of coarseness there was no longer any question whatsoever; and what was among our poor native Kapellmeisters anxious, insecure reticence, was expressed by them as bon ton, to which, moreover, their rather shy disposition obligated them, faced with our entirely Germanic-pedantic social order. I believe that these people have exerted many a good influence on our orchestras. . . .
>
> Above all, however, these men lacked one thing to be effective for the necessary reorganization of our orchestras and the institutions connected with them: energy, as only it can give that self-confidence resting on real, personal strength. For,unfortunately, everything here, reputation, talent, breeding, even faith, love, and hope, was artificial.[3]

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[3]Richard Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 6th ed., 16 vols., ed. Hans von Wolzogen and Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1914) VIII, 266: "Das war nun allerdings ein andrer Schlag Menschen als die hilflosen Nachwünchse unsrer alten Zöpfe,--nicht im Orchester oder beim Theater aufgewachsene Musiker, sondern in den neu ge-

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Despite these claims, however, in Germany in the 1830s a musician's entry into the profession of conducting was less dependent on an apprenticeship in the theater than on other factors. These factors must now be explained if Wagner's training as a conductor is to be placed in its proper historical context.

The Kapellmeister in the 1830s

In 1834, while Wagner was making his conducting debut, the music editor and writer Gustav Schilling (1805-1880) was compiling a six-volume musical dictionary, the Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst; the following year he pub-

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gründeten Konservatorien wohlanständig aufgezogen, Oratorien und Psalmen komponierend, und den Proben der Abonnementskonzerte zuhörend. Auch im Dirigieren hatten sie Unterricht bekommen, und besassen zudem eine elegante Bildung, wie sie bisher bei Musikern gar nicht vorgekommen war. An Grobheit war jetzt gar nicht mehr zu denken; und was bei unseren armen eingeborenen Kapellmeistern ängstliche, selbstvertrauenslose Bescheidenheit war, äusserte sich bei ihnen als guter Ton, zu welchem sie ausserdem durch ihre etwas befangene Stimmung unsrem ganzen deutsch-zöpfischen Gesellschaftswesen gegenüber sich angehalten fühlten. Ich glaube, dass diese Leute manchen guten Einfluss auf unsre Orchester ausgeübt haben. . . .

"Zunächst fehlte diesen Herren aber eines, um der nöthigen Neugestaltung unserer Orchester und der mit ihnen verbundenen Institute förderlich zu sein:--Energie, wie sie nur ein auf wirklich eigener Kraft beruhendes Selbstvertrauen geben kann. Denn leider war hier Alles, Ruf, Talent, Bildung, ja Glaube, Liebe und Hoffen künstlich."

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lished the first volume.[4] One of the leading repositories of musical knowledge of the age, Schilling's work contains detailed articles on conducting, performance, and orchestral organization. These articles should be studied carefully, for they describe the profession of conducting as it was precisely at the time of Wagner's entry into it.

It is useful to compare Schilling's articles with their counterparts in the Musikalisches Lexikon of 1802 by the Rudolstadt violinist Heinrich Christian Koch (1749-1816),[5] and its revision in 1865 by the music critic and writer Arrey von Dommer (1828-1905).[6] Where the subject under discussion had not changed in the intervening years, Schilling seems to have used the older work as a basis for his own: his and Koch's entries under Concertmeister, for example, are similar in form and content. Where the subject had developed since Koch's time, however, Schilling wrote a

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[4]Gustav Schilling, Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst, 7 vols. (Stuttgart, 1835-37, supplement 1842), reprint ed. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973); this must be distinguished from the single-volume Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst Schilling published in 1849, in which many of the entries were revised.

[5]Heinrich Christian Koch, Musikalisches Lexikon (Frankfurt, 1802), reprint ed. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964).

[6]H. C. Koch's Musikalisches Lexikon, rev. Arrey von Dommer (Heidelberg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1865). The relevant entries by Koch and Dommer are transcribed and translated in Elliot W. Galkin, "The Theory and Practice of Orchestral Conducting Since 1752" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1960) 157-190.

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fresh and original article. He appears to have been more faithful to the 1830s than Dommer was to the 1860s: Dommer's revisions to the Musikalisches Lexikon are frequently conservative.

1. Duties and Qualifications

In describing the conductor's position in Germany, Schilling conveys an impression of variation from place to place. There was great disparity in the assigning of titles: in organizations not dependent on a court the conductor was ordinarily called a Musikdirektor, while at court he was usually called a Kapellmeister and the title Musikdirektor given to a subordinate--sometimes to the concertmaster.[7] Occasionally the titles Orchesterdirektor or Dirigent were used.[8] Dirigieren, which had not appeared in Koch's dictionary, was briefly defined by Schilling,[9] but the modern Dirigent was not yet a term in wide use, and had no entry of its own, either in Koch, Schilling, or later in Dommer. Kapell-

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[7]Schilling, "Musikdirector," Lexikon der Tonkunst, V, 92-93: "Überhaupt herrscht unter den Titulaturen eine grosse Verschiedenheit . . . "

[8]Idem., "Aufführung," Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 319-321.

[9]Idem., "Dirigiren," Lexikon der Tonkunst, II, 418.

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meister was still the most common term for the principal conductor in the 1830s.

The way the Kapellmeister directed performances was changing rapidly. In Koch's day, opera, instrumental music, and church music were each directed in a distinctive manner. In opera, the Kapellmeister "usually plays the figured bass from the score on the piano," wrote Koch, "to be able to give a sign . . . to the singers." The Kapellmeister sat at the center of the orchestra or, with the players behind him, at the apron of the stage. Beat patterns were therefore hardly an issue and baton conducting was rare. Frequently, the performances were under the control of both the Kapellmeister and the concertmaster, for "the former usually cedes to the latter specific oversight of each of the accompanying instrumental parts and focuses his special attention mainly on the vocal parts."[10] In instrumental works, the Kapellmeister was absent altogether, for the concertmaster led from the first desk of the violins, without a conductor; the title concertmaster, wrote Koch, "is usually given to

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[10]Koch, "Kapellmeister," Musikalisches Lexikon, 826: ". . . bei der Oper pflegt er gemeiniglich aus den Partitur zugleich den Generalbass auf dem Flügel zu spielen. . . . um den Sängern . . . ein Zeichen geben zu können. . . . überlässt der erste dem letzten gemeiniglich die besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf jede Parthei der Instrumentalbegleitung, und heftet sein Hauptaugenmerk vorzüglich auf die Singstimmen."

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that musician in the sovereign's Kapelle to whom the management has delegated the instrumental music."[11] Only in church music did the Kapellmeister beat time continuously, and this was often the audible striking of a staff upon the floor.

Schilling described the way performances were directed in the 1830s under Aufführung; it is useful to quote at length from this entry:

> During the same [the performance] itself, the Capellmeister [sic] or first conductor, according to the score that lies in front of him and that visibly unifies the single parts into a whole musical texture, first has to indicate the tempo by the well-known Time Beating (q.v.), in order to keep the singers and instrumentalists in harmony and inspire the whole as much as possible. This is why he has to stand before the head, indeed before the whole orchestra, so that he is able to be seen equally by all its members. Most of all the singing parts involve him or, where there is no vocal music, the melodic parts; on these his whole attention has to be focused, and it is therefore not inappropriate if he supports the former, especially in recitatives, by accompanying them on some instrument, if possible the piano. Still, it is necessary that in all this he conduct himself as calmly as possible, no matter how much energy and liveliness he has to show at the rehearsals on the day. The latter, the concertmaster or Orchesterdirector, has to follow the instructions of the former in rehearsals with close attentiveness, and thus after that to strive to shape both the spirit of the whole as well as of the various parts and passages; in the performance itself, however, in his own playing, as well as in giving perhaps necessary

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[11]Koch, "Concertmeister," Musikalisches Lexikon, 356: ". . . bekommt gemeiniglich derjenige Tonkünstler in der Hofkapellen der Regenten, dem das Direktorium der Instrumentalmusik übertragen ist."

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hints and with the help of suggestive looks, he has to communicate with the whole orchestra--especially where the various members themselves should have either not understood correctly or forgotten the instructions of the Capellmeister in the rehearsals. Because the violin has the most penetrating sound, he finds his most appropriate place is at the front of the first violins; here his bowing can affect a good deal, energetically inspiring firm delivery and tenderly instigating uniform execution in all players. Time-Beating is not his business; for this reason, however, he is hardly a less important person in the performance than the Capellmeister; just as he always keeps an eye on the latter, in order to be able to impart the slightest indications to his large instrumental chorus, so are the eyes of the latter continually fixed on him. The business of the Chordirector is in regard to the choir the same as that of the Orchesterdirector in regard to the instrumental music, except that, ordinarily, he also beats the time as given by the main director, because the choir is rarely psoitioned in such a fashion that the Capellmeister is able to be seen equally well by all. Often, too, the Chordirector, instead of beating time, supports the choral singers by accompanying them on a keyboard instrument.

. . . Like a general in battle, [he] is responsible for everything. Indeed, he must also achieve and effect that which he has to accomplish; given that only in this manner the necessary utmost accord in the performance can be expected, so it is easy to comprehend how seldom and with what difficulty men are found who measure up to the demands made on them in this regard, and what level of multi-faceted education they must have attained.[12]

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[12]Schilling, "Aufführung," Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 319-321: "Während derselben selbst hat der Capellmeister oder erste Dirigent nach der vor ihm liegenden, und die einzelnen Stimmen auch sichtbarlich gleichsam zu einem ganzen Tongewebe vereinenden, Partitur zunächst die Taktbewegung anzugeben durch das bekannte Taktschlagen (s. dies.), dadurch die Sänger und Instrumentisten in Eintracht zu erhalten, und das Ganze so viel als möglich anzuregen. Deshalb muss er vorn an der Spitze, vor dem gesammten Orchester und zwar so stehen, dass er von jedem Mitgliede desselben gesehen werden kann. Vorzüglich aber beschäftigen ihn die Sing- oder im Fall keine Vocalmusik vorhanden ist, die Melodienstimme; auf

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Evidently, conducting had undergone some change since Koch's day. The old practice of dual control had faded: the Kapell-

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diese muss seine ganze Aufmerksamkeit gerichtet sein, und es ist daher nicht unpassend wenn er die ersteren, besonders bei Recitativen, auf irgend einem Instrumente, wo möglich Claviere, begleitend unterstützt. Doch ist es nothwendig, dass er bei alle dem so ruhig als möglich sich verhält, so viel Energie und bedeutsames Leben er auch in den Proben an den Tag zu legen hat. Der zweite, der Concertmeister oder Orchesterdirector, hat bei den Proben mit gespannter Aufmerksamkeit den Angaben des ersteren zu folgen, und sich zu bestreben, darnach den Geist sowohl des Ganzen als der einzeln Stellen und Pathien aufzufassen; bei der A. selbst dann aber jenen durch sein eigenes Spiel und durch vielleicht nöthige Winke und vielsagende Blicke dem gesammten Orchester wieder mitzutheilen, und zwar vornehmlich da, wo die einzelnen Mitglieder desselben die Unterweisungen des Capellmeisters in den Proben entweder nicht recht verstanden oder wieder vergessen haben sollten. Weil die Violine den durchgreifendensten Ton hat, so findet er am schicklichsten an der Spitze der ersten Violinen seinen Platz; hier kann sein Strich viel wirken, energisch zur kräftigen Ausführung beseelen, und zart wieder alle übrigen Spieler zu gleichem Vortrage antreiben. Das Taktschlagen ist nicht seine Sache, deshalb aber ist er eine kaum weniger wichtige Person bei der Aufführung als der Capellmeister; so wie er diesen stets im Auge hat, um die leiseste Andeutung seinem grossen Instrumentalchore mittheilen zu können, so sind die Blicke dieses neben jenem fortwährend auf ihn gerichtet. Das Geschäft des Chordirectors ist in Beziehung auf den Sängerchor dasselbe, wie das des Orchesterdirectors in Beziehung auf die Instrumentalmusik, ausser dass er gemeiniglich auch noch nach Angabe des ersten Directors den Takt schlägt, weil selten jener Chor so gestellt ist, dass der Capellmeister von Allen gleich gut gesehen werden kann. Oft auch unterstüzt der Chordirector statt des Taktschlagens die Chorsänger durch das Accompagnement auf einem Clavierinstrumente.

". . . wie der General in der Schlacht, für Alles gleichsam verantwortlich ist. Doch muss auch er wieder das leisten und zu leisten vermögen, was er zu leisten hat; wenn aber nur auf die hier angegebene Weise die nöthige höchste Einheit in der A. sich erwarten lässt, so ist leicht begreiflich, wie schwer und selten Männer gefunden werden, die alle den Anforderungen entsprechen, welche in solcher Beziehung an sie gemacht werden, und zu welcher vielseitigen Bildung dieselben gelangt senn müssen."

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meister was in sole charge at the performance and the concertmaster was restricted to giving suggestive looks to the players. Time beating was now familiar and the conductor stood at the head of his forces; only in choral music was he not in full view of all the performers. In opera, the possibility of his playing the keyboard remained, but he "now appeared mostly with a baton without an instrument."[13] Instrumental music was less often performed without a conductor, for the Kapellmeister directed the melodic parts; when he was absent the concertmaster took his place--meaning he beat time.[14] Already in the 1830s, the modern practice of baton conducting was commonplace in Germany.

Schilling was at pains to emphasize that the primary qualification of a conductor was ability in composition, for conducting and composition "intertwine so intimately that one cannot even be thought of without the other."[15] Additionally, Schilling explained that it was

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[13]Schilling, "Kapellmeister," Lexikon der Tonkunst, IV, 51: ". . . jetzt aber meist ohne Instrument mit dem Tactstocke geschieht."

[14]Idem., "Concertmeister," Lexikon der Tonkunst, II, 289: ". . . der Concertmeister . . . bei Abwesenheit des Directors die Stelle desselben versehen."

[15]Idem., "Kapellmeister," Lexikon der Tonkunst, IV, 50: "Direction oder Aufführung und Composition, so innig in einander, dass sich das Eine ohne das Andere gar nicht denken lässt."

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desirable for a conductor to know the works, be able to rehearse precisely and logically, and be able to play the violin:

> For this reason, he must possess a precise insight into music as an art, and must know and understand the nature of musical composition in general as regards melody, harmony, and rhythm, and in particular the compositions to be presented in whole and in part, as regards character, tempo, execution, etc.; hence also knowledge of the art of musical presentation and the means thereof, i.e. of voices and musical instruments as regards both their arrangement as well as their differing treatment, in order that he may be able to give the necessary directions during the performance of the works. Therefore, since it often happens that he must himself effectively intervene in order to assist singers or sustain order, he ought always to be a good violinist, for the violin is the instrument most fit to give a hint quickly from the desk in the event that a personal demonstartion of the notes to one or another of the players or singers becomes necessary. For this reason, most directors have a violin lying in readiness either under or next to their desk. Furthermore, the director must know how to recognize and apply at any given moment the vocal and instrumental resources; to rehearse precisely, to conduct the performance with calm mastery, to give the tempos correctly, and finally to maintain his subordinates in that overall harmony conducive to a noble exercise of the art.[16]

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[16]Schilling, "Musikdirector," Lexikon der Tonkunst, V, 93: "Deshalb muss er eine genaue Einsicht in die Musik als Kunst besitzen und das Wesen der musikal. Tonsetzung überhaupt nach Melodie Harmonie und Rhythmus, und die ausführenden Tonsetzungen insbesondere im Ganzen und Einzeln nach Charakter, Zeitmaass, Vortrag u.s.w. kennen und verstehen, daher auch Kenner der musikal. Darstellung-Kunst und der Mittel dazu, d.i. der Stimmen und musikal. Instrumente, sowohl ihrer Aufstellung als vershiedenen Behandlung nach, sein, um die erforderlichen Vorschriften bei der Ausführung der Tonwerke geben zu können. Dieserhalb, weil es oft vorkommt, dass namentlich Sängern, von seiner Seite nachgeholfen und um Ordnung zu erhalten selbst praktisch eingegriffen werden muss, sollte er auch stets guter Violinspieler, sein

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Finally, Schilling mentioned elsewhere that a knowledge of acoustics was necessary to determine the position and seating of the orchestra.[17]

Although thirty years apart, Schilling and Koch give substantially the same list of qualifications for a conductor. In 1865, Dommer conceded that "a composer of genius and first-rate Kapellmeister are combined in one person comparatively rarely," but that "of the latter one ought to require in regard to output at least that measure of ability and judgment sufficient to create something which

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weil die Violine das passendste Instrumente ist, im vorkommenden nöthigen Falle vom Directionspulte aus schnell dem Einen oder Andern im Orchester oder in Sängerpersonale, der fehlt, durch eigenes Vorspielen der Töne einen Wink zu geben. Die meisten Directoren haben zu dem Behufe auch immer eine Violine unter oder neben ihrem Pulte in Bereitschaft liegen. Ferner muss der Director die ihm im Augenblicke gegeben Mittel an Stimmen und Instrumenten kennen und anzuwenden wissen; genau und mit Ordnung einstudiren, mit ruhiger Uebersicht die Aufführung leiten, die richtigen Zeitmaasse bestimmt angeben und überall endlich seine Untergebenen zu einer edlen Ausübung der Kunst zusammenhalten."

[17]Schilling, "Kapellmeister," Lexikon der Tonkunst, IV, 51: "Auch akustische Kenntnisse muss er besitzen, da die Wirkung der Musik nicht zu geringem Theile von der Stellung des Orchesters und selbst den besonderen Plätzen der einzelnen Mitglieder desselben abhängt."

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gives evidence of more than mere routine."[18] It is clear that, throughout Wagner's professional conducting career, the principal qualification for a conductor was his ability as a composer.

There is ample evidence to attest to the picture Schilling painted of the Kapellmeister in the 1830s.[19] In 1801, when the eccentric Darmstadt Landgraf Ludwig zu Hessen used a staff to conduct Carl Heinrich Graun's Der Tod Jesu, the method was a novelty;[20] by 1825, the Director of the London Chapel Royal, Sir George Smart (1776-1867) observed that at Munich, Hanover, and Dresden, the conductor sat at a piano but seldom touched it;[21] in 1828, in the travel book published under the pseudonym "Musical Professor," the English musical biographer Edward Holmes (1797-1859) noted

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[18] "Capellmeister," Koch's Lexikon, rev. Dommer, 143: ". . . der geniale Componist und vorzügliche Capellmeister finden sich vergleichungsweise selten in einer Person, doch soll man vom letzteren auch bezüglich der Production wenigstens soviel Vermögen und Urtheil verlangen dürfen, als hinreicht, um etwas zu schaffen, das nicht bloss von Routine zeugt . . ."

[19] For a collation of this evidence, see Adam Carse, The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz: a History of the Orchestra in the First Half of the 19th Century and of the Development of Orchestral Baton Conducting (New York: Broude Brothers, 1948) 289-306.

[20] Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung IX (1805) 805; see Emil Vogel, "Zur Geschichte des Taktschlagens," Jahrbücher der Musikbibliothek Peters V (1899) 67-76.

[21] Leaves from the Journal of Sir George Smart, ed. H. Bertram Cox and C. L. E. Cox (London: Longmans, Green, 1907) 90, 140, 205.

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that at German operatic performances the conductor was "placed on an elevation in front of the orchestra," and in sole control;[22] and by 1842, when Berlioz visited Germany, he found baton conducting in most major orchestras.[23] In instrumental music, the practice of conducting with a baton rather than leading with a violin owed some of its early dissemination in Germany to the touring violinist and conductor-composer Louis Spohr (1784-1859), who, despite his fame as a violinist, persistently used a baton in instrumental music wherever he went.[24]

Certainly, departures from the general practice described by Schilling remained. At the Leipzig Gewandhaus concerts, for example, instrumental works continued to be led without conductor by the concertmaster until the appointment of Mendelssohn as Kapellmeister in 1835--and even after this when Mendelssohn was away.[25] At Munich, according to

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[22]Musical Professor [Edward Holmes], A Ramble Among the Musicians of Germany (London, 1828), reprint ed., with introduction and index by Charles Cudworth (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969) 38.

[23]Hector Berlioz, The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, ed. and trans. David Cairns (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969) 264.

[24]See Louis Spohr's Autobiography (London, 1865), reprint ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969).

[25]Alfred Dörffel, Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis 25. November 1881 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1884) 66-82.

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Spohr and Holmes, the concertmaster had all the qualities described by Schilling,[26] but at Dresden, the Polish violinist Karol Lipinsky (1790-1860) was always more a soloist than a concertmaster, and always insistent on the authority vested in him under the old system of dual control.[27] At Dessau Friedrich Schneider (1786-1835) continued to lead with a keyboard instrument,[28] and both Robert Schumann (1810-1856) and the Leipzig cantor Moritz Hauptmann (1792-1868) remained eloquent opponents of the baton.[29]

However, few exceptions were made to Schilling's rules for a conductor's qualifications. In 1834, all major conducting positions in Germany were held by composers: at the Berlin Hoftheater Gasparo Spontini (1774-1851) was Generalmusikdirektor, at the Dresden Hoftheater Francesco Morlacchi (1784-1859) was Hofkapellmeister, Joseph Rastrelli

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[26]Holmes, A Ramble, 64-65; Spohr, Autobiography, I, 213-215.

[27]See below, Chapter IV, p. 205.

[28]Holmes, A Ramble, 242-244.

[29]See Schumann's article in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik III/13 (April 15, 1836) 130, trans. in The Conductor's Art, ed. Carl Bamberger (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) 61-64; Moritz Hauptmann, The Letters of a Leipzig Cantor; Being the Letters of Moritz Hauptmann to Franz Hauser, Ludwig Spohr and Other Musicians, 2 vols., trans. A. D. Coleridge (London: Novello, Ewer, 1892) I, 196.

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(1799-1842) was Musikdirektor of Italian opera, and Karl Gottlieb Reissiger (1798-1859) was Musikdirektor of German opera, and at the Munich Hof- und Nationalstheater Joseph Hartmann Stunz (1793-1859) and Franz Paul Grua (1753-1833) were Kapellmeisters.

Some of the lesser positions were held by men of little distinction as composers, such as Christian August Pohlenz (1790-1843) at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, Peter Josef von Lindpaintner (1791-1856) at the Stuttgart Theater, and Carl Wilhelm Friedrich Guhr (1787-1848) at the Frankfurt Theater. On the other hand, even provincial centers sometimes could boast of major composers: Mendelssohn was at Düsseldorf, Spohr at Kassel, Heinrich Marschner (1796-1861) at Hanover, Franz Lachner (1803-1890) at Mannheim, and Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837) at Weimar. Everywhere in Germany, conductors were trained composers.[30]

One conductor-composer, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809-1847), seems the perfect example of Schilling's prescription; later, Dommer described him as "a model of the perfect conductor of recent vintage . . . in the unanimous opinion of all who knew him."[31] Apart from being a first-

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[30]Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 107-159.

[31]"Kapellmeister," Koch's Lexikon, ed. Dommer, 143: "ein solches Muster eines vollkommenen Capellmeisters aus der neuesten Zeit ist, nach dem einstimmigen Urtheile Aller, die ihn kannten . . . "

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rate composer, Mendelssohn was a fine violinist and superb pianist. The English pianist-conductor Charles Hallé (1819-1895) wrote that Mendelssohn's piano technique was "remarkably perfect, and one felt the great musician, the great composer, in every bar he played."[32] He knew the works he conducted thoroughly, for he had an extraordinary memory, and could rehearse a Beethoven symphony by heart.[33] There is little doubt that he understood orchestral instruments, both their arrangement and handling, for before his public debut, conducting the St. Matthew Passion at Berlin in 1829, he had given weekly orchestral concerts at his parents' home. Observers attest that he easily assumed undisputed authority over his musicians and rehearsed precisely and logically. His conducting career was both a popular and financial success, save for the few appearances he made in the opera house. Lack of proficiency in opera conducting was his sole deficiency: Mendelssohn was essentially a concert conductor.[34]

Initially, it is puzzling that, among the conduc-

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[32]The Autobiography of Sir Charles Hallé, ed. Michael Kennedy (London: Paul Elek, 1972) 71.

[33]Elise Polko, Reminiscences of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, trans. Lady Wallace (New York: Leypoldt & Holt, 1869) 106-107.

[34]For a discussion of Mendelssohn's abilities and career, as observed by his contemporaries, see Galkin, "Orchestral Conducting," 410-426.

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tors of Wagner's generation, a concert conductor should be held up as the model, for, in describing conducting, Schilling's principal concern was the performance of opera. Symphony concerts were given in the shadow of opera in the 1830s; they depended on the availability of professional theater musicians, and unless they were held on Fridays or during Lent, when the theaters were closed, they had to be largely amateur affairs.[35] Only five symphony orchestras had been established in Germany at the time: the Magdeburg Städtisches Orchester in 1752, the Bayerisches Staatsorchester at Munich in 1778, the Leipzig Gewandhausorchester, which gave concerts from 1781, the Oldenburgisches Staatsorchester in 1832, and the Hamburg Philharmonisches Staatsorchester in the same year. Of these, the only one to achieve wide fame was the Leipzig orchestra, which was directed by Mendelssohn himself.[36]

Truly, the Leipzig orchestra was in a special position. Leipzig was a thriving commercial center, a university city, and free from the oversight of a court; it was fertile soil for the development of public concerts as a

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[35] Kurt Blaukopf, "The Symphony Concerts and the Public," The Symphony, ed. Ursula von Rauchhaupt (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972) 9-10.

[36] Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "The Orchestra," The Symphony, ed. Rauchhaupt, 40-46.

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central musical activity. Spohr reported that the orchestra was outstanding as early as 1805, and a sharp contrast to the ragged mixture of dilettanti and professionals he had to work with at Karlsruhe, Strasbourg, Colmar, Freiburg, Zurich, and other more provincial towns.[37] Civic support had ensured not only that all the players were professionals but also that an auditorium was built especially for the purpose of giving orchestral concerts. The Gewandhaus, an oblong, wooden building, reputed to have had excellent acoustics, was one of the few halls solely designed for concerts in the early nineteenth century. The interior during Mendelssohn's time may be seen in an engraving by the military painter, graphic artist, and lithographer Ernst Wilhelm Strassberger (1796-1866, Ill. 1). Working under these unusually favorable conditions, the orchestra was able to produce uncommonly polished performances of the most challenging works. The symphonies and overtures of Beethoven, for example, were a staple diet of the orchestra under its early Kapellmeisters, Johann Gottfried Schlicht (1753-1823) and, from 1810, Johann

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[37] Spohr, Autobiography, I, 72, 224, 228, 232, 248, 235-236.

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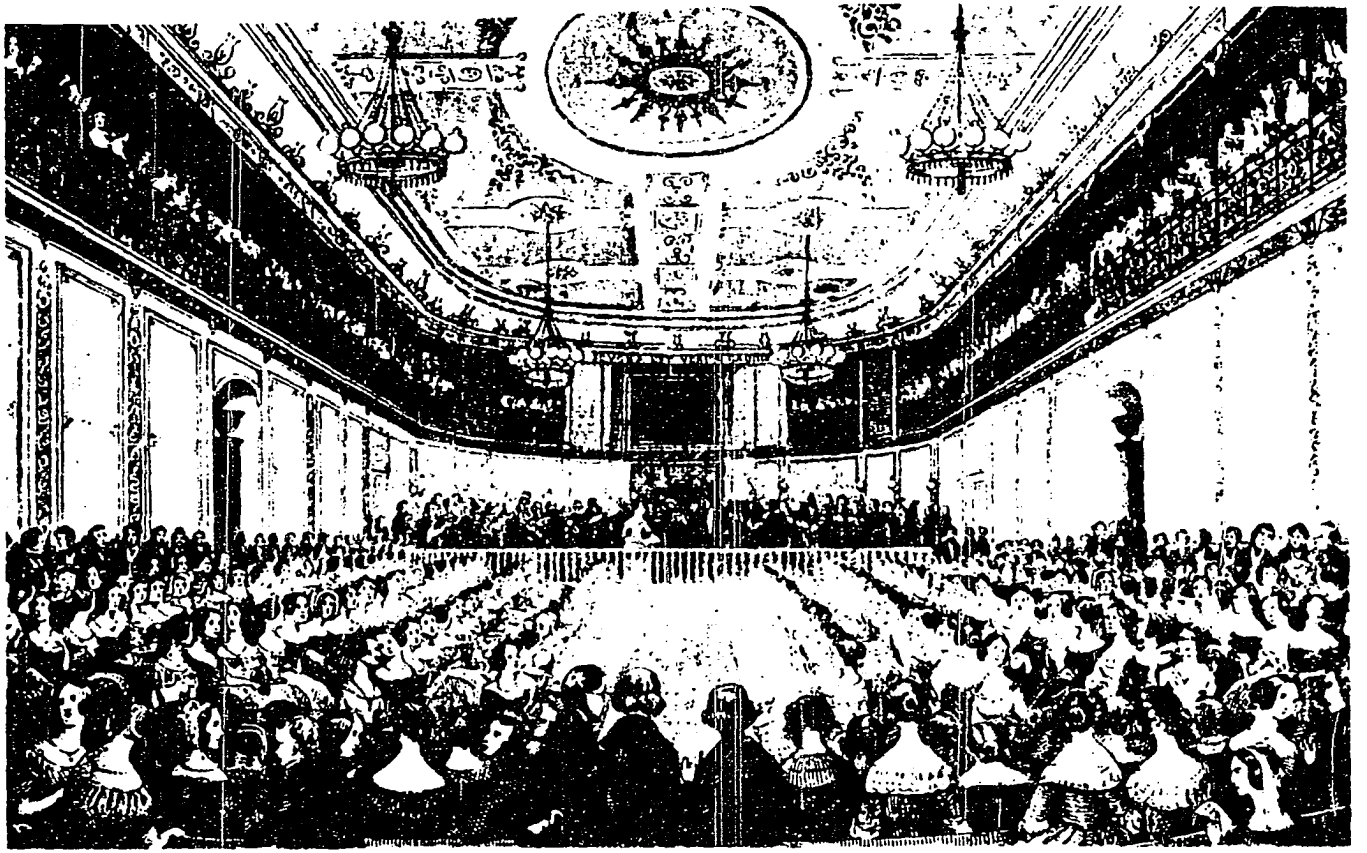

Illustration 1. Ernst Strassberger, Concert in the Leipzig Gewandhaus, 1846 engraving [Karl Michael Komma, Musikgeschichte in Bildern (Stuttgart: A. Kröner, 1961) 234].

Philipp Schulz (1773-1827), long before these works were regularly and satisfactorily performed elsewhere.[38] In 1835, therefore, when Mendelssohn was appointed Kapellmeister, the orchestra was already exceptional. The death in the same year of its concertmaster, Heinrich Matthäi (1781-1835), enabled Mendelssohn to take control of the instrumental works in performance without opposition.

Nevertheless, Mendelssohn's enormous success as a concert conductor was not solely an outcome of circumstances at Leipzig. Ultimately, it must be understood in the context of the public's increasing interest in instrumental music, discussed above in Chapter I (pp. 1-4). Mendelssohn's conducting career was a brilliant reflection of the growing importance of instrumental music in the nineteenth century.

2. Suitability of Wagner to the Position

To determine whether Wagner matched the foregoing description of a conductor's qualifications, we must examine his musical training. Few documents of his early education

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[38]For lists of repertoire and an account of the orchestra's early history, see Dörffel, Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte, 1-80.

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exist--and none at all before 1820;[39] accordingly, a reconstruction must be made from his annals, Die rote Brieftasche, and his autobiographical writings, Autobiographische Skizze and Mein Leben.

In 1822, Wagner entered the Dresden Kreuzschule.[40] The alumni, boarders at the school who sang in the Kreuzchor, received a rigorous musical training and occasionally sang in the chorus at the Hoftheater. Wagner, however, was a day-scholar, and his musical instruction evidently did not begin until a certain Humann was engaged privately to give him piano lessons. The piano interested Wagner only as a private amusement; in his Autobiographische Skizze, he wrote:

> Scarcely was I over the first finger exercises than I secretly practiced, at first by ear, the Overture to Freischütz; my teacher once heard this and said nothing would come of me. He was right; in my whole life I have never learned piano playing. Henceforth I played only for myself, nothing but overtures, and with the most horrible fingering. It was impossible for me to play a passage clearly, and I acquired a great abhorrence of all runs.[41]

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[39]Mary Burrell, Richard Wagner: His Life and Works from 1813-1834 (London: Allan Wyon, [1898]) lxiii.

[40]Ibid., lxxxi.

[41]Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, I, 5: ". . . kaum war ich über die ersten Fingerübungen hinaus, so studierte ich mir heimlich, zuerst ohne Noten, die Ouvertüre zum Frei-

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Of his meeting with Wagner three years before this account was published, Hallé wrote that "he was no pianist, or he might have given us some idea of his own work." [42] A Musikdirektor under Wagner at Dresden, pianist-conductor August Röckel (1783-1870) described his playing as "ludicrously defective; so much so that when anything is tried, I take the piano and my sight-reading seems to please him vastly." [43] Although, in later years, he undoubtedly improved through his own efforts, when he began conducting in 1834, Wagner was an appalling pianist.

For three months in 1830, he had violin lessons. He did not mention them in Die rote Brieftasche or in the Autobiographische Skizze, but in Mein Leben he wrote:

> In fact my mother paid the . . . violinist Sipp eight thalers for a violin, whose fate has remained

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schütz ein; mein Lehrer hörte das einmal und sagte: aus mir würde nichts. Er hatte recht, ich habe in meinem Leben nicht Klavierspielen gelernt. Nun spielte ich nur noch für mich, nichts wie Ouvertüren, und mit dem gräulichsten Fingersatze. Es war mir unmöglich, eine Passage rein zu spielen, und ich bekam deshalb einen grossen Abscheu vor allen Läufen."

[42] Autobiography of Hallé, ed. Kennedy, 85-86.

[43] August Röckel, letter to Ferdinand Praeger (March 1843), cited in Ferdinand Praeger, Wagner As I Knew Him (London: Longmans, Green, 1892) 121.

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> unknown to me, with which for all of three months from my wonderful little room I horribly tortured my mother and sister. I got as far as certain Variations in F Major by Mayseder, but only as far as the second or third: any recollection of these studies after that has faded from me.[44]

His teacher, the leader of the second violins at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, Friedrich Robert Sipp (1806-1899), recalled that he was "quick to grasp things, but he was lazy and did not practice. He was my worst pupil."[45] In later years, Wagner never attempted further study of the violin; for demonstrating difficult passages to his players, he was always dependent on his concertmaster.[46]

Therefore, in two of the skills Schilling saw as desirable in a conductor, the ability to accompany recita-

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[44]Richard Wagner, Mein Leben, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: Paul List Verlag, 1976) 43: "Wirklich bezahlte meine Mutter dem . . . Violinspieler Sipp acht Taler für eine Geige, deren Schicksal mir unbekannt geblieben ist, auf welcher ich jedoch ein Vierteljahr lang von meinem wunderbar kleinen Kämmerchen aus meine Mutter und Schwestern unerhört peinigte. Ich brachte es bis zu gewissen Maysederschen Variationen in F-dur, jedoch nur bis zur zweiten oder dritten: von da ab schwindet mir jede Erinnerung an diese Übungen."

[45]Burrel, Richard Wagner, cx.

[46]See below, Chapter IV, p. 244.As evidence of Wagner's lack of knowledge of stringed instruments, Galkin ("Orchestral Conducting," 467) points to a passage in Beethoven's 9th Symphony which Wagner, in Über das Dirigiren (Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 272), confesses he was never able to have performed with perfect evenness; with logical bowing and fingering, says Galkin, the passage "is not difficult even for a second class orchestra." This assumes, of course, that Wagner would have been satisfied with a rendering that satisfies the modern listener.

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tives on the piano and the ability to demonstrate passages on the violin, Wagner was quite deficient. On the other hand, it may have been a lack of practical skill that drove him to one of his most propitious activities in these years--the silent study of orchestral works in full score. In Mein Leben, he reports making a detailed study of the full scores of works by Beethoven, including the Choral Symphony and the String Quartet in E-flat, Op. 127.[47] Few conductors of the day knew instrumental works in full score, for symphonies were sold chiefly as sets of parts, and although they were less often led by the concertmaster than before, the custom of conducting from a first violin part--or some elaboration of it--was still widespread.[48] String quartets were rarely studied in full score: Spohr, for instance, who performed Beethoven's string quartets all over Europe, persistently discussed them as if they were violin solos with accompaniment.[49] The novelty and originality of Wagner's later inter-

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[47] Wagner, Mein Leben, 41-42.

[48] As late as 1910, a "conductor's part" was defined as a two-stave elaboration of a first violin part; see Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd ed., 5 vols., ed. George Grove, rev. J. Fuller Maitland (London: Macmillan, 1904-10) I, 589; see also, Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 444-450.

[49] Spohr, Autobiography, I, 69-70, 79, 219, 228. For further examples, see Ernest Newman, The Life of Richard Wagner, 4 vols. (London, 1937), reprint (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976) I, 130-133.

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pretations of Beethoven's works, as well as his ability to rehearse and perform them from memory, may be traced to his early study of these works in full score and away from an instrument.

Wagner knew more about the voice than he did about instruments. Although he never had singing lessons and never became proficient in the languages necessary for operatic coaching, Italian and French, in childhood he developed a sense for vocal production and dramatic declamation. He grew up in a household closely connected with the Dresden Hoftheater: his stepfather Ludwig Heinrich Geyer (1779-1821) was an actor and playwright, his brother Albert (1799-1874) became a tenor and actor, his sisters Rosalie (1803-1837) and Luise (1805-1872) became actresses, and his sister Klara (1807-1875) began a professional singing career at the age of sixteen, singing the title role in Rossini's La Cenerentola (1817). He had many opportunities to hear and observe his talented brothers and sisters at work,[50] and it may have been partly through such observation that he acquired the skill at directing singers that was so frequently noted in later years.[51]

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[50]For known details of the musical activities in Wagner's household, see Burrell, Richard Wagner, lxxxii ff., and Newman, Life of Wagner, I, 11-14, 46-47.

[51]See above, Chapter I, p. 40, footnote 120.

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The only branch of music in which he received extended training was composition. In 1829, at the age of sixteen, after attempting to work through Johann Bernhard Logier's Methode des Generalbasses on his own, he took secret lessons in harmony from a violinist in the Leipzig Stadttheater orchestra, Christian Gottlieb Müller (1800-1863),[52] and in 1831, by which time his family knew of his musical ambitions, he took harmony and counterpoint lessons from the Cantor of the Thomaskirche, Leipzig, Christian Theodor Weinlig (1780-1842). Of his six months with Weinlig, Wagner wrote:

> I had the good fortune to have the strictest and most candid of teachers. . . . This man, to whom I owe more than any achievements of mine will ever be able to repay, saw at once what I needed. To start with, he suspended the study of actual counterpoint in order to assure me of a completely secure base in harmony; so he first put me through the strict style of classical harmony and did not move on until he felt I had fully mastered it, for in his opinion this strict style was the first and only starting point, not only in order to use free and rich harmony but definitely also in order to learn counterpoint. He then started me off on the study of counterpoint with the clearest directions and accord-

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[52]Martin Gregor-Dellin has suggested that Müller may have taught the sixteen-year-old Wagner the rudiments of conducting; see Martin Gregor-Dellin, Richard Wagner, His Life, His Work, His Century, trans. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (New York: Helen and Kurt Wolff/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983) 37. Evidence to support this view, however, is not produced.

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> ing to the strictest principles. . . . I felt immensely strengthened by this deep and serious study . . .53

In the three years between the commencement of his study with Weinlig and his conducting debut, Wagner composed an opera, a symphony, four overtures, four piano sonatas, various songs and other works, and several of his compositions were published. By the time of his debut, therefore, he had established his credentials as a composer, and thereby, in the eyes of his contemporaries, his basic qualification to conduct.[54]

Through Weinlig, Wagner obtained the first perfor-

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[53]Richard Wagner, letter to Franz Hauser (ca. March 1834), Sämtliche Briefe, ed. Gertrud Strobel and Werner Wolf (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1979) I, 150-151: "Ich hatte das Glück, die offenherzigsten u. strengsten Lehrer zu haben. . . . Dieser Mann, dem ich mehr zu verdanken habe, als je meine Leistungen hinreichend ausgleichen werden können, fühlte nun wohl richtig, wo es mir zunächst noch fehle;--er setzte das Erlernen des eigentlichen Contrapunktes hier erst noch bei Seite, um vorher meine Harmonie-Kenntnisse auf das gründlichste zu befestigen; so nahm er zunächst den strengen, gebundenen Styl der Harmonie mit mir vor, und wich nicht eher davon, als bis er mich darin für vollkommenen befestigt hielt, denn seiner Ansicht nach war dieser gebundene Styl die erste und einzige Grundlage zur Handhabung freier u. reicher Harmonien sowohl, als wesentlich auch zur Erlernung des Contrapunktes. Das Studium des Contrapunktes nahm er nun nach der festeren Richtung und den strengsten Grundsätzen mit mir vor . . . Durch dieses tiefe und ernste Studium fühlte ich mich ungemein erkräftigt . . ." Translated in Wagner: a Documentary Study, ed. Herbert Barth, Dietrich Mack and Egon Voss, trans. P. R. J. Ford and Mary Whittall (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975) 152.

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[54]For examples of Wagner's early compositions and details of his harmony and counterpoint studies, see Otto Daube, "Ich schreibe keine Symphonien mehr." Richard Wagners Lehrjahre (Cologne: Hans Gerig, 1960).

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mances of some of his works. He wrote:

> . . . in the course of my studies, Herr Weinlig was not only not against the performance of instrumental compositions I had worked on at that period; he positively desired their performance and indeed promoted them vigorously. And so, during and after this time, several overtures and finally a symphony of mine were performed at our subscription concerts . . .[55]

Before his Overture in C Major (1832) and Symphony in C Major (1832) were performed at the Gewandhaus concerts, they were played in private at meetings of Euterpe, a society to which many members of the Gewandhaus orchestra belonged. We know from Mein Leben that Wagner conducted some of his own works before 1834;[56] as it was not at the Gewandhaus concerts, it must have been at the Euterpe meetings in the Altes Schützenhaus that this occurred. In a letter to his sister Ottilie (1811-1883) of March 1832, he wrote that the Overture in C "I shall conduct myself at the music society,"[57] but

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[55] Wagner, letter to Hauser, Sämtliche Briefe, I, 151: "So war Herr Weinlig selbst im Laufe meiner Studien bei ihm nicht nur nicht gegen die Aufführung meiner während jener Zeit gearbeiteten Instrumental-Compositionen, sondern er wünschte und förderte sie sogar lebhaft. So wurden während u. nach jener Zeit mehrere Ouvertüren, und zuletzt eine Symfonie, von mir in unseren Abonnements-Conzerten aufgeführt."

[56] Wagner, Mein Leben, 97: "Obwohl ich, ausser einiger meiner Instrumentalkompositionen noch nicht, namentlich keine Oper, dirigiert hatte . . ."

[57] Richard Wagner, letter to Ottilie Wagner (March 3-21, 1832), Sämtliche Briefe, I, 128: ". . . eine Ouvertüre geschrieben, die ich in dem Musikvereine selbst dirigiren [sic] werde."

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the Euterpe neither printed programs nor kept records of the dates of their meetings; the date of their session with Wagner, therefore, is impossible to determine.

The Euterpe had been founded by musicians of the Gewandhaus orchestra, including Wagner's violin teacher Sipp, and was directed by his first composition teacher, Müller. Its meetings were virtually Gewandhaus rehearsals: the orchestra simply "ran through" works for its own amusement.[58] Critics did not report its activities, and no account of its involvement with Wagner has ever come to light.[59] All that can be said of Wagner's encounter with the Euterpe, his first and only attempt at conducting before his public debut, is that it was of the most informal kind.

When Wagner entered the profession of conducting, therefore, he was deficient in more than one of the skills expected of conductors at the time. While he had demonstrated his prowess in composition and had acquired, through silent study, an unusually detailed knowledge of the instrumental scores of Beethoven, he lacked any practical proficiency,

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[58] See Karl W. Whistling, "Der Musikverein Euterpe zu Leipzig 1824-1874," pamphlet cited in Burrell, Richard Wagner, cx, cxiv.

[59] Whistling, loc. cit., lists "Richard Wagner Concertouvertüre Nr. 2 Neue" amongst works played in the winter of 1831-1832, but gives no conductor. The only other account of Euterpe is given in Emil Kneusche, Zur Geschichte des Theaters und Musik in Leipzig (Leipzig, 1864) 290-297, cited in Newman, Life of Wagner, I, 88.

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save an understanding of the voice--and this not from tuition but from observation. Additionally, it should be noted that, at the age of twenty, he was a rather young aspirant for a position in conducting--as was observed in 1834 by one member of the Lauchstädt Theater company.[60] Mendelssohn had made his debut at the same age, but then he had been a child prodigy. All in all, when he presented himself for employment as a conductor in 1834, Wagner was a candidate of doubtful qualifications.

In view of his deficiencies, it is not surprising that his early engagements were with companies of no great distinction, and in positions obtained not so much by merit as by influence or circumstance. His engagement as chorusmaster at Würzburg was obtained through the guarantee of his brother Albert, who was a singer, actor, and producer in the Würzburg company.[61] The position included work not only as a chorusmaster but also as an actor in the plays; operas as vast as Meyerbeer's Robert le diable (1831) were produced with a chorus numbering fifteen. The Würzburg Musikverein

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[60]In fact, this comment was made by Minna Planer, Wagner's future wife: see Wagner, Mein Leben, 96.

[61]See his contract of employment at Würzburg, reprinted in Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung, Berlin (October 14, 1910), translated in Wagner: a Documentary Study, 155-156. This dispels the doubts expressed by Burrell (Richard Wagner, cxx) and Newman (Life of Wagner, I, 99) concerning Wagner's status at Würzburg.

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performed several of Wagner's works, probably not under the composer's direction,[62] but these performances, like those at the Theater, were of the most parochial kind.

His engagement in 1834 as Musikdirektor of the Magdeburg Theater came to him for oblique reasons: the Leipzig Stadttheater conductor, Ferdinand Stegmayer (1803-1863), under pressure to put Die Feen into production, recommended Wagner for the Magdeburg post, evidently hoping that this would take Die Feen and its composer off his hands. Anxious to dismiss a conductor he disliked, the Magdeburg director, Heinrich Edward Bethmann (1774-1857), was happy to accept even a novice like Wagner.[63] Bethmann was chronically bankrupt, and Wagner's tenure with the company ran from his performance of Don Giovanni in August 1834 until the collapse of the company's finances in March 1836.

After this, Wagner had no appointment for twelve months. His next post, as Musikdirektor at the Königsberg Theater, was obtained chiefly because the director, Anton

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[62] In the Autobiographische Skizze, Wagner says of these works only that he "brought [them] to a hearing" ("zu hören gab"), and in Die rote Brieftasche that he "presented" ("aufgeführt") them. Evidently, the Verein was conducted by a certain Count Wilhorsky; the programs do not give a conductor's name: see Beilage zum Intelligenz-Blatt für den Untermainkreis (1833), cited in Burrell, Richard Wagner, cxxii.

[63] Wagner, Mein Leben, 94-95.

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Hübsch (dates of birth and death unknown), did not wish to lose his best actress, Minna Planer (1809-1866), who was about to leave the town to marry Wagner. Königsberg had an orchestra of fifteen professional string players to which wind players from the town band were added, but the quality of its musical life was affected by its remote geographical position--on the Baltic.[64] Like Würzburg, it was one of the provincial towns in which music was third rate. Wagner worked at Königsberg from April 1837 until his wife deserted him two months later.

After two months without a position, he was appointed Musikdirektor of the Deutsche Stadttheater at Riga. He was engaged chiefly because he was thought to be a specialist in the lightest Italian and French operas. The company had only just been assembled and the director, Karl von Holtei (1798-1880), had not yet engaged a full complement of singers. The orchestra, which initially numbered less than twenty, was, according to Wagner, little better than at Königsberg.[65] Wagner worked at Riga from August 1837 until his dismissal, when the management changed, in June 1839. In Mein Leben he wrote of all these early appointments with

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[64]Erwin Kroll, Musikstadt Königsberg: Geschichte und Erinnerung (Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1966) 140-149.

[65]Wagner, Mein Leben, 153-154.

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wit rather than sentiment, making no secret of their mediocrity.

Influences on Wagner's Conducting

In fact, what Wagner learned by observation was of greater consequence for his later development as a conductor than the kind of formal training he received. In his writings, he gave less prominence to his music education than he did to the influences upon him of other artists he observed. These influences must now be discussed.

It is clear that the heart of Dresden's musical life, its dazzling Italian opera, made little impression on Wagner. Of his boyhood at Dresden, he recalls being repulsed by the castrati and finding Don Giovanni "foolish" because of its Italian text,[66] and in Mein Leben he mentions the Hofkapellmeister Morlacchi only in unflattering contexts. It was the German opera, established only in 1817, and its Musikdirektor, Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826), that affected Wagner. Weber sometimes visited the Wagner household, and his overtures became Wagner's favorite music.[67]

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[66] Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, I, 5: "Don Juan war mir zuwider, weil da italienischer Text darunter stand; er kam mir so läppisch vor." See also Wagner, Mein Leben, 34.

[67] Idem., Mein Leben, 14, 19.

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Weber was a pioneer of baton conducting. In 1825 Smart saw him conduct "with a roll at a square pianoforte";[68] in this manner he once conducted The Magic Flute from memory. At Dresden, he abandoned the piano in favor of a music stand, pushed up close to the prompter's box "upon which he could give tapping signals,"[69] and he is shown with a stand in the well-known lithograph (Ill. 2) by the English lithographer and printer Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789-1866) after a drawing by the portrait and genre painter John Hayter (1800-1891). He regarded tempo modification as crucial to good performance: tempo, he wrote, "must not be tyranically inhibiting or a driving hammer, but should be to music what the pulse is to human life."[70] Wagner developed one of his most characteristic interpretative principles from similar views, and it is tempting to suggest that he was strongly influenced by Weber. But Weber died when Wagner was thirteen years old; besides, there is no conclusive evidence that Wagner saw him conduct. In Die rote Brieftasche, when Wagner recalled a passion for Weber,[71]

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[68] Journal of Smart, 140.

[69] Max Maria von Weber, Carl Maria von Weber: ein Lebensbild, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1864-66), abridged English version trans. J. Palgrave Simpson (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1865) 79.

[70] Weber, letter to Heinrich Aloys Praeger, translated in The Conductor's Art, 19-21.

[71] Wagner, Sämtliche Briefe, I, 81: "Liebe zur Musik. Leidenschaft zu Weber."

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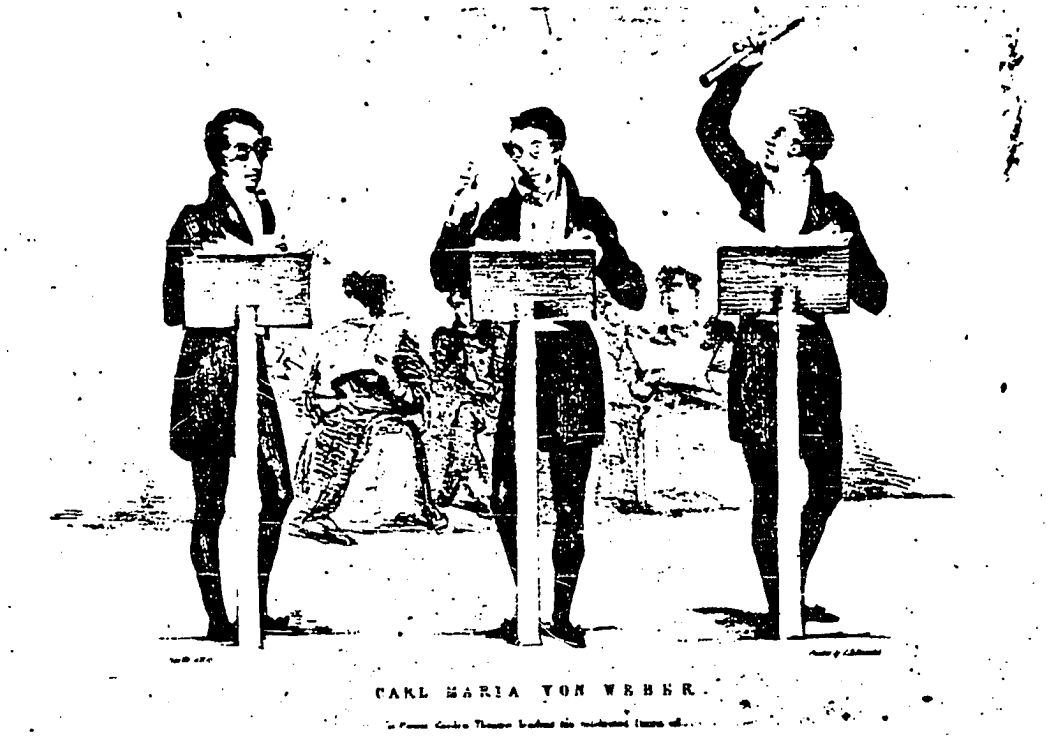
Illustration 2. Charles Hullmandel after John Hayter, "Carl Maria von Weber," 1826 lithograph [Marc Pincherle, An Illustrated History of Music, trans. Rollo Myers (London: Macmillan, 1958) 148].

it was Weber's compositions he was remembering, and these he heard, not under Weber, but played by military and civic bands in Dresden's Grosser Garten.[72] Although Morlacchi made early efforts to establish orchestral concerts at Dresden, and introduced the annual Palm Sunday Benefit Concert in 1826, it was at the open-air bandstands of the public gardens

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[72]Wagner, Mein Leben, 36.

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that orchestral music was most frequently heard.[73]

Other conductors that Wagner recalled from the years before 1834 were a certain Flachs at Leipzig and Johann Christoph Kienlen (1784-1830) at Magdeburg in 1828; Heinrich Dorn (1804-1892) at the Leipzig Stadttheater and Pohlenz at the Gewandhaus in 1830; Johann Strauss, Sr. (1804-1849) and one of the Kärtnerthor Theater conductors--perhaps Lachner or Joseph Weigl (1766-1846)--at Vienna in 1832; and Bedřich Diviš (Dionys) Weber (1766-1842) at the Prague Conservatory in the same year. Of Flachs, a Dresden-born bandleader, he recalled "a peculiar convulsive nodding and [a] moaning, puffing up of the cheeks," which seemed to him to personify the "daemonic ecstasy" of Hoffmann's Kapellmeister Kreisler.[74] Of Kienlen (whom he remembers as Kühnlein in his writings), formerly Kapellmeister at Pressburg, he says only that "this man was impressive by virtue of his striking, animated choice of expression."[75] His early correspondence shows him grateful to Dorn for conducting his juvenile Overture in B-flat Major

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[73] See, for example, the report from Dresden in Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung XXV (1823) 756-757, translated in Hellmut-Mahling, "The Orchestra," 41.

[74] Wagner, Mein Leben, 39: "ein eigentümliches konvulsivisches Kopfnicken und seufzerartiges Aufblasen der Wangen deutete ich mir als dämonische Ekstase . . ." E. T. A. Hoffmann's "Johannes Kreislers, des Kapellmeisters, musikalische Leiden" (1810) was reprinted in Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier, 2 vols. (Bamberg: C. K. Kunz, 1814).

[75] Ibid., 41: ". . . imponierte dieser Mann durch eine auffallende, schwungvolle Gewähltheit des Ausdruckes."

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(1830) at Leipzig,[76] but in Mein Leben he reflects that Dorn rehearsed the work with more rigor than it deserved.[77] Of the Gewandhaus concerts under Pohlenz, he wrote that the effect of hearing Beethoven's music was "overpowering," but there is no comment about Pohlenz' abilities in his early correspondence or writings.[78] In later years, he recalled that the orchestra's execution "went off quite smoothly and precisely," and its practice of performing instrumental works without a conductor had been "simple and homely." In a performance of Beethoven's Choral Symphony, after the orchestra had played the first three movements metronomically throughout, Pohlenz, who "seemed the model of the all-good-natured, stout Musikdirektor," took his place and gave "the impression of an anxiously-careful 3/4 tempo" for the difficult final movement; "however, this was never successful."[79]

At Vienna, Wagner was delighted with the "extraordinary playing" of Johann Strauss, Sr., but not impressed with a performance of Gluck's Iphigénie en Tauride (1779),

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[76] Wagner, letter to Heinrich Dorn (August 7, 1836), Sämtliche Briefe, I, 314-315.

[77] Wagner, Mein Leben, 59-61.

[78] Wagner, "Autobiographische Skizze," Sämtliche Schriften, I, 6: "ihr Eindruck auf mich war allgewaltig."

[79] Idem., "Über das Dirigiren," Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 270: "sie gingen daher recht glatt und präzis;" idem., Mein Leben, 64-65: ". . . erschien der Typus aller gemütlichen dicken Musikdirektoren; . . . der Eindruck des sorgfältig ängstlichen Dreivierteltaktes. . . . dennoch gelang dies nie."

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despite its first-rate cast."[80] There is nothing about the Viennese conductors in his correspondence of this period, and in the Autobiographische Skizze he wrote that what he had heard in Vienna "edified me little."[81] The influence of these conductors on him must have been insignificant.

More important was the influence on him of Divis Weber. A Bohemian composer-conductor, Weber had been director of the Prague Conservatory since its foundation in 1811 and Kapellmeister at the Landständische-Theater since 1813. He conducted with an audible beat--according to Mein Leben, "dry but horribly noisy time-beating."[82] Weber and some of his musicians had played at the première of Don Giovanni in 1787, given atthe Landständischen-Theater under the direction Mozart himself, and they proudly preserved the tempos they had learned from the composer. According to Holmes, who heard Don Giovanni at Prague in 1827, these tempos were very fast,[83] and the Stettin Kapellmeister Carl Loewe (1796-1869), who heard the Overture to The Marriage of Figaro at the Conser-

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[80] Wagner, Mein Leben, 70.

[81] Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, I, 8: "Was ich dort hörte und sah, hat mich wenig erbaut."

[82] Wagner, Mein Leben, 73: ". . . seiner trockenen aber fürchterlich lärmenden Taktiererei."

[83] Holmes, A Ramble, 183.

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vatory in the same period, wrote that Weber took Mozart as fast as possible and at a deafening volume.[84] In his early correspondence and writings, Wagner mentions only that some of his works were performed at the Conservatory by Weber,[85] and in Über das Dirigiren that Weber took the Eroica metronomically,[86] but elsewhere Wagner cites Weber as the authority for his own choice of very rapid tempos in allegro movements of Mozart and Haydn.[87] Weber appears to have had a strong influence on him.

The strongest influence of all on Wagner's conducting, however, was not a conductor but a singer. In August 1829 at the Leipzig Stadttheater, he heard Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient (1804-1860) sing Leonora in Fidelio. There is no note of this in Die rote Brieftasche; however, in a partly fictitious article for the Paris Gazette musicale in 1840, Wagner wrote:

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[84] J. Carl Loewe, Selbstbiographie, ed. C. H. Ritter (Berlin: C. W. Müller, 1870) 314.

[85] Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, I, 9; idem., "Die rote Brieftasche," Sämtliche Briefe, I, 82: "Prag. Symphonie u. Ouvertüren aufgeführt im Conservatorium."

[86] Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 296: "in der strikten Tempo desselben liess er auch die Allegros der Eroica."

[87] Idem. "Künstler und Kritiker" (1846), Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 212.

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> With what ardor, with what poetry, how distressingly deeply she played this extraordinary woman! . . . For my part, the heavens were opened to me; I was transfigured and prayed to the genius who had led me, like Florestan, out of night and chains into light and freedom. I could not sleep that night.[88]

He dedicated Über Schauspieler und Sänger (1872) to her memory; in the sgraffito above the entrance to the Wahnfried at Bayreuth, he had the muse made in her likeness; and in Mein Leben, he wrote of her performance:

> When I look back over my whole life I can think of hardly any event which I could set beside this one with respect to its effect on me. He who can remember this wonderful woman from that period of her life must in some way be able to bear witness to the almost daemonic glow which such a humanly ecstatic performance as that of this incomparable artiste certainly radiated over him.[89]

In the Autobiographische Skizze, he wrote of how her interpretation of Romeo in an 1834 performance of Bellini's I

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[88] Wagner, "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven," Sämtliche Schriften, I, 105: "Mit welcher Glut, mit welcher Poesie, wie tief erschütternd stellte sie dies ausserordentliche Weib dar! . . . Mir für mein Teil war der Himmel geöffnet; ich war verklärt und betete den Genius an, der mich--gleich Florestan--aus Nacht und Ketten in das Licht und die Freiheit geführt hatte. Ich konnte die Nacht nicht schlafen."

[89] Wagner, Mein Leben, 44: "Wenn ich auf mein ganzes Leben zurückblicke, finde ich kaum ein Ereignis, welches ich diesem einen in betreff seiner Einwirkung auf mich an die Seite stellen könnte. Wer sich der wunderbaren Frau aus dieser Periode ihres Lebens erinnert, muss in irgendeiner Weise die fast dämonische Wärme bezeugen können, welche die so menschlich-ekstatische Leistung dieser unvergleichlichen Künstlerin notwendig über ihn ausströmte."

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capuleti ed i montecchi (1830) influenced his composition;[90] she may be seen in this role in an 1835 etching (Ill. 3) by the sculptor and painter Carl Alexander von Heideloff (1789-1866). It was her interpretations of Beethoven, however, according to Über das Dirigiren, that influenced Wagner's conducting.[91]

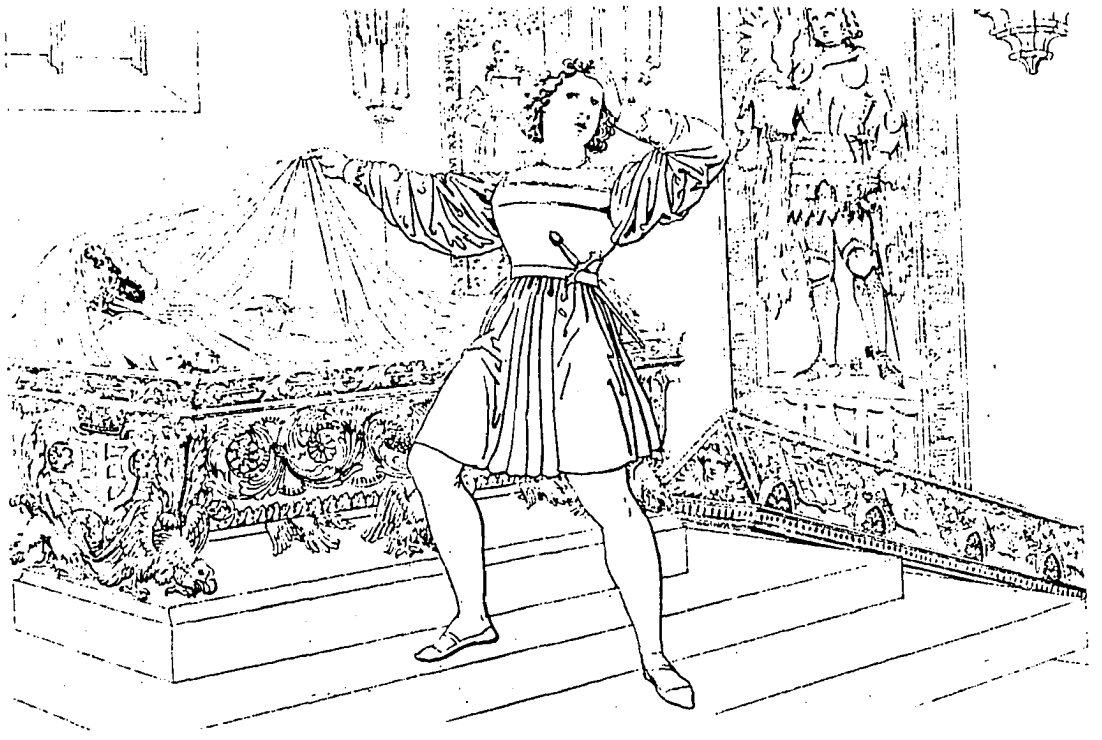

Illustration 3. Carl Heideloff, Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient as Romeo in Bellini's I capuleti ed i montecchi at Nuremberg, 1835 etching [Wagner: a Documentary Study, pl. 23].

[90] Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, I, 9.

[91] Ibid., VIII, 268.

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The daughter of an actor-director father and a tragedienne mother, Schröder-Devrient was the principal dramatic soprano at the Dresden Hoftheater from 1823 to 1847. She toured extensively and established an international reputation for her Leonora, which she had studied with Beethoven in 1822. Her acting was universally admired, but her vocal quality, particularly in the last decade of her career, had its critics.[92] Berlioz, who heard her at Dresden in 1842, found her "upper register threadbare, [her] voice somewhat unwieldy but powerful [and] dramatic," her pitch "flat," and her spoken interjections "grotesque."[93] Undoubtedly, dramatic appeal was more important to her than beauty of tone, and this is of considerable importance to the understanding of Wagner's interpretative principles. Schröder-Devrient taught Wagner how to find the right tempo and execution for Beethoven's works by applying the style of dramatic song to them,[94] and thereby she was a crucial influence on his development as a conductor.

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[92] For an account of her career, see Carl Hagemann, Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1947).

[93] Berlioz, Memoirs, 327, 322.

[94] Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 273-274; for a more detailed discussion of her influence on Wagner, see below, Chapter V, p. 339-342.

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From the years between his debut in 1834 and his appointment as Kapellmeister to Dresden in 1843, Wagner saw a number of prominent conductors in performance. In 1836, he saw Schneider at Dessau, Guhr at Frankfurt, and Spontini at Berlin, as well as opera performances in Nuremberg, Karlsbad, and Wiesbaden; in 1839 he saw Habeneck at Paris. Schneider and Guhr are not mentioned in Die rote Brieftasche or the Autobiographische Skizze, but in Über das Dirigiren he recalled them as the last of the "pedant" Kapellmeisters, from a time "when the highest tasks for the orchestra were to be found in one of Mozart's scores"; their type was "steady, strict, despotic, and,above all, coarse."[95] When anything later than Mozart was attempted, Wagner thought these conductors inadequate: in Mein Leben he wrote that hearing Schneider direct Beethoven's 5th Symphony was like "finding an alarming and frightening problem."[96] Music at Karlsbad he thought "wretched" and Nuremberg he noted "had a very limited repertoire"; Wiesbaden brought no comment at

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[95] Ibid. VIII, 262: "Als die höchsten Ausgaben für das Orchester in einer Mozart'schen Partitur enthalten waren, stand an der Spitze desselben der eigentliche deutsche Kapellmeister . . . sicher, streng, despotisch, und namentlich grob."

[96] Wagner, Mein Leben, 110: ". . . als ein beängstigendes und abschreckendes Problem empfand."

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all.[97] These comments are corroborated by other observers; Spohr, for example, found the orchestra at Nuremberg "remarkably bad."[98] None of these experiences had positive influence on Wagner's conducting.

The same could not be said of Wagner's experience of Spontini and Habeneck. The only mention of Spontini in his early writings is his comment, in a letter to his mother, that Spontini would not perform Das Liebesverbot,[99] but in Mein Leben he recalls a performance of Spontini's Fernand Cortez (1809) at Berlin in 1836, conducted by the composer:

> The spirit of it [the performance] struck me in an almost unknown way . . . which could only approximately approach that which Schröder-Devrient had made upon me, still so completely new was the extraordinarily precise, fiery, and richly-organized assemblage of the whole to me. I gained a new opinion of the peculiar dignity of large theatrical presentations which, in all their

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[97] Wagner, Mein Leben, 112-113.

[98] Spohr, Autobiography, I, 211. For further information on music in these towns at the time, see August Schmidt, Musikalische Reise-Momente auf einer Wanderung durch Nord-deutschland (Hamburg: Schuberth, 1846).

[99] Wagner, letter to Johanne Rosine Geyer (May 31, 1836), Sämtliche Briefe, I, 281.

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> parts, could be raised through penetrating rhythm to a singularly incomparable artistic genre.[100]

Spontini was a fierce taskmaster, renowned for his orchestral discipline and precision, which he acquired through persistent drilling and unlimited rehearsal.[101] Dorn wrote of his "forte like a hurricane, piano like a whisper, crescendo that makes one unconsciously open one's eyes wider, decrescendo giving the effect of magical exhaustion."[102] These startling effects and the relentless methods by which they were achieved made a lasting impression on Wagner.

François-Antoine Habeneck (1781-1849) is mentioned in Wagner's early correspondence only in connection with his rehearsing Wagner's overtures. In the Autobiographische

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[100] Wagner, Mein Leben, 133: "Der Geist derselben überraschte mich auf fast ungekannte Weise . . . die sich nur annähernd derjenigen, welche die Schröder-Devrient auf mich gemacht hatte, vergleichen konnte, so was mir doch das ausserordentlich präzise, feurige und reichorganisierte Ensemble des Ganzen durchaus neu. Ich gewann eine neue Ansicht von der eigentümlichen Würde grosser theatralischer Vorstellungen, welche in allen ihren Teilen durch scharfe Rhythmik zu einem eigentümlichen, unvergleichlichen Kunstgenre sich steigern konnten."

[101] Carl Friedrich von Ledebur, "Spontini," Tonkünstler-Lexikon Berlins von der ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart (Berlin: Ludwig Rauh, 1861) 559-571.

[102] Heinrich Dorn, Aus meinem Leben: musikalische Skizze, 3 vols. (Berlin: B. Behrs Buchhandlung, 1870) I, 2.

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Skizze, however, Habeneck's performances with the Société des Concerts orchestra at the Paris Conservatoire are described as "the only thing of noteworthiness for a musician that Paris contains."[103] Wagner attended Habeneck's rehearsals of Beethoven's Choral Symphony in November 1839; in Über das Dirigiren he wrote of them:

> Here it then dawned on me, like scales [falling] from my eyes, what the performance would depend on, and immediately I understood what formed the secret of a successful solution to the problem.[104]

In Mein Leben he recalled:

> The image of this wonderful work, conceived by me in my youthful rapture, before it had been completely obliterated for me through the slaughter [of] the same by the Leipzig orchestra under the trusty Pohlenz' direction,now stood before me as clear as day, as if [one could] grasp its hands.[105]

An outstanding violinist, Habeneck was Chef d'or-

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[103]Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, I, 16: "Das einzige, was Paris von Beachtungswertem für den Musiker enthält . . ."

[104]Ibid., VIII, 271: "Hier fiel es mir denn wie Schuppen von den Augen, was auf den Vortrag ankäme, und sogleich verstand ich, was hier das Geheimnis der glücklichen Lösung der Aufgabe ausmachte."

[105]Wagner, Mein Leben, 185: "Das in meiner Jugendschwärmerei von mir geahnte Bild von diesem wunderbaren Werke, nachdem es mir durch die Hinrichtung desselben durch das Leipziger Orchester unter des biedren Pohlenz' Leitung gänzlich verwischt worden war, nun sonnenhell wie mit den Händen greifbar vor mir stand."

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chestre at the Paris Opéra from 1824 to 1846. He conducted with a violin bow and from a first violin part, as may be seen from a woodcut attributed to "H. K." (possibly the Dresden painter Herbert König [1820-1876]) in the Leipzig Illustrirte Zeitung (Ill. 4), where he sits at the apron of the stage, violin bow raised so that the players behind him can see. A similar position is shown in a caricature of the Opéra orchestra by the genre painter and etcher Célestin François Leboeuf (known as Nanteuil, 1813-1873), although here the artist places the bow in the wrong hand (Ill. 5). Conducting with a violin bow from the stage apron was more common in France than elsewhere; it was also used, for example, at the Théâtre Italien, as may be seen in a woodcut by a certain P. S. Germain[106] for the Illustrirte Zeitung (Ill. 6), where the concertmaster is shown standing--presumably directing the instruments while the Chef directs the voices. At the Opéra, Habeneck achieved great precision and finesse in his performances: the English music critic Henry Fothergill Chorley (1808-1872), who heard the Opéra in 1836,

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106 Unless this was the composer Pierre Germain (1817-1891), this artist is unknown. It could not have been the painter Jean-Baptist-Louis Germain (1782-1842), who died the previous year; see Dictionnaire de biographie française, 15+ vols., ed. M. Prevost, Roman d'Amat and H. Tribout de Morembert (Paris: Librarie Letouzey, 1933-) XV, 1325.

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Illustration 4. (?) Herbert König, Halévy's Charles VI at the Paris Opéra, 1843 woodcut, detail of the orchestra [Leipzig Illustrirte Zeitung I (1843), in Oper, ed. H. C. Wolf, Bd. IV/1 of Musikgeschichte in Bildern, ed. Heinrich Besseler and Werner Bachmann (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1970) 168].

Illustration 6. P. S. Germain, Donizetti's Don Pasquale at the Théâtre Italien, Salle Ventadour, 1843 woodcut, detail of the orchestra [Leipzig, Illustrirte Zeitung I (1843), in Oper, ed. Wolf., 177].

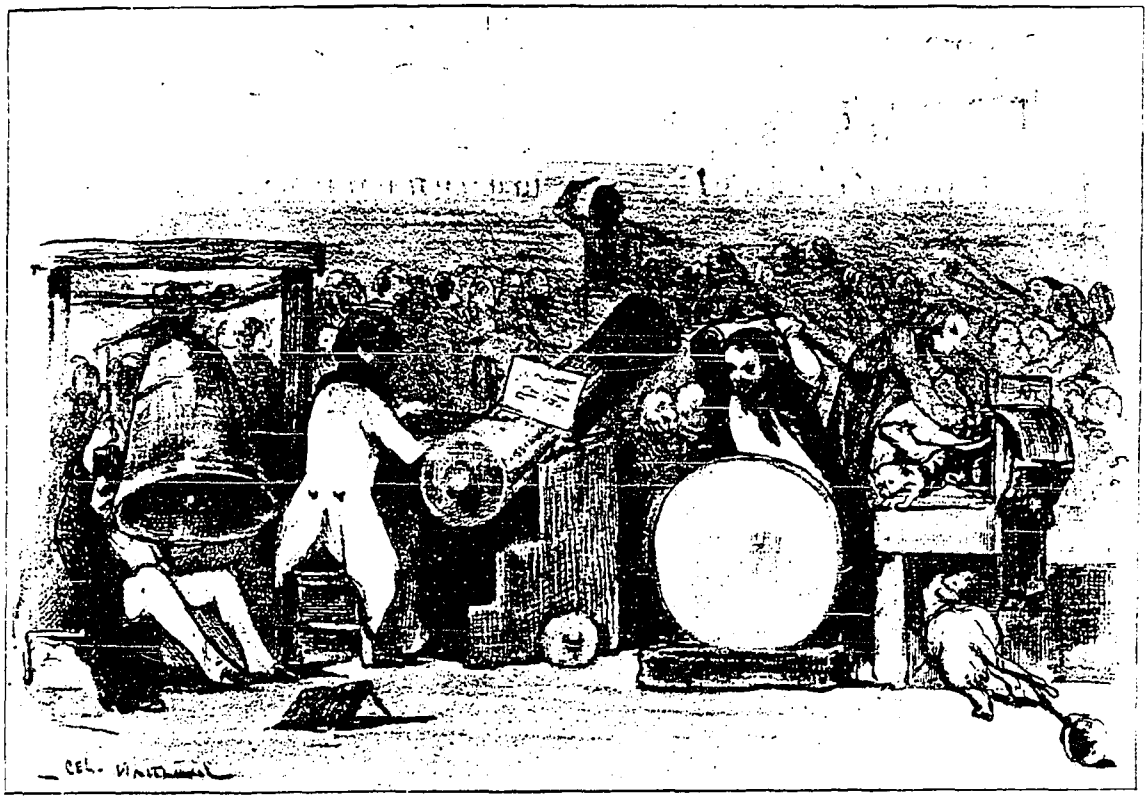

Illustration 5. Célestin Nanteuil, "Instruments nouveaux qui seront bientôt introduits dans l'orchestre de l'Opéra," 1840 lithograph [Yane Fromrich, Musique et caricature en France au XIXe siècle (Geneva: Editions Minkoff, 1977) 132].

described the orchestra as "a machine, in short, in perfect order, and under the guidance of experience and intellect;--for these, as regards French music, are thoroughly personified in M. Habeneck."[107]

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[107] Henry F. Chorley, Music and Manners in France and Germany: a Series of Travelling Sketches, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Brown & Green, 1844) I, 17.

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It was through Habeneck that Beethoven's symphonies gained a wide following in France. The student orchestra of the Conservatoire, which he took over in 1807, and the Concerts Spirituels, which he took over in 1818, both gave Paris premières of Beethoven's works, and the Société des Concerts, which he established in 1828 from among the best professionals in Paris, performed all the Beethoven symphonies and repeated most of them every year. With the Société, through often remarkably numerous rehearsals, Habeneck achieved a homogeneity of tone and polish of execution that were unknown in a concert orchestra at that time: Chorley called it "the most perfect orchestra in Europe," although he found their "exquisite finish and exactness of laying note on note" not to his taste for the performance of Beethoven, which he felt needed more expressiveness and "solidity."[108] Their dedication revealed Beethoven in a way unknown in Germany: the composer-conductor Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885) recalled that Beethoven performances he had heard at Weimar as a boy had made little impression on him, but the Société concerts "first showed me what could be done with a magnificently and conscientiously rehearsed orchestra."[109] Surprising as it seems today,

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[108] Chorley, Music and Manners, III, 66-67.

[109] Ferdinand Hiller, Künstlerleben (Cologne, 1880) 9, cited in Newman, Life of Wagner, I, 130-131.

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Habeneck conducted Beethoven symphonies in the same way he conducted at the Opéra--with a violin bow and from a violin part.[110] Another woodcut by Germain, evidently of the première by the violinst Camillo Sivori (1815-1894) of his own Violin Concerto on January 20, 1843 (Ill. 7),[111] shows Habeneck in action with the Société.

It was not Habeneck's opera conducting but his concerts that affected Wagner. In the Autobiographische Skizze, Wagner says the Opéra left him "entirely unsatisfied,"[112] but this may not have been due to Habeneck. During his time in Paris, Wagner was often in desperate financial straits; he was hardly able to frequent the Opéra. In Mein Leben he says that, during his three years in Paris, he went to the Opéra no more than four times,[113] and nowhere in

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[110] For more information on Habeneck's work, see Antoine Elwart, Histoire de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire Imperial de Musique (Paris: Librairie Castel, 1860).

[111] The woodcut, which appeared in L'Illustration on April 15, 1843, shows a violin concerto in performance. The only concert in the previous months at which a violin concerto was performed was that on January 20; see programs in Elwart, Histoire de la Société, 212. Furthemore, the hair of the soloist is recognizable from Degobert's lithograph of Sivori; reproduced in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) XVII, 357.

[112] Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, I, 15: "Die grosse Pariser Oper liess mich gänzlich unbefriedigt . . . "

[113] Idem., Mein Leben, 217.

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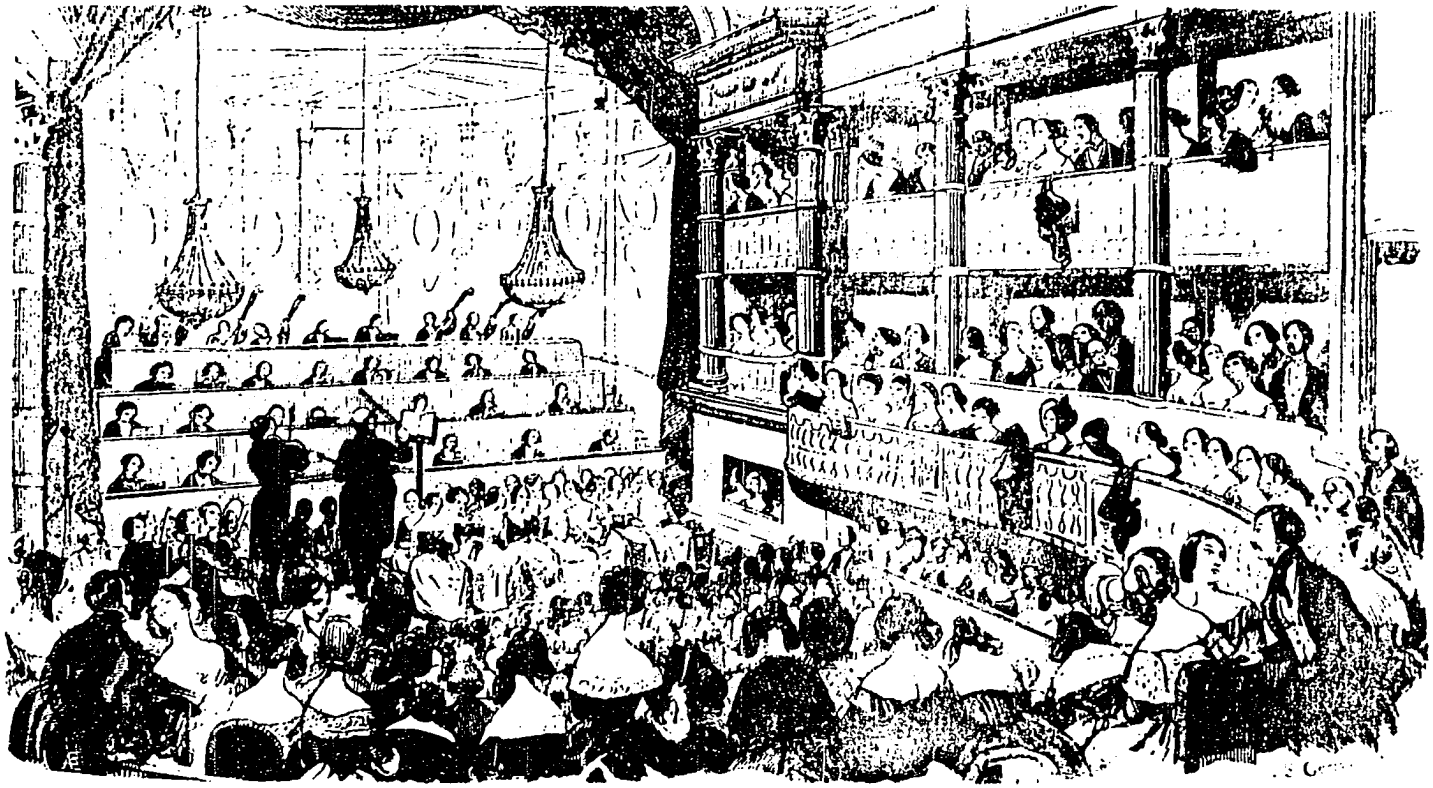

Illustration 7. P. S. Germain, Habeneck Conducting the Société des Concerts Orchestra, 1843 woodcut [L'Illustration I (April 15, 1843) 101, in Konzert öffentliche Musikdarbietung vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert, ed. Heinrich W. Schwab, Bd. IV/1 of Musikgeschichte in Bildern, ed. Heinrich Besseler and Werner Bachmann (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1970) 51].

his writings does he mention having seen the Chef of the Opéra Comique, Narcisse Girard (1797-1860), or the Chef of the Théâtre Italien, Théophile Tilmant (1799-1878). It was at rehearsals of the Société that he was able to observe French conductors, and it was there, according to Über das Dirigiren, that he learned from Habeneck the importance to the performance of Beethoven's works of "perfect evenness," polished to the point of "dynamic monotony."[114]

Significantly, in recalling the artists, events, and ideas that influence him, Wagner never mentions baton technique save in disparaging terms. If he ever read Berlioz' essay on conducting or other discussions of time-beating patterns, he was silent about it. It was not the sight but the sound of a conductor that interested him; with Spontini, for example, it was not until 1844, eight years after he heard Fernand Cortez at Berlin, that he noticed Spontini had a highly idiosyncratic baton technique.[115]

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[114]Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 272: "so vollendet gleichmässig ausgeführt . . . der Eindruck der dynamischen Monotonie ... ."

[115]See below, Chapter IV, p. 226-227.

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While a number of other musicians influenced Wagner's interpretative principles, no model for his performance technique can be singled out: from his early years, he seems to have had little interest in learning the prevailing methods of time-beating.

Conclusions

Wagner remained convinced that skill in conducting was best developed the way he had acquired it: not so much through formal training as through observing others and experiencing the theater. Evidence of his conviction was his own teaching of conducting. He would occasionally conduct to show his pupils "the most essential points," but he put most of his effort into arranging engagements in which they could gain experience.[116] In 1850, for example, when Bülow and the young writer Karl Ritter (1830-1891) became his pupils, they were set to work at once conducting in the Zurich Theater. With Ritter, who was nearsighted and not particularly musical, this method proved disastrous;[117] with

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[116] Wagner, Mein Leben, 467.

[117] Ibid., 464-467

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Bülow it was more successful, but he was already an accomplished practical musician and prodigiously gifted when he arrived in Zurich.[118] Richter, Mottl, Levi, and Seidl, too, were all accomplished musicians--and in some cases experienced conductors--when they came to Wagner.

Another reason why Wagner's method succeeded with Bülow but not with Ritter was that Bülow, like Wagner, had an enormous self-confidence and force of personality which Ritter lacked. When Wagner voiced his skepticism of the value of Conservatory training for conductors, he no doubt underestimated the extent to which his power of personality had carried him through his early conducting engagements. Being unable to demonstrate his interpretations on an instrument made his word-of-mouth explanations all-important; and, by all accounts, his inspiring explanations more than compensated for his practical deficiencies.[119]

His power of personality notwithstanding, Wagner's formation as a conductor may be summarized as follows:

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[118]See Marie von Bülow, Hans von Bülow in Leben und Wort (Leipzig: J. Engelhorn, 1925) 26-30.

[119]See below, Chapter IV; for example, p. 238.

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1. Diviš Weber, conducting at Prague in 1832, influenced his later choice of very rapid tempos in classical allegros. Weber took Mozart's operatic overtures at the very rapid tempos he remembered from Mozart himself.

2. Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, singing in Fidelio at Leipzig in 1829, taught him to seek the right style and tempo in Beethoven's instrumental music by treating it as dramatic song. Leonora, the role for which she was most famous, she had studied with Beethoven himself.

3. Gasparo Spontini, conducting his Fernand Cortez at Berlin in 1836, influenced his later emphasis on dramatic dynamic contrasts. Spontini achieved his legendary orchestral discipline through persistent drilling and unlimited rehearsal.

4. François-Antoine Habeneck, rehearsing Beethoven's Choral Symphony at Paris in 1839, showed him the importance in orchestral performance of perfectly even piano and sustained forte tone, as well as what could be achieved with adequate rehearsal.

5. The influence of these four musicians was more significant for his development as a conductor than the scant formal training he received, and provided the essential ingredients of his later interpretative principles.

6. As was conventionally expected, Wagner's principal background as a musician was in composition. Unlike his contemporaries, however, he was barely able to manage either the violin or the piano.

7. As far as can be ascertained, his formation as a conductor included neither study nor training in baton technique. No models for his own time-beating methods can be identified: he seems to have had little interest in the prevailing time-beating conventions.

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Chapter III

WAGNER'S ORCHESTRA

In discussing the conductor's duties, nineteenth-century writers emphasized the importance of achieving the right orchestral disposition and balance. In 1802, Koch wrote that for good performance "one considers above all a good positioning of the parts, appropriate assignment of the same, [and] pure harmonizing of the instruments,"[1] and in 1835, Schilling wrote that not only the direction of rehearsals and performances but also "the positioning of the orchestra, . . . even the particular seats of the individual members themselves . . . and the Assignment [of parts] (q.v.) [was] the Kapellmeister's business."[2] Few new instruments appeared in the nineteenth-century orchestra, although many old mechanisms were improved; the English music editor and teacher

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[1]Heinrich Christian Koch, Musikalisches Lexikon welches die theoretische und praktische Tonkunst (Frankfurt am Main, 1802), reprint (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964) 827: ". . . dahin rechnet man vorzüglich, eine gute Stellung der Stimmen, eine verhältnissmässige Besetzung derselben, reine Zusammenstimmung der Instrumente . . ."

[2]Gustav Schilling, Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst, 7 vols. (Stuttgart, 1835-37, supplement 1842), reprint (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973) IV, 51: "der Stellung des Orchesters und selbst den besonderen Plätzen der einzelnen Mitglieder desselben abhängt . . . und die Besetzung (s. d.) ist Sache des Kapellmeisters."

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Ebenezer Prout (1835-1900) observed that orchestral development in his day had "consisted far less in the introduction of new instruments than in new methods of treating and combining those already in use. . . . The tendency has been continually in the direction of increased richness and fullness."[3] It was because of this increased richness in orchestral scoring in the nineteenth century that the balance and disposition of an orchestra were so important for conductors.

How Wagner arranged his orchestras is not difficult to discover. Many of his guiding principles took shape in Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend (1846), a comprehensive examination of the state of the Dresden orchestra, written when he was Kapellmeister at the Dresden Hoftheater.[4] This memorandum, addressed to the Generaldirektor of the theater, Baron August von Lüttichau (1786-1863), included more than forty recommendations, each supported by careful argument, as well as an Appendix containing tables of current and pro-

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[3]Ebenezer Prout, "The Orchestra in 1800 and in 1900," Monthly Musical Record XXVI/302 (February 1, 1896) 31.

[4]Richard Wagner, "Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend," Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 6th ed., 16 vols., ed. Hans von Wolzogen and Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1914) XII, 149-188. His letter to Lüttichau (March 2, 1848) is in idem., Sämtliche Briefe, 4+ vols., ed. Gertrude Strobel and Werner Wolf (Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1967-) II, 488-491.

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posed expenditure, which demonstrated that the cost of the proposals would be relatively small. Some of its ideas were restated on May 16, 1848, when Wagner wrote to the Saxon Minister of Education, Martin Oberländer (dates of birth and death unknown), with a proposal for the establishment of a German National Theater at Dresden.[5] Similar principles were behind his three proposals for combining the orchestras of the Zurich Aktientheater and Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft, made in September 1850, May 1853, and February 1854, during his years of exile at Zurich.[6] In addition, throughout his career he discussed the orchestra in letters, the prefaces to his works, and published articles. His principles of orchestral organization, therefore, may be reconstructed from his writings.

It is the interpretation of these principles which requires care. Concepts of "good positioning" and "appropriate assignment" were not static, as may be seen by com-

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[5] Idem., "Entwurf zur Organisation eines deutschen Nationalstheater für das Königreich Sachsen," Sämtliche Schriften, II, 233-273; idem., Sämtliche Briefe, II, 588.

[6] For the 1853 proposal, see idem., "Die Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft in Zurich," Briefe. Die Sammlung Burrell, ed. John N. Burk, commentary by Karl and Irene Geiringer (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1953) 459-463; for a description of the other proposals, see idem., Mein Leben, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: Paul List Verlag, 1976) 524-525.

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paring accounts of orchestral practice in the 1830s with those in the 1880s--the beginning and end of Wagner's career. In the earlier period, the orchestra was discussed in textbooks on composition and orchestration, such as those by the pianist-composer Carl Czerny (1791-1857),[7] the Karlsruhe conductor Ferdinand Simon Gassner (1798-1851),[8] the Würzburg conductor Joseph Fröhlich (1780-1862),[9] or the Berlin clarinettist Augustine Sunderlin (d. 1842),[10] as well as in music dictionaries such as those already mentioned (see above, Chapter II). As well, information on orchestral conditions in Germany may be found in the writings of two Frenchmen, the Paris teacher Georges Kastner (1810-1867),[11] and

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[7]Carl Czerny, School of Practical Composition (London, 1848) trans. John Bishop, reprint (New York: Da Capo, 1979).

[8]F. S. Gassner, Partiturkenntniss: ein Leitfaden zum Selbstunterricht für angehende Tonsetzer, 2 vols. (Karlsruhe: C. T. Groos, 1838).

[9]Joseph Fröhlich, Vollständige theoretische-praktische Musikschule für alle beym Orchester gebräuchliche wichtigere Instrumente (Bonn: N. Simrock, 1811); idem., Systematische Unterricht . . . Orchesterinstrumente (Würzburg, 1829).

[10]Augustine Sunderlin, Die Instrumentierung für das Orchester (Berlin: H. Wagenführs Buch- und Musikhandlung, 1828). There is also an Instrumentierungslehre (1832) by August Swoboda (d. 1856), which could not be located by the present author; see Adam Carse, "Textbooks on Orchestration before Berlioz," Music and Letters XXII/1 (January 1941) 26-31.

[11]Georges Kastner, Cours d'instrumentation considéré sous les rapports poëtiques et philosophiques de l'art (Paris: A. Meissonier, 1839).

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Berlioz: the former seems to have influenced Schilling's discussion of the orchestra, while the latter's Traité had wide influence in Germany, through its early publication in German translation.[12]

In the period following Wagner's death, the nature of the orchestra was discussed in such works as the orchestration textbooks of Prout,[13] the Swiss teacher François August Gevaert (1828-1908),[14] the English teacher Cecil Forsyth (1870-1941),[15] the revision by Richard Strauss of the orchestration textbook by Berlioz,[16] and the composition

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[12] Hector Berlioz, Treatise on Instrumentation (Paris, 1844), trans. Theodore Front (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1948); idem., The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, ed. and trans. David Cairns (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969). The German version of the Traité was translated by Alfred Dörffel (Leipzig: Heinze, 1864).

[13] Ebenezer Prout, The Orchestra, 2 vols. (London, 1897), reprint (Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1972).

[14] François August Gevaert, New Treatise on Instrumentation (1885), trans. M. Suddard (Paris: Lemoine, 1909).

[15] Cecil Forsyth, Orchestration (London, 1914), reprint (London: Macmillan, 1949).

[16] Instrumentationslehre von Hector Berlioz, rev. Richard Strauss (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1905); the Theodore Front translation (see Footnote 12 above) contains the Strauss revisions as indentations in the Berlioz text.

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textbook of the French composer Vincent d'Indy (1851-1831),[17] as well as in music dictionaries such as that of the German musicologist Hugo Riemann (1849-1919).[18] If Wagner's principles of orchestral balance and disposition are to be understood, they must be placed in the context of the practices explained in contemporary textbooks such as these.

Instrumentation and Balance

In 1836, Wagner described the orchestra of the Magdeburg Theater, the first in his regular charge, as "a strongly-manned orchestra which, when it summons its strength, performs splendidly."[19] No record of the size of the orchestra at that time has come to light, although nine years earlier it had sixteen (8,3,3,[2]) string players and thirteen wind, to which other instruments were added from the

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[17]Vincent d'Indy, Cours de composition musicale, 4 vols. (Paris, 1903), reprint (Paris: Durand, 1950). For other texts of the period, see Adam Carse, The History of Orchestration (London, 1925), reprint (New York: Dover Publications, 1964) 293.

[18]Hugo Riemann, Musik-Lexikon (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882).

[19]Wagner, "Aus Magdeburg, Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 13: "Ein stark besetztes Orchester, das, wenn es sich zusammennimmt, Vortreffliches leistet . . . "

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local military band when required.[20] In his other early appointments, Wagner had an orchestra at Königsberg of fifteen (8,3,2,2) string players which drew its wind players from the local military band,[21] and an orchestra at Riga initially of seven string and twelve wind players.[22] He incurred the wrath of the Riga director by adding five string players to the orchestra, which, he wrote, "soon proved to be a good ensemble for the opera."[23] In 1840, he wrote from Paris:

> In the most insignificant German towns . . . one will indeed count on finding everywhere an orchestra which is usually able to play symphonies quite splendidly. In towns of 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, one is certain to discover, instead of one often two or three well-organized orchestras, not even including the countless amateurs, who are often just as accomplished, if not even more highly trained as musicians, than the professionals.[24]

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[20] Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung XXIX/4 (1827) 149, cited in Adam Carse, The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz: A History of the Orchestra in the First Half of the 19th Century and of the Development of Orchestral Baton Conducting (New York: Broude Brothers, 1948) 54.

[21] Neue Zeitschrift für Musik III/49 (1835) 199, cited in Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 50.

[22] Wagner, Mein Leben, 158 (at least twelve wind players must be assumed, given the repertoire).

[23] Ibid., 158: "Für die Oper stellte sich bald ein gutes Ensemble heraus." The number added must have been five, as in 1838 there were twenty-four players, as may be gathered from the signatures on Wagner's letter to the orchestra (September 11, 1838); see idem., Sämtliche Briefe, 346-348.

[24] Idem., "Über deutsches Musikwesen," Sämtliche

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All of these comments suggest that he was more than satisfied with the state of the orchestras he worked with in the 1830s.

Compared with the orchestras of Paris or London, these forces were tiny. Certainly, after his Paris sojourn, 1839-1842, Wagner was never complacent again about such groups; but it is to German practice that these comments should be related.

1. Contemporary German Practice

A study of the instrumentation of the works Wagner was required to conduct (see Appendix I) suggests that, in this period, there were two types of orchestral scoring. The first was the ensemble used since the days of Haydn and Mozart: eight woodwind (two each of flutes, oboes, clarinets, and bassoons), four brass (two trumpets, two horns), a pair of kettledrums, and the string group. The second was the ensemble required for more recent works, in which extra instruments were added to the first group--usually a second pair of horns, three trombones, and percussion, but sometimes

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Schriften, I, 153-154: "In den unbedeutendsten Städten Deutschlands.. . . so wird man doch überall ein Orchester antreffen, das Symphonien gewöhnlich vortrefflich zu spielen versteht. In Städten von 20 bis 30,000 Einwohnern kann man darauf zählen, statt eines oft zwei bis drei wohl organisierte Orchester anzutreffen, ungezählt die zahllosen Dilettanten, die oft ebenso tüchtige, wenn nicht sogar noch gebildetere Musiker sind, als die von Profession." An Editors' Note adds that Wagner was actually referring to his time at Würzburg, where, in addition to the theater orchestra, there had been the Musikverein and Seminary orchestras.

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also a piccolo and a bass wind instrument. At first, these two types of scoring had no terms to distinguish them; Schilling described the first as "economically scored" and the second as "powerfully scored."[25] while Berlioz called them "Comic Opera" and "Grand Opera" orchestras.[26] By 1865, however, the terms Small Orchestra and Large Orchestra had gained wide acceptance; they appeared in Dommer,[27] and later in Riemann.[28] Prout made the division of orchestral instrumentation into these two types the basis of his method of teaching orchestration.[29]

A study of the instrumentation of Wagner's own operas indicates most of the further additions that were made to works for Large Orchestra in the second half of the century--cor anglais, bass clarinet, bass tuba, and harp were occasionally required, and more than two independent parts for each wind instrument were sometimes written. Dommer was aware of works in which four of each wind instrument,

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[25] Schilling, "Besetzung," Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 602: ". . . sparsam besetzt . . .stark besetzt."

[26] Berlioz, Treatise, 406.

[27] "Besetzung," H. C. Koch's Musikalisches Lexikon, rev. ed . Arrey von Dommer (Heidelberg: J. C. Mohr, 1865) 107: "Grosses Orchester . . . kleines Orchester."

[28] Riemann, Musik-Lexikon, 652.

[29] Prout, Orchestra, II, 55.

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though "belonging to the same category . . . are not mere doublings, but independent parts."[30] But German orchestras generally lagged behind their French and English counterparts in the adoption of new instruments, and even in Riemann's time no third category was felt necessary to describe these extensions.

The development of two categories of instrumentation had far-reaching consequences for the balance of the orchestra. It had long been recognized that the size of the auditorium and the character of the music should influence the number of string players used in performance. Schilling wrote:

> The correct balance depends fundamentally upon various partly internal, partly external considerations. For, with regard firstly to the internal nature of the piece being performed, anyone would find the performance of a pompous symphony, or music such as Beethoven's Wellington's Victory and the like, by an orchestra provided with three or four violins just as ridiculous as the performance of a tender pastorale by an orchestra with thirty violins, six basses, and so on. It is equally clear, to cite also an example of external considerations, that a larger complement [of players] is more appropriate in a larger space than in a smaller one, that in a very large hall a piece poorly provided [with players] immediately dissipates, whereas an overly powerful force in confined spaces causes one's ears to ring.[31]

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[30] Koch's Lexikon, rev. Dommer, 107: ". . . derselben Gattung angehörenden Instrumenten, die aber selbständige Stimmen, nicht blosse Verdoppelungen sind."

[31] Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 599: "Dies

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The same issues had been discussed by Koch in 1802.[32] For Koch, however, at a time when few works exceeded the instrumentation of the Small Orchestra, the number of string players "one generally assumes" in performance varied between fourteen and eighteen.[33] With the advent of the Large Orchestra, such a force was hopelessly inadequate.

Therefore, for the two types of instrumentation, it became common practice to use different numbers of string players. Under Besetzung, Schilling gave details of two string groups, one of sixteen to twenty players, the other of thirty-three to thirty-six players, and he discussed even larger groups.[34] His string forces are the same as

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rechte Maass hängt aber an sich selbst wieder von mehrerlei theils inneren, theils äusseren Umständen ab. Denn, um zuerst vom inneren Wesen des aufzuführenden Tonwerks zu reden, so würde wohl Jeder die Aufführung einer pompösen Sinfonie, oder einer Musik wie etwa die Beethovensche Schlacht von Vittoria u. dgl., in einem mit drei oder vier Geigen besetzten Orchester lächerlich finden, wie umgekehrt aber auch die Aufführung eines zarten Schäferspiels mit einem Orchester von 30 Violinen, 6 Contrabässen, u.s.w. Ebenso einleuchtend ist, um auch von äusseren Rücksichten ein Beispiel anzuführen, dass in ein grosses Lokal eine stärkere Besetzung gehört, als in ein kleineres, das in einem sehr grossen Saale eine ärmlich besetzte Musik sich gleichsam verliert, eine allzureichliche Tonmasse hingegen in zu beschränkten Räumen die Ohren gellen macht. . . ."

[32] Koch, "Besetzung," Musikalisches Lexikon, 237-240.

[33] Ibid, 237: "Man nimmt gemeiniglich an . . ."

[34] Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 600.

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those in Kastner.[35] Czerny listed groups of twenty-three to thirty-six string players;[36] Berlioz gave three groups--of thirty-six for Small Orchestra, fifty-one for Large Orchestra, as well as an ideal orchestra of eighty-four and a festival orchestra of over 240.[37] It is significant that, in his 1905 revision, Strauss made no changes to these figures.[38] Gassner gave figures of twenty-one or twenty-two for Small Orchestra,[39] and Dommer gave "forty to forty-five" for Large Orchestra (although his figures total only forty to forty-two).[40] It was widely recognized, therefore, that

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[35]Kastner, Cours d'instrumentation, 4: "Le plus petit Orchestre pour etre complet devra comprendre au moins: 6 1ers. Violons, 4 ou 5 2es. Violons, 2 ou 3 Altos, 2 ou 3 Violoncelles, 2 Contrebasses. Voici une autre combinaison: 12 1ers. Violons, 10 à 12 2es. Violons, 4 Altos, 4 Violoncelles, 3 Contrebasses."

[36]Czerny, Practical Composition, III, 13.

[37]Berlioz, Treatise, 406-408.

[38]Ibid., 406-408. In this edition (trans. Theodore Front), the revisions of Strauss are distinguished in the text from the original of Berlioz by indentation and a black border.

[39]Gassner, Partiturkenntniss, I, 7.

[40]H. C. Koch's Lexikon, rev. Dommer, 108: ". . . einen etwa aus 40 bis 45 Mann bestehenden Geigerchor zu rechnen, nämlich 12 Erste und 10 Zweite Violinen, 6 Violen, 8 Violoncelli und 4 bis 6 Contrabässe."

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a small increase in the brass instrumentation--the chief difference between the Small and Large Orchestras--required nearly double the number of string players for good balance.

Throughout the period of Wagner's career, the assumption behind every effort at musical balance was that all parts should be equal. For correct balance, according to Schilling, "the general rule applies that all the parts shall be filled in like proportions."[41] The same assumption was made by later writers: Prout wrote that "in a well-appointed orchestra, the string parts will be approximately of the same strength."[42] Evidence of the principle was the composition of choirs, in which equal numbers of voices were assigned to each part. Berlioz gave approximately equal forces for three-part choirs of 126 (46,40,40) and 360 (140, 100,120) voices,[43] and Schilling suggested that basses and altos should be "a little more numerous" only because the

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[41]Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 599: "Hierfür gilt die allgemeine Regel, dass alle Stimmen in gleichem Verhältnisse, d.h. so besetzt werden."

[42]Prout, Orchestra, II, 81.

[43]Berlioz, Treatise, 407-408.

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former "lacked strength in the lower range" and the latter were "mostly not real contraltos."[44] In these choirs. the parts were undoubtably equally balanced. Similarly, the balance between choir and orchestra, and within the orchestra between wind and stringed instruments,was to be equal. In 1828, the critic and scholar François Joseph Fétis (1784-1871) reported that, in Large Orchestra works, all over Europe "the proportions of the orchestra [were] broken" where the stringed instruments had "not yet been augmented."[45] In 1901, Prout wrote an article deploring the popularity of huge festival choirs; to achieve "proper balance" for many nineteenth-century works, he wrote, the ratio of orchestra to choir had to be "about two to three, sometimes as much as three to four."[46]

These numerical adjustments were the main substance of most discussions of musical balance in the nine-

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[44] Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 600: ". . . nur etwa die Bassstimmen, weil es ihnen in den tiefern Tönen häufig an Kraft gebricht, noch etwas zahlreicher als die übringen, und eben so auch die Altstimme, wenn sie, wie doch grösstentheils der Fall ist, nicht von wirklichen Altsängerinnen. . . gesungen wird."

[45] M. Fétis, "On the Revolutions of the Orchestra," The Harmonicon [N. S.] 9 (September, 1828) 196.

[46] Ebenezer Prout, "The Proper Balance of Chorus and Orchestra," Monthly Musical Record XXXI/362 (February 1, 1901) 26-27.

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teenth century. Other methods of regulating the balance, such as by modification of dynamic markings, were seldom mentioned. In Wagner's detailed account of Spontini's 1844 rehearsals at Dresden, for example, there is no mention of dynamic modification; Spontini simply prescribed the number of string basses he required, adjusted the orchestral seating, andthen devoted his attention to the rhythmic ensemble.[47] In the scores of this period, dynamics were still marked largely as they had been in the days of Haydn--a forte passage was marked forte in all parts, and a crescendo was written at the same rate for wind as it was for strings.

As scoring became more complex, conductors must have begun to modify dynamic markings, for more sophisticated dynamic combinations began to appear in the works themselves. The Freischütz Overture was one of the earliest works in which a differentiation of the dynamic markings for the leading and accompanying voices was made in the score. In 1835, Schilling was aware of the possibility of dynamic modification:

> Of course, the composer hereby places the fate of his composition to a great extent in the hands . . . of the conductor, who must know how to add or reduce at the

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47 Wagner, Mein Leben, 292-303.

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> appropriate places, and to direct those executants placed under his scepter towards moderation where the composer himself was already too abundant. . As firm regulators and masterful conductors in this regard, we have found, compared with others alive today, that in particular Kapellmeisters Lindpaintner in Stuttgart, Marschner in Hanover, and Friedrich Schneider in Dessau have proven themselves.[48]

Instances of differentiation in dynamic markings were more frequent in later scores; two examples from Wagner's works are the decrescendo marks in the brass parts at the fortissimo passages of the Rienzi Overture (Ex. 1) and the modification of the string and wind chords to piano at the entry of the theme, marked forte, in the Flying Dutchman Overture (Ex. 2). By the end of the century, differentiation of dynamics among various instruments was a standard practice in composition: in his composition textbook, d'Indy gave routine methods for balancing the various families of instruments in a general orchestral crescendo.[49]

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[48]Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 601: "Freilich legt der Tonsetzer auch hiebei das Schicksal seiner Dichtung zum grossen Theile auch die Hände . . . des Direktors, der es verstehen muss, am rechten Orte hier zuzugeben und nachzulassen, und die unter seinem Scepter stehenden Executanten anzuhalten, da zu mässigen, wo der Componist an sich schon zu voll war. . . . Als bedachtsame Ordner und meisterhafte Directoren in dieser Hinsicht haben wir unter den Lebenden neben Anderen besonders die Capellm. Lindpaintner in Stuttg., Marschner in Hanover und Fr. Schneider in Dessau bewährt gefunden."

[49]D'Indy, Cours de composition, II/2, 65: "Le seul crescendo et le seul diminuendo véritablement efficaces à l'Orchestre consistent dans l'adjonction et le retrait successifs des diverses Familles, suivant un ordre qui ne peut guère différer de celui-ci: 1. Cors; 2. Clarinettes; 3. Hautbois; 4. Flûtes; 5. Trompettes; 6. Trombones."

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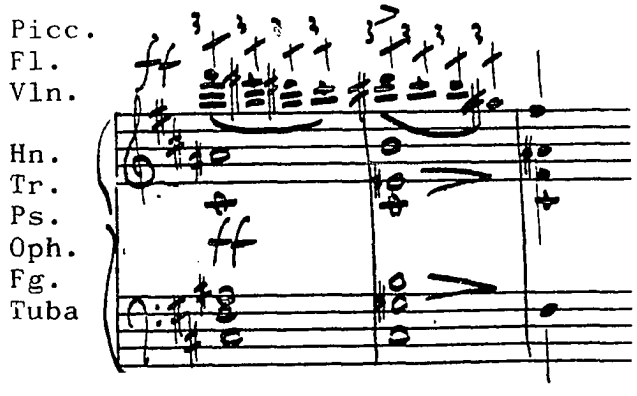
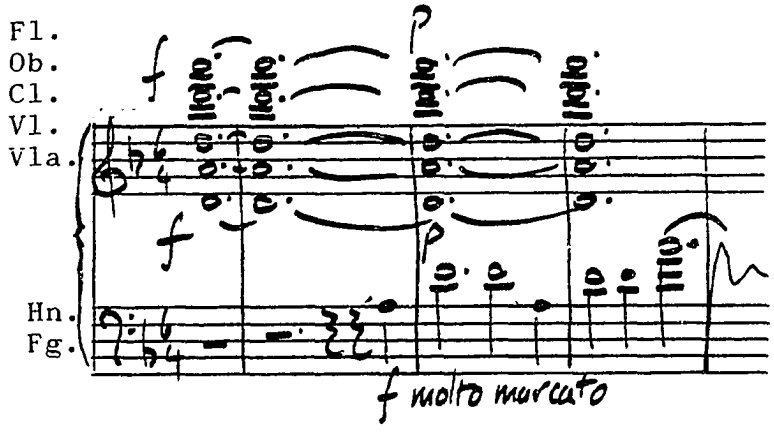
Example 1. Richard Wagner, Rienzi, Overture, measures 87-89, reduction of orchestral score.

Example 2. Richard Wagner, The Flying Dutchman, Overture, measures 1-4, reduction of orchestral score.



In very large orchestras, in which dynamic modification was insufficient, the wind parts might be doubled, but only in those passages where they would "otherwise be swallowed up by the mass of tone produced by the other instru-

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ments"; for this purpose, special ripieno wind parts were to be written.[50] While Schilling mentioned this practice, Dommer wrote that orchestras large enough to require it should be avoided, for "finesse of execution unavoidably suffered" on such a scale.[51] Evidently, doubling the wind parts eventually fell from favor; it is not mentioned by Riemann or later writers.

In some passages, according to Schilling, balance could be achieved only by editing the score, for composers occasionally made errors. A common fault was "to deem it possible to double the forte of the chorus by an equal forte in the accompaniment"; Schilling cited the choruses of Rossini's William Tell and Chelard's Macbeth as cases "where the eternal blaring of the brass instruments and the bass drum plainly sets all the words and tones of the singing into the background and thereby destroys the chorus' true effect."[52] Later, a new problem of balance arose when works of Haydn and Mozart, written for Small Orchestra, were played by orches-

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[50] Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 600.

[51] Koch's Lexikon, rev. Dommer, 108: ". . . denn mit der steigenden Masse sinkt unvermeidlich die Feinheit der Ausführung, besonders wenn man so weit geht, dass Verdoppelungen der Blasinstrumente nothwendig werden. . ."

[52] Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 601: ". . . das die Tonsetzer selbst meinen, das Forte des Chors durch gleiches Forte der Begleitung verdoppeln zu können;" ".. . wo das ewige Schmettern der Blechinstrumente und die grosse Trommel alles Wort und allen Ton des Gesanges offenbar in den Hintergrund stellen und somit die eigentliche Wirkung des Chors vernichtet."

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tras constructed chiefly for Large Orchestra instrumentation. In 1899, Prout reported that the practice, then common, of performing Classical symphonies with string groups of more than sixty was "decidedly unfavourable" and recommended reduction of the string group to fewer than thirty for such works; nonetheless, in a few cases, he approved of editing the scores.[53]

Within the string group of the orchestras of Wagner's day, it is clear that the parts were not equally balanced, despite claims to the contrary. Figures given by Schilling, both for Small Orchestra (6-4,2,2,2 or 6-5,3,3,3) and Large Orchestra (12-10,4,4,3 or 12-12,4,4,4),[54] suggest a strong predominance of first and second violins over violas, cellos and basses. Kastner's figures were the same as Schilling's,[55] and similar proportions were given by Gassner (6-6, 4,3,2 or 6-6,4,3,3),[56] and Czerny (6-6,4,4,3 or 10-10,6,6,4).[57] Dommer's figures were slightly stronger in cellos than the

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[53]Prout, Orchestra, II, 84. The alterations he endorsed were those proposed by Wagner for Beethoven's Choral Symphony; see ibid., II, 95.

[54]Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 600.

[55]See above, Footnote 35.

[56]Gassner, Partiturkenntniss, I, 7.

[57]Czerny, School of Practical Composition, III, 13.

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others,[58] but only Berlioz gave figures that approach the modern proportions of the orchestra (9-8,6,7,6; 15-14,10,12, [8]; 21-20,18,15,10; 120,40,45,18-15-4).[59] Schilling proposed that, as the group was enlarged, two or three cellos be added for each additional bass while other parts be kept in the same proportions as before.[60] In orchestras which followed this proposal, the position for cellos would have improved; generally, however, all of these balances favored the violin.

By the end of Wagner's career, the balance of the modern orchestra was gaining ground. Riemann did not give proportions for a string group, but Prout gave figures (16-16,10,10,10 or 16-16,12,12,12) which approach the modern ratio of three violas, three cellos, and two basses for every four first violins,[61] and Strauss did not alter the already modern figures of Berlioz. Nonetheless, for most of Wagner's career, a balanced orchestra was somewhat deficient in string basses and very thin in cellos and violas, and there is little evidence that contemporary writers thought their pro-

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[58]See above, Footnote 40. [59]Berlioz, Treatise, 406.

[60]Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 600.

[61]Prout, Orchestra, II, 84. For balances in the modern orchestra, see the tables in Heinz Becker, "Das neuere Orchester," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 16 vols., ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-1979) X, 192ff.

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portions were uneven. Schilling thought that, where correct balance was lacking, "being so to speak stifled" was "a sad fate borne mostly by the second violins and in part by the violas."[62] It seems that a strong violin section with subordinate lower parts was the Klangideal of a string group.

In practice, orchestral balances were not always as described in contemporaneous textbooks. Illness, absenteeism, and incompetence were common. German players were poorly paid, and often had to supplement their orchestral work to support their families: in 1842 at Stuttgart, Berlioz found that only half the players who attended the rehearsal appeared at the performance,[63] and in 1846 at Dresden, Wagner had five violinists who were away ill more frequently than they were present.[64] Viola players usually transferred to the instrument from the violin at an advanced age, when they could no longer manage the violin parts; their instruments, which they had clipped to the smaller size they were used to, lacked the tone and resonance of the modern equivalent.[65]

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[62] Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 599: ". . . erdrückt und gleichsam erstickt werde. In unseren Orchestern wird dies traurige Loos meist der zweiten Violine und der Violenstimme zu Theile."

[63] Berlioz, Memoirs, 276.

[64] Wagner, "Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 163.

[65] Anthony Baines, European and American Musical Instruments (London: B. T. Batesford, 1966) 11-15.

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Principal parts in all instruments were allocated by seniority and usually for life; Berlioz wrote from Dresden:

> The ancient bass player who shares the desk with him [the first cellist] can no longer play some of the notes and indeed can barely support the weight of his instrument. I came across many instances in Germany of this mistaken regard for the old. Kapellmeisters tend to let them keep their jobs long after their physical strength has failed, and even to leave them there till death itself supervenes. More than once I had to harden my heart and ruthlessly insist on the replacement of one of these poor invalids.[66]

Orchestral rosters, therefore, could not be taken literally; in practice, the forces were not always so ample as the figures suggested.

Furthermore, long after Fétis' complaint, there were still many orchestras whose numbers had not been increased to meet the demands of Large Orchestra instrumentation. In 1843, Berlioz was pleased to find a force of twenty-nine (8-8,4,5,4) string players "in every German town of second rank,"[67] but even during the 1850s, performances of Wagner's operas, with their expansive instrumentation, were not unknown with forces smaller than this. In 1850, for example, Liszt had to give the première of Lohengrin with the

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[66] Berlioz, Memoirs, 305.

[67] Ibid., 270.

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Weimar orchestra, which had twenty-one (5-6,3,4,3) string players. In this performance, the wind players outnumbered the stringed instruments;[68] the consequences can well be imagined.

2. Wagner's Principles

By contemporary standards, therefore, Wagner's orchestras in the 1830s had too few string players for Large Orchestra works, and at Riga, even after his enlargements, the orchestra had too few strings for good balance in either Small or Large Orchestra works. His complacency about these orchestras was perhaps resignation in the knowledge that, with their precarious financial structures, further reinforcement was impossible; perhaps, owing to his inexperience, he knew no better. Certainly, after hearing Habeneck's Société des Concerts and Opéra orchestras, his attitudes changed: from 1843 onwards, after his return from Paris to Germany, he regularly registered protests about the standards of orchestras in his charge. Before his appointment as Kapell-

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[68] Peter Raabe, Liszts Leben (Stuttgart, 1931) 100, cited in Ernest Newman, The Life of Richard Wagner, 4 vols., (London, 1937), reprint (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976) I, 135-136. For further details of orchestral strength in this period, see Becker, "Das neuere Orchester," 192ff.

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meister at Dresden formally commenced, he informed the Generaldirektor that there was much in the discipline and organization of the orchestra he would want to change in the light of his experience and knowledge of the Paris orchestras.[69]

Wagner formulated principles of orchestral balance in his 1846 memorandum on the Dresden orchestra. They were based, not only on a recognition of two types of orchestral instrumentation and on a use of the terms Small and Large Orchestra, but on a further refinement of his own invention. He subdivided the types of instrumentation into another two categories: along with the Large Orchestra for large operas and Small Orchestra for "light comic operas," he recognized a Medium Orchestra for operas "which permit, by virtue of the character of the instrumentation, a somewhat reduced complement of string instruments," and a separate category, smaller than Small Orchestra, for incidental music in plays.[70]

For each of these four categories, Wagner advocated

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[69]Wagner, letter to August von Lüttichau (January 5, 1843) Sämtliche Briefe, I, 199.

[70]Wagner, Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 156-157: "bei denen das Orchester dem Charakter der Instrumentation nach eine etwas geringere Besetzung der Streichinstrumente zulässt."

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different forces of string players. For Large Orchestra, he proposed thirty-five (20,6,5,4) to forty-five (12-12,8,7,5/6) players; for Medium Orchestra, he proposed twenty-eight (16, 5,4,3) string players; for Small Orchestra, he proposed twenty-two (12,4,3,2/3) and for plays fourteen (8,2,2,2).[71] In calling for four different string forces, he showed a greater sensitivity to the balance between stringed and wind instruments than did his contemporaries, although the sizes of the ensembles are characteristic of the time.

From the time his ideas took shape until the end of his career, Wagner worked constantly at putting his principles of string-wind balance into practice. Largely at his insistence, the Dresden orchestra increased between 1842 and 1846 from twenty-nine (17,4,4,4) to forty-three (22,8,7,6) string players.[72] In 1845, in a letter to the writer Karl Gaillard (1813-1851), he was able to boast:

> The [Dresden] Kapelle suffered from the most manifold defects: after great battles I obtained the necessary

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[71] Ibid., XII, 155-156.

[72] For Dresden orchestral rosters, see Robert Prölss, Geschichte des Hoftheaters zu Dresden von seinen Anfängen zum Jahre 1862 (Dresden: W. Boensch, 1878) 489-490, and Hans von Brescius, Die Königliche Sächs. musikalische Kapelle von Reissiger bis Schuch (1826-1898). Festschrift zur Feier des 350-jährigen Kapelljubiläums (Dresden: C. C. Meinhold, 1898) 11-13.

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> strengthening of their means, a more effective organization of the orchestra, strengthening of the stringed instruments, etc.[73]

About one third of the orchestra consisted of Akzessisten (part-timers), however, and one of Wagner's recommendations in his 1846 submission was for the reduction of the proportion of Akzessisten.[74] He was also concerned at the undermining effect of constant illness and absenteeism in the orchestra and recommended proper leave provisions, pensioning of players at a reasonable age, and a roster to regulate their duties more rationally.[75] In 1847, in another letter to Lüttichau, he again expressed his dissatisfaction with the size of the string group and his belief that twenty violins was the absolute minimum for Large Orchestra works, sixteen for Medium, and twelve for Small; for although twenty violinists were employed, with various absences the grand operas sometimes had to be performed with as few as fourteen violins.[76] In his 1848 pro-

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[73] Wagner, letter to Karl Gaillard (June 5, 1845), Sämtliche Briefe, II, 432: "Die Kapelle selbst krankte an den manichfältigsten Gebrechen: nach grossen Kämpfen erhielt ich die nothwendige Verstärkung ihrer Mittel, eine zweckmässigere Besetzung des Orchester's, Verstärkung der Streichinstrumente u.s.w."

[74] Wagner, "Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 156-158.

[75] Ibid., XII, 153, 159, 160-163.

[76] Wagner, letter to Lüttichau (June 19, 1847), Sämtliche Briefe, II, 541-543.

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posal for a German National Theater, he recommended an orchestra of thirty-six (20,6,6,4) string players, all Kammermusiker (full-timers), with a performance schedule trimmed so that division and rotation of players would be unnecessary, and wind instruments reduced to two or three of each.[77] This was not a reversal of his earlier recommendations but an attempt to lobby the recently-elected Chamber of Deputies, which, it was thought, was intent on cutting down State support for the court theater. Wagner wanted to ensure that at least a force he regarded as the minimum for Large Orchestra works was preserved.[78]

At Zurich, for his concert on January 15, 1850, the Musikgesellschaft orchestra was increased--with stringed instruments from the Aktientheater and other towns--from thirty-four to forty-one players, including sixteen (8-8) violins.[79] Twelve of these, however, were amateurs, and the aim of Wagner's subsequent 1850 proposal was to persuade the Zurich authorities

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[77] Wagner, "Entwurf zur Organisation eines deutschen Nationaltheaters für das Königreich Sachsen," Sämtliche Schriften, II, 233-273. In this edition, the document is dated incorrectly as 1849.

[78] For the political context of the proposal, see Newman, Life of Wagner, I, 495-6, and Martin Gregor-Dellin, Richard Wagner, His Life, His Work, His Century, trans. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (New York: Helen and Kurt Wolff / Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983) 159-160.

[79] Wagner, Sämtliche Briefe, III, 38.

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to form a single, professional orchestra which, with an adjustment of the operatic and concert calendar, would serve all Zurich's needs.[80] In his 1853 proposal, he recommended an orchestra of fourteen (4-4,2,2,2) string players for opera and twenty-five (8-8,4,3,2) for concerts, with seventeen wind players and a pair of kettledrums;[81] in his 1854 proposal, he recommended an orchestra of thirty-six full-time players, implying about eighteen string players.[82] In 1854, he withdrew from an engagement in Sitten rather than conduct an orchestra that did not meet his requirements.[83] Local circumstances prevented any of his Zurich proposals from being adopted. For a concert in 1852, he was allowed to increase the orchestra to fifty-two, including thirty (18/20,6,5,[?]) string players,[84] and in May 1853, for three performances of a program devoted solely to excerpts

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[80] Wagner, letter to Theodor Uhlig (September 20, 1850), Sämtliche Briefe, III, 430.

[81] Wagner, "Der Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft in Zurich," Sammlung Burrell, 344-345.

[82] Wagner, Mein Leben, 524-525.

[83] See the account in W. Ashton Ellis, Life of Richard Wagner, 6 vols. (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899) IV, 368.

[84] Wagner, letter to Theodor Uhlig (February 26, 1852), Sämtliche Briefe, IV, 298.

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from his own operas, he was able to supplement the orchestra with players from abroad to a strength of seventy, including forty-one (20,8,8,5) string players.[85] But for regular performances at Zurich he was unable to realize his plans. He was not successful in obtaining the necessary forces for a Zurich performance of Beethoven's Choral Symphony, and in 1856, while able to call forth thirty-four (18,6,6,4) string players for excerpts from the Flying Dutchman in tiny St. Gall, he could not persuade the Musikgesellschaft to assemble the forces necessary for the Mozart Requiem in Zurich.[86]

From his Zurich years onwards, Wagner became increasingly specific about the balance required for his own works. In his 1852 essay on the performance of Tannhäuser, he requested "at least four good violists" (which, by prevailing standards, implied twenty-eight [8-8,4,4,4] string players).[87] On July 5, 1853, in a letter to the Wiesbaden

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[85]Wagner, letter to Franz Liszt (May 9, 1853), Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt, 3rd ed, 2 vols., ed. Francis Hueffer and Erich Kloss (Berlin: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1910) I, 241.

[86]Wagner, letter to Heinrich Sczadrowsky (October 1856), trans. Ellis, Life of Wagner, VI, 194.

[87]Wagner, "Uber die Aufführung des Tannhäusers: eine Mitteilung an die Dirigenten und Darsteller dieser Oper," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 144-145: "mindestens vier gute Bratschisten."

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Kapellmeister Louis Schindelmeisser (1811-1864), he indicated that "at least twenty violins" was the minimum for Lohengrin (implying thirty-five [10-10,5,5,5] string players);[88] the Lohengrin score specifies four solo violins, sufficient tutti violins to divide into four equal parts, and "strong, numerous" violas, cellos, and basses.[89] The Tristan und Isolde score calls for "both first-class and numerous" string players,[90] and that for the Ring specifies sixty-four (16-16,12,12,8) string players to match the thirty-four wind parts.[91] As before, these balances are hardly revolutionary: they are compatible with the string forces thought necessary at the time for wind groups of this size.

Between 1855 and 1871, several of the orchestras with which Wagner appeared had balances that satisfied him. He did not voice any complaint about the balance of the London Philharmonic, which, when he conducted it in 1855, had more than seventy players, including fifty-three (14-14,8,9,8)

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[88]Wagner, letter to Louis Schindelmeisser (July 5, 1853), trans. Ellis, Life of Wagner, VI, 194.

[89]Richard Wagner, Lohengrin, Vol. IV of Richard Wagners Werke, 20 vols., ed. Michael Ballings (Leipzig, 1912-29), reprint (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1971) iv.

[90]Wagner, Tristan und Isolde, Vol. V of Wagners Werke, vi.

[91]Wagner, Das Rheingold, Vol. VII of Wagners Werke, iv.

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string players.[92] He was pleased with the sixty-four string players of the Théâtre Italien orchestra, which he conducted in 1860,[93] and with the 100-strong Grand Theater orchestra, Moscow, which he conducted in 1863.[94] These were orchestras of a size found nowhere in Germany except at Berlin in his lifetime. It is especially interesting that, in November 1871 at the Mannheim Wagner Verein, he conducted the Siegfried Idyll with twenty-three to twenty-seven (13/16,4,4,2/3) string players; this work is usually performed with a chamber orchestra today.[95]

While the balance between wind and stringed instruments in all of Wagner's proposals seemed to aim at a practical compromise between the best contemporary standards and the financial constraints of the organization under consideration, the balance within the string section was noticeably different from prevailing practice. In all cases, Wagner ad-

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[92] Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 53.

[93] Wagner, letter to Otto Wesendonk (January 20, 1861), Richard Wagner an Mathilde und Otto Wesendonk. Tagebuchblätter und Briefe, ed. Julius Kapp (Leipzig: Hesse & Becker, 1915) 352-353.

[94] Nicolay Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakoff, My Musical Life, ed. Carl van Vechten, trans. Judah A. Joffe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923) 57.

[95] Wagner, letter to Emil Heckel (December 6, 1871), Briefe Richard Wagners an Emil Heckel: zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Bühnenfestspiele in Bayreuth, 3rd ed., ed. Karl Heckel (Berlin: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911) 24.

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vocated a balance in which, relative to the violins, cellos were slightly stronger and violas considerably stronger than was customary at the time. His balance for the string section of the Ring, with its two basses, three cellos,and three violas for every four first violins, is exactly the same as the typical balance of the modern symphony orchestra. In his Klangideal for a string section he had greater affinity with Berlioz and Habeneck than he did with his German contemporaries.

Among the other methods of regulating the balance, modification of dynamics was undoubtably used extensively by Wagner. His scores had the most complex dynamic combinations of any in his day, and he did not hesitate to add dynamic modifications to the scores of others.[96] The practice of doubling the wind instruments to balance very large string forces was employed in at least one of his orchestras: on May 7-29, 1877, at the Royal Albert Hall, London, he conducted eight concerts in an attempt to cover the deficit from the first Bayreuth Festspiel. For these concerts the orchestra was the largest he had ever assembled--105 (48,15,20,22) string players, twenty-eight woodwind, eight horns, five

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[96] These modifications are discussed below; see Chapter V; see, for example, Appendix II, Figure 7.

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trombones, five tubas, seven harps, and six percussionists.[97] Far from regarding these doublings as extreme and undesirable, as was the prevailing attitude, Wagner was immensely pleased with the result: Cosima wrote in her diary after the first rehearsal, "He is very cheered by the sound of the orchestra."[98]

Wagner was also party to the contemporary practice of editing scores where it seemed that balance could not be achieved by any other method. On May 22, 1872, he conducted Beethoven's Choral Symphony at the Markgräfliches Opernhaus, Bayreuth, as part of the ceremony for the laying of the Foundation Stone for the Bayreuth Festspielhaus. The orchestra included sixty-four (18-16,12,10,8) string players, assembled from all over Germany.[99] The following year he published an essay on the performance of the work, making ten suggestions for alterations in the score, nine of which concerned dynamic markings or instrumental balance. He felt that certain woodwind passages in the score were swamped by the force of the

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[97] Newman, Life of Wagner, IV, 556.

[98] Cosima Wagner, Cosima Wagner's Diaries, 2 vols., ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980) I, 962.

[99] Heinrich Porges, Die Aufführung von Beethovens 9. Symphonie unter Richard Wagner in Bayreuth. May 22 1872 (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1872) 33.

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string writing--a consequence, he believed, of Beethoven's deafness, which had "brought an almost naïve disregard of the relation of the actual realization to the musical thought itself."[100]

Beethoven, however, had performed the work at Vienna in 1824 with forty-six string players,[101] while Wagner had used nearly twice this number. The problems of balance Wagner had encountered were therefore new ones, and typical of the artificial difficulties that arose when the orchestras of the late nineteenth century, enlarged for Large Orchestra works, were used without adjustment for older repertoire. Prout endorsed Wagner's emendations of the Choral Symphony,[102] and Weingartner amplified them in his own essay on conducting Beethoven symphonies;[103] today, on the other hand, it is customary to reduce the string group to a more appropriate size and then rely on dynamic modification for balance in Beethoven passages such as those Wagner discussed.[104]

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[100] Wagner, "Zum Vortrag der neunten Symphonie von Beethoven," Sämtliche Schriften, IX, 243: ". . . einer fast naiven Nichtbeachtung des Verhältnisses der wirklichen Ausführung zu dem musikalischen Gedanken selbst brachte."

[101] Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 59.

[102] Prout, Orchestra, II, 94-95.

[103] Felix Weingartner, "On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies, trans. Jessie Crossland (New York: E. F. Kalmus, 1938).

[104] See,for example, Emil Kahn, "Balance," Elements of Conducting, 2nd ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1975) 151-155.

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Tone and Intonation

Apart from the number of instruments used, orchestral balance was affected by the state of the instruments themselves. In the 1830s and 1840s, the harp, percussion, and bass wind instruments were called for comparatively rarely; accordingly, they were not maintained as regular members of the orchestra but either borrowed from local bands as needed or simply omitted. The quality of tone produced by these instruments was often poor: in 1842, coming from Paris, where these instruments were more widely cultivated, Berlioz was astonished at the state of German percussion instruments and the insensitivity of their players.[105] Apart from Hanover, he could not find a town with a modern harp (developed in 1810 by Sébastian Érard) and had to cue his harp parts to the piano.[106]

In his 1846 Dresden proposal, Wagner railed against the use of band musicians and their instruments in the Dresden orchestra. He recommended that the allowances of the four trumpeters, three trombonists, and harpist be up-

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[105] Berlioz, Memoirs, 287, 289, 295, 306, 320, 346.

[106] Ibid., 346.

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graded to a level at which excellent professionals might be engaged, and that provision be made for a second, full-time percussionist; he recommended that four full-time players of each woodwind instrument be maintained, with a virtuoso on each first desk and a roster to economize their strength; and he requested that a modern harp, bass drum, cymbals, and a triangle be purchased and that the orchestra's two ancient kettledrums be replaced with three of the best London manufacture.[107] All three of his Zurich proposals included efforts to reduce the reliance on stand-in players, and for his 1856 St. Gall concert he brought a first oboe and third horn from Zurich rather than use the local amateurs.[108] These efforts diminished in his later years as he came to work with better orchestras and as orchestral conditions in Germany generally improved.

The tone of the bass line in the orchestra was particularly variable in German orchestras at the beginning of Wagner's career, for there were no standard instruments, either for the wind or the string bass parts. For the wind bass line, Fröhlich and Gassner advised the serpent,[109]

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[107]Wagner, "Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 170-173, 180-183.

[108]See Ellis, Life of Wagner, VI, 194.

[109]Fröhlich, Vollständige Musikschule, '34; Gassner, Partiturkenntniss, I, 9.

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Czerny and Berlioz the ophicleide,[110] and Kastner the bombardon or ophicleide.[111] The double bassoon, according to Gassner, was chiefly a band instrument and not widely used in orchestras,[112] and the E-flat bass trombone was seldom found. When a bass wind was required, conductors had to use whatever was locally available: in 1842, Berlioz could find no ophicleides and no bass trombones. He found excellent alto and tenor trombones everywhere except Mannheim and Hechigen, but at Brunswick he was sent a "double bassoonist" from the local band whose instrument turned out to be a Russian bassoon (large, upright serpent).[113]

For the string bass line, three- and five-stringed instruments were in use, although, according to Gassner, the four-stringed bass was the most common.[114] As Czerny made clear, not all of these instruments had the lowest notes of the range;[115] furthermore, it was common practice for the players to simplify their parts, omitting rapid notes.[116] Schilling could offer no easy solutions to the problems of

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[110] Czerny, Practical Composition, III, 12; Berlioz Treatise, 337.

[111] Kastner, Cours d'instrumentation, 6-7.

[112] Gassner, Partiturkenntniss, I, 37. [113] Berlioz, Memoirs, 277, 281, 287, 318; 310.

[114] Gassner, Partiturkenntniss, I, 8-9. [115] Czerny, Practical Composition, 4-5.

[116] Gassner, Partiturkenntniss, I, 13-14.

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bass tone in the orchestra:

> The particular nature of the bass part requires in general not only that it be treated in the most complete and ample manner possible but also that it be assigned to the most masterful players and performed on the most sonorous instruments. Only then can the weaknesses which are grounded in the peculiar imperfection of the bass instruments be diminished. Even more than with the bass string instruments, this is thecase with the bass wind instruments. . . . if they are not well provided for, i.e. with adept players and good instruments, then a large part of their otherwise very powerful effect will be lost.[117]

For the brass bass, the situation improved with the appearance of the bass tuba (patented in 1835 by Johann Moritz). In 1842 Berlioz was impressed with its "enormous range . . . amazing richness and resonance,"[118] and in 1844 Spontini was delighted with a bass tuba part added to his opera La Vestale by Wagner.[119] The instrument quickly became the favorite for

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[117]Schilling, Lexikon der Tonkunst, I, 600: "Die eigene Natur der Bassstimme überhaupt bedingt es, dass sie nicht nur möglichst vollständig und reichlich, sondern auch mit möglichst meisterhaften Spielern und mit guten klangreichen Instrumenten besetzt werde. Nur dann lassen sich die in der eigenthümlichen Unvollkommenheit der Bassinstrumente begründeten Schwächen bedeutend mindern. Mehr aber noch als bei den Saiten-Bassinstrumenten ist dies der Fall bei den Blas-Bassinstrumenten. . . . sind sie nun überdem nicht einmal gut besetzt, d.h. mit geschickten Spielern und guten Instrumenten, so muss ein grosser Theil ihrer sonst sehr kräftigen Wirkung verloren gehen."

[118]Berlioz, Memoirs, 335.

[119]Wagner, Mein Leben, 295.

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the brass bass part in Germany.

Even at the end of the century, however, bass tone remained uncertain in German orchestras. Strauss found the bass tuba bearable "only if it is not played louder than mf;"[120] Prout described the instrument as "not a regular consitituent of the orchestra;"[121] and Forsyth found it unsatisfactory, both as a substitute for the ophicleide and in combination with other instruments.[122] Strauss "urgently recommended" the adoption of the modern double bassoon,[123] but this instrument had been developed only in the last four years of Wagner's life.[124] The range and tuning of the string bass, according to Prout, was still not standardized,[125] and despite the popularity of four-stringed instruments, as eminent an authority as Strauss could argue for the preservation of the three-stringed variety, because it was "better suited to cantilena" than the four-stringed type.[126]

No conductor in the nineteenth century made as

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[120] Berlioz, Treatise, rev. Strauss, 339.

[121] Prout, Orchestra, I, 239.

[122] Forsyth, Orchestration, 159, 174-175. For the history of the tuba, see Clifford J. Bevan, The Tuba Family, (London: Faber, 1978).

[123] Berlioz, Treatise, rev. Strauss, 198.

[124] Baines, European Instruments, pl. 616.

[125] Prout, Orchestra, I, 65.

[126] Berlioz, Treatise, rev. Strauss, 97.

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concerted an effort as Wagner for the improvement of the wind bass line in the orchestra. In his 1846 Dresden proposal, apart from his requests for the provision of full-time trombonists, he asked that a tenor trombone be purchased so that its parts would no longer be played an octave higher on the alto trombone;[127] and in 1865 in the preface to the score of Tristan und Isolde, he specified that two of the trombone parts were to be played on "the so-called tenor-bass trombone" and the third on "a true bass trombone."[128] He wrote for the bass tuba in his own works from the Flying Dutchman onwards, only eight years after the instrument had been patented. He is said to have heard the modern bassoon and double bassoon (developed by Johann Adam Heckel [1812-1877] and his son Wilhelm [1856-1909]) in his last years;[129] but for the bass woodwind in his own works he used the modern bass clarinet (developed in 1838 by Adolphe Sax [1814-1894]) from Tannhäuser onwards, only seven years after its invention.[130]

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[127]Wagner, "Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 180-181.

[128]Wagner, Tristan und Isolde, Vol. V of Wagners Werke, vi: "Unter den zwei ersten Posaunen sind durchaus sogenannte Tenor-Bassposaunen . . . verstanden; die dritte Posaune ist jedenfalls durch eine wirkliche Bassposaune besetzen."

[129]Anthony Baines, Woodwind Instruments and their History (London: Faber & Faber, 1967) 335.

[130]For the history of the bass clarinet, see F. G. Rendall, The Clarinet, 3rd ed., rev. Philip Bate (London: Ernest Benn, 1971) 139-148.

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By specifying which bass instruments he wanted, he challenged the prevailing ad hoc arrangements.

His ultimate attempt to improve the wind bass line in the orchestra was his involvement in the invention of two new bass wind instruments, the bass trumpet and the "Wagner Tubas" (Tenor-Tuben in B-flat and Bass-Tuben in F), which both made their first appearance in the Ring. In the former case, the instrument he had built proved unmanageable in size, poor in tone in its low register, and almost unplayable at the top; the bass trumpet used today (actually a baritone trumpet in C) is an octave higher than Wagner had intended.[131] In the latter case, the "Wagner Tubas," modified bass horns, were more successful, but they are still uncommon in orchestras today.[132]

The tone of the stringed instruments was less powerful and less enriched with vibrato in Wagner's day than in our own. The modern chin rest, located to the left of the tailpiece and supported by a shoulder pad, was not

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[131] Philip A. T. Bate, The Trumpet and the Trombone (London: Ernest Benn, 1972) 85-89.

[132] Raymond Bryant, "The Wagner Tubas," Monthly Musical Record LXVII/789 (September, 1937) 151-153; J. Merrill Knapp, "The Instrumentation Draft of Wagner's Das Rheingold," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXX/2 (Summer, 1977) 283.

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used widely before 1850,[133] the G-string was not universally overspun with silver until even later,[134] and the bow was not held so close to the nut as is common today. Modern string tone, largely a consequence of the influence of tutors such as Spohr's Violinschule (1832) and teachers such as the Leipzig Hochschule's Ferdinand David (1810-1873), developed from changing practice in this period,[135] but Wagner does not appear to have played any role in its evolution.

The tone of a number of wind instruments in German orchestras was markedly different from that in modern orchestras, for German players were slow to adopt the improved mechanisms and fingering systems developed in the nineteenth century. The modern flute (developed in 1830 by Theobald Boehm [1794-1881]) was long resisted in Germany, and the Flötenschule (ca. 1826) of Anton Bernard Fürstenau (1792-1852) continued to be relevant for German players in the second half of the century. Even in 1905, Strauss lamented

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[133]David Boyden, "The Violin Group," Musical Instruments through the Ages, ed. Anthony Baines (London: Faber & Faber, 1967) 97-122.

[134]Heinrich Welckler von Gonterhausen, Über den Bau der Saiteninstrumente und deren Akustik (Frankfurt: Christian Winter, 1870) 75.

[135]Boyden, "The Violin," 120-122.

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that the older, conical instruments, with their sweeter, softer, but more uneven tone, were still prominent in German orchestras, despite passages in Wagner's operas that were difficult for them.[136] The modern oboe (developed ca. 1875 by Frédéric Triébert [1813-1878]) was also disliked in Germany; Strauss complained of its "German" tone, "thick and trumpet-like, which does not blend at all with the flutes and clarinets, and is often unpleasantly prominent."[137] The modern clarinet (developed in 1839 by Louis August Buffet, Jr. [d. 1885]) and its Méthode (1843) by Hyocinthe Klosé (1808-1880) were overshadowed throughout the period in Germany by the old Bärmann (Oehler) system instrument and its Klarinettschule (1864) by Carl Bärmann (1811-1885): even Strauss wrote that the modern clarinet had "a flat, nasal tone, while the German ones approximate the human singing voice."[138] The bassoons Berlioz heard in Germany he thought "excruciatingly

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[136] Berlioz, Treatise, rev. Strauss, 227. For the history of the flute, see Curt Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940) 407-410; Karl Geiringer, Musical Instruments: their History from the Stone Age to the Present Day (London: George Unwin & Allen, 1945) 259-262; and Sibyl Marcuse, Musical Instruments: a Comprehensive Dictionary, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975) 188-189.

[137] Berlioz, Treatise, rev. Strauss, 183. For the history of the oboe, see Philip A. T. Bate, The Oboe, 3rd ed. (London: Ernest Benn, 1975) 59-72, and Baines, Woodwind Instruments, 325-330.

[138] Berlioz, Treatise, rev. Strauss, 199. For the history of the clarinet, see Rendall, The Clarinet, 86-117; Baines, Woodwind Instruments, 323-324; and Sachs, History of Instruments, 412-414.

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bad."[139] and Fröhlich stressed the importance of overcoming the instrument's various weak notes and thin tone with practice. [140] The first widely-used tutor in Germany for the modern bassoon, the Praktische Fagottschule (1887) of Julius Weissenborn (1837-1888), dates from after Wagner's death.

Of all the instruments in the nineteenth-century orchestra, the farthest removed in tone from its modern successor was the trumpet. An alto instrument in F, it was capable of much greater breadth of tone in soft passages and on low notes than the modern high B-flat instrument, although it was more strident in forte passages. Forsyth wrote that nineteenth-century trumpet pianissimos "lose half their intention when played on the small-bore instrument," but in fortissimos, the older trumpet seemed "to be always playing solos." [141]

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[139]Berlioz, Memoirs, 277, 346.

[140]Fröhlich, Vollständige Musikschule, 30-32. For the history of the bassoon, see Lyndesay G. Langwill, The Bassoon and Contrabassoon (London: Ernest Benn, 1965) 49-57, 165-169. For reproductions of these instruments, see Baines, European Instruments; for early tutors, see Thomas E. Warner, An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books 1600-1830 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1967).

[141]Forsyth, Orchestration, 93-95. For the history of the trumpet, see Philip A. T. Bate, The Trumpet and the Trombone (London: Ernest Benn, 1972).

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On the other hand, valve horns (developed ca. 1825 by Joseph Riedl [d. 1840]) were popular in Germany earlier than in any other country: Sunderlin listed a range of them as early as 1828.[142] By combination of valve and natural horns, newer key- and older hand-techniques, composers could expect a wider range of horn tone colors than is heard today, although even in the Horn Schule (1865) of Henri Kling (1842-1918) there was still some confusion about the application of traditional techniques to the new instruments.[143]

Among the less frequently used instruments, the modern Boehm piccolo was not developed until after Wagner's death; the older version was softer but inferior in its tone.[144] The modern cor anglais (developed in 1839 under the name hautbois alto by Henri Brod [1799-1839]) was overshadowed in Germany by the old angular instrument until the 1870s; Berlioz described the German instrument as "of such

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[142]Sunderlin, Instrumentierung, 48.

[143]For the history of the French horn, see R. Morley-Pegge, The French Horn, 2nd ed. (London: Ernest Benn, 1973) 86-116.

[144]Baines, Woodwind Instruments, 323.

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poor quality and . . . so remarkably out of tune" that he refused to use it.[145]

For the conductor, the gravest consequence of the survival of inadequate and obsolete wind instruments among German players was the impurity of intonation they caused. Of a performance of Mozart's La clemenza di Tito at Dresden under Wagner in 1844, the Dresden music critic and writer Julius Schladerbach (1810-1872) wrote:

> The impossibility of true intonation often became ear-splittingly obvious. . . . The clarinet accompaniment brought forth dreadful combinations.[46]

Of a performance of Boieldieu's La dame blanche under Wagner in 1845, Schladerbach wrote:

> There [was] open conflict between singers and orchestra, . . . which could have and should have been avoided. The

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[145] Berlioz, Memoirs, 296, 287, 289, 295, 305, 310. For more information about wind instruments of this period, see Lyndesay G. Langwill, An Index of Musical Wind Instrument Makers, 4th ed. (Edinburgh: [author's edition], 1974).

[146] W. J[ulius] S[chladerbach] E., Beiblätter zu den Correspondenz; Nachrichten der Abend-Zeitung, Dresden, XXVIII/19 (May 9, 1844) 75-76: "Die Unmöglichkeit reiner Intonation trat häufig ohrzerreissend hervor. . . . der begleitenden Clarinette schreckliche Tonverbindungen bildete."

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> tuning of the orchestra, especially the winds, was worse than we have ever heard here--perhaps this can be blamed for the most part on the truly African heat in the theater--but a little more care would have helped.[147]

Intonation was not much better at the end of Wagner's career. Of the first Parsifal at Bayreuth in 1882, Walter Damrosch recalled:

> The strings of the Bayreuth orchestra were noble and rich in tone, but I was disturbed by many inaccuracies and false intonations in the wind choir, which surprised me all the more as the orchestra was supposed to be composed of the best of every kind from the different opera houses of Germany.[148]

One reason German players were slow to adopt the new, acoustically-true instruments was the high cost of these inventions, which, on their low salaries, they could not afford. The dramatist, critic, and journalist George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) wrote of Bayreuth in 1891:

> In the brass especially, the peculiar dull rattle of inferior thin metal at once strikes the ear accustomed to the smooth, firm tone of the more expensive instru-

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[147] Ibid., XXIX/26 (June 26, 1845) 103: ". . . der Widerstreit zwischen Sängern und Orchester . . . hätte wohl vermieden werden können und sollen. Die Stimmung im Orchester, namentlich bei den Bläsern, war so unrein, wie wir sie noch nie hier gehört, woran freilich wohl die wahrhaft afrikanische Hitze im Theater den grössten Theil der Schuld trug; doch hätte wohle ein Wenig mehr nachgeholfen werden können."

[148] Walter Damrosch, My Musical Life (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1924) 46.

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> ments used in England. . . . Except in the case of unusually fine players, who generally take the first chance of coming to England and settling here, the German woodwind player is content with a cheaper tone than the English one; and Bayreuth is no exception to this rule. The oboe there is as reedy as the cor anglais is here. . . .and even in the case of the horns, which we somehow or other cannot play, whilst the Germans can, the tone is much rougher and more nearly allied to that of the Alpine cowhorn than what may be called the standard tone here.[149]

Undoubtedly, intonation was a constant and often insoluble problem in the orchestras of Wagner's day.

Wagner wrote for valve horns from Rienzi onwards, and in the preface to Tristan und Isolde he urged horn players to overcome through practice the valve horn's loss "of beauty of tone and especially of some of its capability of delicate slurring."[150] He did not adopt the modern cor anglais until the late 1860s, when in the preface to Rheingold he published an instruction for all of his cor anglais parts to be henceforth

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[149] G. Bernard Shaw, Music in London 1890-94, 3 vols. (London: Constable, 1932) III, 277.

[150] Wagner, Tristan und Isolde, ed. Ballings, vi: ". . . der Schönheit seines Tones, wie namentlich auch an der Fähigkeit, die Töne weich zu binden, verloren hat."

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played on the hautbois alto.[151] It may be that he did not hear the modern instrument until this time; in any event, there is no other evidence of any particular concern on his part to propagate the new wind mechanisms for his orchestras. With the exception of his early championship of the bass tuba and the bass clarinet, and his rather slower adjustment to the new cor anglais, Wagner seems to have shared the characteristic preferences of his fellow countrymen for the older wind instruments.

Tone was also affected by the relatively high pitch at which German orchestras played. A tuning fork used in 1826 at Dresden by Reissiger has been measured at A = 435 c.p.s, the same as the diapason normal accepted by the French Government in 1859 and commonly used in England and France throughout Wagner's lifetime.[152] In 1859, however, a certain Näke, a singing teacher at Dresden, measured the pitch at A = 446, and many instruments extant from the second half of the nineteenth century in Germany are above A = 456.[153]

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[151] Wagner, Das Rheingold, ed. Ballings, vi.

[152] A. J. Ellis, "On the History of Musical Pitch" (1880), reprinted in Studies in the History of Musical Pitch, ed. Arthur Mendel (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1968) 54.

[153] Adam Carse, Musical Wind Instruments (London: Macmillan, 1939) 48-51

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The modern A = 440, agreed upon in 1955 by the International Standards Organization, endorsing a 1939 determination by the British Standards Institute, is more than a quartertone below the pitch that prevailed in German orchestras in Wagner's day.[154]

There is no evidence that Wagner was particularly concerned about musical pitch in his orchestras. At his London concerts in 1877, the pitch of the orchestra was measured by a certain Hipkins at A = 455.1, the highest pitch ever recorded at a concert in England during the nineteenth century.[155] In 1894, between London and Bayreuth, Shaw found "a difference [in pitch] that is all to the bad for us."[156] Evidently, in his use of pitch, Wagner's practice was typical of that found in Germany at the time.

Seating

1. Contemporary German Practice

In the early part of Wagner's career, there was a wider variety of orchestral seating plans than there is to-

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[154] Llewellyn S. Lloyd, "International Standard Musical Pitch," Journal of the Royal Society of Arts XCVIII (1949) 75-85; British Standards Institute BS 880/49 (London: H. M. Government Printer, 1950); William L. Sumner, "A History of Musical Pitch," Hinrichsen's Musical Year Book VII (1952) 233-242.

[155] Ellis, "History of Pitch," 29.

[156] Shaw, Music in London, III, 277.

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day. According to Berlioz, in determining which arrangement was to be used, the conductor had to consider "the size and shape of the particular place; the number of participants and sometimes the style of the composition to be performed."[157] Because of the physical constraints imposed on the orchestra in the theater, which were not a problem in the concert hall, a fundamental distinction was made between seating appropriate to opera and that suitable for concert works.

In the theater, the disposition of the orchestra was often hampered by badly shaped or undersized orchestral spaces: at Dresden in Weber's time, for example, the horns, trumpets, and percussion had to be crammed into a side recess, from which they could not see the conductor at all.[158] The main factor governing the arrangement, however, was the location of the conductor. The source of Schilling's treatment of this subject was Kastner, who wrote that, in the theater, the conductor's desk "should be against the footlights, in the middle of the stage, and raised a little," for if the

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[157]Berlioz, Treatise, 418.

[158]Max Maria von Weber, Carl Maria von Weber: The Life of an Artist, trans. J. Palgrave Simpson (Boston: O. Ditson, 1865) 77.

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conductor was placed at the opposite side of the pit "he [found] himself too far away from the stage."[159] This disposition was a survival from the days when the conductor's chief responsibility was for singers and he could turn his back on the orchestra, leaving it to his concertmaster. Even though, in the 1830s, conductors were more frequently taking an interest in the orchestra as well as the singers, throughout the period of Wagner's career opera was universally conducted from the footlights.

With the conductor in this position, two divisions of the instruments were possible. Kastner recommended "first violins and violas on one side with the woodwind choir, on the other the second violins with the brass choir, the cellos and basses forming a girdle."[160] Gassner, on the other hand, advised having stringed instruments on one side and wind instruments on the other.[161] Kastner's arrangement was probably

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[159]Kastner, Cours d'instrumentation, 27: "Quelquefois le Chef d'orchestre se place en arrière de son orchestre pour le dominer; mais il se trouve alors trop éloigne de la scène. Nous pensons qu'il vaut encore mieux que son pupitre soit tout contre la rampe au milieu de la scène et un peu élevé. . ." "

[160]Ibid., 28: ". . . d'un côté les lrs. Violons et Altos avec le choeur des instruments à vent en bois, de l'autre les 2ds. Violons avec le choeur des instruments a vent en cuivre, les Violoncelles et les Contre-basses formant ceinture."

[161]F. S. Gassner, Dirigent und Ripienist für angehende Musikdirigenten, Musiker und Musikfreunde (Karlsruhe: Ch. Th. Groos, 1844) 73-96.

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based on that used at the Paris Opéra, for one of its features, the girdle of basses, can be seen in the 1843 woodcut of the Opéra already discussed (Ill. 4, p.89). This arrangement had the disadvantage of separating the second violins and violas, who often shared accompanying figures; when in 1820 Spontini brought the arrangement from Paris to the Berlin Opernhause, he improved it by relocating the violas, as may be seen in Gassner's 1844 groundplan for the Berlin orchestra (Ill. 8). Spontini appears to have been the

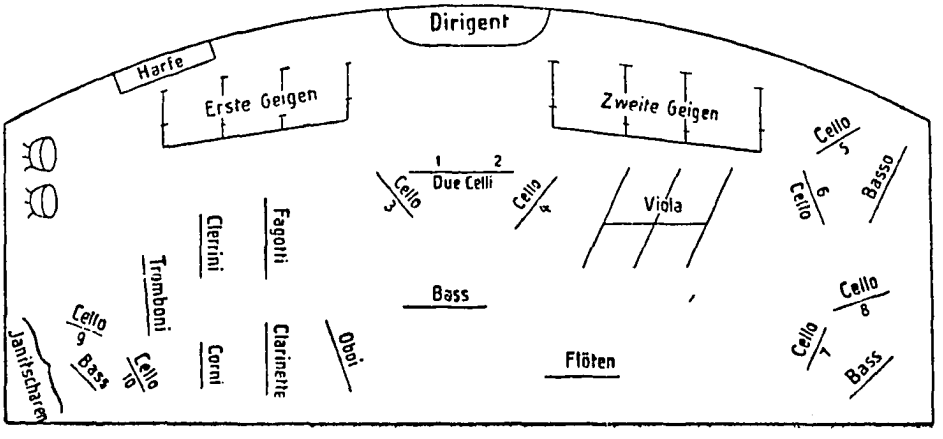

Illustration 8. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Berlin Opernhause Orchestra, 1844 groundplan [Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 9, transcribed in Georg Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, Vol. X of Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913) 314].

main proponent of this arrangement in Germany: in 1842, when Meyerbeer succeeded him at Berlin, it was retained, and in 1844, when Spontini was a guest conductor at Dresden, a similar plan was used. Schladerbach thought it "a very practical

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arrangement" and illustrated it in an 1845 article he wrote on the seating of the Dresden orchestra (Ill. 9).

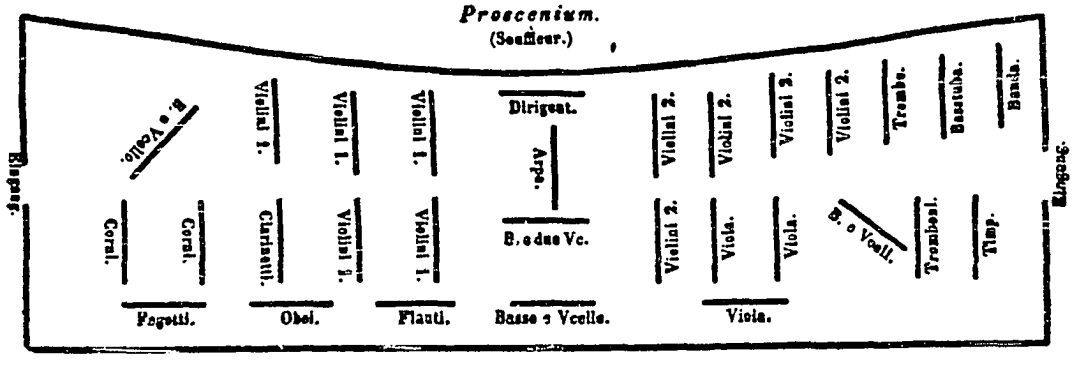

Illustration 9. Julius Schladerbach, Disposition of the Dresden Opernorchester, 1845 groundplan [Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung XLVII/7 (February 12, 1845) 98].

This arrangement, however, was uncommon in Germany, except at the largest theaters. The separation of the first and second violins at the Munich Hofkapelle had some affinity with it, as may be seen in Gassner's 1844 groundplan for the orchestra (Ill. 10), but generally, the usual arrangement in small and medium-sized German theaters was the other type, with stringed and wind instruments separated. In 1842 at the Kassel theater, the English composer William Sterndale Bennett (1816-1875) reported that "the stringed instruments were all on one side, the wind in-

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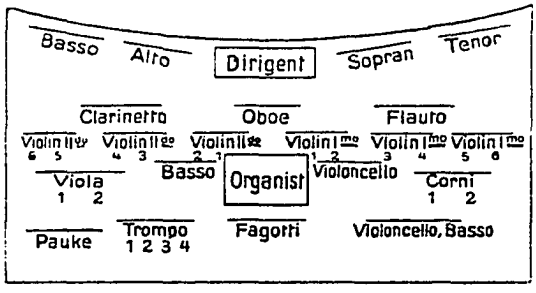

Illustration 10. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Munich Hofkapelle, 1844 groundplan [Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 15, trans. in Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, 314].

struments on the other; the basses in the center,"[162] and in the same year Berlioz reported that everywhere in Germany he found:

> . . . violins, violas and cellos together on the right, basses in a straight line in the middle against the footlights, flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns and trumpets grouped on the left opposite the strings, and drums and trombones by themselves at the back on the right.[163]

Similar arrangements are not unknown in the modern opera pit, particularly when the string group is a small one and needs to be tightly seated to maximize its force. Where the or-

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[162] James Robert Sterndale Bennett, The Life of William Sterndale Bennett (London: Cambridge University Press, 1907) 117.

[163] Berlioz, Memoirs, 270.

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chestra was large, the arrangement was least successful: of its use at Dresden prior to 1844, Schladerbach recalled:

> The opposition perceptible here of stringed- and wind-instruments must . . . necessarily have caused a predominance of one or another effect, depending upon whether the listener found himself on this or that side of the theater, not to mention the fact that eight first violins--all so designated are double desks--seemed too weak against the force of the winds as they are employed in all new operas.[164]

It seems that divided violins were regarded as best for large theaters and a wind-string division better for small theaters.

Apart from two possible divisions of the instruments, for cellos and basses there were two methods of desking and two standard dispositions. Each desk might be shared by one cello and one bass, an arrangement which assumed that both instruments always played the same part; alternatively, cellos and basses might be separately desked, as is modern practice. For their disposition, cellos and basses might be

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[164] Wise [Julius Schladerbach], "Die veränderte Aufstellung des Theater-Orchesters in Dresden," Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung XLVII/7 (February 12, 1845) 98: "Die hier wahrnehmbare Entgegensetzung der Streich- und Blasinstrumente musste . . . ein Ueberwiegen des einen oder des anderen Effectes, je nachdem der Zuhörer auf dieser oder jener Seite des Theaters sich befand, nothwendig bewirken, abgesehen noch davon, dass acht erste Geigen--alle bezeichneten sind Doppelpulte--gegen die Macht der Bläser, wie sie in allen neueren Opern angewendet ist, zu schwach erscheinen . . ."

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either gathered around the conductor at the center--an arrangement which survived from the time when they combined with the conductor and his keyboard instrument to form the basso continuo--or else spread across the whole breadth of the orchestra. At Dresden prior to 1844, they shared desks and were at either end of the orchestra, as shown in another groundplan by Schladerbach (Ill. 11); at Darmstadt they

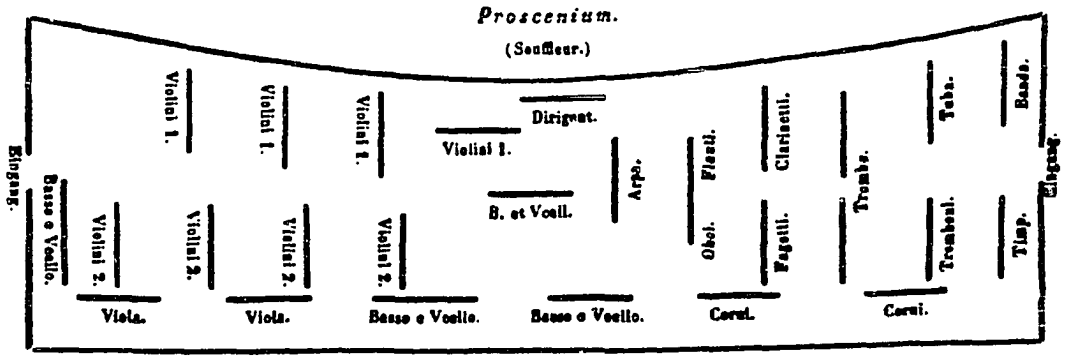

Illustration 11. J. S. Schladerbach, Disposition of the Dresden Opernorchester before 1844, 1845 groundplan [Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung XLVII/7 (February 12, 1845) 97].

shared the same ("basso") desks but were in a line along the footlights (Ill. 12); at Munich they had their own desks and were grouped around the conductor, who was in the center of the pit (Ill. 13); and at Hessen-Kassel the arrangement was a hybrid: one cello and one bass shared desks while the rest had their own.

In the concert hall, the conductor stood at the head of his orchestra, though not necessarily facing it; without the physical constraints of the theater, various

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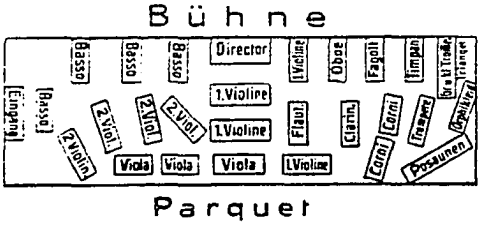

Illustration 12. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Darmstadt Hoftheater Orchester, 1844 groundplan [Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 11, trans. Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, 313].

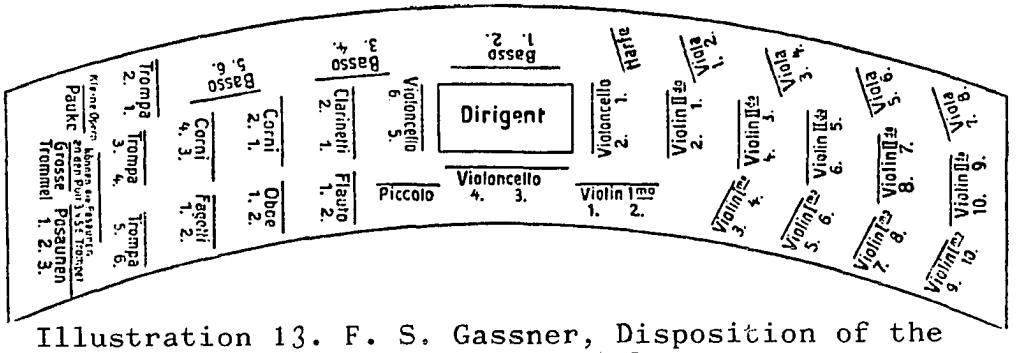

Illustration 13. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Munich Hoftheater Orchester, 1844 groundplan [Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 14, trans Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, 314].

specially-designed orchestral platforms were in use. Kastner recommended that the conductor be turned three-quarters towards the public, the first and second violins separated, the violas in the center, the cellos in a line behind the violas, the wind instruments on raised tiers behind the cellos, and the basses forming a girdle about the whole group.[165] Berlioz recommended a similar arrangement; indispu-

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[165]Kastner, Cours d'instrumentation, 28: "Voici à peu près quelles sont les conditions les plus favorables avec une salle cintrée: un théâtre élevé d'environ quatre pieds

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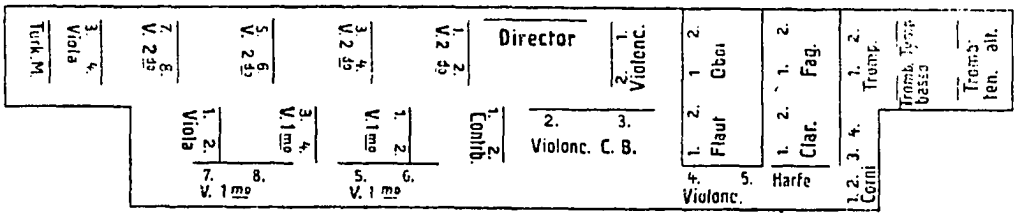

Illustration 14. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Hessen-Kassel Hoftheater Orchester, 1844 groundplan [Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 8, trans. Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, 312.]

tably, both writers had the Société des Concerts arrangement in mind when they wrote these descriptions (Ill. 15, see also Ill. 7, p. 93).[166]

In Germany, despite a variety of shapes in the orchestral platforms, the same principles of arrangement prevailed, save that generally the cellos and basses were grouped around the conductor between the first violins. This was the basis of the disposition used at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, as may be seen in a diagram by the musical writer August Schmidt (1808-1891) published in 1846 (Ill. 16), and it was the basis of the amphitheatrical arrangement used at the

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près au dessus du parterre. . . . Sur le premier plan se place le Chef d'orchestre de trois quarts au public, et embrassant ainsi tout son orchestre, à la gauche les premiers Violons, à la droite les seconds Violons; parallèlement au public, en avant du plan incliné, les Altos, plus un Violoncelle et une Contre-basse, puis sur l'amphithéâtre les Violoncelles sur une ligne, les Flûtes, Hautbois, Clarinettes et Bassons sur une seconde, derrière, les Cors Trompettes et Trombones, les Timbales tout en haut au centre, enfin tout à l'entour une ceinture de Contre-basses."

[166] Berlioz, Treatise, 418.

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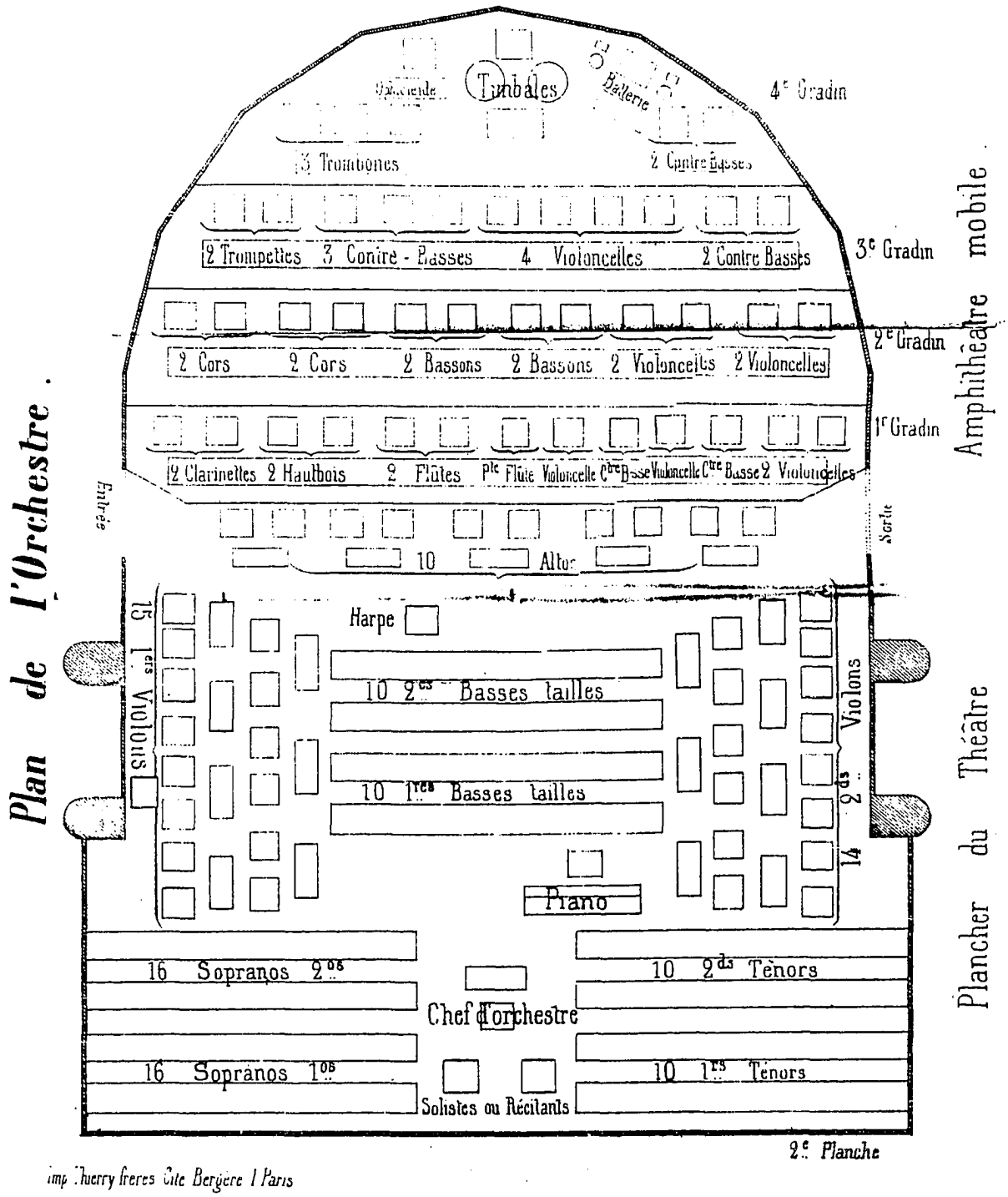

Illustration 15. I. Thierry, Disposition of the Société des Concerts Orchestra, Paris, 1860 groundplan [Antoine Elwart, Histoire de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique (Paris: Librairie Castel, 1860) 114].

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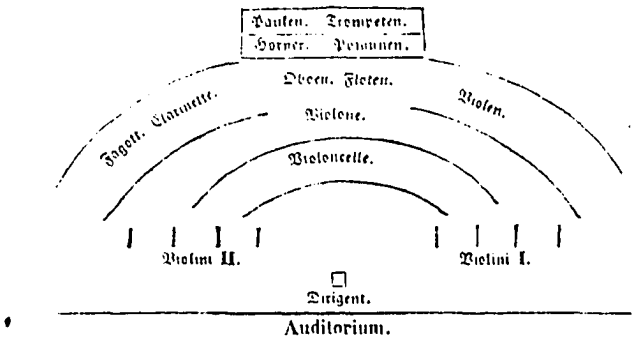

Illustration 16. August Schmidt. Disposition of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, 1846 groundplan [Musikalisches Reise-Momente auf einer Wanderung durch Norddeutschland (Hamburg: Schuberth, 1846) 46].

Munich Odeon Konzert-Saal, as shown in Gassner's groundplan (Ill. 17). Cellos and basses were also central at the rostrum

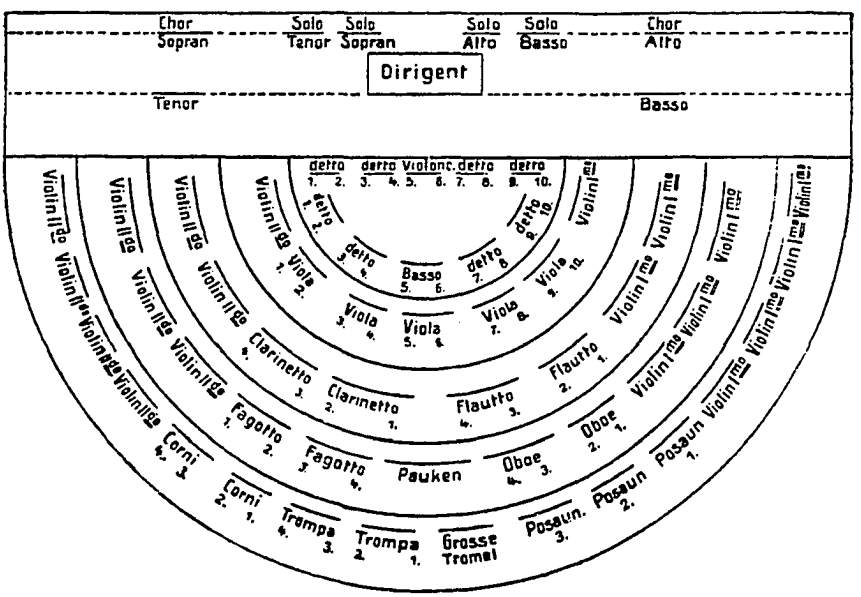

Illustration 17. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Munich Odeon Konzert-Saal Orchestra, 1844 groundplan [Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 13, trans. Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirgierens, 311].

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in Dresden's public gardens (Ill. 18); and a similar idea may even be detected in the unusual arrangement used for the annual Palm Sunday concerts at the Dresden Opernhause (Ill. 19).

For the modern performer, the strangest aspect of these concert arrangements would be the location of the choir, which was between the orchestra and the audience. The disadvantages of this arrangement were well known: if the conductor faced the orchestra, he had his back to the choir; if

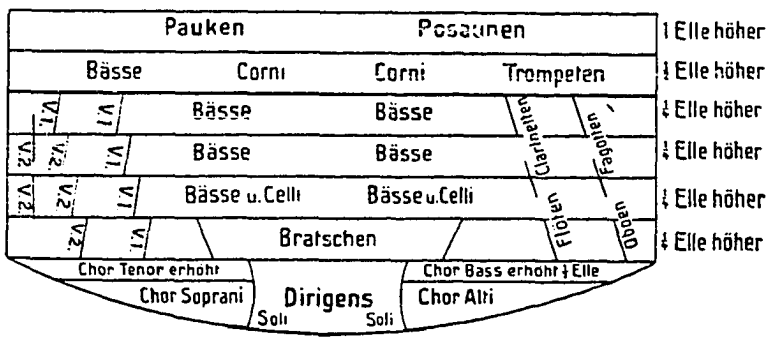

Illustration 18. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Dresden Terrassenförmiges Konzertorchester auf der Bühne, 1844 groundplan [Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 4, trans. Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, 308].

the choir turned to face him, they sang to the back wall instead of to the audience. Berlioz suggested a compromise: the choir should turn three quarters towards the public, so

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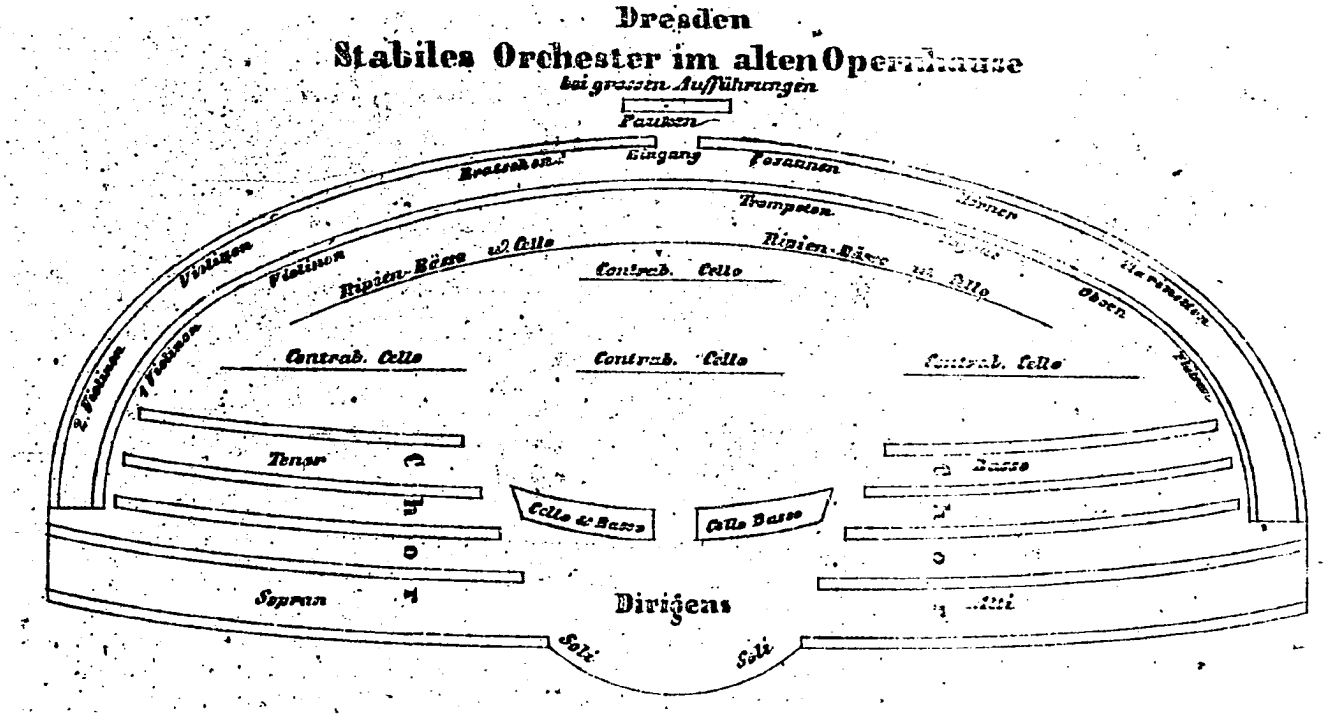

Illustration 19. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Dresden Opernhause for Orchestral Concerts, 1844 groundplan
[Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 3]

as to keep the conductor in view without masking its tone from the audience.[167] On August 25, 1844, at a music festival in Darmstadt, the orchestra was wedged between the choir, with the conductor at the head of all the forces (Ill. 20), but evidently nowhere in Germany had it occurred to conductors to place the choir behind the orchestra on raised tiers.

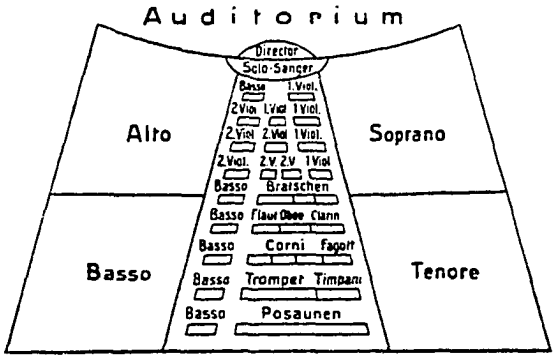

Illustration 20. F. S. Gassner, Disposition of the Darmstadt Musikfest Orchester, August 25, 1844 groundplan [Dirigent und Ripienist, Beil. 6, trans. Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, 311].

Only in London was the modern position of the choir in use: the choir at the Exeter Hall oratorio concerts was behind and above the orchestra, as may be seen in an anonymous 1848 woodcut of a performance there under Michael Costa (1808-1884, Ill. 21). In London, however, choirs such as the

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[167] Berlioz, Treatise, 418.

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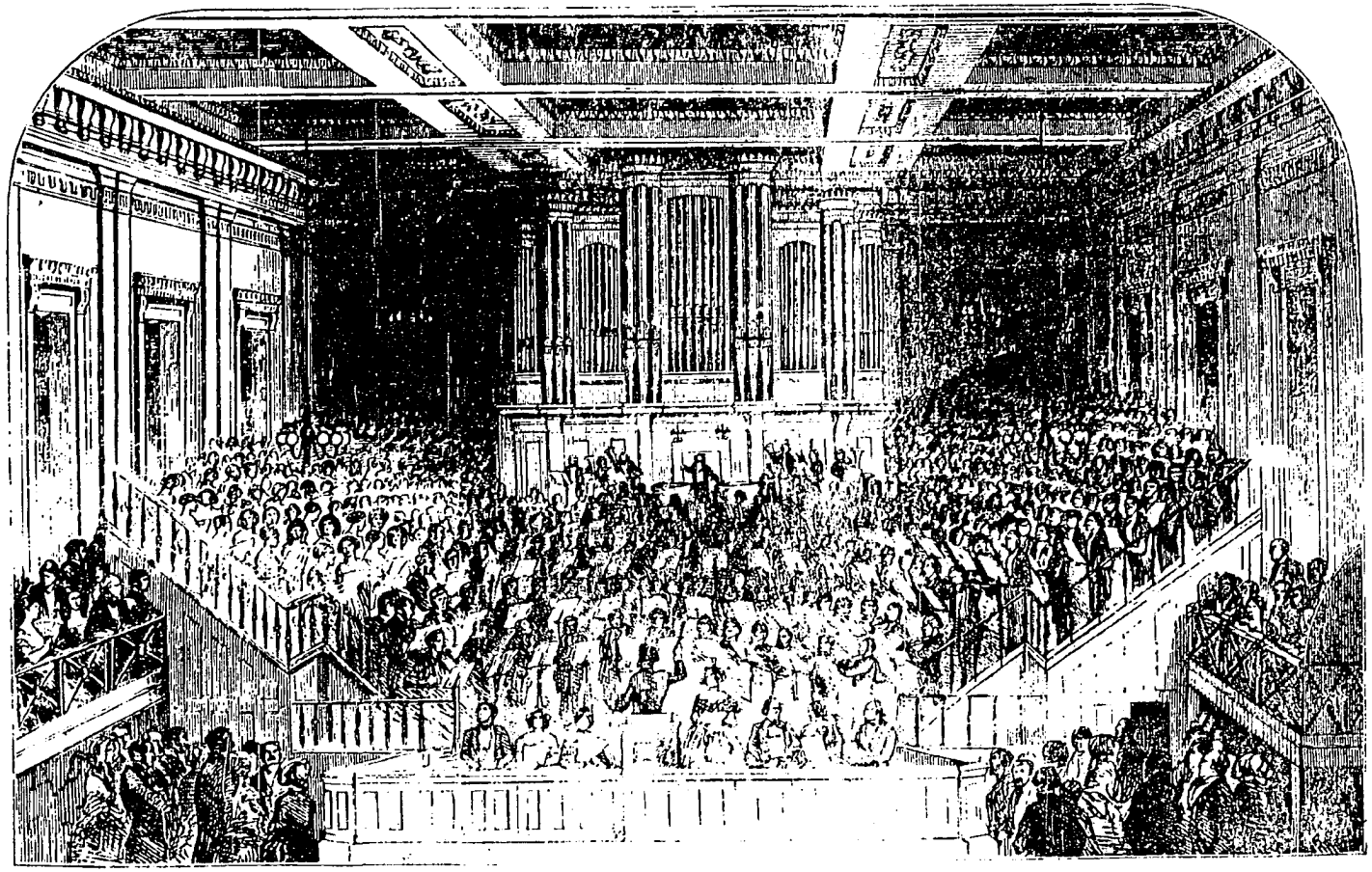

Illustration 21. London Philharmonic Society Concert, Exeter Hall, 1848 woodcut [Illustrated London News XIII, 277, in Konzert öffentliche Musikdarbietung vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert, ed. Heinrich W. Schwab, Bd. IV/2 of Musikgeschichte in Bildern, ed. Heinrich Besseler and Werner Bachmann (Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1970) pl. 74].

Sacred Harmonic Society at Exeter Hall, which had more than 500 voices, were many times larger than their counterparts in Germany; perhaps the smaller force of German choirs compelled conductors to leave them closer to the audience.

By the end of Wagner's career, more uniformity was evident in orchestral seating plans. In 1882, according to Riemann, there were "standard viewpoints" on disposition, depending on whether the instruments were "treated as distinctive choirs to be preserved" or treated as elements in the "best possible fusion of the whole tonal substance." If a fusion of tone was required, Riemann wrote that an arrangement was used in which "each type of instrument is distributed across the whole breadth of the orchestral space ([Ill. 22]a)." The preservation of distinct choirs was desirable in the theater "particularly if the masked [wind] groups answer each other ([Ill. 22]b)"; alternatively, a semicircular arrangement might be used, in which "no one group was further removed [than another] from the conductor ([Ill. 22]c)."[168]

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[168] Riemann, Musik-Lexikon, 652: "Die für die Aufstellung des Orchesters massgebenden Gesichtspunkte sind: 1) Vereinigung der Instrumente, welche als ein besonderer Chor behandelt zu werden pflegen und daher häufig vom Dirigenten gemeinsame Zeichen erhalten; 2) möglichste Verschmelzung der gesamten Klangmasse. Von letzterem Gesichtspunkt aus ist das Arrangement vorzuziehen, welches jede Gattung von Instrumenten über die ganze Breite des Orchesterraums verteilt (a); werden in der einen Ecke die Holzbläser und in

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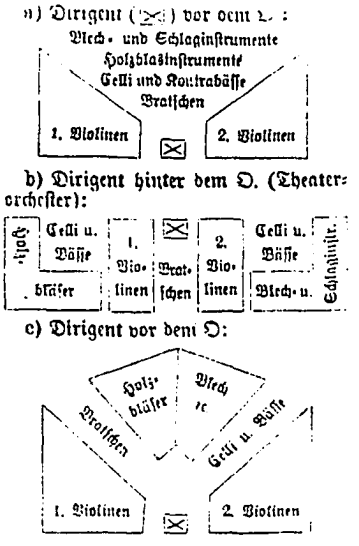

Illustration 22. Hugo Riemann, Standard Orchestral Dispositions, 1882 groundplans [Musik-Lexikon, 652].

In all Riemann's dispositions, the first violins were on the left, the second violins on the right, and the violas between them. This division of violins was now universally used in Germany: an 1885 photograph of the Meiningen Hofkapelle under Bülow, for example, shows the characteristic separation.[169] For cellos and basses, however, there was still

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der andern die Blechbläser aufgestellt (b) . . . was allerdings ebenfalls häufig erwünscht ist, besonders wenn die verschiedenen Gruppen einander antworten. Auch eine strahlenförmige Aufstellung (c) hat ihre Vorzüge, da sie keine Gruppe weiter vom Dirigenten wegrückt."

[169]Heinrich Riemann, Hans von Bülow, sein Leben und sein Wirken (Berlin: Harmonie, 1909) front.

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no standard arrangement.

The conductor continued to lead opera from the footlights throughout Wagner's career, with the orchestra behind him; and in the concert hall, despite the English example, choirs continued to sing between the orchestra and the audience. This may be seen, for example, in an 1852 painting by the painter and graphic artist Moritz von Schwind (1804-1871) of a performance of Beethoven's Choral Fantasy (Ill. 23).[170] An 1865 woodcut(after a drawing by the French painter and sculptor Jean Hubert Rève [1805-1871]) of a music festival in Budapest under Liszt (Ill. 24) shows that, even when the choir was very large, standard practice was to have it in front of the orchestra.

2. Wagner's Practice

In Wagner's seating plans for his orchestras, therewas a tendency toward the abolition of any distinction between the theater and the concert hall. If there were physical constraints on the orchestra in the theater, Wagner felt they should be removed: in his 1846 Dresden proposal, he

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[170] The painting is called "Die Symphonie;" the work is identifiable as Beethoven's Choral Fantasy because the standing woman chorister (at the left) holds a page with the title of the music legibly displayed; see Walther Vetter, "Die musikalischen Wesenbestandteile in der Kunst Moritz Schwind," Musik und Bild: Festschrift Max Seiffert zum siebzigsten Geburtstag, ed. Heinrich Besseler (Bärenreiter, 1938) 113-124.

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Illustration 23. Moritz von Schwind, Concert of Beethoven's Choral Fantasy, 1852 detail [Munich, Neue Pinakothek, in The Symphony, ed. Ursula von Rauchhaupt (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972) 8].

recommended that the Hoftheater orchestral space be rebuilt with its length not more than twice its breadth, and that its bulky wooden furnishings be replaced with thin iron music stands and portable, backless stools; he wondered how it was that architects could construct a theater without considering

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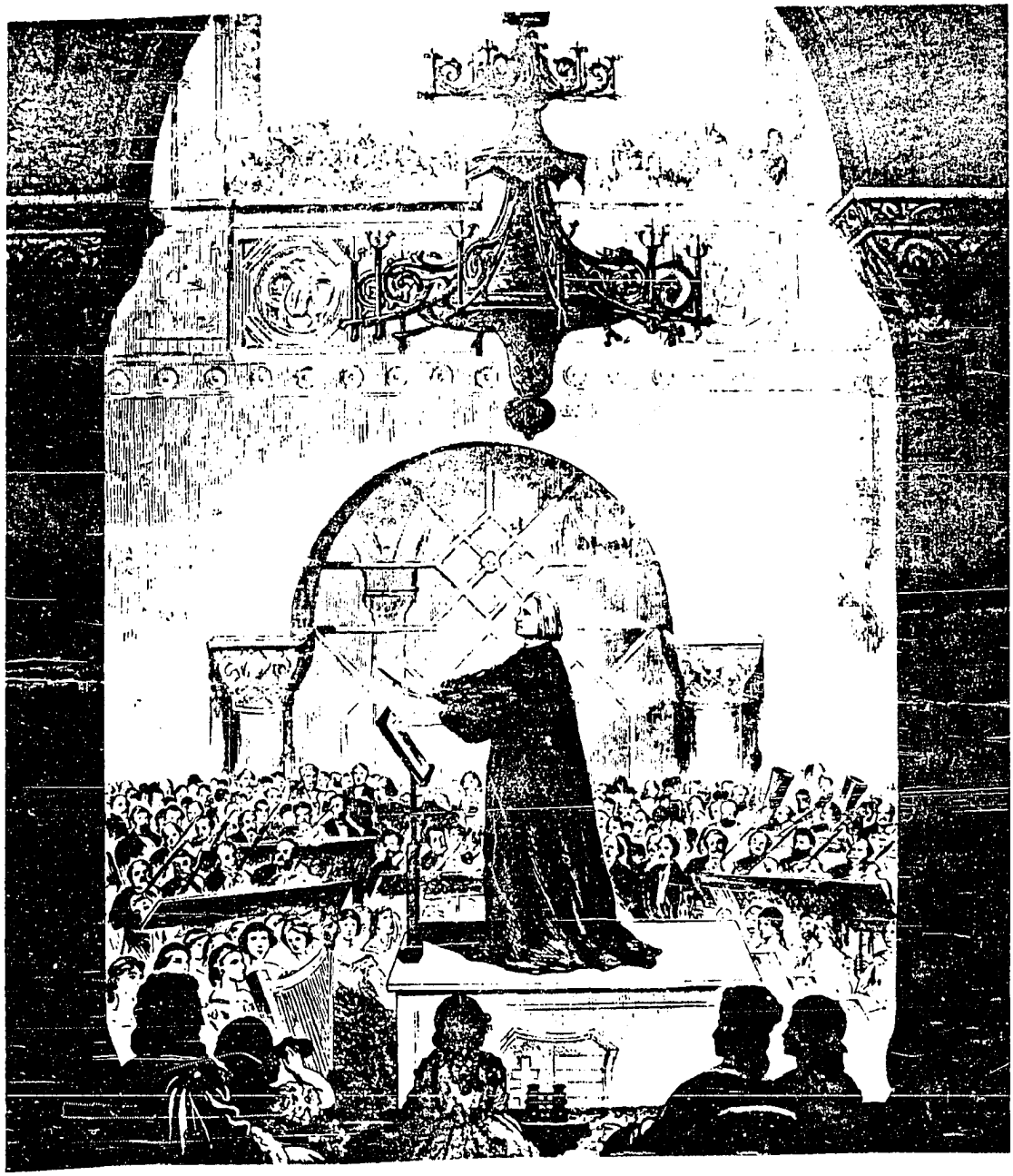

Illustration 24. Budapest Music Festival under Liszt, 1865 woodcut after J. Rève, detail [Illustrirte Zeitung Leipzig, XLV, 193, in Konzert, ed. Schwab, pl. 98].

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such obvious matters.[171] Early in 1857, in a letter to the St. Gall Theater Kapellmeister Heinrich Sczadrowsky (birth and death dates unknown), he wrote about the orchestral space in the theater:

> Something reasonable, of course, cannot come of it; had this been desired, one would have had to inquire beforehand how the orchestra itself should be set up, whereupon I would then have indicated that instead of a long, thin strip one should arrange a generous semicircle, approximately as follows:[172]

In his 1863 Preface to the published poem of the Ring, he outlined his most important scheme for the redesign of the orchestral space: an invisible orchestra, concealed by architectural illusion in an amphitheatrical auditorium behind a

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[171] Wagner, "Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 185-187.

[172] Wagner, letter to Heinrich Sczadrowsky (1857), in Max Fehr, Richard Wagners Schweizer Zeit, 2 vols. (Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer, 1934-55) II, 383: "Etwas vernünftiges kann dabei natürlich nicht herauskommen; wenn das gewollt würde, müsste man vorher anfragen, wie man das Orchester selbst bauen sollte, wo ich dann angegeben haben würde, dass man anstatt des langen dünnen Streifens einen guten Halbzirkel herrichte--ungefähre wie folgt: [diagram]."

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sound-wall. Such a disposition would conceal the movements of the conductor and orchestra, which should be "as hidden as the cords, ropes, laths, and scaffoldings of the stage decoration," and would produce "a transfigured, true sound, freed from all admixture of the non-musical noise inseparable from the production of instrumental tone."[173]

Wagner's idea of an invisible orchestra was not new: the Belgian-born composer André Ernest Modeste Grétry (1741-1813) had proposed it for Paris eighty years before.[174] Wagner, however, was the first to put the idea into practice. In 1865, King Ludwig II of Bavaria had the architect Gottfried Semper (1803-1879) make models for a permanent Munich theater following Wagner's ideas and for a provisional theater to be built in the Glaspalast, Munich, to experiment with his concepts. Both models incorporated a deep pit, with the conductor out of view of the audience, though without the

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[173]Wagner, "Vorwort zu Herausgabe der Dichtung des Bühnenfestspieles 'Der Ring des Nibelungen,'" Sämtliche Schriften, VI, 274-275: ". . . die ihm durchaus verborgen bleiben sollen, fast ebenso sorgsam, als die Fäden, Schnüre, Leisten und Bretter der Theaterdekorationen. . . . verklärten, reinen, von jeder Beimischung des, zur Hervorbringung des Tones den Instrumentisten unerlässlichen, aussermusikalischen Geräusches bestreiten Klang ein Orchester bietet. . ."

[174]André Grétry, "Projet d'un nouveau théâtre," Mémoires ou essais sur la musique, 3 vols. (Paris: L'imprimerie de la République, 1789) III, 30.

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curved hood eventually erected at Bayreuth.[175] Neither the provisional theater nor the permanent theater was ever built in Munich; it was not until the building of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus that Wagner was able to realize fully his vision of an ideal orchestral space. On August 2, 1875, after the first rehearsal in the Festspielhaus, Cosima wrote in her diary, "Heavenly sound, overwhelming impression, Richard very moved." [176]

With a broad, deep orchestra pit, Wagner saw no reason why the seating arrangement in the theater should be any different from the best possible arrangement for the concert hall. Furthermore, he thought that the conductor should be located at the opera in the same position as for concerts. In his 1846 Dresden proposal, he wrote:

> Since the conductor is obliged to lead singers and orchestra at the same time, he must stand, as seen from the audience, behind the orchestra, on whom he hence turns his back, and the orchestra, in order to keep an eye as much as possible on the conductor, hence must also turn its back to the audience, so that the full force of the orchestra actually goes towards the stage. To overcome this disadvantage, the consequence of the theater's essential construction, countless attempts have been made recently and in times past, not one of

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[175] The models are reproduced in Detta and Michael Petzet, Die Richard-Wagner-Bühnen König Ludwigs II, München, Bayreuth, Vol. VIII of Studien zur Kunst der neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1970); see also Manfred Semper, Das Münchener Festspielhaus: Gottfried Semper und Richard Wagner (Hamburg: C. H. A. Kloss, 1906).

[176] Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 858.

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> which can ever perfectly solve the problem; one would come close, however, if the conductor, as at a concert, were to place himself in front of the orchestra, and this [the orchestra] thence would be allowed to face the audience.[177]

Moving the conductor from the footlights to the other side of the pit, wrote Wagner, could not be done unless "the corps of singers is so confident and well rehearsed that it would not fear becoming disconcerted by the distance from the conductor."[178] It was probably for this reason that he did not suggest the disposition in his 1857 letter about the tiny, provincial St. Gall theater (see above, p. 168). Where the singers were well prepared, however, Wagner always advocated this arrangement: it is clear from his letter of October 25, 1866, to Ludwig that, even at the Hof- und Nationalstheater, Munich, where traditions were particularly ingrained, he had the pit rearranged whenever one of his own works was to be

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[177] Wagner, "Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 186: "Da der Dirigent Sänger und Orchester zugleich zu leiten hat, musser, vom Publikum aus, hinter dem Orchester stehen, wendet diesem daher den Rücken zu, und das Orchester, um den Dirigenten möglichst im Auge haben zu können, muss daher dem Publikum auch den Rücken zukehren, so dass die beste Wirkung des Orchesters eigentlich nach der Bühne geht. Diesem durch die nothwendige Konstruktion eines Theaters bedingten Übelstande abzuhelfen, sind bereits und zu allen Zeiten unzählige Versuche gemacht worden, nie kann aber einer derselben das Problem vollkommen lösen; am nächsten würde man ihm allerdings kommen, wenn der Dirigent, wie beim Konzert, sich vor das Orchester stellte, und dieses daher dem Publikum das Gesicht zukehren dürfte."

[178] Ibid., XII, 186: ". . . das Sängerpersonale so sicher und fest einstudirt ist, das es durch die Entfernung des Dirigenten nicht gestört zu werden fürchten dürfte."

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performed.[179] At the Bayreuth Festspielhaus, as at most theaters since, the conductor was positioned on the audience side of the orchestra, at the head of all his forces.

For the seating of the instruments, Wagner followed Spontini's example, and divided the first and second violins. From 1844 onwards, he avoided a wind-string division in the theater, describing it in Mein Leben as an arrangement which "demonstrates real crudeness and insensitivity to the beauty of internally blended orchestral sound of uniform effect all over."[180] He seems to have been strongly influenced by Spontini's orchestral seating:

> Moreover, Spontini's custom in this matter was certainly based on a quite correct and unfortunately, in most German orchestras, still completely misunderstood system whereby the quartet of stringed instruments is distributed evenly throughout the entire orchestra, the brass and percussion instruments, [which] overwhelm one another through concentration in one place, are assigned to both flanks, and the more delicate wind instruments, appropriately spaced, spread out to form a chain between the violins.[181]

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[179] Wagner, letter to Ludwig II (October 25, 1866), König Ludwig II und Richard Wagner Briefwechsel, 5 vols., ed. Otto Strobel (Karlsruhe: G. Braun Verlag, 1936-1939) II, 94-96.

[180] Wagner, Mein Leben, 296: ". . . eine wirkliche Roheit und Gefühllosigkeit für Schönheit eines sich innig verschmelzenden, überall gleichhin wirkenden Orchesterklanges bekundet."

[181] Ibid., 296: "Ausserdem beruhte die Gewöhnung Spontinis in diesem Betreff allerdings auf einem sehr richtigen und leider bei den meisten deutschen Orchestern noch gänzlich verkannten Systeme, wonach das Quartett der Saiteninstrumente gleichmässig über das ganze Orchester

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For cellos and basses, however, Wagner did not adopt Spontini's method, which involved shared desks dispersed throughout the orchestra. At Dresden in 1844, prior to Spontini's arrival, he had tried grouping cellos and basses together at the center of the space, as was customary in the concert hall. According to Schladerbach, this grouping, "by which the violas are completely forced back and suffer exceedingly in acoustic effect, caused the ensemble harm."[182] Ultimately, he settled on an arrangement of his own, in which cellos and basses were separately desked, as is the modern practice, and divided into two groups at either side of the violins. This may be seen in the groundplan of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus orchestra (Ill. 25) by the French music writer Albert Lavignac (1846-1916).

In the concert hall, Wagner advocated the same disposition he had developed for the theater. Of the curious arrangement used for concerts at the Dresden Opernhaus (see above, Ill. 19, p. 160), he was particularly critical. In a letter to Lüttichau, on March 4, 1846, he said that it was

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sich ausbreitet, die durch Kulmination auf einem Punkt erdrückenden Blech- und Schlaginstrumente getrennt, auf beide Flanken verteilt, und die zarteren Blasinstrumente in geeigneter Annäherung als Kette zwischen den Violinen sich dahinziehen."

[182] W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., Beiblätter zu den Correspondenz, Abend Zeitung, Dresden, XXVIII/16 (April 18, 1844) 64: ". . . wodurch die Bratschen ganz zurückgedrängt werden und an akustischer Wirkung ungemein verlieren, that dem Ensemble Eintrag."

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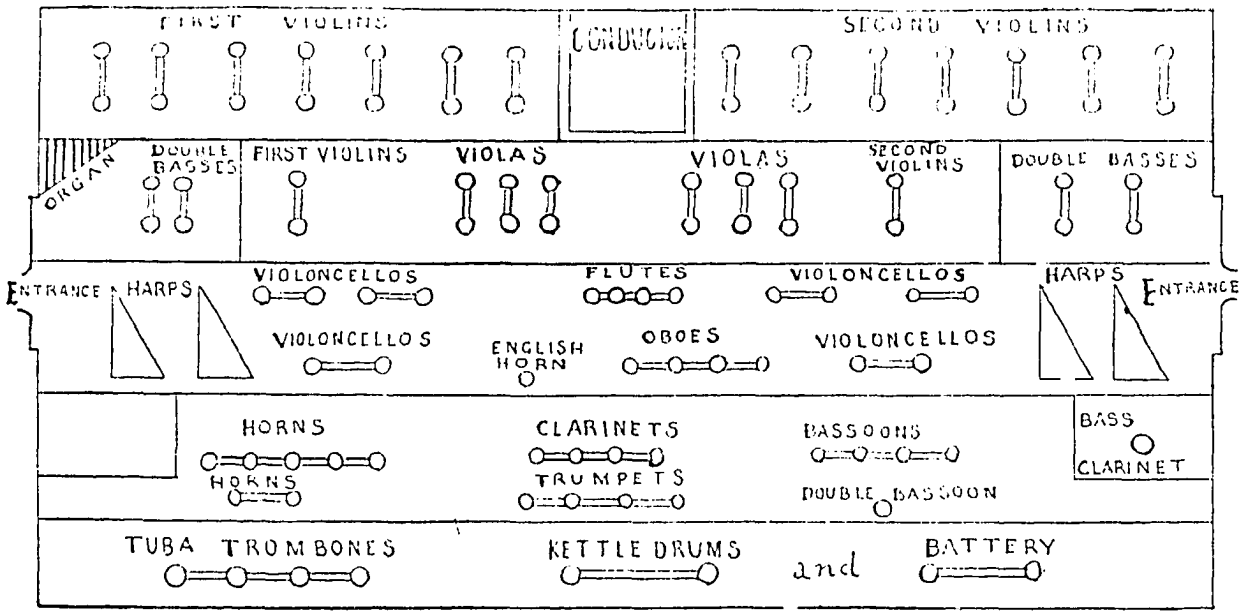

Arrangement of the Orchestra

Illustration 25. Albert Lavignac, Disposition of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus Orchestra, 1904 groundplan [The Music Dramas of Richard Wagner and His Festival Theatre at Bayreuth (London, 1904) reprint (New York, American Musicological Society, 1970) 62].

an arrangement:

> . . . which directly contradicts all the rules for the formation of an oratorio or symphony orchestra and also whose like probably cannot be found anywhere else on earth. Its defects hardly warrant discussion, as it must be obvious to everyone that an instrumental orchestra which is arranged only two rows deep in a wide semicircle of fifty-six feet in diameter can only play together precisely with the utmost effort and under the most uncomfortable pressure of anxiety, [and] cannot at all produce a beautiful and powerful effect consistent with its numerous artistic resources.[183]

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[183] Wagner, letter to Lüttichau (March 4, 1846), Sämtliche Briefe, II, 491: ". . . die allen Regeln für die Aufstellung eines Oratorien- und Symphonien-Orchesters ge-

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When he conducted there, Wagner had the podium at the head of the orchestra, and the instruments seated in the same order he advocated for the theater. When he conducted a series of subscription concerts in the Hoftheater, commencing on January 22, 1848, he adopted the same position; Schladerbach claimed that Wagner had encountered problems because of his "isolation" at the head of his forces.[184] At the second concert, on February 12, when Wagner's arrangement of Gluck's De Profundis was performed, he had the conductor's desk moved even closer to the audience to be at the head of both choir and orchestra. The critic Carl Banck (1809-1889) wrote after this concert that "the conductor's desk is not situated between the violins, where it is normally placed everywhere else in Europe with good reason."[185] At the third concert,

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radezu widerspricht und wahrscheinlich auch an keinem Orte der Welt ihres Gleichen findet. Die Mängel derselben bedürfen fast keiner Erörterung da es Jedem in die Augen springen muss, dass ein Instrumental-Orchester, welches nur zwei Reihen tief in einem weiten Halbkreis von 56 Fuss in Durchmesser aufgestellt ist, nur mit höchster Mühe und unter dem peinlichsten Einflusse der Aengstlichkeit präcis zusammenspielen, eine seinen zahlreichen künstlerischen Mitteln angemessene, schöne und kräftige Wirkung aber gar nicht hervorbringen kann.

[184] Dr. J[ulius] S[chladerbach], Morgenblatt für Unterhaltung und Belehrung I/24 (January 24, 1848) 101-102: ". . . der Isolirtheit der Dirigentenstellung . . ."

[185] C[arl]. B[anck]., "Hoftheater. Zweites Abonnementkonzert," Dresden Tageblatt -/45 (February 14, 1848) 356-357: ". . . das Dirigentenpult nicht mehr zwischen den Violinen Platz hat, wohin man's sonst in Europa aus guten Gründen zu stellen pflegt."

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on March 8, according to Schladerbach, the desk was moved closer to the orchestra, with better results.[186] At his 1860 Théâtre Italien concerts, he arranged the seating of the orchestra in the same way;[187] in 1863, his positioning of the conductor's desk at the head of the orchestra set a precedent at the Grand Theater, Moscow, which was regularly adopted thereafter;[188] in February 1873, at his concert at the Konzerthaus, Berlin, according to Cosima, he had the orchestra "arranged in his own way so that it immediately sounds different."[189] Only in certain works, such as the Beethoven Choral Symphony, did he vary his arrangement. In this work, the prominent role for cellos and basses in the final movement made it advisable to group them together; Wagner preserved some of the effect of a bass line at either end of the violins by having the choral basses in the herald-trumpeters boxes at either side of the stage (Ill. 26). The "Seid umschlungen Millionen" in the last movement became thereby a dialogue between basses and the rest of the choir.[190]

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[186] Dr. J[ulius] S[chladrbach], Dresden Morgenblatt für Unterhaltung und Belehrung I/80 (March 20, 1848) 333-334.

[187] See Footnote 93. [188] See Footnote 94.

[189] Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 590-592. On the back of a telegram, Wagner drew his preferred arrangement for Emil Heckl, ca. December 1871; see Briefe Wagners an Heckel, 25. This drawing corresponds with Lavignac's ground-plan (see above, Ill. 25).

[190] Porges, Beethovens 9. unter Wagner, 33.

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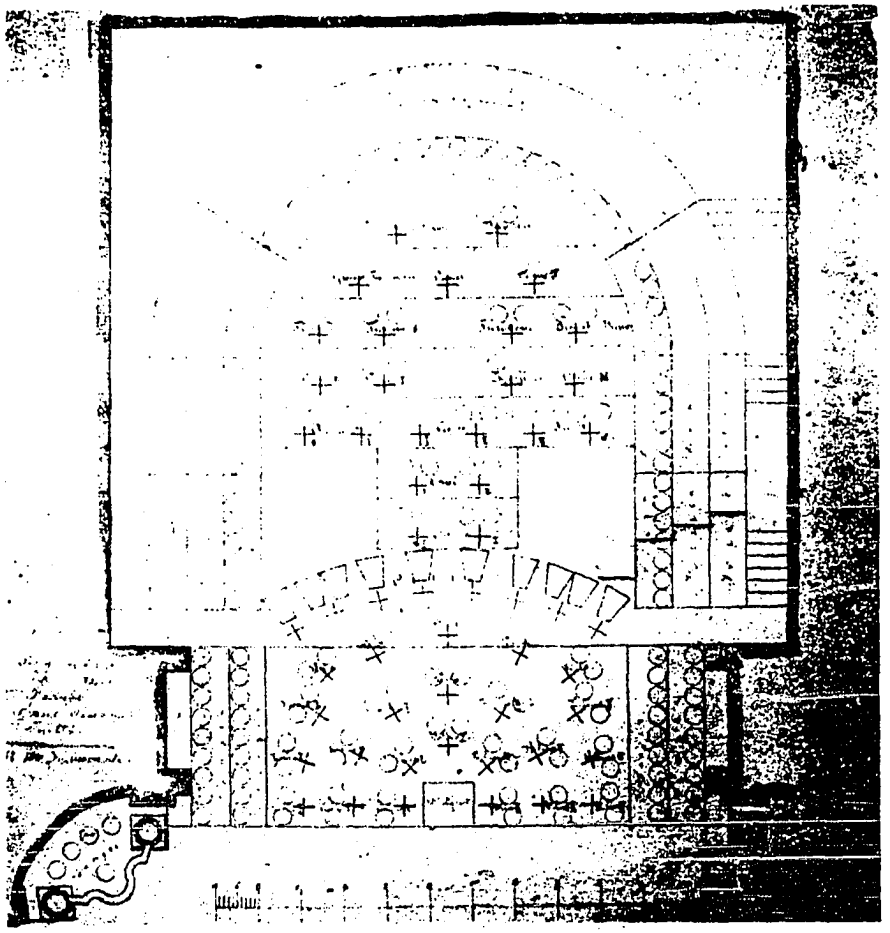

Illustration 26. Richard Wagner, Disposition of the Orchestra for Beethoven's Choral Symphony, Markgräfliches Opernhaus, Bayreuth, 1872 groundplan [Wagner: a Documentary Study, pl. 187]

Quite alone in nineteenth-century Germany, Wagner gave orchestral concerts with his choir on tiered, amphitheatrical rostra behind the orchestra. In 1846, collaborating with the Dresden theatrical machinist, he designed a plan for such a rostrum, which he submitted to Lüttichau. The plan is no longer extant, but he described it to Lüttichau as follows:

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> May it please your Excellency, upon perusal of the plan, to take note of the fact that the color red designates the areas for the chorus which, extending in amphitheatrical elevation laterally in tiers above and beyond the orchestra, furnishes at the same time an impressive sight; whilst, turned from all sides to the conductor and not hidden away by itself, it [the chorus] can be heard everywhere very powerfully and distinctly.191

In Mein Leben, he wrote that the arrangement was "a completely new system of my own;"[192] evidently he was unaware that a similar disposition had been in use at Exeter Hall, London, for a decade (see above, Ill. 21, p. 167). After the arrangement was introduced, at a performance of Beethoven's Choral Symphony on April 5, 1846, most critics regarded it as a great improvement. In 1847, the Abend Zeitung reported:

> The choruses sounded incomparably stronger than before, and the individual parts stood out independently and distinctly. The reason for this lay in the very practically effected arrangement of the singers on the newly constructed, more spacious orchestra platform, in

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[191] Wagner, letter to Lüttichau (March 4, 1846), Sämtliche Briefe, II, 493: "Beliebe es E. E. bei Durchsicht des Planes zu bemerken, dass die röthliche Farbe die Räume für den Gesangschor bezeichnet, welcher auf ampitheatralischen Erhöhungen an den Seiten noch bis über das Orchester sich erhebend, zugleich einen imposanten Anblick gewähren wird, während er von allen Seiten dem Dirigenten zugericht ist und, nicht in sich versteckt, überall sehr kräftig und deutlich gehört werden kann."

[192] Wagner, Mein Leben, 345: ". . . einem ganz neuen System von mir. . ."

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> support of which Kapellmeister Wagner is supposed to have been particularly active.[193]

As well as being of advantage to the choir, the raising of the wind instruments also "lent the finely articulated orchestra great precision and energy in the purely symphonic movements" according to Wagner.[194] He refused to conduct orchestral-choral works at Zurich when the Musikgesellschaft would not provide him with a similar rostrum,[195] and his 1872 rostrum at Bayreuth also followed the same principles.

When he had to give concerts in auditoriums not designed for them, he often went to great lengths to make alterations to them. For his 1848 Dresden subscription concerts, to offset the sound-deadening effect of the stage decorations in the Hoftheater, he proposed that a soundboard

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[193] [unsigned] "Grosse Musik-Aufführung, Abend Zeitung XXXI/14 (April 8, 1847) 335-336: "Die Chöre klangen ungleich kräftiger, als früher, und die einzelnen Stimmen traten frei und scharf hervor. Der Grund hiervon lag in der sehr zweckmässig bewirkten Aufstellung der Sänger auf dem neuhergestellten, räumlicheren Orchesterbaue, für dessen Capellmeister Wagner besonders Thätig gewesen sein soll."

[194] Wagner, Mein Leben, 345: ". . . während es in den rein symphonischen Sätzen dem fein gegliederten Orchester grosse Präzision und Energie verlieh."

[195] Ibid., 544.

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be erected behind the orchestra on the stage.[196] Banck wrote of the alterations:

> The arrangement made for the placement of the Kapelle on the stage was highly practical; and if thereby the musical effect could not be transformed into one, rare, lovely, metallic, and profuse resonance, as is only possible in enclosed halls, nevertheless an excellent and clear [effect] is achieved, of which the performance is the best evidence.[197]

Schladerbach, however, claimed that the balance between the brass and stringed instruments was awry,[198] and after the second concert, he wrote:

> Incidentally, the striking opinion, recently articulated by us, is expressive of the alteration in the acoustic relationships caused by the enclosure of the orchestra, and it seems to be the case that, at various locations in the theater, the music produces a not only completely different but indeed opposite effect; that,

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[196]Wagner, letter to the Board of the Dresden Kapellwerein (October 7, 1848) Sämtliche Briefe, II, 622.

[197]C[arl] B[anck], "Erstes Abonnementkonzert der königl. Kapelle," Dresden Tageblatt -/24 (January 24, 1848) 188-189: "Die Anordnung für die Aufstellung der Kapelle auf der Bühne ist höchst zweckmässig getroffen; und konnte die Klangwirkung dadurch auch nicht zu einer seltenen, schönen, voll Metall und Fülle der Resonanz umgewandelt werden, wie nur in geschlossenen Sälen möglich, so ist doch eine vortreffliche und deutliche erreicht, welche die Ausführung in bester Weise unterstütz."

[198]Dr. J[ulius] S[chladerbach], Desden Morgenblatt für Unterhaltung und Belehrung -/24 (January 24, 1848) 75.

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> e.g., the choruses sound by far louder, the orchestra on the other hand weaker, and so on.[199]

In November 1862, for a concert at the Theater an der Wien, Vienna, he erected a similar soundboard, with dramatic results.[200] In May 1871, for a concert at the Hofopernhaus, Berlin, he had another soundboard erected which, according to Cosima, "made a lovely sound."[201] Some of these alterations sapped all his profits from the concerts concerned. Only at his 1877 London concerts was he unable to rectify acoustic conditions that did not please him: the infamous acoustics of the Royal Albert Hall could not be easily corrected.

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[199] Dr. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]., "am 12. Febr.--Zweites Abonnementconcert in der königl. Kapelle," Dresden Morgenblatt für Unterhaltung und Belehrung I/45 (February 14, 1848) 188-189: "Beiläufig sei die auffallende und für unsere neulich aufgestellte Ansicht von der durch den Einbau des Orchesters bewirkten Veränderung der akustischen Verhältnisse sprechend, und scheint der Umstand, dass an verschiedenen Plätzen des Theaters die Musik eine nicht nur ganz verschiedene, sondern geradezu entgegengesetzte Wirkung hervorbringt, dass man z.B. die Chöre bei weitem stärker, das Orchester dagegen schwächer hört u.dgl.m."

[200] For criticisms of this performance, see Walther Bohe, Richard Wagner im Spiegel der Wiener Presse (Würzburg: K. Triltsch, 1933) 51-60.

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Cosima wrote in her diary: "Am horrified by the sound, a double echo! No impression possible."[202]

Conclusions

Wagner's principles of orchestral organization, which took shape soon after his return to Germany from Paris in 1843, may be summarized as follows:

1. To achieve a balance between wind and stringed instruments, he made the customary adjustments in the size of the string group, performing Small Orchestra works, such as Mozart operas, with an absolute minimum of twelve (ideally twenty-two) stringed instruments, and Large Orchestra works, such as Bellini operas, with an absolute minimum of twenty (ideally forty-five) stringed instruments. These forces were typical of contemporary practice.

2. As well as making the standard adjustments for Small and Large Orchestra, the two instrumental categories recognized by his contemporaries, he identified other types of instrumentation and advocated standard adjustments for them. These included Medium Orchestra, a term he used for works such as Der Freischütz, for which he advocated an absolute minimum of sixteen (ideally twenty-eight) stringed instruments, and works such as his Ring or Beethoven's Choral Symphony, for which he used

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201 Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 363.

202 Ibid, I, 962.

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sixty-five stringed instruments. The former type was a distinction of his own; orchestras of the latter size were more common in Paris or London than in Germany in his day.

3. He used all other methods of achieving balance customary at the time, including modification of dynamics, editing of scores, and--long after it had become unfashionable--doubling of wind parts in extremely large orchestras.

4. Within the string group, quite unlike the contemporary practice in Germany, which was to adopt a balance that favored the violins, he aimed at an even balance of the parts. His string proportions, two basses, three cellos, and three violas for every four first violins, approached the proportions of the modern orchestra.

5. In an effort to improve bass wind tone in the orchestra, he was an early advocate of the bass tuba and bass clarinet, and encouraged the invention of the bass trumpet and "Wagner tubas."

6. In an effort to improve tone, he was a fervent opponent of the use of band musicians, amateurs, and their instruments, the customary supplements to the orchestras of his time. He regularly proposed schemes for fully professional orchestras.

7. His orchestras suffered from the faulty wind intonation characteristic in Germany in his day, for he evidently shared his countrymen's distaste for new mechanisms and fingering systems. He adopted the high concert pitch characteristic of German orchestras at the time.

8. He sought to abolish customary distinctions between theater and concert hall orchestral arrangements. To this end, he urged theaters to rebuild their orchestral spaces into broad, deep pits, and he had soundboards and rostrums erected for his concerts in several auditoriums.

9. In both the theater and the concert hall, he was a pioneer of the modern practice of placing the conductor at the front of all his forces. He was opposed to the practice, universal in the nineteenth century, of conducting opera from the footlights.

10. In both the theater and the concert hall, he rejected the wind-string separation then commonly used as a basis for arranging the orchestra in Germany. He was an early

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advocate of the Paris Opéra plan, as modified by Spontini, of separating first and second violins on opposite sides of the orchestra.

11. He consistently placed cellos and basses at separate desks, as is the modern practice, but in an arrangement of his own--dividing them both into two groups, one at either end of the violins. Despite the variety of local practices in the desking and arrangement of these instruments in his day, he applied his plan wherever he conducted.

12. At choral-orchestral concerts, he placed the choir behind the orchestra on raised, amphitheatrical tiers, a disposition unknown outside London in the nineteenth century.

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Chapter IV

WAGNER'S CONDUCTING PRACTICE

While the Dresden critics were divided about the merits of Wagner's orchestral reorganization, they were united about his conducting. They all thought that, in well-known works, his tempos were eccentric, his gestures vague, and his beat unsteady. His errors seemed to them to multiply as time passed; in August 1846, for example, after a performance of The Marriage of Figaro, Carl Banck wrote, in a tone of exasperation:

> It seems an everlasting nuisance that the conductor (Kapellmeister Wagner) takes almost no tempo correctly or firmly; since the absence of the latter [firmness] does not permit the former [correctness] to emerge, a confusion of the downbeat with the upbeat may also contribute to the general lack of precision in keeping time. Now this unrest in the tempo is unbearable in Mozart's music, the arbitrary ritardandos are overly burdensome, and cannot be permitted, for instance, for the sake of those singers who are unable to articulate more rapidly. A complete mishandling of the tempos would doubtless be easy to avoid if one were to follow the traditional interpretation of this music, as it has been faithfully maintained to this day among older musicians.[1]

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[1] C[arl]. B[anck]., "Hoftheater. Die Hochzeit des Figaro," Dresden Tageblatt -/39 (August 8, 1846) 324-325

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According to Banck, Wagner could correct his faults by heeding the advice of his elders--the other Dresden Kapellmeister, Reissiger, for instance, or the concertmaster, Lipinsky.

A week after Banck's article appeared, Wagner published "Künstler und Kritiker" in the Dresden Anzeiger. In this essay, he replied briefly to Banck's specific criticisms: his gestures did not hinder the orchestra and therefore no one was justified in taking offense at them; and his Mozart tempos had come from Divis Weber, who had them from Mozart himself. But Wagner's purpose in writing this essay would not have been merely to defend himself against Banck, for he was accustomed to this kind of criticism. More importantly, he seems to have wanted a pretext to expound his developing theory of interpretation. Just as, five months before, a memorandum to Lüttichau became the vehicle for his major study of the principles of orchestral organization, so, now, a reply to Banck became the forum for his first essay

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"Bleibend scheint der Uebelstand, dass der Dirigent (Hr. Kapellmeister Wagner) fast kein Tempo richtig und fest nimmt; denn der Mangel am Zweiten lässt das Erste nicht aufkommen; ein Verwechseln des Niederschlags und Aufschlags mag bei dem überhaupt unklaren Taktiren dazu beitragen. Aber diese Unruhe im Tempo ist bei Mozart's Musik unerträglich, die willkürlichen ritardandos sind überlästig und dürfen, etwa den Sängern zu Liebe, die nicht schneller aussprechen können, nicht gemacht werden. Ein vollkommnes Vergreifen der Tempi wäre wohl leicht zu vermeiden, wenn man der überlieferten Auffassung dieser Musik folgte, wie sie sich bei ältern Musikern noch getreu erhalten hat.

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on conducting.

The central assertion of this essay is that, far from perpetrating errors, his conducting was assisting the expressive character of the music by deliberately calling for delicate modifications of tempo and sensitive dynamic nuances:

> By virtue of the indefinable gift of communication which must be an integral part of his make-up, he [the conductor] knows how to communicate this delicate sensitivity and nobler warmth to the practitioners with perfectly corresponding energy, to bring to life a performance of the most successful type, which would still be the most appropriate even if differences of opinion should justifiably arise over isolated points of interpretation; and especially in regard to the creator of the work itself, we may assume that he would prefer this kind of performance above any other, because every productive artist knows from his own experience how, for his work, the letter kills and the spirit gives life.[2]

Quite likely, this is the earliest declaration of the conductor's rights as an individual interpreter. Liszt expressed similar sentiments in his reply to an 1853 criticism by the conductor and writer Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885).

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[2]Richard Wagner, "Künstler und Kritiker," Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 6th ed., 16 vols., ed. Hans von Wolzogen and Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1914) XII, 212: "Er dieses feine Gefühl und diese edlere Wärme durch die undefinierbare Mitteilungsgabe, die ihm zu eigen sein muss, den Ausübenden mitzuteilen weiss, bei vollkommenen entsprechenden Kräften jene gelungenste Art der Ausführung zu Tage kommen, die, selbst wenn Meinungsverschiedenheiten über einzelne Punkte der Auffassung mit Recht aufkommen dürften, dennoch die vollendeste sein würde und namentlich auch vom Schöpfer des Werkes selbst dürfen wir annehmen,

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But Liszt's article dates from seven years later, and it echoes Wagner's essay so closely that a direct influence of the one upon the other seems possible.[3] Wagner developed first: by 1846, he already had a highly individual style of baton gesture and a strongly independent approach to interpretation.

We will examine this approach to interpretation in the next chapter; first, however, it will be useful to discover to what extent Wagner's style of baton gesture can be reconstructed from the surviving evidence. Standard methods of time-beating already prevailed in Germany; in 1835, Schilling had codified beat patterns similar to those used today. The movements of the baton had to be "carried out most precisely, each in a quick motion," wrote Schilling, for "circling [and] swaying . . . serves to create vacil-

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dass er dieser Gattung von Aufführung den Vorzug vor jeder anderen geben würde, weil jeder productive Künstler aus Erfahrung selbst weiss, wie tötend auch für sein Werk der Buchstabe und wie belebend der Geist ist.

[3]See Franz Liszt, letter to Richard Pohl, trans. in The Conductor's Art, ed. Carl Bamberger (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) 67. Liszt uses the same biblical allusion as Wagner ("the letter killeth the spirit"); he was replying to Hiller's criticism of his performance of Beethoven's Choral Symphony, the Overture to Tannhäuser, selections from Lohengrin, Schumann's Overture to Manfred (1849), and his own cantata An die Künstler (1853), at Karlsruhe on October 3 and 5, 1853. The events are not referred to in the Wagner-Liszt correspondence.

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lation and insecurity rather than to guide and solidify."[4] He was also critical of those French and Italian conductors who persisted with archaic methods of beating, such as that in which the downbeat was indicated by the raising instead of the lowering of the hand. Wagner does not seem to have studied the standard beat patterns (see above, Chapter II, pp. 94-95), but he did not adopt archaic methods either. Over a period of many years, he developed a style of gesture that was completely his own. In the present chapter, therefore, we will attempt to reconstruct Wagner's conducting practice, by following its development from his earliest engagements to the end of his career.

Both written accounts and visual representations may be exploited as evidence in such a reconstruction. Each item must be carefully assessed, for the written accounts were often colored by subjective feeling or affected by a lack of musical expertise, and the visual representations--chiefly caricatures, sketches, and engravings in the press--were frequently distorted by artistic license or satirical intention. Sometimes, objective information is

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[4]Gustav Schilling, "Taktschlagen," Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst, 7 vols. (Stuttgart, 1835-37; supplement, 1842), reprint (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973) VI, 576: "Die Bewegungen des Taktschlagens auf das Präciseste, in einem Ruck eine jede, ausgeführt werden. . . . Das rundliche, wogende . . . kann eher im Takte schwankend und unsicher machen, als leiten u. befestigen."

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nearly lost in the unimportant details of an otherwise inflamed review or grotesque illustration.

1. Provincial Engagements, 1834-1839

No visual depictions of Wagner's conducting in his years as a Musikdirektor in provincial German towns have come to light. This is hardly surprising, for at that point, Wagner was completely unknown; the illustrated press became interested in him only later, when his activities had attracted wide controversy. Written accounts of his early engagements are scarce for the same reason: for his documentary study of the musical press in Wagner's time, Kirchmeyer found only sixteen press references to Wagner between 1832 and 1841, as against 603 between 1842 and 1846, and most of these were brief notes under Vermischtes (Miscellaneous) or Mancherlei (Odds and Ends).[5] In any event, the critics tended to discuss singers, stage designs, or opera plots rather than conductors; in those days, conductors' names did not appear

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[5]Helmut Kirchmeyer, Situationsgeschichte der Musikkritik und des musikalischen Pressewesens in Deutschland dargestellt vom Ausgange des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. IV. Teil. Das zeitgenössische Wagner-Bild, Vol. 7 of Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1968) I, xxiv-xxvii.

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on playbills, for they were not a box office draw.[6]

The only report of Wagner's debut as an opera conductor, directing Don Giovanni on August 3, 1834, at Bad Lauchstädt, was his own in Mein Leben:

> Although, with the exception of a few of my instrumental compositions, I had not yet conducted, particularly an opera, the rehearsal and performance went off rather well, and only a few times was there a lack of precision in Donna Anna's recitative; yet that did not draw any type of hostility towards me, and when I eagerly and optimistically took my place for Lumpaci Vagabundus [Der böse Geist], which I had thoroughly rehearsed, it seemed before long that, on the whole, full confidence in the new acquisition had been attained.[7]

The orchestra, both for Don Giovanni and for Gläser's operetta, was culled from the town band, which as a rule would not have had a keyboard player; it is possible, therefore, that Wagner would have had to lead from the keyboard in the old-fashioned manner. But there is nothing in Mein Leben to confirm this, nor are there any details of his work in the

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[6] An exception was the flamboyant Louis Antoine Jullien (1812-1860); see Adam Carse, The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz. A History of the Orchestra in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century and of the Development of Orchestral Baton Conducting (New York: Broude Brothers, 1948) 339-340.

[7] Richard Wagner, Mein Leben, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: Paul List Verlag, 1976) 97: "Obwohl ich, ausser einiger meiner Instrumentalkompositionen, noch nicht, namentlich keine Oper, dirigiert hatte, ging Probe und Aufführung ziemlich gut vonstätten; nur einige Male mangelte es an Präzision im Rezitativ der Donna Anna; doch zog mir das keinerlei Feindseligkeit zu, und als ich bei Lumpaci Vagabundus,

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Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, which the following month reported his appointment to Bethmann's Theater Company.[8]

As to his performance method during the company's regular season at Magdeburg, Wagner himself gave a clue. His long article on the 1836 Magdeburg season in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, signed "ϟϟϟ", does not mention his method,[9] but his account in Mein Leben reads:

> It was not without charm for me to perceive myself before long as a maestro at the very same conductor's desk where, not many long years before, maestro Kühnlein [Johann Christoph Kienlen] had so impressed the puzzled young enthusiast with the clever wisdom of his musical direction; for indeed, I very soon succeeded in obtaining perfect confidence in directing an orchestra. I was soon made welcome by the excellent musicians of the orchestra, and their splendid ensemble in spirited overtures which, particularly towards the end, I generally caused to be played at unheard-of quick tempos, often earned for us all the intoxicating applause of the public.[10]

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welchen ich vollständig einzustudieren hatte, mich rührig und unverdrossen anstellte, schien man bald allgemein volles Vertrauen in die neue Akquisition zu gewinnen."

[8] Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung XXXVI/39 (September 24, 1834) 651.

[9] [Richard Wagner], "Aus Magdeburg," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik IV/36 (May 3, 1836) 132; reprinted in idem., Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 12-14.

[10] Wagner, Mein Leben, 101: "Es war nicht ohne Reiz für mich, an demselben Dirigentenpult, an welchem vor noch

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Evidently, Wagner conducted at a "desk" at Magdeburg. In this period, keyboard instruments were sometimes used by conductors as desks, even when they were not played (see above, Chapter II, p. 53); whether this was the case at Magdeburg is not made clear. There is no more definite evidence of his conducting at Magdeburg: in 1836, for example, a report in the Dresden Abend-Zeitung mentions an improvement in Bethmann's vocal ensemble, a result of Wagner's energetic search for good singers, but does not mention Wagner at all.[11]

The first press report of Wagner's conducting comes from Königsberg in 1837. The local Kapellmeister Fryderyk Edward Sobolewski (1808-1872), under the pseudonym "J. Feski," wrote in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik of an orchestral concert given by Wagner:

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nicht langen Jahren Meister Kühnlein dem konfusen jugendlichen Enthusiasten durch gewiegte Musikdirektoren-Weisheit imponierte, mich nun selbst bald als Meister zu fühlen: denn es glückte mir in der Tat sehr bald, mir eine vollkommene Sicherheit in der Orchesterdirektion anzueignen. Von den tüchtigen Musikern des Orchesters war ich in kurzem gern gesehen, und ihr gutes Zusammenspiel trug uns gemeinschaftlich bei feurigen Ouvertüren, welche ich namentlich gegen das Ende gewöhnlich in unerhört schnellem Tempo spielen liess, oft den berauschenden Applaus des Publikums ein."

[11] Dresden Abend-Zeitung, XX/24 (February 26, 1836).

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> Herr Musikdirektor Wagner conducted the whole with impressive decorum, and sought to guard himself from the error, for which Herr Theatermusikdirektor [Louis] Schuberth [1806-1850] has been criticized, of conducting with both arms by keeping one arm continuously at his side.[12]

Elsewhere, Sobolewski wrote that Wagner avoided Schuberth's habit of "fumbling about with both arms," and that before he conducted, Wagner had "to work himself through a chaos of passions."[13]

It must be remembered that Sobolewski was on friendly terms with Wagner: in a letter to Schumann, Wagner related a conversation he and Sobolewski had had.[14] Still, Sobolewski's remarks are extremely valuable, for they compare Wagner with his predecessor at Königsberg, who was a seasoned conductor. If Wagner beat time with only one arm,

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[12]J. Feski, "Aus Königsberg," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik VI/30 (April 14, 1837) 120-122: "Herr MD. Wagner dirigirte das Ganze mit imponirendem Anstande, und suchte sich vor dem Fehler mit zwei Armen zu dirigiren, welcher Hrn. Theatermusikdirektor Schuberth vorgeworfen wird, dadurch zu schützen, dass er einen beständig in die Seite setzt."

[13]Edward Sobolewski, cited in Erwin Kroll, Musikstadt Königsberg: Geschichte und Erinnerung (Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1966) 144: "mit beiden Armen gerudert . . . durch ein Chaos von Leidenschaften durcharbeiten."

[14]Wagner, letter to Robert Schumann (December 3, 1836) in Richard Wagner, Sämtliche Briefe, 4+ vols., ed. Gertrude Strobel and Werner Wolf (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967-) I, 319.

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then he must have cued entrances of the parts with either his eyes or his beating arm. There is no mention of his using a baton, although his irritation at being expected to conduct without one at Dresden (see below, p. 200) suggests that he had become accustomed to baton conducting in his Königsberg or Riga days. Whether he traced the beat patterns described by Schilling cannot be determined, although it would seem unlikely; his "impressive decorum" possibly involved a normative, non-espressivo beat field that was small, for, as Rudolf points out in his study of baton grammar, a large beat field looks awkward.[15] A small beat field would be consistent with Wagner's later style.

That Sobolewski's comments should refer to an instrumental concert is in itself significant. Less than a year before, Schumann had made public his opposition to the conducting of orchestral concerts in his article opposing baton conducting (see above, Chapter II, p. 55), and in some places concerts were still led by the concertmaster. By taking control at his orchestral concerts, Wagner identified himself with the most progressive group of the time.

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[15] Max Rudolf, The Grammar of Conducting: a Practical Guide to Baton Technique and Orchestral Interpretation, 2nd ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980) 53. Rudolf defines beat field as "the general area covered" by the beat, and non-espressivo beat as "a plain continuous motion." It is "neutral in character" and used where, "without any emotional bias," the conductor intends "a clear presentation of the rhythm." Ibid., 1, 2, 7.

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Wagner's departure from Königsberg after only two months was reported in the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung by a certain Johann Friedrich Dorn (b. 1781), evidently a composer, without comment,[16] but in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, M. Handbüchen (pseudonym for an unknown writer) observed that Wagner "stayed here too short a time to be able to demonstrate his talent from many sides."[17] From his years at the Deutsche Stadttheater, Riga, 1837-1838, several reports survive. Heinrich Dorn, whose opera Der Schöffe von Paris was given its première under Wagner at Riga on November 13, 1838, recalled:

> He was always most painstaking at rehearsals, as I had the best opportunity of judging in the case of my own opera; and when he stood at the desk his fiery temperament carried even the oldest members of the band away with him.[18]

The Director of the company, Holtei, wrote that Wagner:

> . . . harrassed the company with endless rehearsals lasting for hours; nothing was right in his eyes, no-

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[16] J[ohann]. F[riedrich]. Dorn, "Königsberg. Bericht aus den Jahren 1836 und 1837," Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, XL/5 (January 31, 1838) 79-81.

[17] M. Handbüchen, "Aus Königsberg," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik VII/17 (August 29, 1837) 66-67: "Er hielt sich hier zu kurze Zeit auf, um sein Talent mehrseitig zeigen zu können."

[18] Heinrich Dorn, Aus meinem Leben: Musikalische Skizze, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1870-72), cited in W. Ashton Ellis, Life of Richard Wagner, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (London, 1908), reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977) I, 251.

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> thing good enough for him, nothing finely shaded enough.[19]

In the Riga Zuschauer, after a performance of I capuleti ed i montecchi under Wagner in November 1837, the composer H. von Brackel (birth and death dates unknown) recommended to one singer:

> . . . better observance of the instructions of a mentor so versed in his art, so patient and kindly as Musikdirektor Wagner.[20]

That Wagner enjoyed the full support of his players may be concluded from the presence of their unanimous signatures, together with that of his assistant, violinist-conductor Franz Löbmann (1811-1878), on his petition of September 11, 1838, proposing a scheme of subscription concerts.[21] At Riga, Wagner was a young conductor of confidence, efficiency, and high spirit.

In his years as a provincial Musikdirektor, therefore, by taking control at orchestral concerts, by his adop-

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[19]Karl von Holtei, cited in Ernest Newman, The Life of Richard Wagner, 4 vols. (London, 1937), reprint (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976) I, 236.

[20]H. von Brackel, "Dramaturgische Blätter," Riga Zuschauer (November 3, 1837), cited in Ellis, Life of Wagner, I, 233.

[21]Richard Wagner, "Appell an seine Musiker," Briefe. Die Sammlung Burrell, ed. John N. Burk, commentary by Karl and Irene Geiringer (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1953) 341-343.

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tion of an impressive, decorous style of gesture, and by his apparent abandonment of the keyboard for a baton, Wagner aligned himself with the most progressive conductors of the day. No doubt much of the fire and precision of his Königsberg and Riga performances was developed in imitation of Spontini, whose renowned spirit and precision he had observed in May 1836 (see above, Chapter II, p. 85). It should not be assumed, however, that Wagner's beating was continuous: this was not yet a universal practice. Weber had sometimes used the baton to conduct only the first four measures and fermate of his Freischütz Overture,[22] and even Mendelssohn would lay down his baton for long stretches of the music.[23] Nor should it be assumed that Wagner had not experienced the practice of dual control, in which the concertmaster conducted the orchestra while the director conducted the singers, for Berlioz noted that it was still to be found in German orchestras in 1843.[24] If Wagner made any radical departure from the conducting methods of the 1830s, the critics would have commented upon it; but no such remark

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[22]Hector Berlioz, The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, ed. and trans. David Cairns (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969) 306.

[23]Alfred Dörffel, Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis 25. November 1881 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1881) 85.

[24]Berlioz, Memoirs, 264.

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was made. On the other hand, the widespread practice of conducting from a first violin part or some elaboration of it would probably not have affected Wagner, for he was an excellent score reader (see above, Chapter II, p. 65), and being no violinist, he had little use for a violin part.[25] In this, too, he would have been among the most progressive conductors of his day; but as yet, there were no signs of a break with the conventions of the 1830s.

2. Kapellmeister at Dresden, 1843-1849

In 1842, after three years in Paris, Wagner went to Dresden to be on hand for the preparation of the première of *Rienzi* by the Hoftheater. Coincidentally, two positions appeared in the Dresden musical establishment, and in January 1843, one of these was offered to him. The normal period of probation as a *Musikdirektor* was waived, and Wagner was placed on an equal footing with Reissiger as *Kapellmeister* to Friedrich August II of Saxony, with the singer-conductor August Röckel (1814-1876) as *Musikdirektor* subordinate to him. His immediate appointment as *Kapellmeister* was remarkable--Reissiger, for example, sixteen years his

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[25] Several contemporary writers urged conductors to abandon violin parts in favor of full scores; see, for example, Georges Kastner, *Cours d'instrumentation considéré sous les rapports poëtiques et philosophiques de l'art* (Paris: A. Meissonier and J. C. Heugel, 1837) 28.

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senior, had served probation in 1827 before gaining the title--but the decision owed little to Wagner's talent as a conductor. As has been pointed out (see above, Chapter II, p. 50), it was success as a composer that counted in obtaining these positions, and the success of Rienzi at Dresden was enormous.

Throughout his career at Dresden, Wagner had to conduct opera from the footlights with the orchestra behind him, the position popular in German opera houses in his day (see above, Ill. 9, p. 151). From his first appearance at Dresden, conducting Rienzi on December 12, 1842, he used a baton, as may be gleaned from the reminiscences of Ferdinand Heine's daughter, Marie Heine. Prior to this performance, he ate supper with the Heines, and Marie recalled:

> At the time only a royal Kapellmeister or Musikdirektor was allowed to use the conductor's baton. Others had to give the beat with the bow of the violin. . . . Wagner lisped, "Well how is it to be tonight? I can hardly be expected to conduct tonight with a yardstick of a fiddle bow!" My brother, a youngster of 17 and a great worshipper of Wagner, disappeared from the dinner table. After some time he reappeared with a small conductor's baton. "Well, Herr Wagner, will this do?" he asked. "Yes of course, Wilhelm! But where did you get it so quickly?" Now my brother laughingly turned to my mother. "You see, mother, this will cost you the handle of your best mixing stick, which I sawed off, and a spoon of flour for paste to cover it with white paper."[26]

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[26]Marie Heine, "Wagner's Activity as Kapellmeister," Letters of Richard Wagner: the Burrell Collection, ed. John N. Burk (New York: Vienna House, 1972) 123.

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This description of a wooden, probably cylindrical baton covered with white paper is corroborated by Wagner himself. Recalling Spontini's visit to Dresden in 1844, he wrote in Mein Leben:

> He asked me what kind of baton we conducted with: I indicated with my hand approximately the size and strength of a moderate rod of ordinary wood, which, covered with white paper, was always served to us fresh by the orchestra attendant.[27]

Such a baton would have been somewhat heavier and thicker than the modern equivalent, and its "moderate" length may be estimated easily. Wagner evidently regarded violin bows--which are over thirty inches in length--as too long; Berlioz, in his treatise, recommended a slim, light stick, white rather than dark, of about twenty inches;[28] Mendelssohn preferred a shorter stick of whalebone, covered with white kid.[29] Therefore, fifteen-to-twenty inches would be a "moderate" length and consistent with the batons shown in the later illustrations of Wagner conducting.

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[27]Wagner, Mein Leben, 293: "Frug er mich, mit was für einer Art von Taktstock wir dirigierten: ich bezeichnete ihm mit der Hand ungefähr die Grösse und Stärke eines mässigen Stäbchens von gewöhnlichem Holz, welches, mit weissem Papier überzogen, uns immer frisch vom Kapelldiener serviert wurde."

[28]Hector Berlioz, Treatise on Instrumentation, trans. Theodore Front (New York: E. F. Kalmus, 1948) 411.

[29]Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 334.

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Three weeks after his debut as a conductor at Dresden, Wagner conducted the première of The Flying Dutchman, on January 2, 1843. With its chilling, ominous plot, the work was completely different from Rienzi, and it survived only four performances. Its failure made a deep impression on Wagner:

> The outcome [of this performance] was extremely instructive for me and initiated the decisive turning point in my later fortunes. First, out of the totally unsuccessful performance I drew the precept that it required scrupulous attention in order to secure the appropriate result for the dramatic representation of my new works. I recognized that I had been more or less of the opinion that my score would have to make itself understood on its own, and my singers would have to arrive on their own at the point that satisfied me.[30]

He realized that it had been the spectacle, the ballet, and the brilliant sonorities that had made Rienzi so appealing to the audience, while the critical points of the drama made little impact. When drama was unaccompanied by spectacle, as was the case in the Dutchman, the audience turned away. He was convinced that proper interpretation of the dramatic

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[30]Wagner, Mein Leben, 255: "Der Erfolg [dieser Aufführung] war für mich äusserst lehrreich und leitete die entscheidende Wendung meiner späteren Schicksale ein. Zunächst hatte ich aus der im ganzen missglückten Aufführung mir die Lehre zu entnehmen, welcher besonnenen Sorgfalt es bedürfe, um mich des entsprechenden Ausfalles der dramatischen Darstellung meiner neuer Arbeiten zu versichern. Ich erkannte, dass ich mehr oder weniger der Meinung gewesen war, meine Partitur müsse sich ganz von selbst verständlich machen und meine Sänger müssten ganz von selbst dazu kommen, es mir recht zu machen."

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scenes would make them the most compelling part of his operas; but such interpretation, he now saw, required a change in the way operas were prepared for performance. The première of the Dutchman sowed in Wagner's mind the seeds of his later proposals for the reform of the way works were rehearsed.

Apart from the Dutchman première, enthusiastic reports of Wagner's work date from his first months in Dresden. Berlioz, who was at Dresden on March 5, the day of his installation as Kapellmeister, wrote of him assisting at rehearsals "energetically and with great good will,"[31] and in Voyage musical (1844), he praised him for the "energy and precision" of his conducting of Rienzi and the Dutchman.[32] The government official and musical dilettante Hermann von Friesen (1802-1888) never forgot the delicate nuances of the orchestra and the soft, clear, restrained accompaniment of Gluck's Armide under Wagner on March 5, 1843.[33]

Wagner's habit, developed at Magdeburg, of taking standard works at unheard-of speeds, however, was quickly censured by the press. After a performance of Don Giovanni

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[31]Berlioz, Memoirs, 302-303.

[32]Hector Berlioz, Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie, 2 vols. (Paris, 1844), cited in idem., Memoirs, 602.

[33]Hermann von Friesen, Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben, 2 vols. (Dresden: W. Baensch, 1880-1910) I, 247-249.

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under Wagner on April 26, the Zeitschrift für die elegante Welt wrote:

> . . . his stay in Paris has exercised a negative influence on him. This influence no doubt explains the great errors of the interpretation, but does not excuse them. . . . In Paris it is a consistently prevailing error in the performance of German compositions that the slow tempos are taken far too slowly, the quick too quickly; and yesterday, from the beginning to the end of the opera, Herr Wagner fell into the same basic error. . . . as, e.g., in the A-major duet of Don Giovanni and Zerlina, or Zerlina's F-major aria, or the A-major trio in the second act, yesterday's tempos were so far too slow for them to have kept to the most correct as four is to three, i.e., in the period which would have been used for three beats, at least four would have had to be completed. Other [places] were the opposite, e.g., the entrance of the 4/4 time in C Major in the first finale [was] by the same ratio too quick. . . . Of course, I must add that the Kapellmeister in many instances could not do as he wished; that he gave one tempo, but the singers took another, and there was nothing left for him but to give in.34

It is quite possible that the problems in this performance,

34"Über eine Aufführung des Don Juan auf dem Dresdener Hoftheater," Zeitschrift für die elegante Welt XLIII/19 (May 10, 1843) 463-464: "sein Aufenthalt in Paris nachtheiligen Einfluss auf ihn geübt zu haben. Dieser Einfluss erklärt nun wohl die grossen Fehler der Auffassung, aber entschuldigt sie nicht. . . . In Paris ist bei Ausübung deutscher Compositionen durchgängig der Fehler herrschend, dass die langsamen Tempi viel zu langsam, die raschen zu rasch genommen werden, und Herr Wagner war gestern von Anfang bis zu Ende der Oper demselben Grundfehler verfallen. . . . wie, z.B. in dem A-dur-Duett von Don Juan und Zerline, oder der F-dur-Ariette Zerlinens, oder dem A-dur-Terzett im zweiten Akt waren die gestrigen Tempi um so viel zu langsam, dass sie sich zu den richtigen höchstens wie 4:3 verhielten, d.h. in dem Zeitraum der für 3 Takte gebraucht wurde hätten mindestens 4 vorüber sein müssen. Umgekehrt war Anderes, z.B. der Eintritt des 4/4 Takts C-dur im ersten Finale in demselben Verhältniss zu rasch. . . . Allerdings muss ich hinzufügen, dass der Kapell-

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as the critic suggested, arose because Wagner was not able to impose the tempos he preferred, for standard repertoire pieces were staged at Dresden on one rehearsal.[35] One critic of the Dresden Abend-Zeitung blamed this practice for the "very mediocre" performance of Lucrezia Borgia under Wagner on July 19; in view of the circumstances, he wrote, "the achievement of the orchestra was praiseworthy."[36] Of a performance of Don Giovanni under Wagner in September, the Zeitschrift für die elegante Welt wrote that the orchestra was the only worthy feature.[37]

Unmistakably, Wagner's ability to impose his wishes on the orchestra was hindered by the concertmaster Lipinsky, who was accustomed to the old practice of dual control. "He assumed that an orchestra in which he led would always play equally excellently," wrote Wagner, "whoever was at the conductor's desk."[38] He played louder than his colleagues and

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meister bei manchen Stücken nicht konnte wie er wollte, dass er ein Tempo angab, die Sänger aber ein andres nahmen, und ihm nichts übrig blieb, als nachzugeben."

[35]Wagner, Mein Leben, 277-278.

[36]-c- [Carl Banck?], "Beiblätter zu den Correspondenz," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XXVII/3 (July 20, 1843) 23-24.

[37]"Bester Herr Doktor!" Zeitschrift für die elegante Welt XLIII/38 (September 20, 1843) 923-927.

[38]Wagner, Mein Leben, 265: "Er annahm, ein Orchester, in welchem er vorspiele, leiste immer gleich vorzügliches, es möge am Dirigentenpulte stehen wer da wolle."

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always entered ahead of the beat: Friesen wrote that one "could always hear this virtuoso, even when the orchestra was at its strongest,"[39] and Wagner quipped that Lipinsky "was a leader in a double sense, as he was always a little ahead."[40] Lipinsky was affronted by Wagner's attempts to change the traditional tempos in standard works, and he used the shortcomings of the recent Don Giovanni as a pretext to complain to the Generaldirektor Lüttichau. Wagner had to write a letter of explanation to Lüttichau, on May 2, agreeing to pursue his aspirations for change more gradually.[41]

Of Wagner's other activities in 1843, there were numerous reports of his work as Liedermeister of the Dresden Liedertafel, although little about his conducting. After Das Liebesmahl der Apostel (1843) under Wagner on July 6, in the Frauenkirche, the Dresden Abend-Zeitung reported that the tenors could not be clearly heard and the basses were not "pure and vigorous";[42] such imperfections are common,

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[39]Friesen, Erinnerungen, I, 223. Similar reports of Lipinsky are in Robert Prölss, Geschichte des Hoftheaters zu Dresden, von seinen Anfängen zum Jahre 1862 (Dresden: W. Boensch, 1878) 489.

[40]Wagner, Mein Leben, 265.

[41]Wagner, letter to August von Lüttichau (May 2, 1843), Sämtliche Briefe, II, 243-247.

[42]-c-[Carl Banck?], "Beiblätter zu den Correspondenz," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XXVII/2 (July 13, 1843) 13-15

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however, when the forces consist of nine choirs combined in a mass of 1,200 voices. Wagner was evidently not averse to making cuts in opera scores: the Abend-Zeitung reported cuts in Weigl's Die Schweizerfamilie on August 31 and in William Tell on October 1.[43] The orchestra in William Tell, according to Der Komet, "maintains its good reputation."[44] Berlioz, under the pseudonym "Ferdinand Braun," wrote in the same month that Wagner conducted Rienzi "with rare energy and precision,"[45] and that in Hans Heiling under Wagner on January 29, 1844, the orchestra was "in this case, as ever, very good," and the Overture was "for the most part performed faultlessly, despite the far too hurried, somewhat nonchalant direction of Kapellmeister Wagner."[46]

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[43] W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., "Beiblätter zu den Correspondenz," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XVII/11 (September 14, 1843) 83-84; and XVII/15 (October 20, 1843) 99, respectively.

[44] Braun von Braunthal, "Dramaturgische Briefe," Der Komet XIV/216 (October 29, 1843) 864: "Das Orchester, unter Kapellmeister Wagner's Leitung, bewährt seinen hohen Ruf."

[45] Ferdinand Braun [Hector Berlioz], "Pariser Courier," Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung III/129 (October 28, 1843) 543-544: "ihn seine Oper mit einer seltenen Energie und Präcision dirigiren sehen."

[46] Ibid., IV/17 (February 8, 1844) 67: "Das Orchester war, wie immer so auch diessmal sehr brav, die allerdings etwas Beethoven'sche Ouvertüre wurde grösstentheils makellos aufgeführt, trotz der allzuhurtigen, etwas nonchalanten Direction des Capellm. Wagner."

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While some critics were won over to Wagner's novel tempos, Schladerbach consistently opposed them, on the grounds that they were detrimental to good ensemble and rhythmic precision. After a performance of Auber's Fra Diavolo in October 1843, he wrote:

> The orchestra, this time under the direction of Herr Kapellmeister Wagner, was very good. But we cannot claim to be in agreement with the honored conductor over the choice of tempos: they went too far into the extreme in both directions, and a more successful treatment would have been desirable. Today many things dragged, e.g., the Soldiers' Chorus in the Introduction, the Marquis' Barcarolle, the place in the disguise scene: "Für solch einfach ländliches Mädchen," etc., and the chorus of the third act; "Tanzet dem Frühling fröhlich entgegen," was a true specimen of rhythmic confusion.[47]

After a performance of Titus on May 3, 1844, he wrote:

> It [the orchestra] continually gravitated with real feeling back to the traditional tempo. . . . [and] man-

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[47]W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., "Beiblätter zu den Correspondenz," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XXVII/18 (November 2, 1843) 109-110: "Das Orchester, diesmal unter Hrn. Kapellm. Wagner's Leitung, war sehr gut. Aber über die Wahl der Tempi können wir mit dem geehrten Dirigenten uns nicht einverstanden erklären: sie geht nach beiden Seiten hin zu sehr in's Extrem, und es wäre eine glücklichere Vermittlung zu wünschen. Vieles war heute verschleppt, z.B. der Soldatenchor in der Introduction, die Barcarole des Marquis, die Stelle in der Entkleidungsscene: "Für solch einfach ländliches Mädchen" u. s.w. und der Chor des 3. Acts: 'Tanzet dem Frühling fröhlich entgegen,' war ein wahres Muster von Tactverwirrung."

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> ifested such a rhythmic confusion, that one could not even say: "All's well that ends well!"[48]

In a performance of Boieldieu's La dame blanche under Wagner on June 14, 1845, he heard "very frequently occurring rhythmic deviations" and "conflict between singers and orchestra."[49]

No less than at the opera, Schladerbach disapproved of Wagner in the concert hall. On March 31, 1844, Wagner conducted Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony at the Opernhaus; despite the archaic disposition of the orchestra (see above, Ill. 19, p. 160), he was satisfied with the performance.[50] In the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, a certain Gustav Nauenberg (birth and death dates unknown) wrote that Wagner's performance placed the work "in a lovely, completely individual light; [though] egoistic music-pedants will certainly not be always in agreement with the choice of tempi, etc."[51]

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[48] Ibid., XXVIII/19 (May 9, 1844) 75-76: "Das [Orchester] mit richtigem Gefühle stets wieder in das traditionelle Tempo hineinstrebte. . . . offenbarte sich eine solche rythmische Confusion, dass man nicht einmal sagen konnte: 'Ende gut, alles Gut!'"

[49] W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., "Beiblätter zu den Correspondenz," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XXIX/26 (June 26, 1845) 103: "sehr häufig vorkommenden rhythmischen Schwankungen . . . der Widerstreit zwischen Sängern und Orchester."

[50] Wagner, Mein Leben, 286.

[51] Gustav Nauenberg, Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung XLVI/18 (May 1, 1844) 306-308: "in einer schönen, ganz

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Schladerbach, however, wrote:

> In spite of its [the work's] own, very significant difficulty, the performance was not as successful as we had anticipated. The necessary unity in the bowing of the violins was lacking; the crescendos and diminuendos --particularly the lengthier ones--were not sure and even enough; here and there, e.g., shortly before the reprise of the first part in the first movement, and in the middle of the andante (which seemed to us a little bit too agitated in contrast to the scherzo), etc., insecurities became evident, at least to him who knows these musical creations well.[52]

Some of these insecurities, he said, could be blamed on insufficient rehearsal. On February 6, 1845, at a concert in the Hoftheater, he found Wagner's performance of Beethoven's 7th Symphony so fast in its outer movements that the basses were a blur.[53] On March 16, 1845, Wagner's performance of Haydn's Creation was "bright, strong, and vigorous," accord-

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eigenthümlichen Beleuchtung; egoistische Musikpedanten werden freilich mit der Wahl der Tempi u.s.w. nicht immer einverstanden sein."

[52] W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., "Monat Marz," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XXVIII/14 (April 4, 1844) 54-56: "Die Ausführung nicht so gelungen, als wir, trotz der sehr bedeutenden Schwierigkeit derselben, erwartet hatten. Im Bogenstriche der Violinen fehlte die nothwendige Einheit; die crescendo und diminuendo--namentlich die längern--waren nicht sicher und gleichmässig genug; hier und da, z.B. kurz vor der Reprise des ersten Theils im ersten Satze, und in der Mitte des Andante, das uns ein klein wenig zu bewegt in seinem Gegensatze zum Scherzo erschien u.s.w., zeigten sich Unsicherheiten, die wenigstens dem, der diese Tonschöpfungen genauer kennt." A similar report by Schladerbach appeared in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik XX/32 (April 18, 1844) 127-128.

[53] Ibid., XXIX/7 (February 13, 1845) 27-28.

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ing to the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.[54] but "seemed too drawn out and their execution had been treated too sweetly-sentimental in general," according to Schladerbach.[55]

Apart from his hostility to new tempos, Schladerbach disliked tempo rubato, which Wagner applied more frequently in 1844, heralding the crystallization of his individual conducting principles. Schladerbach first referred to it after a performance of Don Giovanni on June 9, 1844, in which, he wrote, ritardando was kept under control: "Today he has proved that he sincerely desires what is good and right."[56] After a performance of the Abduction from the Seraglio on June 14, 1844, however, Schladerbach wrote that Wagner had again unpleasantly overdone the ritardando--a "new stimulant to disguise the triteness of shallow Italian operatic melodies."[57]

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[54]"Dresden," Leipzig Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung 79 (March 20, 1845) 753-754: ". . . klar, kräftig und frisch."

[55]W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., "Dresden," Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung XLVII/41 (October 8, 1845) 726: ". . . zu gedehnt erschienen und der Vortrag derselben im Allgemeinen zu süsslich-sentimental gehalten worden wäre."

[56]W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., "Beiblätter zu den Correspondenz," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XXVIII/24 (June 13, 1844) 95-96: "Er hat heute bewiesen, dass er das Gute und Rechte redlich will. . ."

[57]Ibid., XXVIII/25 (June 20, 1844) 100: "Dieses neueren Reizmittels, um die Fadheit italienischer flacher Opernmelodien zu verdecken . . ."

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Doubtlessly, Wagner's tempos and use of rubato were extreme when compared with other conductors'of the 1840s. Against Schladerbach's remarks, however, should be set the views of the flutist and writer on music Moritz Fürstenau (1824-1889), a member of the Dresden orchestra from 1842, who in later years related his memories of Wagner to Felix Weingartner. Weingartner wrote:

> He brought to it [conducting] a faculty of immediate communication with the players and imposition of his will on them. . . . I regret that I never saw Wagner conduct. He was described to me; the body, of no more than middle height, with its stiff deportment, the movement of the arms not immoderately great or sweeping, but decisive and very much to the point; showing no restlessness, in spite of his vivacity; usually not needing the score at the concert; fixing his expressive glance on the players and ruling the orchestra imperially, like the Weber he used to admire as a boy. The old flutist Fürstenau of Dresden told me that often, when Wagner conducted, the players had no sense of being led. Each believed himself to be following freely his own feeling, yet they all worked together wonderfully. It was Wagner's mighty will that powerfully but unperceived had overborne their single wills, so that each thought himself free, while in reality he only followed the leader, whose artistic force lived and worked in him.[58]

No lack of ensemble in Wagner's performances is reported here, nor in Mary Heine's recollections:

> He knew how to draw together outstanding artists as well as the less important members of the Court Or-

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[58]Felix Weingartner, "On Conducting," Weingartner on Music and Conducting, trans. Ernest Newman (New York: Dover Publications, 1969) 8-9.

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> chestra into an entity which responded to the slightest indication of his baton, to his every glance, arousing the audience to enthusiam.[59]

Both these accounts, incidentally, mention the penetrating quality of Wagner's glance, which was frequently remarked upon in later years.

Assuredly, Wagner's most important activities as a conductor at Dresden were the writing of Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend (see above, Chapter III, pp. 99-100) and the organizing of performances of Beethoven's Choral Symphony. In 1847, a year after Die Königliche Kapelle betreffend was presented, Wagner was advised that his recommendations had been rejected: while it remains the most important statement of his principles of orchestral organization, the proposal came to almost nothing at Dresden. Its rejection had far-reaching effects on Wagner's work:

> With clearly expressed purpose, I withdrew myself from my responsibility to participate in every facet of management, by limiting myself solely to the holding of rehearsals and to the conducting of the performances of the operas assigned to me.[60]

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[59]Marie Heine, "Wagner's Activity as Kapellmeister," 128.

[60]Wagner, Mein Leben, 355: "Entzog mich mit bestimmt ausgesprochener Tendenz selbst meiner Pflicht der Beteiligung an jedem Zweige der Direktionsführung, indem ich mich lediglich auf die Abhaltung der Proben und Leitung der Aufführungen der mir zugewiesenen Opern beschränkte."

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He withdrew from the initiative and stored away his highest aspirations as a conductor for a time when they could be realized elsewhere. Newman believed the rejection of the proposal was a major factor in drawing Wagner into the revolutionary camp, showing him that only a violent uprising would scrape away the barnacles of tradition at Dresden.[61]

Meanwhile, however, on Palm Sunday, April 5, 1846, Wagner gave the first of his Dresden performances of Beethoven's Choral Symphony. His choice of work was received with disapproval: the orchestra protested to Lüttichau, and Schladerbach pointed out that the piece dated from the period when Beethoven was deaf and not at his best; it was both improper as a start to Holy Week and ill-advised for a concert intended to raise money for the orchestral Pension Fund (it had been given at Dresden eight years previously with little success).[62] Nevertheless, Wagner prevailed, and his success was so great that the work had to be repeated on Palm Sunday in 1847 and 1849.

Wagner's preparations for this performance were unprecedented. Apart from building a special orchestral rostrum (see above, Chapter III, p. 178), on March 24 he wrote

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[61] Newman, Life of Wagner, I, 473.

[62] W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., "Dresden," Wiener Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung VI/25 (February 26, 1846) 99.

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an anonymous notice in the Dresden Anzeiger to stir up public interest in the work.[63] He borrowed the orchestral parts from Berlin--the Dresden Pension Fund Committee having been unwilling to buy them--and before the rehearsals marked them in detail with expressive nuances and other details, fruits of his lifelong absorption in the score.[64] He wrote an Erläuterung (Explanatory Program) to be distributed at the concert in lieu of a libretto, which offered, not the text of Schiller's Ode to Joy, but lines from Goethe's Faust as a means of conveying the "artistic scheme" of the composition.[65] In his account of the performance, published in 1866, he explained that the Erläuterung had been intended not as a critical analysis but as "a guide to an emotional understanding of the work," to act on the listeners' feelings.[66] He rehearsed the work from memory, astounding the orchestra by correcting errors in their parts by heart. There were twelve rehearsals for the string recitative in the last movement alone, endless repetitions for the soloists, and choral rehearsals--for the

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[63] Wagner, "Beethoven's neunte Symphonie," Dresden Anzeiger -/83 (March 24, 1846) 14.

[64] Wagner's account of his procedure is in Mein Leben, 341-345.

[65] Wagner, "Zu Beethovens neunte Symphonie," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 341-343.

[66] Idem., "Bericht über die Aufführung der neunten Symphonie von Beethoven im Jahre 1846 in Dresden," Sämtliche Schriften, II, 50-64.

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augmented choir of 300--long remembered in Dresden for their fervor. The sculptor Gustav Adolph Kietz (1824-1908) recalled:

> From the first rehearsal onwards it made an unforgettable impression on me to watch how Wagner stepped up to the conductor's desk, closed the large score which lay open, and put it under his chair. He now began to conduct and rehearse this incomprehensible mammoth work from memory.[67]

Most reviewers were impressed with the performance and all mentioned the Erläuterung. The idea of offering the audience an aid to appreciation was greeted by the critics, for the most part, as an innovation.[68] Wagner's alterations to the work were intended to restore vividness, unlike the alterations made by other conductors at the time, such as the rewriting of entire vocal passages and the adding of an organ accompaniment at the London Philharmonic's 1841 performance,[69] which were intended to simplify or "improve" the

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[67]Gustav Adolph Kietz, Richard Wagner in den Jahren 1842-1849 und 1873-1875: Erinnerungen, recorded by Marie Kietz (Dresden: Carl Reissner, 1905) 49-50: "Es machte auf mich von der ersten Probe an einen unvergesslichen Eindruck zu beobachten, wie Wagner an sein Pult trat, die grosse aufgeschlagene Partitur zumachte und unter seinen Sitz legte, und nun anfing, das unbegreifliche Riesenwerk aus dem Kopfe zu dirigieren und einstudieren."

[68]The origin of this kind of explanatory program has not been fully investigated, and would be a fruitful topic for further research.

[69]Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 463.

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work. Indeed, the Choral Symphony had been regarded as an inferior work, and most writers had repeatedly criticized it as evidence of Beethoven's deterioration in his last years.[70] Wagner's positive approach was welcomed; the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik wrote:

> For his production of the symphony, Herr Wagner, to whom we could only extend wishes for greater outward calm, and [whom we] would advise to cease the annoying [habit of] keeping time with his foot, deserves the greatest recognition.71

The Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung hoped that a repeat performance would be possible,[72] and the Allgemeine Theater-Chronik wrote:

> Wagner, who conducted this work in a masterly manner, also deserves sincere thanks for his efforts at facilitating knowledge of its artistic scheme, through suggestions which accompanied the text.73

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[70] On the contrary, an early appreciation was Robert Schumann, "Fastnachtsrede von Florestan," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 2 (1835) 116-117.

[71] F. W. M, "Aus Dresden," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik XXIV/40 (May 17, 1846) 159-160: "Hrn. Wagner, dem wir nur noch mehr äussere Ruhe wünschen, und das störende Markiren des Tactes mit dem Fusse zu unterlassen rathen, die grösste Anerkennung für das Einstudiren der Symphonie gebührt."

[72] "Dresden," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung -/97 (April 7, 1846) 902.

[73] "Dresden," Allgemeine Theater-Chronik XV/46 (April 13, 1846) 184: "Wagner, der dieses Werk meisterlich dirigirte, verdient auch noch für sein Bestreben: durch (die dem Texte beigedruckten) Hindeutungen die Erkenntniss der künstlerischen Anordnung zu erleichtern aufrichtigen Dank."

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A number of reviewers were alarmed at Wagner's conducting from memory: the critic and editor Richard Pohl (1826-1896), who wrote under the pseudonym "Hoplit," recalled his own reaction:

> I cannot say that I saw him "at the conductor's desk," since he conducted by heart; which certainly impressed me, though on the other hand I thought it dubious as Mendelssohn never did this at Leipzig.[74]

After this, Wagner made performance from memory his standard practice at orchestral concerts, bringing down upon his shoulders the full weight of critical wrath. Although Weber, Mendelssohn, and Berlioz all had excellent memories, and sometimes rehearsed from memory when a score had been mislaid, they never performed from memory.[75] The practice was unknown in the 1840s, and still uncommon in the 1870s. Even in 1895, Weingartner placed little value on it; he felt it had "nothing to do with the perfection of the performances."[76]

Wagner's audible tapping with his feet, mentioned in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, was also noted by Schladerbach, who described it as the desperate resort, when all else

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[74]Richard Pohl (1883), cited in Ellis, Life of Wagner, VI, 287.

[75]Elliot Galkin, "The Theory and Practice of Orchestral Conducting since 1752" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1960) 411-414, 447-449.

[76]Weingartner, "On Conducting," 36.

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had failed, of the commonest town bandsman.[77] Audible beating, although widely condemned, was not unknown in Wagner's day;[78] after 1846, Wagner is often reported tapping his feet, both at rehearsals and at performances. Schladerbach's long review seemed to sum up all his previous objections to Wagner. Even the Erläuterung did not please him--such illustrative treatment of music, he wrote, was obviously based upon Über Malerei in der Tonkunst (1828), the treatise of Mendelssohn's mentor Adolph Bernhard Marx (1795-1866).

The 1846 Palm Sunday concert set a pattern which Wagner always followed in preparing Beethoven symphonies for performance in later years.[79] Most important, however, it marked the appearance of a defined purpose in his individual methods. His novel tempos, his insistence on unwritten nuances and modifications, and his pleas for orchestral reorganization no longer merely sought to produce effects that would surprise and titillate an audience; now they sought to realize the full potential of a score hitherto barely understood by

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[77]W. J[ulius]. S[chladerbach]. E., "Das Palmsonntagsconcert," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XXX/16 (April 16, 1846) 379-384.

[78]Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 337.

[79]In 1852, Wagner told his friend Theodor Uhlig that he never again consented to conduct a Beethoven symphony without similar preparations; see Wagner, letter to Theodor Uhlig (February 15, 1852) Sämtliche Briefe IV, 287.

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either players or public. After this concert, more of the critics were sympathetic to Wagner's aspirations. Even Carl Banck was no longer uniformly hostile, despite his 1846 attack on Wagner's treatment of The Marriage of Figaro.

After the revival of Gluck's Iphigénie en Aulide under Wagner on February 22, 1847, the Leipziger Zeitung wrote of the profound respect Wagner had shown for Gluck which, "through strength and tenderness, paid homage to comprehension [as] was to be anticipated."[80] The Abend-Zeitung wrote:

> The orchestra, under Wagner's leadership, was excellent, the string section as strong as it was sound. Still, such teamwork and understanding are necessary, too, if Gluck's genius is still to be propagated today.[81]

The work had not been performed in Dresden for forty years, and the popular score in Germany had been a version heavily edited by Spontini. Wagner's version, according to Banck, showed "much skill and moderation," although he could not abide the "sluggish tempo" of the Overture caused by the

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[80] "Dresden," Leipziger Zeitung -/51 (March 1, 1847) 953: ". . . durch Kraft und Zartheit, Verständnis huldigte, war vorauszusetzen."

[81] "Iphigénie en Aulis," Dresden Abend-Zeitung XXXI/9 (March 4, 1847) 208-209: "Das Orchester, unter Wagners Leitung, war vorzüglich, das Streichquartett eben so kräftig als gediegen. Ein solches Zusammenspiel und Verständnis ist aber auch erforderlich, soll Glucks Genius noch heutigen Tages Propaganda machen."

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deletion of Spontini's editorial Allegro.[82] Wagner's work, however, had not restored Gluck's score to its authentic state: he had added new recitatives and connecting interludes of his own. In his version, there are eight pages of new material, forty pages of revised material, and nearly every other page is peppered with expressive nuances.[83] Schumann, who thought that he detected "inadmissible" additions in the performance, wrote that "Gluck would probably make use of a contrary process with Wagner's operas--he would cut out."[84] The performance was prime evidence of Wagner's participation in the creative editing customary among conductors at the time (see above, Chapter I, p. 23).

Tannhäuser was revived on August 1, 1847, to warm reviews, although Wagner still regarded the singers' interpretations as utterly inadequate.[85] Rienzi was given at

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[82] C[arl]. B[anck]., "Hoftheater," Dresden Tageblatt -/57 (February 26, 1847) 452-453: ". . . vielem Geschick und Mässigung . . . . . Dem schleppenden Tempo der Ouvertüre . . ."

[83] The score is in the Burrell Collection; see Catalogue of the Burrell Collection of Wagner Documents, Letters and Biographical Material, ed. Peter E. Wright (London: Nonpareil Press, 1929). The nuances for the Overture are given in Appendix II, Figure 7, below.

[84] Robert Schumann, On Music and Musicians, 2 vols., ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Pantheon, 1946) I, 177.

[85] Wagner, Mein Leben, 320.

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Berlin under Wagner on October 26, 1847, and the Leipzig theorist Richard Ferdinand Wuerst (1824-1881), who wrote criticism under the pseudonym "Nanté," noted the "careful and energetic conducting."[86] The influential critic Ludwig Rellstab (1799-1860) and his colleagues at Berlin were too busy complaining of the opera's great length and "overblown" instrumentation to comment on the conducting.[87]

At orchestral concerts, apart from his innovations in orchestral disposition (see above, Chapter III, pp. 178-180), Wagner instituted a type of program quite unlike the long fragmentary programs characteristic of the Leipzig Gewandhaus, the Paris Société des Concerts, or the London Philharmonic at the time.[88] At his 1848 subscription series, each concert commenced with a symphony, proceeded to an *a cappella* choral work conducted by the chorusmaster of the Hoftheater Wilhelm Fischer (1789-1859), and concluded with a Beethoven Symphony. During the choral works--rarely-heard motets of Palestrina, Bach, Gluck, and Mendelssohn--the orchestra left the stage and the choir took its place. The duration and pattern of these concerts bear closer relation

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[86] Nanté [Richard Wuerst], "Signale aus Berlin," *Signale für die musikalische Welt* V/45 (November 3, 1847) 355-357: ". . . umsichtigen und energischen Leitung."

[87] Ludwig Rellstab, *Vossische Zeitung* -/252 (October 28, 1847).

[88] Carse, *Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz*, 13.

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to their modern successors than to their contemporary counterparts.

Among criticisms of these concerts, Banck reported on Wagner's "habit of driving the quick tempos too strongly and slightly trailing the slow ones," but noted that his rehearsals had been highly praised.[89] After the third concert on March 8, 1848, Schladerbach reported that Wagner's choice of tempos had been more moderate and suitable to a clear understanding of the works.[90] After a performance of Beethoven's 8th Symphony under Wagner on April 16, 1848, the Leipziger Zeitung wrote of "appreciating this gift with the sincerest approval,"[91] but the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik noted that Wagner was "continually, perceptibly divergent from acceptable tempos."[92] Pohl wrote:

> The coquetry with which he stereotypically conducts Beethoven's masterpieces without taking a glance at the

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[89] C[arl]. B[anck]., "Hoftheater. Zweites Abonnementkonzert," Dresden Tageblatt -/24 (January 24, 1848) 188-189: "Wagner hat die Gewohnheit, die raschen Tempi zu stark zu treiben und die langsamen leicht zu schleppen."

[90] Dr J[ulius], S[chladerbach]., Dresden Morgenblatt für Unterhaltung und Belehrung I/80 (March 20, 1848) 333-334.

[91] "Dresden," Leipziger Zeitung -/111 (April 20, 1848) 251: ". . . mit dem lautesten Beifall diese Gabe anerkennend."

[92] F. W. M., "Aus Dresden," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik XXVIII/38 (May 9, 1848) 225-226: "Wagner stets das zu merkliche Abweichen vom angemessenen Tempo."

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> score is to be denounced. It is supposed to be something extraordinary, but means nothing more than that Herr Wagner is very taken with himself. Moreover, the spectator is left in doubt whether Herr Wagner does not treat the concertmaster Lipinsky as his living score; as he actually copies only the tempo which the former indicates with his bow, and as Herr Wagner, as in the general rehearsal, does not think it thoroughly beneath his dignity to let the orchestra pull him back from his outrageous tempo in the last movement and lead him to a calmer one.[93]

If his individual interpretations were gaining acceptance in some quarters, his conducting from memory continued to provoke strong opposition.

In the same year, Wagner wrote to the Saxon Minister of Education with his proposal for a German National Theater. As well as reiterating his recommendations for restructuring the Dresden orchestra (see above, Chapter III, p. 124), Wagner sounded a new theme in this document. If the standard of orchestral performance was to be advanced, he was becoming more and more convinced that, on the one hand, better training

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[93]Richard [Pohl], "Signale aus Dresden," Signale für die musikalische Welt VI/18 (April 29, 1848) 137-138: "Es ist die Coquetterie zu rügen, mit der er stereotyp die Beethoven'schen Meisterwerke dirigirt, ohne einen Blick in die Partitur zu thun. Das soll etwas Besonderes sein, heisst aber Nichts, als dass Herr Wagner von sich sehr eingenommen ist. Uebrigens ist der Zuschauer im Zweifel, ob Herr Wagner nicht den Concertmeister Lipinski als seine lebendige Partitur betrachtet, da er eigentlich nur das Tempo nachschlägt was jener vorgeigt, und da Herr Wagner, wie in der Generalprobe, es durchaus nicht unter seiner Würde hält, sich aus seinem vergriffenen Tempo im letzten Satz durch das Orchester heraus, und in ein gemässigteres hinüber führen zu lassen."

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for musicians would have to be provided and, on the other, orchestras would have to be freed from their dependence on royal patronage. For this reason, he proposed that the Leipzig Conservatory be transferred to Dresden as the nucleus of a National School, and that the Dresden opera be managed by an elected council of players and composers responsible not to the court but to the State.[94] The autograph of the submission has marginal notes by Lüttichau which indicate that he regarded the proposal for his replacement as insolent;[95] it is not surprising, therefore, that the plan was rejected. Nevertheless, concern for better education of players and different management arrangements reappear in several of Wagner's later writings.

Wagner's last year at Dresden was characterized by an increasing carelessness in his work. His spirits were affected by word he had received, in July 1848, of his publisher's refusal to accept Lohengrin and of Lüttichau's refusal to have it performed, decisions that were understandable

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[94]Wagner, "Entwurf zur Organisation eines deutscher Nationaltheaters für das Königreich Sachsen," Sämtliche Schriften, II, 233-273.

[95]A transcript of these marginal notes is in Letters of Wagner, 220-222.

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given the general uncertainty of the political situation at the time.[96] His last performance at Dresden was a further performance of the Choral Symphony on Palm Sunday, April 1, 1849; Banck and Wuerst agreed that it was excellent, although they still reported extreme tempos.[97]

In his Dresden years, therefore, Wagner developed from a Musikdirektor with a habit of taking music at unusual speeds and a heart set on the standards of Spontini at Berlin to a baton conductor of strongly independent aspirations. He was refining his use of unwritten dynamic nuances and tempo modifications into a consistent method, he was explaining them in Erläuterungen, and he was reflecting on ways of changing the complexion of performance through better education and more effective orchestral organization.

Possibly, his resolve to develop an independent method was stiffened in 1844, when he discovered that Spontini, whom he had so revered as a conductor, belonged decisively to the past. Observing Spontini conduct La Vestale at Dresden, he could appreciate the "uncommon energy" with which he pursued "a goal of theatrical art which had become all but unknown in our time," but he came to realize that the old

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[96]For a discussion of Wagner's last year at Dresden, see Newman, Life of Wagner, II, 45-46.

[97]Carl Banck, "Grosse Musikaufführung der königlichen Capelle am Palmsonntage," Dresdener Journal und Anzeiger -/94 (April 4, 1849) 752; [Richard] W[uerst]., "Signale aus Dresden," Signale für die musikalische Welt VII/20 (April 4, 1849) 157.

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man's curious arrangement of the orchestra, his deference to star singers, his insistence on small points--such as sharp rhythmic accents--his manner of conducting, and his long, ebony baton, which he held by the middle, were little more than the combination of old habits and "a strange yet understandable distortion."[98] After hearing Liszt rehearse Tannhäuser at Weimar in 1849, Wagner wrote:

> Liszt's directing, if it was of value rather more for the musical than the dramatic side, filled me for the first time with the flattering warmth of emotion at being engaged by a different and sympathetic intimate.[99]

Only at Weimar, after fleeing Dresden, did he find in Liszt a kindred spirit in his struggle toward a new approach to conducting.

3. Zurich Appearances, 1850-1855

During his years of exile at Zurich, Wagner rejected all offers of full-time appointment as a conductor

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[98] Wagner, Mein Leben, 295: "Mich doch die ungemeine Energie durchblicken liessen, mit welcher hier, wenn auch in seltsamer, mir aber allmählich erklärlicher Entstellung, ein unsrer Zeit fast unkenntlich gewordenes Ziel der theatralischen Kunst verfolgt und festgehalten wurde."

[99] Ibid., 425: "Liszts Direktion, wenn sie auch mehr dem musikalischen als dem dramatischen Teile galt, erfüllte mich zum ersten Male mit der schmeichelhaften Wärme des Gefühles von einem anderen begriffen und innig mitgefühlt zu sein."

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and consented only to conducting single performances at the Zurich Theater and single works of his own choosing at the concerts of the Zurich Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft. While he had his own reasons for withdrawal from the theatrical life, his action was part of the increasing specialization among musicians in the 1850s, in which the community of composer-conductors gradually divided into two groups. Some, such as Hiller, Krebs, and Lachner, began to do more conducting and less composing; others, such as Schumann, Liszt, and Wagner, withdrew from their conducting appointments to devote themselves to their chief interest, composition.[100]

For accounts of Wagner's conducting at Zurich, we must turn to the principal Zurich newspapers, the Neue Zürcher Zeitung and the Eidgenössische Zeitung. Feeling his position as conductor of the Musikgesellschaft threatened, the music critic of the former, composer Franz Abt (1819-1885), seldom gave details of Wagner's conducting activities and methods; but the editor of the latter, jurist Johann Bernhard Spyri (1821-1884), generally reported everything Wagner did. After Wagner's first appearance in Zurich, conducting Beethoven's 7th Symphony on January 15, 1850, at the Casino-

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[100]Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 338.

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Saale, Spyri wrote:

> Perhaps never before has a symphony been performed here in so masterly a fashion. Such fire, such precision, and yet such delicacy and such thorough shading in the smallest details of the orchestra's playing silence our criticism. . . . It is not sufficient to be a practiced and alert conductor; rather, a man of inspired creative power himself is needed to be able to render Beethoven thus, as it happened, with an orchestra filled in large part by amateurs, and in its entirety not at all frequently engaged in such difficult classical pieces. Yet exactly the astonishing plasticity of this orchestra, and the visible delight with which it followed the hints of the master, these both deserve distinguished acknowledgement.[101]

After Wagner's appearance at the Theater on October 11, 1850, conducting La dame blanche, Spyri wrote:

> And the orchestra, too long a mere drudge that occasionally spoiled the best possible effects, has now resumed its true position as a necessary factor in the elevation of the whole, under the master hand of Richard Wagner.[102]

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[101] [J. B. Spryri], "Musikalisches," Eidgenössische Zeitung -/17 (January 17, 1850) 67: "Es sei hier vielleicht noch nie eine Symphonie mit solcher Meisterschaft aufgeführt worden. Es war ein Feuer, eine Präzision, und wiederum eine Zartheit und ein bis ins kleinste Detail eingehendes Nuanciren im Spiele des Orchesters, das unsere Kritik verstummen macht . . . es genüge nicht, ein geübter und lebendiger Dirigent zu sein, sondern es gehöre selber ein Mann von genialer Schaffungskraft dazu, um so, wie es geschehen ist, Beethoven durch ein Orchester darstellen zu können, das zum grossen Theile aus Dilettanten besteht und in seiner Gesammtheit nicht so häufig mit so schwierigen klassischen Stücken sich beschäftigt. Allein eben der überraschenden Bildsamkeit dieses Orchesters und der sichtlichen Freudigkeit, mit welcher es den Winken des Meisters gefolgt ist, gebührt darum auch ausgezeichnete Anerkennung."

[102] Ibid., -/283 (October 13, 1850) 1131: "Und das Orchester, das seit Langem der blosse Handlanger war, der gelegentlich die schönsten Effekte noch vernichtete, hat nun unter der Meisterhand Richard Wagners seine wahre Stellung als eines zur Hebung des Ganzen nothwendigen Gliedes wiedergefunden."

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These first reports from Zurich should be treated with caution. The city was unaccustomed to competent, professional conductors, and the contrast between Wagner and his parochial peers must have been dramatic. In Wagner's opinion, the orchestra was "very slight" although the opera company was "comparatively not badly cast."[103] Spyri's reaction to the performance of Don Giovanni on November 18, 1850, was particularly revealing. This was the occasion of the first performance of Wagner's new performing version of the opera--no longer extant.[104] Of this performance, Hans von Bülow wrote to his father Edward (1803-1853):

> Wagner had gone to completely extraordinary trouble; for many days and nights we had all three been correcting the incorrect instrumental parts, replacing missing instruments, such as trombones, with others--bass trumpets, etc.; Wagner had translated the Italian recitatives into a good, lively German dialogue, some even taken over in the original; [he] had furthermore simplified the scenery--had replaced the annoying repeated scene-changes, through a clever reduction of the same, with a single one in the middle of the first act.[105]

Spyri, however, was no more or less eulogistic about this

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[103] Wagner, Mein Leben, 470: "sehr gering war;" ibid., 469: "verhältnissmässig nicht übel bestellten Oper . . . "

[104] Wagner told his friend Uhlig that he had not kept the score of this work; see Wagner, letter to Uhlig (February 26, 1852), Sämtliche Briefe, IV, 298.

[105] Hans von Bülow, letter to his father (November 9, 1850), Briefe, 7 vols., ed. Richard Du Moulin Eckhardt (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899-1910) I, 269: "W. hatte sich ganz ausserordentliche Mühe gegeben; wir hatten alle drei mehrere Tage und Nächte die inkorrekten Orchesterstimmen corrigirt, fehlende Instrumente als Posaunen durch anderer --tief Trompeten u.s.w. ersetzt; Wagner hatte die italienischen Rezitative in einen guten lebendigen Dialog deutsch übertragen, einige sogar mit aufgenommen in der ursprünglichen Gestalt; hatte ferner die Scenerie vereinfacht, den störenden

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performance than about any other; despite his enthusiasm, he appears to have lacked the musical expertise to recognize the alterations Wagner had made.[106]

Wagner's most significant work at Zurich commenced in 1851, with the six Musikgesellschaft concerts at which he assisted. Aside from expanding the orchestra and introducing his own seating plan (see above, Chapter III, pp. 125-126), he was able to extend the period of rehearsals:

> In each case I required merely three rehearsals for the scheduled symphony. . . . Since, beyond this, the entire time which one normally spends on a rehearsal was used by me solely for the one symphony, so I obtained here leisure for the development of refined execution . . . and so achieved a freedom of execution which previously had not been possible for me; of this I became all the more deeply conscious, especially as I also had become aware of the effect of it in surprising ways.[107]

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vielfachen Dekorationswechsel durch eine geschickte Reduktion desselben auf einen einzigen in der Mitte des ersten Aktes ersetzt . . ."

[106] See, for example, Spyri's review, "Zürich Theater," Eidgenössische Zeitung -/317 (November 16, 1850) 1266-1267.

[107] Wagner, Mein Leben, 470: "Ich jedesmal drei Proben bloss für die aufzuführende Symphonie verlangte . . . da ausserdem die ganze Zeit, die man gewöhnlich auf eine Probe verwendet, mir ausschliesslich zu der einen Symphonie zur Verwendung stand, so gewann ich hier die Musse, bei der Ausarbeitung des feineren Vortrags. . . . und gelangte so zu einer bisher mir nicht möglich gewordenen Freiheit des Vortrages, deren ich mir um so inniger bewusst wurde, als ich namentlich auch die Wirkung hiervon in überraschender Weise wahrzunehmen hatte."

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In fact, Wagner enjoyed greater authority at Zurich than he had ever done at Dresden; free of the challenges of a vain concertmaster and the demands of an overburdened schedule, he was frequently able to achieve a precision of execution and clarity of interpretation hardly possible elsewhere in the 1850s. Emma Herwegh, wife of the poet Georg Herwegh (1817-1875) and by no means a supporter of Wagner, wrote after hearing him conduct at Zurich in May 1853:

> Wagner's effect on his band and choir was electrifying, and to myself the artistic result was the more astonishing as the wonderful ensemble of the Paris Conservatoire orchestra under Habeneck's command was still fresh in my memory. It amazed me that a conductor should succeed in attaining so unique an art-achievement with forces in many respects weak and mostly amateur.[108]

The development through these concerts of Wagner's interpretative principles was evident in his explanatory programs of the period. For the concert on February 17, 1851, at which he presented the Coriolan Overture, Wagner wrote an Erläuterung in which, he said, he "was most clearly successful in characterizing the poetic subject."[109] Here, he

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[108] Emma Herwegh, cited in Marcel Herwegh, Au Banquet des Dieux: Liszt, Wagner, et leur amis (Paris: J. Peyronnet, 1831), trans. in Newman, Life of Wagner, IV, 111.

[109] Wagner, letter to Uhlig (February 15, 1852), Sämtliche Briefe, IV, 288: " Am deutlichsten dürfte es mir gelingen den dichterischen Gegenstand in der 'Koriolanouvertüre' zu bezeichnen."

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proposed, Beethoven had seized upon a single scene from the drama, that between Coriolanus, his wife, and his mother at the enemy's camp; the whole work could be heard, he wrote, as "the musical accompaniment to a pantomime."[110] For the concert on February 25, 1851, he wrote an Erläuterung for Beethoven's Eroica; this symphony, he wrote, depicts the progress of a hero from youth (first movement), through the gaining of strength in happy activity (second and third movements), to maturity of "the whole man, harmoniously at one with self" (last movement).[111] Bülow wrote after the concert:

> Wagner conducting the Eroica; he worked a miracle, incredible! Nowhere have I heard the symphony like that. Lofty and entrancing, and the orchestra followed [his] parries brilliantly.[112]

Evidently, through these concerts, Wagner achieved a concrete formulation of the new role he saw for the baton conductor as interpreter. These Erläuterungen offered more concrete interpretations of music than their Dresden predecessors. In an important letter to his friend the Dresden violinist and writer Theodor Uhlig (1822-1853), responding

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[110]Wagner, "Ouvertüre zu Koriolan," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 174: "als musikalische Begleitung einer pantomimischen Darstellung."

[111]Wagner, "Beethovens heroische Symphonie," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 171: ". . . den ganzen, harmonisch mit sich einigen Menschen . . ."

[112]Bülow, letter to his father (March 11, 1851), Briefe, I, 304: "Wagner führte die Eroica auf; ein Wunder hat

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to a request for material for a series of articles Uhlig was writing on him for the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, Wagner attempted to express his interpretative theory for the first time. He weaved a patchwork of ideas which, he suggested, Uhlig could work out in greater detail and publish under a title such as "Wagner as Conductor of Beethoven's Works." In Beethoven, he wrote, the conductor should be a channel for the layman's understanding. The essential point of Beethoven's works is that they are actual poems, and the conductor's task is to identify the subject represented. Most conductors, however, look only at the How and not at the What; they understand the keys, themes, and instrumentation and think they thereby understand the whole content. At Zurich, on the other hand, even with a band of modest ability, Wagner had found that both his explanations of the poetic content of the works, "which were given by word of mouth at the rehearsals at the respective passages themselves," and his Erläuterungen had a striking effect on performers and listeners alike. "And the goal of this endeavor??" he asked, "--The Drama!!"[113]

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er gewirkt, unbegreiflich! Ich habe die Symphonie so nirgends gehört. Grossartig und hinreissend, und die Orchester folgte genial im Pariren."

[113]Wagner, letter to Uhlig (February 15, 1852), Sämtliche Briefe, IV, 285-292: ". . . meine Haupterklärungen in den Proben mündlich--an den bezeichnenden Stellen selbst--stattfinden." "Das Ziel von diesem Streben??--Das Drama!!"

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Symphonies and overtures were to be articulated as if they were plays whose specific progress the conductor had to express for his musicians and listeners. The central principle by which Wagner interpreted instrumental music had now crystallized: symphonic works were latent dramas.

By this time, Wagner's gestures carried a good deal of expressive suggestion. The Beethoven scholar Hermann Rollett (1819-1904) wrote after a performance of The Flying Dutchman under Wagner on April 25, 1852:

> It was positively amazing how Wagner put life into everybody, individually and collectively; the magnificent swing he gave it from beginning to end; the indefatigable power wherewith his baton now compelled, now laid the storm. Hands, feet, his whole body, were brought into the most animated play; and one saw that it was a sacred, flaming earnestness with him at every moment, from the first bar to the last.[114]

After the same performance, the Bern Bund commented:

> Under Wagner's control, the orchestra becomes a single instrument, so to say, from which the master evokes the rich sound world of its tones with the finest of feeling and freest of wills.[115]

Clearly, when Wagner spoke of having "become aware of the effect" of his conducting "in surprising ways," he meant that he had discovered the suggestive power of modern inter-

[114] Hermann Rollett, Neue freie Presse (March 1883), cited in Ellis, Life of Wagner, III, 287.

[115] Reprinted in the Eidgenössische Zeitung (May 11, 1852), cited in Ellis, Life of Wagner, I, 499.

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pretative conducting. Max Rudolf has explained how a variation in the degree of curve of the beat may affect the emotional quality of the performance, how a change in the size of the beat or the distance of the beat-field from the body may affect dynamics, and how a change in the angle of the patterns may affect phrasing and articulation.[116] Many of the descriptions of Wagner's conducting from this period suggest this modern relationship between subtle variation of gesture and musical inflection.

How low Wagner's regard for time-beating had become and how much he had turned his energy to conveying a personal interpretation through individual phrasing and nuance may be seen by examining the two articles he wrote on the performance of Tannhäuser and the Dutchman in August 1852.[117] The greater part of these is directed at the acting and dramatic style of the singing and is beyond the scope of the present study. Wagner recommends that rehearsals begin with readings of the libretto, so that singers will not busy themselves with the How of the execution before they have learned to know its What. Then, singers and conductors should adhere to the exact phrasing and rhythm of the score, in tempos cor-

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[116] Rudolf, Grammar of Conducting, 19, 47, 51, 210, 219.

[117] Wagner, "Über die Aufführung des 'Tannhäuser'; eine Mitteilung an die Dirigenten und Darsteller dieser Oper," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 123-159; idem., "Bemerkungen zur Aufführung der Oper 'Der fliegende Holländer'," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 160-168.

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responding to the sense of the words, until the vocal lines are mastered. Ultimately, however, beat should be abandoned:

> So I therefore urge a final, complete abandonment of the rigor of the basic musical beat, which up to then was only a mechanical aid to understanding between composer and singer, but with the perfect attainment of this understanding becomes a worn-out, useless, and henceforth burdensome tool. . . . The conductor has then only to follow the singer . . . yet this will only be possible for him when the orchestra itself is brought to the most exact knowledge of the vocal execution, which will be obtained thereby, on the one side, if the vocal parts and the words are incorporated in each orchestral part, but on the other side, only through sufficiently frequent rehearsals.[118]

He warns conductors and singers against depending on metronome marks and urges them to discover the right tempos by lively sympathy with and understanding of the dramatic and musical situations in his operas. The detailed nuances and touching up of phrases for the orchestra contained in these articles are given in Appendix II, Figure 8, below.

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[118] Wagner, "Über die Aufführung des 'Tannhäuser':" 129: "So dringe ich dann endlich auf fast gänzliches Aufgeben der Strenge des eigentlichen musikalischen Taktes, der bis dahin nur ein mechanisches Hilfsmittel zur Verständigung zwischen Komponist und Sänger war, mit dem vollkommenen Erreichen dieser Verständigung aber als ein verbrauchtes unnützes und ferner lästig gewordenes Werkzeug. . . . Der Dirigent hat dann nur dem Sänger zu folgen. . . . es wird ihm dies wiederum nur möglich sein, wenn das Orchester selbst zur genauesten Mitkenntnis des Gesangvortrages gebracht wird, was einerseits dadurch, dass in jede Orchesterstimme die Gesangspartie und die Worte mit eintragen sind, andererseits aber nur durch genügend zahlreiche Proben vermittelt wird."

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For his own works, his first Erläuterungen date from the three concert performances on his fortieth birthday, May 18-22, 1853. It is clear from these that he saw the Overture to the Dutchman and Prelude to Lohengrin as narrative sketches for the main course of the dramas they precede.[119] For these concerts, in addition to supplementing the orchestra and constructing an orchestral rostrum for the Zurich Theater based on his Dresden rostrum (see above, Chapter III, pp. 177-178), he arranged public readings of his opera libretti over the three preceding evenings, to ensure that the audience would properly appreciate the context of his music. One of his staunchest Zurich supporters, the wife of the writer François Wille, Eliza Wille née Slomann (1804-1893), recalled the concerts:

> Wagner indeed knew how to inspire the bandsmen with his guidance. An old gentleman, who had his own quartet evenings and manoeuvred his cello with conscientious pedantry, even said to me, "Eh! when that one is by, one becomes a new man and musician.[120]

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[119]Wagner, "Zu Tannhäuser, Einzug der Gäste auf der Wartburg, Tannhäuser's Romfahrt," Sämtliche Schriften XVI, 167-169; idem., "Zu Lohengrin. Männerszene und Brautzug, Hochzeitmusik und Brautlied," Sämtliche Schriften XVI, 170; "Ouvertüre zum Fliegende Holländer," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 176; idem., "Vorspiel zu Lohengrin," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 179-181.

[120]Eliza Wille, Fünfzehn Briefe Richard Wagners mit Erinnerungen und Erläuterungen, 3rd ed., ed. C. F. Meyer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1935) 48; English version in W. Ashton Ellis, Life of Richard Wagner, 2nd. ed., 6 vols., (London, 1908), reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977) IV, 432.

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Wagner made another attempt at formulating his interpretative methods in his article on Gluck's Overture to Iphigénie en Aulide, published after he had conducted the première of his new concert version of the work on March 7, 1854. He had written a new ending for the piece, and in his article he argued, on the basis of internal evidence from the opera, for a new tempo in the second part of the work. New phrasing is made necessary by the new tempo, and dynamic nuances and tempo modifications are suggested, based on "inner need and in answer to a feeling kindled in me by the subject."[121] Significantly, caution is to be applied in following these suggestions:

> That everything which I am advancing here, however, must never be carried out stridently, but always with nothing but the greatest delicacy--this is certainly the main thing here, as with all related, additional nuances; wherefore one really can never be careful enough with pronouncements of this kind.[122]

It is also significant that none of the modifications Wagner

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[121] Wagner, "Gluck's Ouvertüre zu 'Iphigénie in Aulis'," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (July 1, 1854), reprinted in idem., Sämtliche Schriften, V, 111-122.

[122] Ibid., V, 121: "Dass Alles, was ich hier angebe, aber nie grell, sondern immer nur mit grösster Feinheit ausgeführt werden darf, das ist allerdings hier, wie bei allen ähnlichen nachträglichen Nüancierung die wichtige Hauptsache, weshalb man eigentlich bei dergleichen Mittheilungen nicht behutsam genug sein kann."

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suggested appears in the orchestral parts that have survived from the performances:[123] this confirms Wagner's comment to Uhlig, in his letter of February 15, 1852, that his chief explanations were given by word of mouth. The poetic content of the work was also suggested in the article: Wagner saw it as progressively intensifying statements of motives of Appeal, Power, Grace, and Piety, placing the listener in sympathy with the tragic conflict about to unfold onstage.

In addition to conducting at six Musikgesellschaft concerts in the winter of 1853-54 and five in the winter of 1854-55, Wagner supervised rehearsals of Beethoven's String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, Op. 131, for a Musikgesellschaft chamber music concert on January 30, 1855. For this occasion, he wrote an Erläuterung, describing the poetic contents of the work as depicting Beethoven:

> . . . according to the tone poet, in all the moods of his rich inner life--from the melancholy morning prayers of a deeply suffering soul, past the manifestations of the graceful, [the] charming, and [the] captivating, through the sensations of joy, of rapture, of longing, of love and devotion, ultimately of the energetic cheerfulness, the playful ease, to the final, most painful resignation of all happiness on earth.[124]

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[123] According to Newman, Life of Wagner, II, 186.

[124] Wagner, "Beethoven's Cis moll Quartett (Op. 131)." Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 350: ". . . dem Tondichter in allen Stimmungen seines reichen innerlichen Lebens--von der schwermuthvollen Morgenandacht eines tiefleidenden Gemütes an den Erscheinungen des Anmutigen Einnehmenden und Hin-

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His last appearance in Zurich was conducting a performance of Tannhäuser on February 23, 1855, two days before he left for London.[125]

Cut off from the hoary tradition of the German orchestras, therefore, Wagner was free to experiment in Zurich, and he developed his method to its maturity. By 1855, he was a modern baton-conductor, whose idiosyncratic gestures and individual methods were the surface features of a new art of orchestral conducting, in which tempo, nuance, and phrase were rooted in an all-embracing conception of the poetic substance of the musical work. The notes of the score were merely the alphabetical letters of a language which the conductor was called upon to translate and illuminate. Liszt was following a parallel course: in 1856, in the preface to his symphonic poems, he wrote:

> I may be allowed to remark that it is my wish that the mechanical, bar-by-bar, up and down beating of time, which obtains in so many places, should as far as possible be discarded and that only the periodic divisions. with

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reissenden vorüber, durch die Empfindungen der Wonne, des Entzückens, der Sehnsucht, der Liebe und Hingebung, endlich selbst der hervorbrechenden Heiterkeit, des scherzhaften Behagens, bis zur schliesslichen schmerzvollsten Resignation auf alles Glück der Erde--zu folgen." The article is dated December 12, 1854.

[125] For an account of Wagner's last year in Zurich, see Newman, Life of Wagner, II, 187-190, 446-448.

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> the prominence of certain accentuation and the rounding off of melodic and rhythmical nuances, should alone be regarded as indispensable. The vitality of a symphony depends on the intellectual perception of the conductor, providing that suitable material for its realization is to be found in the orchestra; failing this it would seem advisable to hold aloof from works which do not claim a promise of everyday popularity.
>
> Although I have endeavored to make my intentions clear by providing exact marks of expression, I cannot conceal from myself that much, and that perhaps the most important, cannot be set forth on paper, but can only be successfully brought to light by the artistic capability and the sympathetic and enthusiastic reproduction by both conductor and executants.[126]

By this time, the principles spelled out in Über das Dirigiren fourteen years later were already fully formulated.

4. London Philharmonic Season, 1855

In 1855, Wagner was engaged to conduct a season of eight concerts for the London Philharmonic Society at the Hanover Square Rooms, London. None of the Committee of the Society had heard him conduct; their invitation came chiefly because of the controversy over his writings which, they felt, made him a figure of sufficient interest to balance Berlioz, who had been engaged for the concerts of the New Philharmonic Society that year.[127] Resulting from their long

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[126] Franz Liszt, Preface to the Symphonic Poems, Muskalische Werke, 34 vols., ed. Otto Taubmann (Leipzig, 1856), reprint (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966) I/1, v.

[127] Newman, Life of Wagner, II, 448.

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tradition of visits by distinguished composer-conductors, the London listeners had become sensitized to the individual personality of a conductor well before their Continental counterparts: the flamboyant French-born Louis Jullien (1812-1860) and the despotic Italian-born Sir Michael Costa (1808-1884) were already established in London as podium personalities whose names were important draws for the public.[128] Neither Jullien's showmanship nor Costa's fierce discipline, however, had prepared London for the new interpretative conducting of which Wagner was the pioneer.

Wagner asked for a second conductor for "the commonplace things," and as many rehearsals as he might consider necessary.[129] He was the first to use assistant conductors regularly in the nineteenth century; indeed, in the previous five years, he had come a long way from having to share his control with a concertmaster.[130] However, neither request was granted, and he was allowed only one rehearsal for the first concert. For the second, at which both the Choral Sym-

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[128] Carse, Orchestra Beethoven to Berlioz, 377-387.

[129] Wagner, letter to Liszt (January 2, 1855), Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt, 3rd ed., 2 vols., ed. Erich Kloss (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1910) II, 44: "für die Lumpereien."

[130] Galkin, "Orchestral Conducting," 486.

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phony and excerpts from Lohengrin were scheduled--the latter completely unknown to the orchestra--he was allowed two rehearsals.

The leader of the orchestra, Prosper Philippe Sainton (1813-1890), recalled that at the first rehearsal, Wagner amazed the players by rehearsing the Eroica from memory and delighted them "with the delicacy of the nuances insisted upon, [and] the intelligence and fire with which the melodies were phrased."[131] At the rehearsal for the second concert, Wagner drilled the chorus for the Choral Symphony with such energy that, as he wrote to Minna, he lost his voice.[132] Nevertheless, a lack of English prevented him from adequately explaining his intentions on several occasions, and his continuing ignorance of string technique meant that for difficult problems--such as the passage for the violins' lowest string in his Tannhäuser Overture at the fourth concert--he had to rely on Sainton to offer fingering and instructions.[133]

No visual representations of Wagner's conducting

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[131] Prosper Sainton, cited in Francis Hueffer, Half a Century of Music in England (London: Chapman and Hall, 1889) 49.

[132] Wagner, letter to Minna Wagner (April 5, 1855) in the Burrell Collection; cited in Letters of Wagner: the Burrell Collection, 349.

[133] Ferdinand Praeger, Wagner as I Knew Him (London: Longmans, Green, 1892) 255. See the note on the reliability of this work, Chapter I, p. 30 above.

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in 1855 at London have come to light, for the illustrated press was devoting its attention to the Crimean War and the visit to England of the French Emperor. On the other hand, an abundance of written evidence survives.[134] The critic of the Morning Post, tenor and composer William Howard Glover (1819-1875), wrote after the first concert on March 12:

> That there is a deeply-convinced purpose, emanating from conscientious study of the score, in all Herr Wagner's readings, it were impossible to doubt; for although he displays a perfect command over the orchestra, by frequently hurrying or slackening the time (too frequently, perhaps, to satisfy the strictly orthodox, who consider a conductor's duty to be purely metronomic), such deviations are never the offspring of mere caprice, or a silly desire to parade practical skill . . .[135]

The critic of the London Illustrated News, Scottish writer George Hogarth (1783-1870), wrote of the same concert that Wagner's "manner of marking time . . . differed materially from his predecessor [Costa]."[136] This manner was explained in more detail by the influential critic of the Times, James William Davison (1813-1885):

> Herr Wagner's method of using the bâton (like that of some other German musicians) must be very perplexing, at first, to those unacquainted with it. The confusion between the "up" and "down" beat, which he appears to employ indiscriminately--so unlike the clear and decided

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[134]The contemporary criticism is reprinted in Ellis, Life of Wagner, V, 94-350.

[135]W. H. Glover, Morning Post (March 13, 1855).

[136]George Hogarth, London Illustrated News (March 17, 1855) 254.

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> measure of his predecessor--requires a long time to get accustomed to. Moreover, Herr Wagner conducts without a score before him, which says more for his memory, we think, than for his judgment. Such precedents are dangerous. . . . Herr Wagner . . . exhibited unabated energy and fire. . .[137]

Wagner's novel method of gesture was also noted by the Leipzig-born pianist Ferdinand Praeger (1815-1891), who accompanied him in London as his translator:

> Wagner was a born disciplinarian. He held the orchestra completely in the palm of his hand. The members were so many pawns which he moved at will, responding to his slightest expressed wish. . . .
>
> Wagner does not beat in the old-fashioned automato-metronomic manner. He leaves off beating at times--then resumes again--to lead the orchestra up to a climax or to let them soften down to a pianissimo, as if a thousand invisible threads tied them to his baton.[138]

Praeger also mentioned Wagner's practice of demonstrating phrasing and nuance to his players by singing and his reliance on verbal explanations to communicate his intentions.

Unmistakably, Wagner's interpretative principles and conducting methods were new to the London public; it is

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[137] J. W. Davison, London Times (March 14, 1855).

[138] Praeger, Wagner As I Knew Him, 125, 235.

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less clear, however, how successfully they were realized in the performances. Davison persistently maintained that the playing lacked precision. After the second concert on March 26, he wrote:

> Herr Wagner's theory evidently is--and we think it the correct one--that a conductor occupies in his orchestra the position of a pianist at his instrument, not merely that he should set it and keep it metronomically in motion, but that he should wield its energies in unison with his own impulses--that he should retard here and accelerate there, and call forth either a whisper or a thunderclap as his feeling of the instant suggests. . . . This is, undoubtably, the true theory of orchestra direction, and all unused to it as we are in England, there can be no difficulty in its realization where perfect knowledge demands and perfect discipline obeys. . . . We are not now pleading for the adoption of any of Herr Wagner's peculiar fancies of reading. We only insist that, appointed conductor, he should have unfettered control; . . . Thanks to a silly state of cross-purposes, however, there were several occasions on Monday evening when a stranger must have been forced into one or both of two very false conclusions--namely, that Herr Wagner cannot conduct, and that the Philharmonic cannot play.[139]

Neither Glover nor Chorley, on the other hand, complained of a lack of precision at this concert.[140] After the first rehearsal, Wagner had written enthusiastically to Liszt:

> The orchestra, which has become very attached to me, is very efficient, has great skill and fairly quick intel-

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[139] J. W. Davison, Sunday Times (April 1, 1855).

[140] W. H. Glover, Morning Post (March 28, 1855), and H. Chorley, Daily News (March 27, 1855).

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> ligence, but it is completely spoiled as regards execution, has no piano and no nuance. It was astonished but delighted over my way of doing things. With the next two rehearsals I hope to put it passably in order.[141]

But after two more rehearsals, Wagner had decided that perfect performance would be impossible, for the rehearsals were too few and the playing "too business-like."[142] After six rehearsals and five concerts, Wagner wrote to Liszt:

> "Sir, we are not used to this,"--that is the eternal echo I hear!--even the orchestra can offer me no compensation. It consists almost entirely of Englishmen, i.e., clever machines, which can never be set in the right spirit; trade and business kill everything.[143]

Reading these letters, one is inclined to accept Davison's claim that the performances were unsatisfactory.

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[141] Wagner, letter to Liszt (March, 1855), Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt, II, 56: "Das Orchester, das mich sehr lieb gewönnen hat, ist sehr geschickt, hat grosse Fertigkeit und ziemlich schnelle Intelligenz, nur ist es für den Vortrag ganz verdorben, hat kein Piano und keine Nüance. Es war erstaunt, aber erfreut über meine Art, die Sachen aufzuführen. Mit den nächsten beiden Proben hoffe ich es ziemlich in Ordnung zu bringen."

[142] Ibid., (April 4, 1855) II, 63: "zu geschäftsmässig."

[143] Ibid., (May 16, 1855) II, 67:"'Mein Herr, das ist man nicht gewohnt,'--das ist das ewige Echo ich höre!--Auch das Orchester kann mir keine Entschädigung bieten: es besteht fast nur aus Engländern, d.i. geschickten Maschinen, die nie in den rechten Schwung zu setzen sind; das Handwerk und das Geschäft ertödten Alles."

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Despite his lack of English, Wagner should have had few problems conveying his intentions to the orchestra; for, as Rudolf has pointed out, a competent conductor can lead a melody according to his intentions at the first rehearsal with an unfamiliar orchestra by means of his gestures alone.[144] On the other hand, Wagner's interpretative conducting was of a sort completely unknown in London. Perhaps his difficulties in London suggest that his gestures were still not so evocative as those of his modern counterpart; but the inexperience of the London orchestra in following such gestures must also have played its part in the outcome.

Wagner's practice of conducting from memory continued to attract attention. After the third concert, held on April 16, Davison wrote:

> We cannot see how Wagner will sustain himself in London as head of an orchestra--since, though his plan of conducting elect music by heart is calculated to impress and startle the innocent, the average concert-goer would prefer to this wonder a good execution of all the pieces chosen, without obvious contempt for certain portions, balanced by vehemence and affectation in others.[145]

Summing up the novelties of Wagner's interpretations after the seventh concert, the organist-composer Henry Thomas Smart

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[144] Rudolf, Grammar of Conducting, 219.

[145] J. W. Davison, London Athenaeum (April 21, 1855).

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(1830-1879) wrote:

> Firstly, he takes all quick movements faster than anybody else; secondly, he takes all slow movements slower than anybody else; thirdly, he prefaces the entry of an important point, or the return of a theme--especially in a slow movement--by an exaggerated ritardando; and fourthly, he reduces the speed of an allegro--say in an overture or the first movement--fully one third, immediately on the entrance of its cantabile phrases.[146]

These principles, according to Davison, were never successfully translated into performance. After the eighth concert, held on June 25, Davison wrote:

> We should not quarrel with Herr Wagner's "new readings" although we agree with few of them, if he could render them intelligible to his orchestra. But this he has failed to do, and the result has been a series of performances unparalleled for inefficiency. . . . His conducting shows as great a lack of the requisite science as his music . . .[147]

A Czech pianist in London at the time, Wilhelm Kuhe (1823-1912), wrote that Wagner's readings of familiar repertoire "were totally different. . . . the engagement was not a success and was not renewed."[148] Berlioz, who attended the eighth concert, noted a development in Wagner's conducting

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[146]H. Smart, Sunday Times (June 17, 1855).

[147]J. W. Davison, London Times (June 26, 1855).

[148]Wilhelm Kuhe, My Musical Recollections (London: Richard Bentley, 1896) 257.

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since he had heard him at Dresden twelve years before: Wagner, he wrote "conducts in free style as [Karl] Klindworth [(1830-1916), pupil of Liszt] plays the piano . . . sempre tempo rubato."[149]

The vehemence of Davison and some of his colleagues in London may be explained partly by the opposition Wagner's writings had generated and partly by Wagner's refusal to conform to certain London customs: he left off his white gloves, for example, when conducting a Mendelssohn symphony. But it also serves to illuminate the force of originality in Wagner's newly-matured method, with its individual interpretations and suggestive gestures. While Wagner was in London, he saw Berlioz conduct; he recalled:

> Here I heard him perform some classical works, among others a Mozart symphony, and was on that score confused to find again in him, the otherwise so energetic conductor of his own compositions, the vulgar time-beater, in this case in the commonest of all ruts.[150]

In this reflection on Berlioz, the foremost authority on baton grammar of the day, one can feel how far Wagner had come from the accepted norms of his time.

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[149]Berlioz, letter to Theodor Ritter, Le Temps (December 20, 1855),cited in Newman, Life of Wagner, II, 477.

[150]Wagner, Mein Leben, 533: "Hier hörte ich ihn denn einige klassiche Musikwerke aufführen, wie unter anderen eine Mozartsche Symphonie, und war darüber betreten, ihn, den sonst so energischen Dirigenten seiner eigenen Kompositionen, hier in dem allergewöhnlichsten Geleise der ordinären Taktschläger wiederzufinden."

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5. Concert Tours, 1856-1871

In the years between his London season and the laying of the foundation stone at Bayreuth in 1872, Wagner conducted only when compelled to by financial need. In February 1856, he told readers of the Eidgenössische Zeitung that the frailty of his health and the refusal of the Zurich community to build the kind of auditorium he had several times proposed were the reasons for his refusal to conduct in Zurich.[151] In 1863, when his financial situation made a concert tour necessary, he deeply resented the time it took away from his creative work,[152] and in 1869 he made clear, in responding to a letter proposing a series of concerts at Paris, that conducting was an unpleasant prospect for him, to which he would succumb only in the absence of other sources of support.[153]

Of occasions when he did conduct in this period, the visual and written evidence is plentiful, for he was now an international celebrity with wide attention focused on him. On November 23, 1856, he conducted the Eroica at St. Gall, and at the rehearsal:

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[151]Wagner, Eidgenössische Zeitung (February 15, 1856), cited in Ellis, Life of Wagner, VI, 111.

[152]Wagner, Mein Leben, 741-742.

[153]Wagner, letter to Catulle Mendès (November 6, 1869), cited in Newman, Life of Wagner, IV, 264.

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> He marked the crescendi so strongly with his foot that he trembled all over, and could not keep it quiet even when a longer pause came. High and shrill, his voice was heard above the strongest forti. As he had conducted no concerts since a longish time he soon grew tired, and told those near him that he felt like an old post horse unexpectedly put into harness again.[154]

The Neue Zeitschrift für Musik commented on the "wonderful conducting,"[155] and Wagner recalled that his conception of the symphony made a powerful impression upon Liszt.[156]

On March 31, 1858, he conducted highlights from Beethoven's symphonies to an invited audience of about 100 at the Wesendonck villa, Asyl. Herwegh wrote:

> Wagner is the finest living interpreter of Beethoven; the Paris Conservatoire with its colossal forces and virtuosi-soloists--which we have often had occasion to admire in Beethoven performances in particular--could not achieve what the little Zurich band did under Wagner. At a private house here we once attended a Beethoven concert such as the world city had never been offered.[157]

On this occasion, Wagner was presented by the Wesendonks' daughter Myrrha with an ivory baton, inscribed in color with the titles of the Ring operas. The baton may be seen in a

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[154] Translated without attribution in Ellis, Life of Wagner, VI, 195.

[155] Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (February 20, 27, June 26, 1857).

[156] Wagner, Mein Leben, 556.

[157] Georg Herwegh, Neue Zürcher Zeitung (March 20, 1861), cited in Ellis, Life of Wagner, VI, 357.

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copy of the sketch made for it by Gottfried Semper (Ill. 27). This would have been a heavy and imposing instrument, but it is unlikely that Wagner would have used it in performance, for presentation batons were often of quite impractical weight and design. This was the only one Wagner ever received, although they were a popular gift for eminent conductors in the nineteenth century.

Illustration 27. Gottfried Semper, Presentation Baton for Wagner, 1858 engraving [Friedrich Herzfeld, Magie des Taktstocks: die Welt der grossen Dirigenten, Konzerte und Orchester (Berlin: Verlag Ullstein, 1953) 52].

An Erläuterung for the Prelude to Tristan und Isolde dates from Wagner's three concerts at Paris, January 25-February 8, 1860, at the Théâtre Italien (Salle Ventadour), and three in Brussels at the Théâtre de la Monnaie, commencing on March 24, 1860.[158] At the rehearsal for the first concert, Wagner wrote:

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[158] Wagner, "Tristan und Isolde, Vorspiel," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 344-345.

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> I had to argue constantly with them over habits on their part, to which I, for my part, could not accede, as I, through rational argument, took pains to make clear. My 6/8 time, which I beat for them according to the 4/4 pattern, incensed them in particular, whereas they, under tumultuous protests, claimed that it had to be taken according to the alla-breve pattern.[159]

Most probably, this is a reference to the difference between the German 6/8 pattern, which has its third beat indicated by a horizontal movement akin to the 4/4 pattern and is best suited to slow, expressive conducting, and the Italian 6/8 pattern, which is close to a subdivided alla breve pattern in having its third beat indicated by a vertical movement, and is best suited to quick tempos.[160] The latter pattern was the one recommended by Berlioz for 6/8 meters.[161]

Wagner arranged the orchestra in his preferred disposition and conducted from memory, as usual. He was pleased with the size of the string group in the orchestra, though dissatisfied with the oboes, which "remained pastoral all the time, never rising to passion."[162] Meyerbeer, Gounod, Auber, the Belgian orchestration teacher Gevaert, and the

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[159] Wagner, Mein Leben, 616: "Ich hatte mich beständig mit ihnen zu streiten über Gewohnheiten inrerseits, welchen nicht nachgeben zu dürfen ich meinerseits durch Vernunftgründe zu erweisen mich bemühte. Besonders empörte sie mein Sechsachtel-Takt, welchen ich ihnen nach dem Schema des Viervierte1-Taktes schlug, während sie unter tumultuarischen Protestationen behaupteten, er müsse nach dem des Alla-breve-Taktes geschlagen werden."

[160] Rudolf, Grammar of Conducting, 102-109.

[161] Berlioz, Treatise, 413.

[162] Wagner, letter to Wesendonk (January 20, 1861), Wagner an M. und O. Wesendonk, 353.

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poet and essayist Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) all saw Wagner conduct for the first time; their writings about the concerts, however, chiefly concern the music and have little of value to say about Wagner's conducting.

On the other hand, these concerts produced the earliest known authentic depiction of Wagner as a conductor: an example by the caricaturist for Charivari, Amédée C. H. de Noë ("Cham" [1819-1879]). Here (Ill. 28), Wagner allows his Music of the Future to be played by "Musicians of the Future." The piece uses a throng of tiny creatures, whose pipes and rattles are as exotic as their outfits, to poke fun at the Zukunftmusik, a term coined by a German journalist and universally applied to Wagner's music in his day.[163] The presence of a score suggests the depiction is untrustworthy, for Wagner had conducted from memory, but several aspects of the illustration are characteristic: the small beat-field which emanates from the wrist, and the good likeness of the face. The center of the beat field being high and away from the body is a feature of many later depictions.

In 1861, Wagner supervised rehearsals for the Paris première of Tannhäuser. There were 163 rehearsals, including

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[163]See Wagner's account of the origin of the term in his letter to Berlioz, Journal des Debats (February 22, 1860), trans. in Wagner: a Documentary Study, ed. Herbert Barth, Dietrich Mack and Egon Voss, trans. P. R. J. Ford and Mary Whittall (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975) 192-193.

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Illustration 28. A. C. H. de Noë, "Actualitées," Charivari (February 27, 1860), print [Ernest Fuchs and Eduard Kreowski, Richard Wagner in der Karikatur (Berlin: B. Behrs Verlag, 1907) 27].

fourteen with the orchestra. His work with the singers achieved noticeable changes in vocal style; the Italian principals made "sacrifices in the matter of phrasing, placing of the voice and linking of the tones," according to the physician and Wagner enthusiast Auguste de Gasperini (1823-

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1868);[164] the French singers, according to Bülow, had "no longer a trace of vibrato--only beautiful, expressive singing."[165] Wagner took eight of the orchestral rehearsals, and he thought the orchestral players "the best in the world,"[166] though he was unable to find brass players that satisfied him. He did not conduct the performances, however, which had to be taken by the principal Chef d'orchestre of the Opéra, Pierre Louis Philippe Dietsch (1808-1865), who led from a first violin part, like Habeneck twenty years before. When Dietsch took over at the last rehearsals, Wagner conducted from the stage near Dietsch's desk, "not only with his hands, but with his feet, raising clouds of dust in the process."[167] Once Dietsch was left alone, Wagner lamented, "not one tempo, or one nuance was conscientiously and strictly preserved."[168]

From November 1862 to the end of 1863, following the abandoning of plans to mount Tristan und Isolde at

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[164] Auguste de Gasperini, Richard Wagner (Paris: Heugel, 1866), cited in Newman, Life of Wagner, III, 63.

[165] Bülow, letter to Joachim Raff (February 18, 1861), Briefe, III, 383.

[166] Wagner, "Bericht über die Aufführung des Tannhäuser in Paris," Sämtliche Schriften, VII, 138-149.

[167] Newman, Life of Wagner, III, 109.

[168] Wagner, Mein Leben, 646: "indem nicht ein Tempo oder eine Nuance mit Bewusstsein und Sicherheit festgehalten wurde."

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Karlsruhe on September 9, 1861, or at Vienna in November 1861, Wagner's financial position forced him to undertake a conducting tour of considerable intensity. After conducting at the Leipzig Gewandhaus to an almost empty hall on November 1, 1862, he gave three concerts of excerpts from his own works at the Theater an der Wien, Vienna, commencing on December 26, 1862. For these concerts, he wrote Erläuterungen for the Prelude and Finale of Tristan und Isolde, the Prelude to Die Meistersinger, and Siegmund's Spring Song, The Ride of the Valkyries, and Wotan's Farewell and Magic Fire Music from Die Walküre; again, it is clear that he saw his Preludes as abstracts of the progress of the dramas that followed them.[169] At the Theater an der Wien, the orchestra was of uneven quality: the Italian-born conductor Luigi Arditi (1822-1903) wrote that it "required a great deal of drilling and manipulation to bring it into working order."[170] Again, Wagner had to rely on the concertmaster, Joseph

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[169]Wagner, "Tristan und Isolde. Vorspiel und Schluss," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 345; idem., "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg. Vorspiel," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 345-346; idem., "Zur Walküre. Siegmunds Liebgesang, Der Ritt der Walküren, Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber," Sämtliche Schriften, XVI, 171-172.

[170]Luigi Arditi, My Reminiscences (London: Skeffington, 1896-1907) 202.

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Hellmesberger (1828-1893), who "led the way for his musicians through fine achievements and enthusiastic displays."[171] The virtuoso violinist Joseph Joachim (1831-1907), far from an enthusiastic supporter of Wagner, wrote:

> The fellow has a lively sense of feeling for the music he conducts, and the conductor's gift of imparting that feeling to the players in the orchestra, of which he is the complete master.[172]

The distinguished critic of the Neue Freie Presse, Eduard Hanslick, later a vehement opponent of Wagner's operas, wrote:

> He is an excellent conductor, full of spirit and fire. At the rehearsals he led his men with voice, hands and feet, just as a keen officer sets out to storm a fortress at the head of his company.[173]

Once more, reference is made to Wagner's audible tapping with his feet.

Three illustrations of Wagner date from the Vienna

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[171] Wagner, Mein Leben, 723: ". . . durch gute Leistungen und enthusiastische Bezeigungen den Musikern voranging."

[172] Andreas Moser, Joseph Joachim: ein Lebensbild, 2 vols. (Berlin: B. Behr, 1899-1910) 214.

[173] Eduard Hanslick, Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien, 2 vols. (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1869-1870) II, 250, English version trans. Henry Pleasants III (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963).

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concerts. The most useful is a caricature by the Viennese portrait and historical scene painter Gustav Gaul (1836-1888), in which Wagner is shown wearing spectacles, as he frequently did in later life (Ill. 29). Though the head is enlarged, certain elements of the stance are consistent with earlier descriptions: the right foot is raised as if tapping, the left hand is down at the right side, no score is visible, the baton grip in the right hand is at one end with the motion coming from the wrist. This method of motion means that the beat-field, as indicated earlier, must have been small.

Illustration 29. Gustav Gaul, "Wagner als Dirigent," 1863 print (Vienna: Verlag von J. Löwy, 1863) [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 46].

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Conclusions should not be drawn from the other two illustrations. One, which appeared in Floh, is a narrative caricature by the Vienna-trained painter and humorous illustrator Theodor Zajaczkowski (1825-?), entitled "Darwinian Theory of Evolution" (Ill. 30). It cleverly combines two issues, Wagner's anti-Semitism, as propagated in his notorious Das Judenthum in der Musik (1850, rev. 1869), and Charles Darwin's The Origin of the Species (1859) and other writings, which were both enormously controversial at the time. The disposition of Wagner's baton relates only to the unity of the caricature and not to his actual practice. The other caricature is an anonymous contribution to the 1864 Almanac

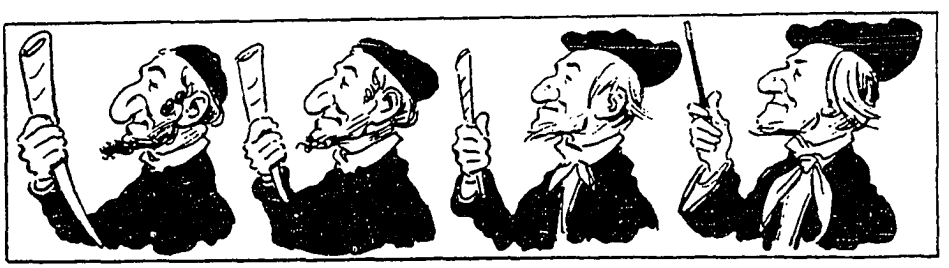

Illustration 30. Theodor Zajaczkowski, "Darwinistische Entwicklungslehre," Floh, 1863 caricature [Karl G. L. Storck, Musik und Musiker in Karikatur und Satire (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling, 1911) 403].

of the Wiener humoristisches Jahrbuch (Ill. 31). Here, Wagner conducts in a dressing-gown, perhaps a reference to his well-known love of luxurious living. He stamps his foot, but his

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Illustration 31. "Almanach," Wiener humoristisches Jahrbuch, 1864 print [John Grand-Carteret, Richard Wagner en caricatures (Paris: Larousse, 1892) 73].

body is undersized and his baton is the length of a walking stick. Accurate depiction of his conducting posture was clearly not the aim of the artist.

Wagner's tour took him to Prague, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Budapest, Karlsruhe, Löwenberg, Breslau, and back to Vienna. At St Petersburg he conducted the Philharmonic Society where, according to Glasenapp:

> The musicians of the orchestra noticed the great outward calm which he displayed as a conductor on the day, the "little movements" which he made while conducting; he would

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> have the whole huge mass of performers magnetically fixed almost solely with his eyes and moved [them] to the most powerful enthusiasm.[174]

The 120-member orchestra, according to Wagner, "now delightedly breathed a sigh of relief under the conducting which is so exclusively my own."[175] At the Grand Theater, Moscow, however, he was unable to make such an impact, and only a few of the 100 musicians pleased him.[176] Rimsky-Korsakov reported Wagner was considered by the public to be "a genius" as a conductor and that he was henceforth imitated by all conductors in Moscow.[177] The composer César Cui (1835-1918), on the other hand, disapproved of Wagner's tempo modifications and called him "talentless."[178]

Wagner's impressions of the various orchestras he

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[174] Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, Das Leben Richard Wagners, 5th ed., 6 vols. (Wiesbaden: Liechtenstein, 1910-1923) II, 422: "Den Orchestermusikern fiel die grosse äussere Ruhe auf, die er dabei als Dirigent an der Tag legte, die 'kleinen Bewegungen,' die er beim Dirigiren machte; er habe die ganze grosse Masse der Mitwirkenden fast nur mit dem Auge magnetisch fixiert und zu gewaltigster Begeisterung hingerissen."

[175] Wagner, Mein Leben, 729: ". . . jetzt hocherfreut aufatmeten, unter einer Leitung, wie sie mir zu eigen ist, sich ausschliesslich . . ."

[176] Ibid., 732.

[177] Nicolay Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov, My Musical Life, ed. Carl van Vechten, trans. Judah A. Joffe (New York: Alfred A.Knopf, 1923) 57.

[178] Ibid., 92.

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conducted on this tour usually concur with those of Arditi, for whom guest conducting was a staple activity. They varied from admiration for the excellent St. Petersburg orchestra to dismay at the "dismal and desperate" arrangements at Breslau.[179] Perhaps the most satisfying concert of the tour for Wagner was that at Vienna on December 27, 1863, where he was able to replace the reading of the Overture to Der Freischütz, which was usually too quick, with his own interpretation. The effect upon the players, he wrote, was "truly startling."[180] After this concert, Hanslick wrote:

> We would not want to state that all the "aids to beauty" which Wagner employs in order to rejuvenate such a basically youthful and healthy composition are really needed; however, it was good to hear the Freischütz Overture, which is usually played in a monotonous, stolid manner, now rendered with renewed energy and very fine nuances. The gradual crescendo and diminuendo of the horns in the introduction, the somewhat held-back tempo of the song-like theme in the Allegro, and the prolonged hold of the two pauses before the coda (nothing is weaker than fermate which are too short!) all produced marvelous effect.[181]

There are no new developments to note here; the methods dis-

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[179] See, for example, Arditi, My Reminiscences, 199, and Wagner, Mein Leben, 729.

[180] Wagner, Mein Leben, 748.

[181] Hanslick, cited in Krebs, Meister des Taktstocks, 127, trans. in Galkin, "Orchestral Conducting," 482.

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cussed were those already displayed at Zurich and London.

Two further developments appeared in Wagner's writings of 1863. In his Preface to the published poem of the Ring, he set out his idea for a summer festival performance of his work, at which scattered forces could be collected together for concentrated rehearsal and performance before an invited audience of devotees, and outlined his concept of an invisible orchestra (see above, Chapter III, p. 169).[182] The other development came in an article he wrote on the Vienna Hofoperntheater, a building begun in 1861 and completed in 1869. The main theme of this article was the same as that of his 1848 submission to the Saxon Minister of Education--that the opera should be reorganized with the object of stimulating a German music drama, distinct from French and Italian repertoire. A new idea, however, was Wagner's recommendation that the Kapellmeister at the theater be replaced with a Chef du chant and a Chef d'orchestre, as at the Paris Opéra, both working under the control of a Director-in-chief versed in all aspects of the drama.[183] This proposal gave

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[182] Wagner, "Vorwort zur Herausgabe der Dichtung des Bühnenfestspieles Der Ring des Nibelungen," Sämtliche Schriften, VI, 272-281.

[183] Idem., "Das Wiener Hofoperntheater," Sämtliche Schriften, III, 274-283.

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voice for the first time to Wagner's growing concern that the conductors of the 1860s, such as Felix Dessoff (1835-1892) at Vienna, Carl Reinecke (1824-1910) at Leipzig, and Johann Herbeck (1831-1877) at Vienna, were the products of conservatories or choir schools and not of theaters. He elaborated this theme in greater detail six years later in Über das Dirigiren.

Wagner's next period of activity as a conductor, his performances at Munich, began in 1864 with the succession of Ludwig II to the throne of Bavaria. Ludwig had been a devotee of Wagner's work since his boyhood and now became his principal patron. On December 4 and 8, 1864, at Ludwig's request, Wagner conducted two performances of The Flying Dutchman at the Königliches Hof- und Nationaltheater, Munich. Ludwig attented the first performance rather than the second because Wagner told him, in a letter of November 12, 1864, that there was "something electric" in first performances under his direction that disappeared later, when tension on the part of the singers gave way to complacent theatrical routine.[184] The performance had been rehearsed by

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[184]König Ludwig II und Richard Wagner Briefwechsel, 5 vols., ed. Otto Strobel (Karlsruhe: G. Braun Verlag, 1936-1939) I, 38.

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Lachner, and the chronicler of the Munich opera, Max Zenger (1837-1911), recalled the contrast between the flexibility of Wagner's melodic phrasing and the metronomic beating of Lachner's rehearsals.[185] On December 11, 1864, at Ludwig's request, Wagner conducted a concert of excerpts from his works at the Nationaltheater, using his own Erläuterungen as before.

Further insight into Wagner's performance method may be gained from his proposal for the establishment of a new conservatory at Munich, submitted to Ludwig in 1865. The document was apparently largely written by Bülow, but closely supervised by Wagner. The specific recommendations were that a Singing School be first established under a Singing Director, to promote a German musico-dramatic style; that this then be extended to a Stage School under elocution, declamation, and ballet teachers, to train singers in all branches of the theatrical arts; that next a Performance (Vortrag) School under a Director of Piano-playing be added, to cultivate in singers and conductors a classical style of rendering German works of the past and present; and that, finally, private instrumental teachers be drawn into the School under a Direc-

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[185] Max Zenger, Geschichte der Münchener Oper, ed. Theodor Kroyer (Munich: Verlag für praktische Kunstwissenschaft, 1923) 464.

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tor of the Orchestra. Works which contributed to a classical German art would be awarded prizes, and these would be performed by the School in a model theater; a music journal would be established for the education of the students through discussion of problems of style by the teachers; and as all concentration was to be upon the study of performance in ensemble, classes in harmony and counterpoint would be abandoned and instrumental instruction left to private teachers until the Singing, Stage, and Performance Schools were established.[186]

In the course of the proposal, Wagner explained that in classical German works, such as the symphonies of Mozart, the conductor had to indicate "very delicate nuances of expression by word-of-mouth"; these were intended by Mozart but, as he rehearsed his own music, did not appear in his scores. To learn how to determine where such nuances were necessary to the delivery (Vortrag), the student conductor had to study the piano and the piano literature, have private tuition in composition theory, and share in singing lessons; to learn the compass and idiosyncracies of the orchestral instruments he would not need lessons, but only his own listening to excellent performances and studying of the

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[186]Wagner, "Bericht an Seine Majestät den König Ludwig II. von Bayern über eine zu errichtende deutsche Musikschule," Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 159-215.

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scores.[187] Again, there is an emphasis on the importance of word-of-mouth instructions by the conductor. The scheme proposed for training conductors clearly reflects Wagner's own training closely (see above, Chapter II); the whole document bears the stamp of Wagner's personal conducting practice.

None of the document's recommendations were seen to completion in Munich. The old Munich Conservatory was closed by royal decree in July 1865 and the establishment of the new school ordered for October 1867. Bülow was brought to Munich, possibly to be Director of the school; the singing teacher Friedrich Schmitt (1812-1884), who had worked at Magdeburg with Wagner, was brought to Munich to be Singing Director; the composer and director of Ludwig's chapel music, Franz Wüllner (1832-1902), was engaged to form a choral department; the composer and Liszt pupil Peter Cornelius (1824-1874) and the composer, organist, and conductor Joseph Rheinberger (1839-1901) were hired as teachers. Plans were commissioned from Semper for a model theater (see above, Chapter III, pp. 174-175), and to set up the music journal proposed by Wagner, the Bayerische Zeitung was replaced in October 1867 by a new journal, the Süddeutsche Presse, under the editorship of a radical acquaintance of Wagner's from

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[187] Wagner, "Bericht über eine deutsche Musikschule," 145, 151-152.

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Dresden days, the extensively-published political writer Julius Fröbel (1805-1893). Neither the school nor the theater, however, came into being, and the journal had its support withdrawn after the publication of a series of extreme political articles by Wagner.[188]

In 1865, Wagner felt his health too weak to conduct performances at Munich, and his involvement was confined to supervising selected rehearsals. He oversaw one rehearsal for a performance of Tannhäuser on March 5, 1865,under Lachner, with the principal singer from Dresden,Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1836-1865), in the title role. Wagner took piano rehearsals for Tristan und Isolde each evening at his home from April 10 until the performance, while the orchestral rehearsals were held at the Residenz Theater under Bülow. The première of Tristan was held on May 11, 1865, at the Nationaltheater before Ludwig and 600 invited guests, and the first public performance was on June 10, 1865, delayed for a month because the Isolde, Malvina Schnorr, had become hoarse. A caricature by the Munich lithographer and portraitist Josef Resch (1819-1901) shows Wagner taking a curtain call between a giant Isolde and an ape-like Tristan, the orchestra bulging

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[188]For an account of the failure of the School and the Süddeutsche Presse, see Newman, Life of Wagner, IV, 65, 89, 90.

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with outsized instruments, the theater empty except in the royal box, from whence comes vigorous applause, and the sculpted Muses on the gallery walls joining in the ovation (Ill. 32). It is known that Wagner wore white trousers and a black coat at this performance; the depiction is therefore unreliable.[189] Two days after this, Wagner conducted

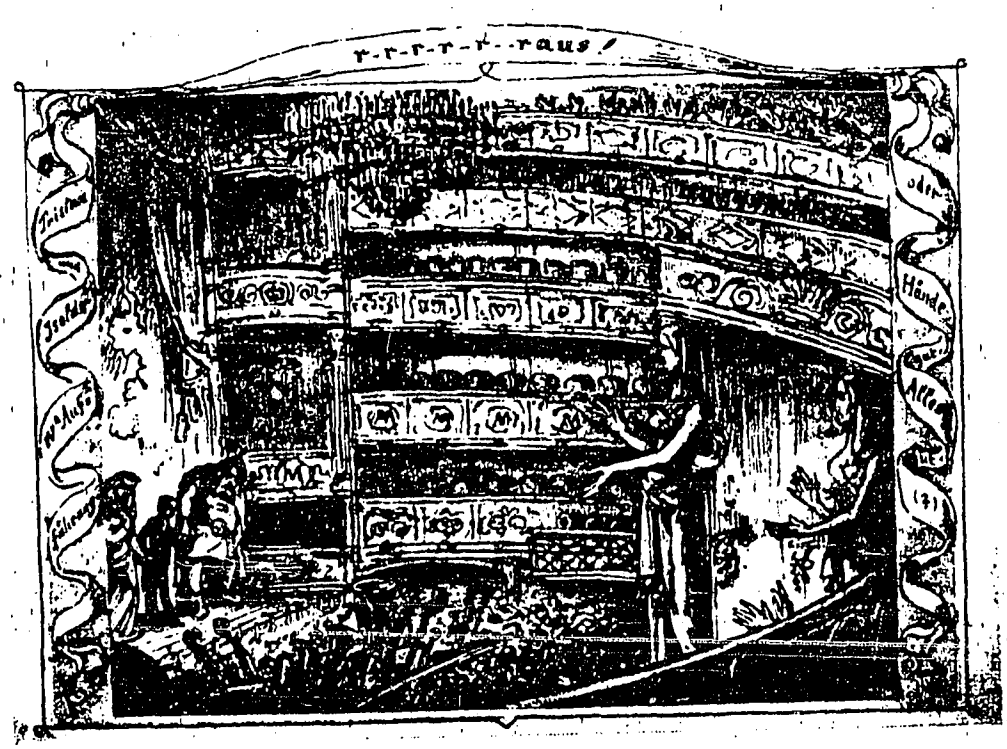

Illustration 32. Josef Resch, "R-r-r-r-r-raus!" Munich Punsch, 1865 print [Robert Bory, La vie et l'ouevre de Richard Wagner par l'image (Geneva: Alexandre Jullien, 1938) 164].

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[189] Newman, Life of Wagner, III, 379.

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another concert of excerpts from his works for the King at the Residenz Theater.

Three weeks after the première of the Meistersinger, given at Munich on June 21, 1868, a caricature appeared in Charivari by the brilliant Parisian lithographer, painter, and sculptor Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), entitled "In Munich after an hour of compulsory Wagner" (Ill. 33). Here a distinguished group, perhaps the Bavarian Cabinet, are depicted in various stages of agony and collapse, no doubt unwilling to leave for fear of offending Wagner's royal patron. The piece is quite inaccurate, for the conductor is shown holding a violin bow, an implement still common as a baton at Paris but never used by Bülow, who conducted this performance. A similar commentary on the endurance required of Wagner's audience appeared in the St. Petersburg Iskra in the same year, where, astride Lohengrin's swan, Wagner is shown conducting "music in three acts lasting six hours."[190] It was five years since Wagner had conducted in St. Petersburg, however, and realism in his stance in this illustration must be discounted.

In the same year, Wagner appeared in a "Gallery of

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[190]"Musique jouée en trois actes pendant six heures," St. Petersburg Iskra (November 3, 1868), reproduced in Grand-Carteret, Wagner en caricatures, 42.

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Illustration 33. Honoré Daumier, "A Munich, après une heure de Wagner par ordre!!" Charivari (July 8, 1868), lithograph [Yane Fromrich, Musique et caricature en France au XIXe siècle (Geneva: Editions Minkoff, 1977) 147].

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Famous Contemporaries" by the Dresden artist Herbert König (1820-1876), whose paintings and drawings included many depictions of performing artists (Ill. 34). Here Wagner is flanked by two of his most important singers, Albert Niemann (1831-1917), creator of the role of Tannhäuser at Paris, and Joseph Tichatschek (1807-1886), the first Rienzi; three conductors look on, Franz Lachner, Hiller, and Bülow, while Cornelius burns incense before Wagner, as a priest before an altar. The artist is clearly out of touch with Wagner; Tichatschek, now old and obese, had so disgusted Ludwig with his performance as Lohengrin on June 11, 1867, that he had almost caused a rift between Wagner and his patron; Lachner and Niemann, although they had several associations with Wagner, had never been ardent Wagnerian artists. In any case, the baton in Wagner's hand serves only as an attribute, as does Tannhäuser's harp in Niemann's hand, and no conclusions about Wagner's conducting can be drawn from the illustration.

Wagner felt that Bülow's conducting had always paid more attention to the musical than the dramatic side of the performances, and by this time he had placed his faith in Hans Richter, whom he had appointed chorusmaster at the Hofoper in January 1868 and Musikdirektor in September 1868.[191]

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[191]For an account of Richter's ascendancy, see Newman, Life of Wagner, IV, 131-139.

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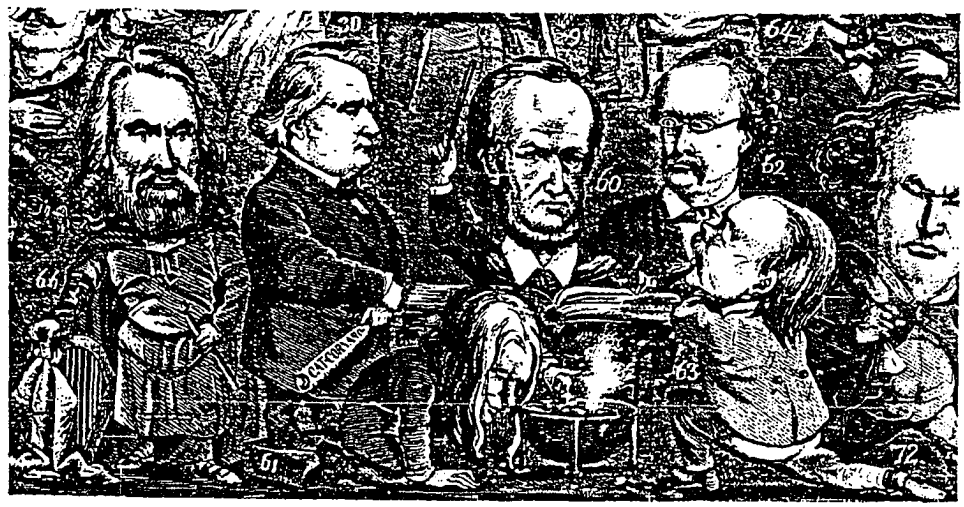

Illustration 34. Herbert König, "Galerie berühmter Zeitgenossen," Über Land und Meer, 1868 print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 55].

Richter was allocated to conduct the première of Das Rheingold at Munich, but he pursued Wagner's instructions with such uncompromising audacity that he was replaced, without Wagner having been consulted, by Franz Wüllner. The performance, on September 22, 1869, inspired several artists. An anonymous watercolor, preserved in the Nationaltheater Museum, shows Wüllner conducting (Ill. 35). Evidently, he used the archaic procedure of facing the audience to conduct; the modern disposition, with the conductor between the audience and the orchestra, was adopted at Munich only when Bülow or Richter stepped into the pit (see above, Chapter III, pp. 176-177). Another propagator of facing the audience was the French conductor Jules Étienne Pasdeloup (1819-1887), who

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presented works of Wagner at the Concerts Populaire at Paris in 1869; he is shown in this position in a caricature for Charivari by De Noë (Ill. 36). Here chains and padlocks re-

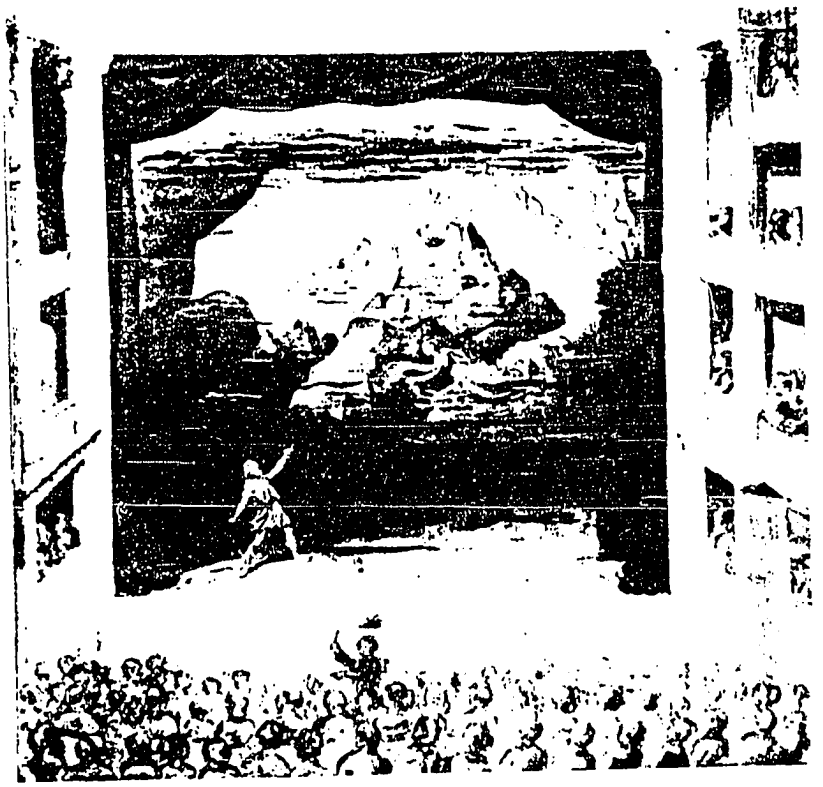

Illustration 35. Anonymous, Première of Das Rheingold Munich, September 22, 1869, watercolor, Munich Nationaltheater Museum [Bory, Wagner par l'image, 167].

strain the audience--De Noë's "recommendation for listening to Wagnerian opera at the Concerts Populaire."

Two caricatures on the Zukunftsmusik date from the same period. In one, published in the Zurich Fliegendes Blatt, Wagner's music is played by an orchestra of more than 100 human and animal musicians upon giant or improbable instru-

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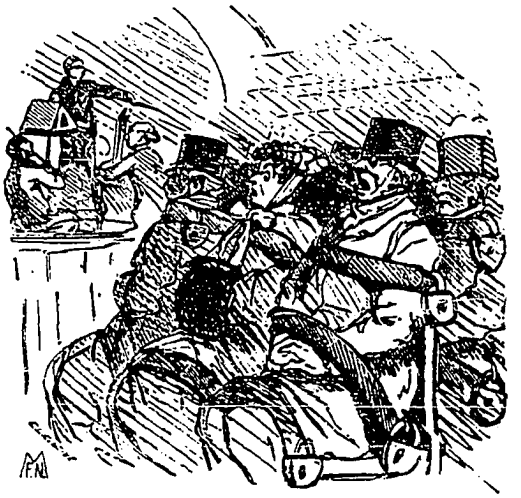

Illustration 36. A. C. H. de Noë, Recommendation for Listening to Wagnerian Opera at the Concerts Populaires, Charivari (December 27, 1869), print [Storck, Musik und Musiker, 25].

ments (Ill. 37). The conductor is on a raised podium before his forces, as was Wagner's habit, but the symmetrical extension of the arms and the figure's position at the center of the composition seem influenced by artistic considerations rather than any desire for realism. In the other depiction, by etcher and painter Jules James Rougeron (1841-1880), outsized drums and cannon are shown in the orchestra, but Wagner's conducting, shown from the rear, cannot be studied with certainty.

After the Rheingold première, Wagner wrote Über das Dirgiren, which he had projected in a plan of future work sent to Ludwig on January 6, 1865.[192] He published it

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[192]Wagner, letter to Ludwig II (January 6, 1865), Ludwig und Wagner Briefwechsel, I, 47-49.

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Illustration 37. Anonymous, "Zunkunftsmusik," Fliegendes Blatt, ca. 1869 print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 48].

in weekly installments in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, November 26, 1869-January 21, 1870, and then as a pamphlet.[193] Here his interpretative principles (see below, Chapter VI) were given their fullest exposition. "It's all gold--wonderful, though it will not be particularly pleasing for [Karl von] Perfall [Bavarian Cabinet Secretary] and Wüllner," wrote Bülow after reading it in May 1870.[194] The impact of the work was enormous upon conductors: the composer-conductor at the Paris Opéra Edouard Marie-Ernest Deldevez (1817-1897), a practitioner of violin-bow conducting, devoted an appendix of his Le chef d'orchestre (1878) to a stinging attack upon it,[195] while the French conductor and writer Maurice

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[193] Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," Sämtliche Schriften VIII, 261-337.

[194] Bülow, letter to Eugen Spitzweg (May 11, 1870), Briefe, IV, 390: "Alles Gold--wundervoll--wenn sie auch Perfall und Wüllner nicht sonderlich behagen wird."

[195] Eduoard M-E. Deldevez, L'art du chef d'orchestre (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1878) 175-191.

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Kufferath (1852-1919) used long quotations from Über das Dirigiren and Wagner's essay on Beethoven's Choral Symphony as the principal bases of his L'art de diriger l'orchestre (1891).[196]

Wagner is shown rehearsing Die Meistersinger at Vienna in February 1870 in a caricature by the painter and caricaturist Franz Gaul (1837-1906), brother of Gustav Gaul (Ill. 38). Wagner warns his players to "Shut-up, or there'll be thumping." However, he was not in Vienna at the time, and it is unlikely that he would have agreed, at this stage in his career, to conduct from the footlights. Furthermore, the brass are incorrectly drawn; the piece must be treated as unreliable.

Die Walküre had its première on June 26, 1870, under Wüllner, two days after a dress rehearsal before Ludwig; and the Siegfried Idyll had its private première at Triebschen on December 25, 1870, under Wagner with musicians from Zurich who had been rehearsed by Richter. Wagner conducted an encore at a concert of his music by the Singakademie, Berlin, on April 30, 1871, and a concert of Beethoven's 5th Symphony and excerpts from his own music at the Hofopernhause, Berlin, on

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[196]Maurice Kufferath, L'art de diriger l'orchestre, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1891).

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Illustration 38. Franz Gaul, "Halt die Schnaulze/ Sonst giebt's Plautze," February 1870 print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 52].

May 5, 1871. Of the 5th Symphony, the German Emperor declared he had never heard anything so accomplished, and the leader of the orchestra, astounded by Wagner's careful reading, told Wagner, "You have no idea of the casual attitude they take here to things like this."[197] In her diary, Cosima regularly reported Wagner resting in bed after conducting a concert or rehearsal, which supports Wagner's claim that his health made conducting difficult in these years.[198]

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[197] Newman, Life of Wagner, IV, 302.

[198] Cosima Wagner's Diaries, 2 vols., ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980) I, 363. If lacking insight in musical matters, these diaries are a major source of the mundane details of Wagner's life from 1869 until his death.

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From December 20, 1871, when he conducted a concert at the Mannheim Wagner Verein, until 1876, Wagner regularly conducted fund-raising concerts for Bayreuth under the auspices of the Vereine, societies which had been set up to provide a means for Wagner admirers of modest resources to contribute to the Festspiel scheme. The high prices charged for tickets at a concert for the Vienna Wagner Verein on May 12, 1872, together with Wagner's anti-Semitism, were the butt of an anonymous caricature in the Vienna Kikeriki entitled "Jewry in Music as Richard Wagner likes it--namely, when it pays 25 gulden for an orchestra seat" (Ill. 39). Here an exaggeratedly beak-nosed audience sits placidly as Wagner's drums and cannon-like brass blare violently at them. Wagner faces the audience; realism is therefore not a factor in the depiction. Hanslick wrote after this concert that if conductors followed Wagner's tempo modifications they would soon all be in the lunatic asylum.[199]

The most realistic visual survival from this period is an undated silhouette by a certain W. Bithorn (Ill. 40).[200] Here Wagner stands on his toes on the podium, gesturing from his wrist, the beat field high. A music stand is before him, but he does not look at the score; he seems intent on the forces before him. The palm in his baton grip is downwards;

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[199]Hanslick, Concertwesens in Wien, trans. in Vienna: the Golden Years, trans. Henry Pleasants III (Berlin: B. Behr, 1950) 109.

[200]It seems unlikely that this artist was the historical painter Ferdinand Bithorn (1835-1896) of the Nazarine School; nothing is known of a W. Bithorn.

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Illustration 39. Anonymous, "Das Judentum in der Musik wie es Richard Wagner gefällt--wenn es nämlich 25 Gulden für einen Fauteuil bezahlt," Vienna Kikeriki, 1872 print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 59].

the left hand also gestures vigorously. Great energy and animation are conveyed, and the profile is authentic.

In the years between the London Philharmonic season and the laying of the foundation stone at Bayreuth, therefore, there is little that is new in Wagner's conducting. As the evidence becomes more plentiful, it simply confirms the impression formed in the Zurich years. There was an increasing emphasis on the primacy of the dramatic in Wagner's musical interpretations and on the origin of the dramatic in melody. As the concerts in this period contained chiefly excerpts

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from his own works, in which the technical problems were greater, Wagner's reliance on his concertmaster for technical explanations is noted more frequently, and his success was

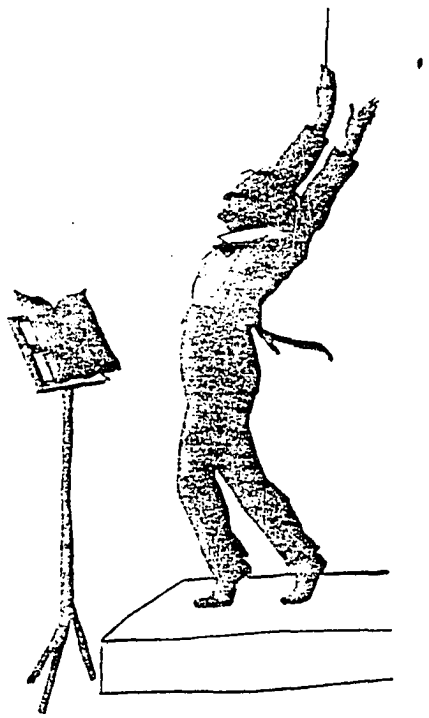

Illustration 40. W. Bithorn, Wagner Conducting, undated silhouette [Martin Gregor-Dellin, Das kleine Wagner-Buch (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1969) 50].

greatest where the orchestra was an excellent one. Among the performances of other conductors in this period, he heard Bülow conduct Beethoven's Concert Overture in C at Berlin in "exquisitely refined and elevated style," and the Belgian Josef Hasselmans (1814-1895) conduct the Overture to Tannhäuser at Strasbourg in a performance that was "perfectly distin-

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guished and spirited."[201] However, he thought the brother of Franz Lachner, Ignaz Lachner (1807-1895), whom he heard at Frankfurt, was a "wretchedly bad conductor, and muddle-headed."[202]

6. Bayreuth, 1872-1876

From the laying of the foundation stone for the Bayreuth Festspielhaus, on May 22, 1872, to the London Wagner Festival, in May 1877, Wagner conducted only when necessary to raise funds for Bayreuth. At concerts he chiefly presented excerpts from the Ring; he gave other works very rarely.

For the laying of the foundation stone, Wagner conducted Beethoven's Choral Symphony at the Markgräfliches Opernhaus, Bayreuth. There were four rehearsals and an orchestra assembled from all over Germany. Among the violinists Wagner had from Vienna was Nikisch, who later recalled:

> I can say that Wagner's Eroica in Vienna [performed on May 12, 1872] and then the 9th at Bayreuth have been decisive for my whole grasp of Beethoven, indeed, for my orchestral interpretation generally. To go into the essentials would take us too far from the point. To speak only of the obvious things: Wagner was certainly not what one might call an "old hand" as a Kapellmeister; but his "gesture" was surely music itself. I mentioned briefly, when the conversation was about the visibility or invisibility of the Kapellmeister, that "the conductor's baton technique--if he is not just a

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[201] Wagner, Mein Leben, 746: "Eine vollendet feine und schwungvolle Aufführung."

[202] Ibid., 712: ". . . vorzüglich elenden Dirigenten und Stümpers."

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> dry time-beater--is a spiritual language whose mastery enables the listener to penetrate the feelings of the artist, and helps his understanding of the work being played." With Richard Wagner, this was in all respects the case.[203]

As at London in 1855, Wagner rehearsed the singers with such vigor that he became hoarse.[204] Two illustrations of the performance have survived: one, which appeared anonymously in the Leipzig Illustrirte Zeitung, shows the disposition of the choir and orchestra exactly as it appears in Wagner's ground plan (see above, Ill. 26, p. 177). Wagner appears composed and disciplined: he stands at attention, his left arm raised, the beat-field high and away from his body, with no score visible (Ill. 41). The other illustration is a variant of the first, differing only in details of the depiction of the audience and the lesser clarity of the stage

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[203]Ferdinand Pfohl, "Arthur Nikisch," Arthur Nikisch: Leben und Wirken, ed. Heinrich Chevally (Berlin: Verlag Ed. Bote & G. Bock, 1922) 13: "Ich kann sagen, dass Wagners 'Eroica' in Wien und dann die 'Neuente' in Bayreuth für meine ganze Beethovens-Aufassung, ja, für meine Orchester-Interpretation überhaupt entscheidend geworden ist. Auf das Essentielle einzugehen, würde hier zu weit führen. Um nur vom Ausserlichen zu sprechen: Wagner war gewiss nicht, was man einen 'routinierten Kapellmeister' nennt; aber seine 'Geste' war allein schon Musik. Ich sagte kürzlich, als von der Sichtbarkeit oder Unsichtbarkeit des Kapellmeisters die Rede war: 'Die Stabführung des Dirigenten ist, sofern er nur nicht ein trockener Taktschläger ist, eineSeelenssprache, deren Erkennen dem Hörer das Eindringen in die Gefühlswelt des Künstlers ermöglicht und das Verständnis der vorgetragen Komposition erleichtert.' Das war bei Richard Wagner durchaus der Fall."

[204]Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 487.

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disposition (Ill. 42). The care with which the interior of the auditorium itself is reproduced suggests that both illustrations are accurate records of the event.

A detailed account of Wagner's interpretation and instructions to his players for this performance was published by the Wagner analyst and writer Heinrich Porges (1837-1900),

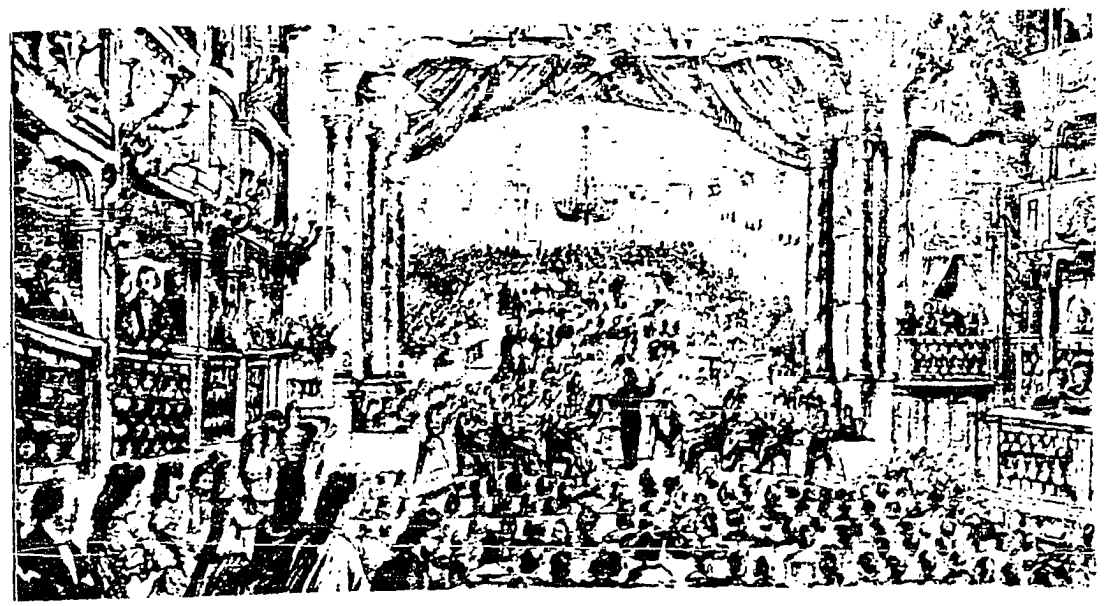

Illustration 41. Anonymous, Wagner Conducting Beethoven's Choral Symphony at Bayreuth, Leipzig Illustrirte Zeitung (June 15, 1872), print [Julius Kapp, Richard Wagner: sein Leben, sein Werk, seine Welt in 260 Bildern (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1933) 132].

which so impressed Wagner that Porges was asked to make a similar record of the Ring rehearsals four years later.

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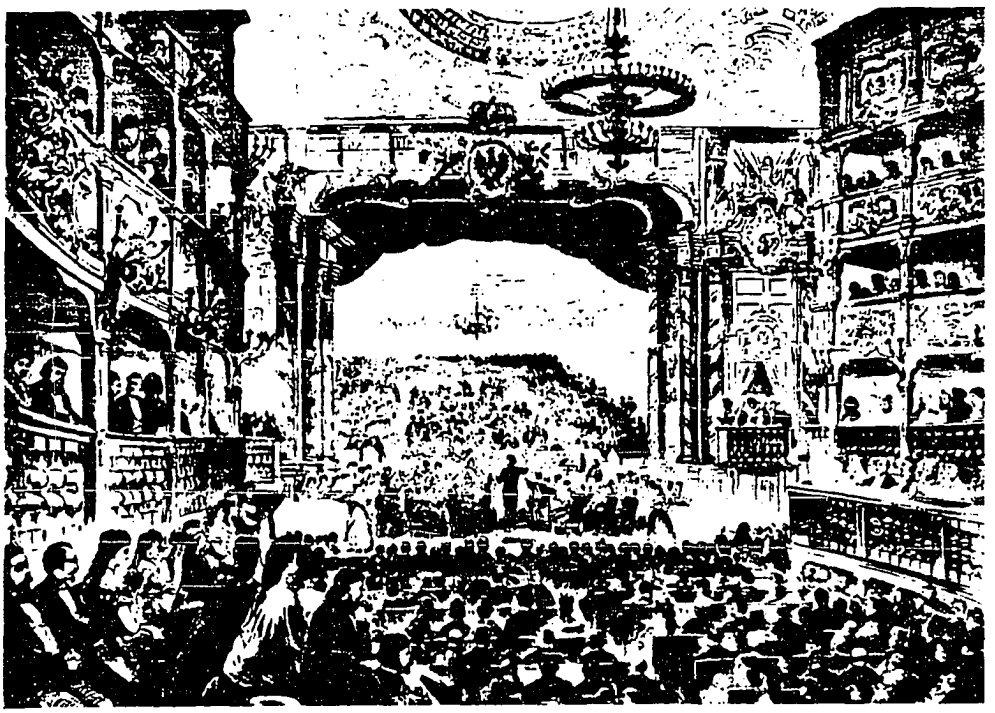

Illustration 42. Anonymous, Wagner Conducts Beethoven's Choral Symphony at Bayreuth, Wagner Gedenkstätte der Stadt Bayreuth, print [Karl Michael Komma, Musikgeschichte in Bildern (Stuttgart: A. Kröner, 1961) 258].

Porges wrote:

> The same attribute through which Wagner has become the salvager or, to put it more correctly, the creator of the music drama as a perfect artwork in every respect made him also the foremost conductor of our time. . . . The principal difference standing between Wagner's manner of execution and common practice he has stated himself in the term that has become a slogan: "Tempo modification."[205]

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[205]Heinrich Porges, Die Aufführung von Beethovens 9. Symphonie unter Richard Wagner in Bayreuth. May 22. 1872 (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1872) 4, 6: "Dieselbe Eigenschaft, durch welche Wagner der Regenerator oder, um vieles richtiger gesagt, der Schöpfer des musikalischen Drama's als ein in jeder Hinsicht vollendetes Kunstwerk geworden ist, ist es

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Porges made only one observation on Wagner's performance method, which relates to the fermate in the last movement:

> It was interesting for me to observe, here and also in other instances, how Wagner, in holding the fermate, let his outstretched arm quiver with a slight tremble, which embodied a persistent demand on the performers to augment the strength of tone repeatedly.206

Motion of the baton in fermate, according to Rudolf, is no longer remarkable; it is a standard part of the modern baton-conductor's gestures.[207] On the sources of Wagner's interpretation, Porges wrote:

> As he has now shown [in his operas] that music is capable of serving as a means of expression not merely for the person biased in favor of sensation but quite as well for the acting and thinking person, so he shows

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auch, die ihn zum ersten Dirigenten unserer Zeit macht.... Den prinzipiellen Gegensatz, in dem Wagner's Vortragsweise zur gemeinüblichen steht, hat er selbst mit der zum Schlagworte geworden Bezeichnung der Modification des Tempo's ausgesprochen."

[206]Porges, Beethovens 9. unter Wagner, 32: "Mir war hier und auch noch bei andern Momenten interessant, zu beobachten, wie W. beim Aushalten der Fermate den hochgehaltenen Arm in leisem Beben erzittern liess, worin gleichsam eine stete Aufforderung an die Ausführenden lag, die Stärke des Tones immer wieder sich steigern zu lassen."

[207]Rudolf, Grammar of Conducting, 160.

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> as a conductor how every representation of a musical artwork has to be a deed, in which all our powers of spirit and life have to work together. . . . His performance, at the same time, is contrary to one of subjective geniality; he does not regard the artwork as an object with which he can deal in arbitrary sovereignty, but his presentation goes "from inner to outer," he lets it come into being as something of its own kind, behind which the personality of the artist vanishes. . . . Mere passivity of feeling can never become completely dominant over him; on the contrary, the deeper his mind is incited, the softer, more tender, and more intensely he feels, the more he strives to shape this stream of life with a steady hand.[208]

The tone of this article is quite different from earlier writing about Wagner as a conductor, or, indeed, about other nineteenth-century conductors. Rather than as a craftsman, Wagner is treated here as a virtuoso, an artist undertaking a creative venture of the highest order.

A similar tone may be detected in the recollections

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[208]Porges, Beethovens 9. unter Wagner, 4-5: "Wie er nun hier gezeigt hat, dass die Musik sehr wohl im Stande ist, nicht bloss dem einseitig empfindenden, sondern ebenso dem handelnden und denkenden Menschen als Ausdruck zu dienen, so zeigt er als Dirigent, wie jede Darstellung eines musikalischen Kunstwerkes eine That zu sein hat, bei der alle unsere Geistes- und Lebenskräfte zusammenwirken müssen. . . . Dabei steht seine Aufführung in geradem Gegensatz zu jener der subjektiven Genialität; er betrachtet das Kunstwerk nicht als ein Objekt, mit welchem er in souveräner Willkür schalten könnte, sondern seine Darstellung geht "von Innen nach Aussen," er lässt es vor uns erstehen als ein Wesen eigener Art, hinter dem die Persönlichkeit des Künstlers verschwindet. . . . Die blosse Passivität des Gefühls nie vollständig Herr über ihn werden kann; im Gegentheil: je tiefer sein Gemüth erregt ist, je weicher, je zarter und inniger er empfindet, desto mehr ist er bestrebt, diesen Lebensstrom mit fester Hand zu gestalten."

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of the editor of The Musical World and author of one of the earliest sympathetic studies of Wagner in English,[209] Francis Hueffer (1843-1889), who was at the performance:

> It is indeed one of the most interesting sights to see the immediate rapport established between Wagner and his orchestra as soon as he raises the baton. Each individual member, from the first violinist to the last drummer, is equally under the influence of a personal fascination, which seems to have much in common with the effects of animal magnetism. Every eye is turned towards the master; and it appears as if the musicians derived the notes they play not from the books on their desks, but from Wagner's glances and movements. . . . Several artists in Wagner's orchestra and chorus assured me that they felt the fascinating spell of the conductor's eye looking at them during the whole performance. Wagner in common life is of a rather reserved and extremely gentlemanly deportment; but as soon as he faces his band a kind of demon seems to take possession of him. He storms, hisses, stamps his foot on the ground and performs the most wonderful gyratory movements with his arms; and woe to the wretch who wounds his keen ear with a false note. At other times, when the musical waves run smoothly, Wagner ceases almost entirely to beat time, and a most winning smile is the doubly appreciated reward of his musicians for a particularly well-executed passage.[210]

Anton Seidl, who joined Wagner's entourage in 1872 and saw the performance, recalled of Wagner's conducting:

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[209]Francis Hueffer, Richard Wagner, vol. I of The Great Musicians, ed. Francis Hueffer (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1881).

[210]Francis Hueffer, Richard Wagner and the Future (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874) 295-296.

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> As a conductor Wagner was a man of iron energy. Almost small of stature, he seemed to grow to gigantic size when before his orchestra. His powerful head, with its sharply defined features, his wonderfully penetrating eyes, his mobile face, which gave expression to every emotion, every thought, can never be forgotten. His body stood motionless, but his eyes glittered, glowed, pierced; his fingers worked nervously, and electric currents seemed to pass through the air to each individual musician; an invisible force metered the hearts of all; every man thrilled with him, for he could not escape the glance of this great man. Wagner held everybody bound to him as by a magical chain; the musicians had to perform wonders, for they could not do otherwise. At first things went topsy-turvy at rehearsals, because of the impatience of the master who wanted everything to be good at once; the strange, illustrative movements of his long baton startled and puzzled the musicians until they learned that the musical bars were not dominant, but the phrase, the melody or the expression; but soon the glance caught the attention of the men, they became infused with the magical fluid, and the master had them all in his hands. The meanest orchestra grew and played gloriously, the tones became imbued with life and expression, the most rigorous rhythm and the loftiest emotional expression ruled, and everything was reflected in the face of Wagner. All hung on his glance, and he seemed to see them all at once.[211]

According to Galkin, these are the first accounts to treat a conductor as a performing virtuoso.[212]

After Wagner conducted Beethoven's 5th Symphony at Hamburg on January 21, 1873, Cosima wrote in her diary:

> Richard says he would like to change the [2/4] time signature of the first movement into 4/4 because it is

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[211]Anton Seidl, "On Conducting," The Music of the Modern World, 4 vols., ed. Anton Seidl et al.(New York: A. D. Appleton, 1895), reprinted in Anton Seidl: A Memorial By His Friends, ed. Henry Theophilus Finck (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899) 239-240.

[212]Galkin, "Orchestral Conducting," 480.

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> so awkward to beat as written, and the nuances also suffered in this rhythm--it gave rise to too many accents; Beethoven, he thinks, must have felt that people would go wrong in 4/4 and thus wrote as if for children. 213

By this remark, Wagner evidently meant he would rebar the work in groups of four quarters instead of two; a clue to his beating is contained here--he was not interested in marking the time but in shaping the broader phrases. The comment confirms the observations of Porges, Hueffer, and Seidl.

At the concerts in this period, Wagner was regularly showered with laurel tributes, as may be seen in a silhouette by a certain Dr. Otto Böhler (Ill. 43). Here Wagner's right hand is very high and holds a tapered baton, his left hand rests on a music stand, but his eyes do not look at the music. A less reliable piece appeared in the Vienna Humoristische Blätter, a caricature (Ill. 44) by the painter and caricaturist Karl Klic (1841-1926). Here the flutes are simplified -- two of them are held to the left instead of to the right, and Wagner's baton grip is quite inaccurately drawn.

By 1873, Wagner had begun to disseminate his conducting method in earnest. In April 1873, he published his essay on the performance of Beethoven's Choral Symphony,

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213 Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 586.

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which outlined many details of his interpretation of not only the Choral Symphony but all Beethoven's orchestral works (see below, Appendix II, Fig. 5). He had collected about

Illustration 43. Otto Böhler, "Silhouette 23," (Vienna: R. Lechner [W. Müller] Verlag, 1873),silhouette [Erich W. Engel, Richard Wagners Leben und Werke im Bilde (Leipzig: F. W. Siegels Musikalienhandlung, 1922) 476].

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Illustration 44. Karl Klic, "Richard Wagner," Humoristische Blätter, 1873 print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 58].

him a group known as the Nibelungen Kanzlei (Nibelung Chancellery) at Bayreuth, who corrected proofs, copied parts, and carried out other tasks for him in exchange for coaching in his methods. In a letter to Ludwig of May 24, 1874, Wagner explained that the group consisted of a Hungarian, a Saxon, a Russian, and a Macedonian; these were respectively Seidl, Hermann Zumpe (1850-1903, later Kapellmeister at Munich), Joseph Rubenstein (1847-1884, arranger and composer),

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and a certain Demetrius Lalas.[214] Others in his orbit by this time were Levi, Mottl, and Richter; his teenage admirers included Muck, Strauss, Mahler, and Nikisch, a circle that was exclusively young. Therefore, his influence on the next generation was wide.

In 1875, Wagner conducted three concerts at Vienna, one at Budapest, and two at Berlin, in aid of the Festspielhaus building fund. Gustav Gaul made a drawing at a rehearsal at Vienna on February 27 that is much more realistic than his earlier caricature (Ill. 45). It shows Wagner statuesque, the baton at right angles to his arm, and the left hand shaping a phrase. A silhouette dated one week after his March 8 concert shows a similar stance: the body still, the beat-field high, the left hand shaping a phrase (Ill. 46). The orchestra at these concerts was, according to Cosima, "rebellious; since these people always have bad conductors. . . . But much that is splendid is already emerging." In Budapest, there was "an ugly hall, bad acoustics, [and] insufficient preliminary rehearsal."[215] In the same year, Wagner wrote Erläuterungen for the Prelude, Siegfried's Death, Hagen's

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[214]Wagner, letter to Ludwig II (May 24, 1874), Ludwig und Wagner Briefwechsel, III, 34-36.

[215]Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 829, 831.

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Watch, and the Close of Götterdämmerung, now regular features of these concerts.[216]

On March 2, 1876, Wagner conducted Lohengrin at Vienna. According to Max "Morold" [von Millenkovich] (1866-1945), the opera under its usual conductor, Heinrich Esser (1818-1872), had been "too fast in the lyrical music," and ex-

Illustration 45. Gustav Gaul, Wagner Conducting, February 27, 1875 drawing, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna [Barth, Wagner: a Documentary Study, 199].

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[216]Wagner, "Zur Götterdämmerung. Vorspiel. Hagens Wacht. Siegfrieds Tod. Schluss des letzten Aktes," Sämtliche Schriften, XVI, 173-175.

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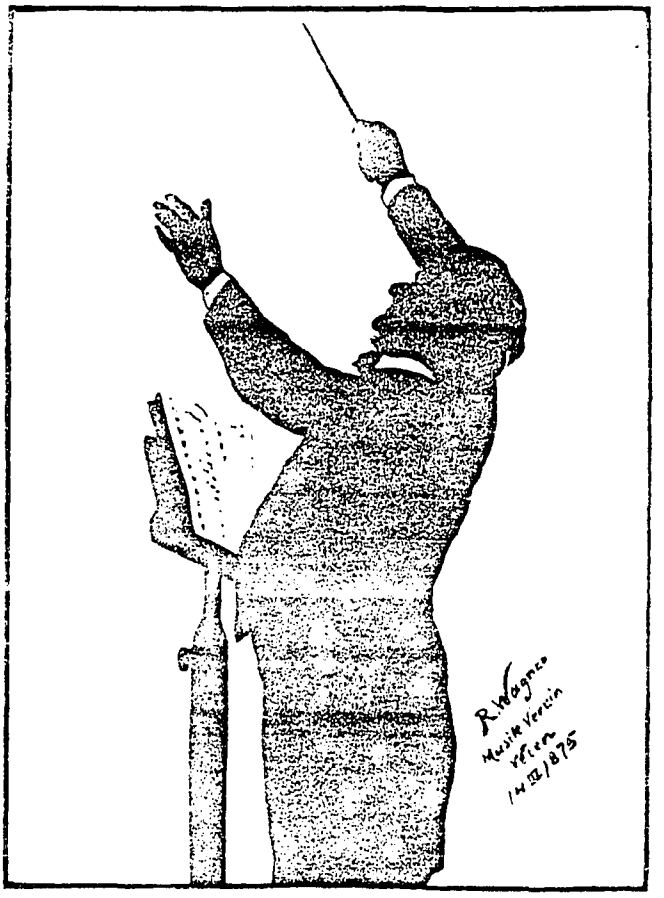

Illustration 46. Anonymous, Wagner Conducting, March 14, 1875, silhouette, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien [Barth, Wagner a Documentary Study, 201].

pressed "too little ardor in the dramatic dialogue--too much emphasis on quarters instead of dashing alla breve."[217] As Wagner had not conducted an opera for eleven years, Richter and the Hofoper vocal coach Josef Sucher (1844-1908), later

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[217] Max Morold, Wagners Kampf und Sieg, dargestellt in seinen Beziehungen zu Wien, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Amalthea Verlag, 1950) II, 170: "zu schnell im Lyrischen . . . zu wenig Feuer im heftigen Dialog--zu sehrgeviertelt, statt mutig alla breve gebracht worden waren."

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conductor at the Leipzig Stadttheater, sat on either side of him in case there should be a breakdown. As Felix Mottl reported in his diary, however, they soon saw:

> How, apart from the wonderful, suggestive power of his personality, he technically led the whole with the greatest perfection as well. It was a wonderful evening![218]

Cosima wrote in her diary:

> Richard's magical conducting works miracles, the orchestra plays the Prelude as I have never heard it played before, the chorus is magnificent, the individual singers unfortunately worse than mediocre, incorrect, voiceless, without style.[219]

Arditi was also in Vienna, and it must have been of this performance that he wrote:

> I shall never forget seeing Wagner conduct. His carriage was erect and imposing and made the impression of his being somewhat taller than he really was. His manner was sharp and hasty and at times intensely nervous, but his rich voice gave effect to his words and all who came in contact with him were bound to be subdued by his commanding personality. He was always unconventional and his appearance betokened great refinement.[220]

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[218]Felix Mottl, Diary (March 2, 1876), cited in Willy Krienitz, "Felix Mottls Tagebuchaufzeichungen aus den Jahren 1873-1876," Neue Wagner Forschung I (1943) 190: "Wie er--abgesehen von der wunderbaren suggestiven Kraft seiner Persönlichkeit--auch technisch mit der grössten Vollkommenheit das Ganze leitete. Es war ein wunderbarer Abend!"

[219]Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 896.

[220]Arditi, My Reminiscences, 217.

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While in Vienna, Wagner supervised rehearsals for a performance of Tristan und Isolde, and Gustav Gaul again recorded his impressions in a sketch, which survives in the New York Public Library (Ill. 47). It is signed simply "G 1876," but it may be identified by comparison with a post-card, published by Gaul in 1886 and obviously based on the New York sketch (Ill. 48). In both, Wagner is shown wrapped in a scarf, cap, and coat, for he was in poor health at the time. In the sketch, he has a baton at his hip and looks up, presumably at the stage. In the later version, Gaul retained the baton, which is cylindrical and with no end-grip, but has Wagner taking snuff and standing in a draped podium, as if rehearsing a concert, with a score of Tristan und Isolde before him and the usual laurel wreath behind. There is little doubt that the two depictions were based on the same event, and that the earlier sketch is therefore closer to Wagner's actual stance at the rehearsal than the later version.

The rehearsals for the first Bayreuth Festspiel were held in July and August 1875 and again in July and August 1876. The conductor was Richter, although Wagner later lamented to Cosima that Richter was "not sure of a single tempo."[221]

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[221] Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 921.

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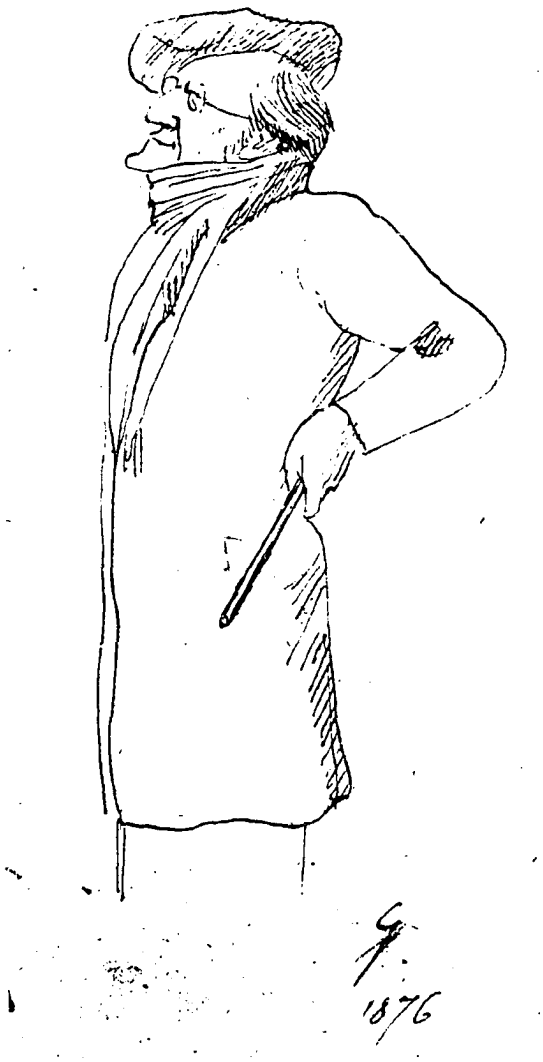

Illustration 47. Gustav Gaul, Wagner Rehearsing, March 1876. pen and ink drawing, New York Public Library

July 1875 was devoted to piano rehearsals, and August 2-12 to a read-through for the orchestra in the theater. While Richter conducted, Wagner followed the score at a desk on the

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Illustration 48. Gustav Gaul, "Richard Wagner in der Probe" (Vienna: W. A. Heck, 1886), postcard [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 125].

stage, giving his own instructions. Two beautiful pencil drawings of Wagner rehearsing on the Festspielhaus stage in 1875 are known only through copies in the Winifred Wagner collection; it is thought the originals may be in Polish hands. They were were made by the painter and book illustrator Adolph Friedrich Erdmann Menzel (1815-1905) on August 7-8, 1875. In one, the attention is focused on the atmosphere of the rehearsal, with the stage, onlookers, and audience indistinct (Ill. 49); in the other, Wagner is clearly visible,

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Illustration 49. Adolph Menzel, Wagner Rehearsing at the Festspielhaus, August 7-8, 1875, pencil drawing; copy (Berlin, May 5, 1876), Winifred Wagner Collection [Martin Geck, Die Bildnisse Richard Wagners, vol. IX of Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1970) 29A].

seated at the table, tapping his foot, gesturing with both hands, and following the score intently (Ill. 50). He has no

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Illustration 50. Adolph Menzel. Wagner Rehearsing at the Festspielhaus, August 7-8, 1875, pencil drawing; copy (Berlin, May 5, 1876), Winifred Wagner Collection [Geck, Die Bildnisse Richard Wagners, 29B].

baton: evidently he did not use one when not before an orchestra.

The rehearsals in 1876 were extensively documented by Porges and, more briefly, by Mottl (see below, Appendix II,

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Figs. 11-14). On July 4, according to Glasenapp:

> He [Wagner] spent the evening with Levi, [the Russian painter Paul von] Joukowsky, and [the philosopher Heinrich von] Stein ([1833-1896] who had been back in Bayreuth since June 22) in pleasant conversations, and, among other things, showed the former in a very vivid manner how he would control the baton. He found that Levi worked far too much with his whole arm, while everything should be done using merely the wrist.[222]

Although Wagner's beat-field was high and away from his body, his gestures came from the wrist and were small.

The first Festspiel, in 1876, was seen as the first cultural flowering of the newly-unified Germany, itself only five years old. The presence of Kaiser Wilhelm I and other German royalty and dignitaries focused attention on Bayreuth, and Wagner's sympathy with the national cause[223] made it hardly surprising that the caricaturists linked the event with Germany's military aspirations. A caricature in Le Sifflet had Wagner conducting in a Prussian spiked helmet, perched on

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[222]Glasenapp, Das Leben Wagners, VI, 619: "Den Abend verbrachte er mit Levi, Joukowsky und Stein (der schon seit dem 22. Juni wieder in Bayreuth war) in freundlichen Gesprächen und zeigte dem ersteren u.a. sehr anschaulich, wie er den Taktstock zu regieren habe. Er fand, das Levi viel zu sehr mit dem ganzen Arm arbeite, während alles mit dem blossen Handgelenk zu tun sei!"

[223]Wagner's views were well known from his coarse "Ein Kapitulation" (1870) [Sämtliche Schriften, IX, 3-41] and the wretched poem "An das deutsche Heer von Paris" (1871) [ibid., IX, 1-3], published during the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871, as well as his Kaisermarsch (1871).

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a podium labelled "Bayreuth" in the shape of another helmet (Ill. 51). Another caricature by a certain Faustin in the London Figaro has him conducting in a military decoration while opera-goers dodge flying notes as if dodging shrapnel; the thickness of the baton and the position of the fingers of the left hand, as well as the similarity of the idea, suggest that Faustin plagiarized his piece from Le Sifflet (Ill. 52). Karl Klic published an illustration called "From the

Illustration 51. Anonymous, "Wagner: Musicien de l'avenir," Le Sifflet (August 27, 1876), print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 64].

Theater of War in Bayreuth" on the same theme (Ill. 53), showing Wagner directing operations without a baton while a hail of musical notes is fired from the brass; Richter, Liszt,

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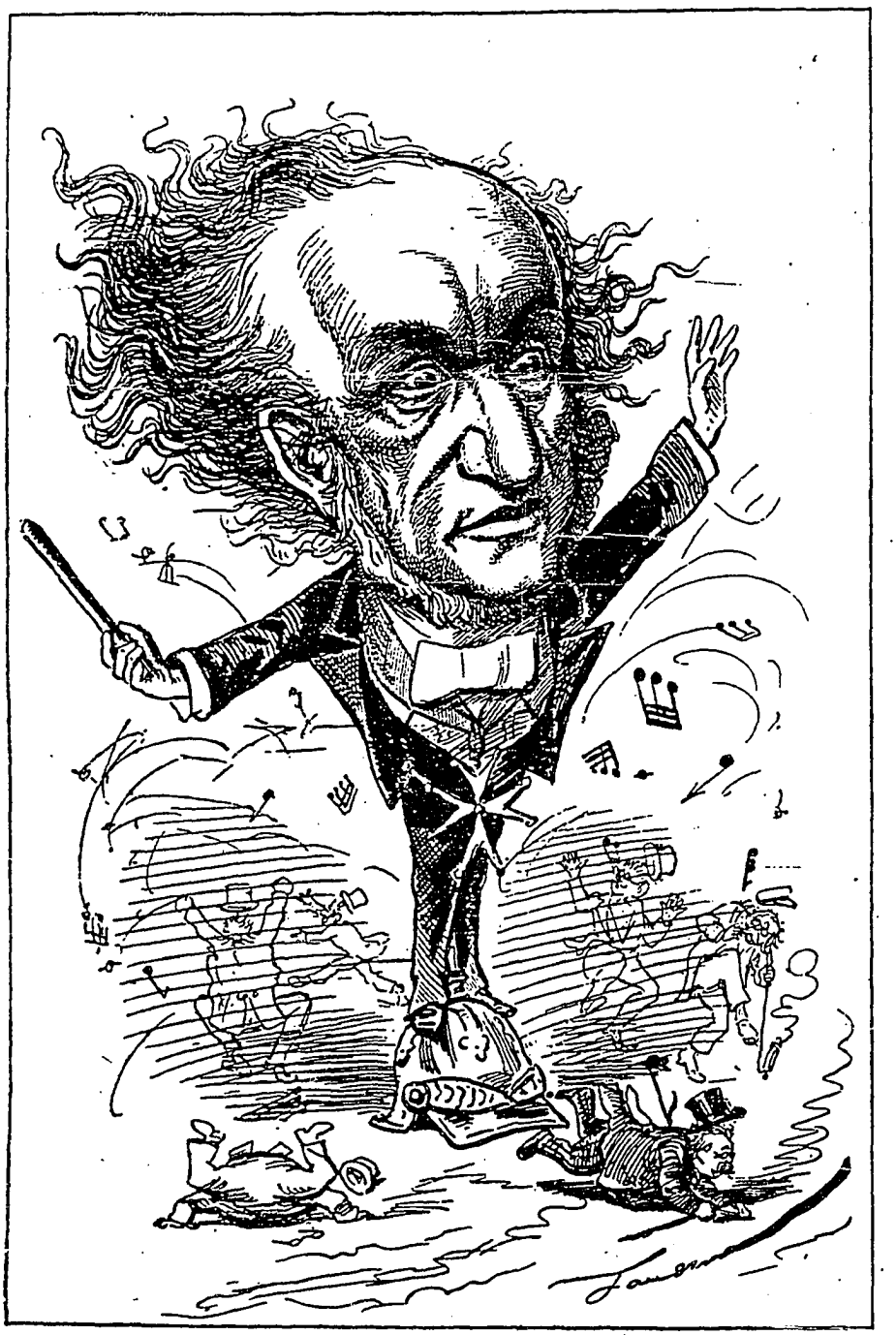

Illustration 52. Faustin, Wagner, London Figaro (September 20, 1876), print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 15].

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Illustration 53. Karl Klic, "Vom Kriegschauplatze in Bayreuth," Humoristische Blätter, 1876 print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 44].

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and other prominent musicians are depicted among the troops.

7. London Wagner Festival, 1877

Wagner conducted eight concerts at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on May 7-19, 1877, in an attempt to cover the deficit of the first Festspiel. Although he was pleased with the enormous orchestra assembled for these concerts (see above, Chapter III, p. 129), he was disappointed with the singers, according to Cosima, who were "very feeble."[224] After the second concert, on May 9, the Illustrated London News reported that Wagner had "conducted with energy and precision," but that the largest share of the conducting had been taken by Richter, "whose skill in this respect appears to surpass that of Wagner himself."[225] Indeed, Wagner had depended on Richter heavily. The critic for the Sunday Times, Herman Klein (1835-1934), recalled of one of the rehearsals:

> I expected his reading of the Dutchman Overture to be in the nature of a revelation. Imagine then my disappointment and sorrow, when it resulted in a complete breakdown! Twice--nay, thrice--did he make a fresh start,

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[224] Cosima Wagner's Diaries, I, 962.

[225] Illustrated London News (May 12, 1877) 443, and (May 19, 1877) 467.

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> while Mr. Dannreuther and Mr. Diechmann (the faithful leader of the second violins) took it by turns to translate his complaints and instructions to the orchestra. But it was of no avail. He utterly failed either to indicate what he wanted, and at last, in sheer despair, he threw down his stick, and requested Richter to do the work for him. Well do I remember the sharp round of applause with which the band greeted the Viennese conductor as he mounted the rostrum . . . the Overture went without a hitch.[226]

After this, it was decided that Wagner would conduct only one or two pieces at each concert, and sit in an armchair on the stage during the rest. Seidl and Franz Fischer, who had been brought to London as assistants, also shared in the rehearsal work.

Hueffer was among Wagner's disappointed English supporters at the Festival:

> As a conductor he scarcely did justice to himself on this occasion. To those who had seen him conduct the 9th Symphony five years earlier, the difference seemed great indeed, and by no means accounted for by the lapse of time, although that no doubt told considerably at Wagner's age. The truth is that Wagner's strength did not lie in keeping great masses together by a firm beat, or helping an orchestra over the difficulties of making acquaintance with new and intricate music. But when these difficulties were overcome, when the players knew their parts so thoroughly that mere time-beating became unnecessary, then a slight motion of the hand, a keen glance of the eye, would make them do things which a humdrum conductor could never think of. In London this perfect sympathy between the leader and the led was

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[226]Herman Klein, Thirty Years of Musical Life in London, 1870-1900 (New York: The Century Company, 1903) 77.

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> never established; there was not sufficient time for it, to say nothing of Wagner's ignorance of the English language, which made interpretation a weary and arduous task.[227]

The London musician Wilhelm Ganz (1833-1914) also felt that Wagner was "no longer at his best, and had lost something of his great skill as a conductor."[228] The Musical Times reported:

> The master, great as he is in other respects, is a poor conductor; equally lacking spirit and the power of control. . . . Whenever the bâton fell from the nerveless hand of the master Herr Richter took it up to retrieve the fortunes of the day.[229]

These expressions of disappointment need not be doubted, but the suggestion that Wagner was now past his best should be questioned. A year before, he had conducted Lohengrin at Vienna with great mastery, and important performances were still to come. It is more likely, as Hueffer wrote, that Wagner's lack of English and lack of interest in providing a beat clear enough to keep an orchestra of over 150 together prevented him from conveying his all-important inter-

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[227]Francis Hueffer, Half a Century of Music in England, 72-73.

[228]Wilhelm Ganz, Memories of a Musician: Reminiscences of Seventy Years of Musical Life (London: J. Murray, 1913) 171.

[229]"The Wagner Festival," The Musical Times XVIII/6 (June 1, 1877) 276-277.

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pretations. Where he could not give word-of-mouth instructions and eschew time-beating for expressive gesture, he was never able to achieve good results.

Perhaps the most evocative of all illustrations of Wagner conducting dates from this Festival--a chromolithograph by the London illustrator and member of the Royal Academy Sir Leslie Ward ("Spy," 1851-1922), which appeared after the fifth concert on May 16 (Ill. 54). Like his lithographs of Costa, Manns, Liszt, Barnaby, and others, Ward's depiction of Wagner has a high degree of realism: it is the only illustration, for example, to show the specific baton grip Wagner used--between thumb and forefinger, the baton base in the fist. Wagner is seated, and, as usual, the beat-field is high with the motion coming from the wrist; he taps his right foot while his left hand is raised to shoulder height, its palm down and fingers spread. There is no music stand--and Ward drew stands when they were used--and an impression of irruptive gesture is conveyed.

Three other illustrations of lesser interest appeared at London in 1877. A drawing of Wagner conducting the Huldigungsmarsch appeared without attribution in Holiday (Ill. 55), showing Wagner with a long baton. The motion comes from the elbow, his left hand is in his pocket, his body is still, and an impression of nonchalance is conveyed. Several of these features are atypical; furthermore, Wagner is de-

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Illustration 54. Leslie Ward, "The Music of the Future," Vanity Fair (May 19, 1877), chromolithograph [Author's Collection]

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Illustration 55. "Richard Wagner Conducting the Huldigungsmarsch," London Holiday, 1877 pen and ink drawing [Gregor-Dellin, Wagner-Buch, 107].

picted as younger than he was in 1877, which raises doubts about when this drawing was carried out. If it originated at a performance of the Huldigungsmarsch, it could have been up to seventeen years older than the date of publication. A caricature without attribution appeared in The Hornet with a good likeness of Wagner (Ill. 56); the body, however, is undersized and the baton and music stand serve only as attributes. Finally, there is a caricature without at-

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Illustration 56. Anonymous, Wagner Conducting, The Hornet (May 9, 1877), print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 82].

tribution, which appeared in the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, entitled "Wagner Composing" (Ill. 57). It shows Wagner thrashing a confused body of musical notes with a long stick, as a nineteenth-century schoolmaster might thrash a boy with a cane. Realism was obviously not intended.

8. Last Appearances, 1878-1882

Wagner made four more appearances as a conductor between the 1877 Festival and his death. Two of these were private performances of the Prelude to Parsifal at his home, the Wahnfried, Bayreuth, on December 25, 1878, for Cosima's birthday, and at Munich on November 12, 1880, for Ludwig. For

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Illustration 57. Anonymous, "Wagner Composing," Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News (June 9, 1877), print [Walter Panofsky, Wagner: a Pictorial Biography, trans. R. Rickett (London: Thames & Hudson, 1964) 109].

the latter, Wagner wrote his last Erläuterung.[230] For the former, the orchestra was the ducal orchestra of Meiningen whose Kapellmeister had rehearsed at double the speeds Wagner wanted, and there was some confusion until the players learned the purpose of Wagner's beat, which was not to indicate time.[231] At Munich, the composer Ludwig Strecker (1818-1890)

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[230]Wagner, "Parsifal. Vorspiel," Sämtliche Schriften, XII, 347.

[231]Seidl, "On Conducting," 239-240.

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timed the duration of Wagner's two performances of the Prelude: each was exactly fourteen-and-one-half minutes.[232]

Wagner supervised rehearsals for the Ring at Berlin on May 5, 1881, but did not conduct the performances. His next appearance in performance was unannounced, when he quietly took over the baton from the ailing Levi in the last act of Parsifal at Bayreuth on August 29, 1882. Levi wrote:

> I remained at his side because I was afraid he might make a mistake, but my fears were quite groundless--he conducted with the assurance of one who had been nothing but a conductor all his life.[233]

"It is remarkable," wrote Cosima, "how differently the orchestra played under his direction, how incomparably differently Herr Reichmann [was] as he sang his 'Sterben, einz'ge Gnade'."[234] The only visual survival of the production is a colored drawing of a rehearsal in the Festspielhaus pit, made by one of the players, Josef Grief (Ill. 58). Levi is at the podium, Wagner leans through a trapdoor to consult with him, and the leader listens in.

On March 18, 1882, Wagner conducted two of his

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[232]Ludwig Strecker, Richard Wagner als Verlagsgefährte (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1951) 299.

[233]Hermann Levi, letter to his father (August 31, 1882), cited in Barth, Wagner: a Documentary Study, 244.

[234]Cosima Wagner's Diaries, II, 904.

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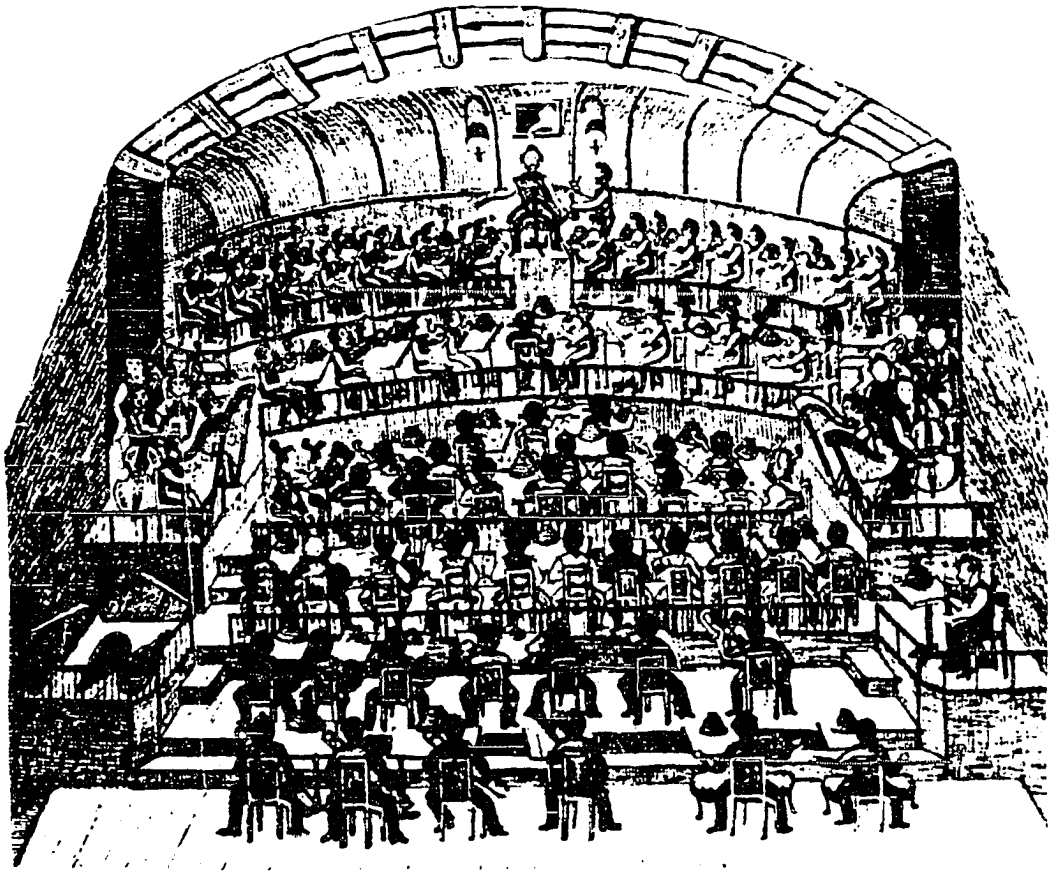

Illustration 58. Josef Grief, Levi and Wagner Rehearsing at Bayreuth, 1882 colored drawing, Wagner Gedenkstätte der Stadt Bayreuth [Barth, Wagner: a Documentary Study, 246].

marches and the Siegfried Idyll with a local military band at Palermo; of this, no records of value have come to light.[235] His last performance was at the Teatro La Fenice, Venice, where he conducted his early Symphony in C Major on December

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[235]For an account of this performance, see Newman, Life of Wagner, IV, 668.

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24, 1882, with an orchestra of staff and students of the Liceo Benedetto Marcello. His health weakened by recurring heart attacks, he was assisted at the rehearsals by composer Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921), who had been in his circle since 1880. The purpose of the concert was to make a musical birthday present to Cosima, by now an annual custom in the Wagner family. In his report of the performance, Wagner explained that he was pleased with the interpretation and attributed its success to the adequate number of rehearsals, of which there had been five.[236] His son Siegfried recalled:

> His method of conducting . . . was distinguished by its plastic simplicity and great clarity. . . . My father used his eyes above all else, and repeatedly referred to them as the most important means of communicating the conductor's wishes. Consequently his passion was more restrained in its external manifestations; it revealed itself to those who went up to him at the end in his very heavy perspiration. The sight always remained an aesthetic one for the audience, without any of the exaggerated gesticulation which is so popular nowadays and creates the impression that the ultimate object of the music is the conductor, and the work being performed is incidental. It was his eyes that electrified.[237]

There had been many testaments throughout Wagner's career to

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[236] Wagner, "Bericht über die Wiederaufführung eines Jugendwerkes," Sämtliche Schriften, X, 309-315.

[237] Siegfried Wagner, Erinnerungen (Stuttgart, 1923), trans. in Barth, Wagner: a Documentary Study, 246.

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the penetrating use of his eyes. Gasperini had called them "the eyes of a madman," and the writer Catulle Mendés (1841-1909) and the authoress Judith Gautier (1845-1917) had also been moved by them.[238]

After Wagner's death, a final depiction of his conducting appeared in the Zurich Nebelspalter by one F. Boscovits (Ill. 59). Entitled "The Late Master Richard Wagner Arrives Unannounced in the Heavenly Concert Halls," it shows Wagner, now united with the gods of his operas, finding that, with a celestial orchestra of putti to conduct, his desire to compose something new had been rejuvenated.

Conclusions

From the foregoing survey of his appearances as they were recorded by his contemporaries, therefore, Wagner's conducting practice may be summarized as follows:

1. From his earliest engagements, Wagner abandoned the keyboard and conducted from a desk with a baton in the modern manner.

2. Wagner's batons were made of wood, covered with white paper, rarely tapered, and fifteen to twenty inches long. He held them in his right hand, between thumb and forefinger, their base in his fist. His non-espressivo beat radiated chiefly from the wrist, his beat-field was small, and its center was high and away from his body.

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[238]See Newman, Life of Wagner, II, 594, and IV, 256.

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Illustration 59. F. Boscovits, "Altmeister Richard Wagner kömmt unangemeldet in die Musiksäale des Himmels," Zurich Nebelspalter, 1883. print [Fuchs and Kreowski, Wagner, 19].

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By 1844 his gestures were emphasizing tempo rubato and nuance; his beat had never been continuous or regular.

3. Throughout his Dresden years, 1842-1849, Wagner conducted opera from the footlights with the orchestra behind him in the manner prevailing in Germany at the time. Despite his protests, he was not able to take the modern pit conductor's position until 1850. At concerts, he conducted at the center, front, with his back to the audience, in the modern manner.

4. Wagner frequently beat time audibly with his feet and invariably used his eyes to communicate with his players with startling intensity. There is no evidence to suggest he cued with his left hand; he often kept it at his side. From 1846 onwards he frequently conducted orchestral concerts from memory, but he always used a score at the opera.

5. Although at Dresden Wagner had to share his authority with a concertmaster, he remained steadfastly opposed to the old system of dual control. He was always reliant on his concertmaster for technical demonstrations and explanations. From 1850 onwards he regularly engaged deputy conductors and assistants for lesser tasks.

6. By 1852, Wagner's baton gestures were articulated in agreement with the music and attempted to indicate phrasing, nuance, tempo modifications, and other details of his interpretations. In his hands, these gestures approached the eloquence of the modern baton conductor, but he continued to rely on word-of-mouth explanations, written Erläuterungen, and frequent rehearsals--three for a symphony and many more for an opera--to communicate his interpretations.

The most remarkable aspect of his method was his lack of concern with time beating. He regarded it as an irksome tool, and his opponents gleefully noted that the beat patterns codified by Schilling, Berlioz, and others, and standard everywhere, did not concern him at all. Berlioz described a size, nature, and height of beat-field very similar to that used by Wagner:

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> After raising the baton so that the hand is on a level with his head, the conductor marks the first beat by dropping the point of the baton perpendicularly (as far as possible by bending the wrist and not by moving the entire arm) and the second beat in the opposite way, by raising it again. . . . It is important that the conductor uses his arm as little as possible for these movements and consequently does not let the baton cover too much space; for . . . it causes--since it is repeated many times--a retardation of the intended tempo and a very unpleasant heaviness in the orchestral performance. Moreover, this mistake has the result of needlessly tiring the conductor and of producing exaggerated, almost ridiculous movements of the body, which distract the attention of the listener.[239]

Berlioz was evidently aware of the effect upon nuance and style that variation of the size and shape of the beat-field could have in orchestral conducting, but he regarded any such use of it as undesirable. "Correct" execution of a musical work was his idea of the conductor's responsibility, by which he meant adherence to the "composer's intentions" as they appeared in the score. While he mentioned "other, almost indefinable gifts" which a conductor had to exhibit, these were not his concern in discussing conducting.[240]

They were, however, almost the whole substance of Wagner's conducting practice. In 1878, the critic and

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[239] Berlioz, Treatise, 411.

[240] Ibid., 410.

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writer on music George Grove (1820-1900) could still write in his Dictionary that "the office of conducting is to a great extent a mechanical one" and that perfect performance depended to a great degree on legible parts and the "intelligibility of the conductor's beat."[241] Wagner's view of conducting was still an uncommon one.

Unmistakably, in Germany the concept of the conductor as an individual interpreter was gaining a certain acceptance at the end of Wagner's career. In his Musik-Lexikon, Hugo Riemann describes the conductor's role as follows:

> A musical work, even within the limits which have been prescribed by the composer, can be presented in various ways, according to the particular conception of the interpreter. In performing an opera, symphony, etc., not one but many individuals participate, and their individual conceptions must give way to one of a more general character; then the conductor is really the performing artist.[242]

Riemann referred his readers to the 1878 book on conducting by the cellist and conductor Karl Schroeder (1848-1935), who explains how the beat pattern needs to be modified to indicate phrasing and nuances. Schroeder explains the conduc-

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[241] George Grove, "Conductor," A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1878-1890) I, 389.

[242] Hugo Riemann, Musik-Lexikon (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882) 206-207, trans. in Galkin, "Orchestral Conducting," 393-394.

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tor's task as follows:

> He should possess a broad comprehensive glance, a mental superiority and repose, with the gift of bringing the ideas of a composer within the comprehension of the listeners through the medium of the performers and himself.[243]

Schroeder was aware of the conductor's obligation to address the increasing need for tempo rubato, dynamic nuance, and individual judgment in the music of his time.

Probably, the change of emphasis in these descriptions of the conductor reflected the influence in Germany of Wagner's own practice. Summarizing all he had learned from witnesses to Wagner's conducting, Weingartner wrote in 1895:

> He obviously aimed in his own performances not only at correctness but at bringing out that to which the sounds and the notes are only the means. He sought for the unifying thread, the psychological line, the revelation of which suddenly transforms, as if by magic, a more or less indefinite sound-picture into a beautifully-shaped, heart-moving vision, making people ask themselves in astonishment how it is that this work, which they had long thought they knew, should all at once become quite another thing; and the unprejudiced mind confesses, "Yes, thus, thus must it really be."[244]

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[243] Karl Schroeder, Handbook of Conducting, trans. and ed. J. Matthews (London: Augener, 1889) 1.

[244] Weingartner, "On Conducting," 7.

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In transforming the orchestral score into this moving vision, Wagner also changed the craft of conducting into an art. By the end of the nineteenth century, Weingartner could advise, contrary to Berlioz, that an excess of movement in gesture was always better than its opposite, since "it indicates temperament, without which there is no art," and that the expression of each passage would generate an appropriately great or small motion of the baton.[245] In the second edition of Grove's Dictionary, Vaughan Williams, writing the entry on conducting, felt it "scarcely necessary to insist on the tremendous effect that expressive and appropriate gestures can have on orchestral playing."[246] Richard Strauss, at the end of his career, advised conductors to "always conduct periods, never scan bars."[247]

Today, in many conducting textbooks, methods for dealing with modifications of tempo, temporal organization,

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[245]Weingartner, "On Conducting," 8.

[246]Ralph Vaughan Williams, "Conducting," Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd ed., 5 vols., ed. J. A. Fuller-Maitland (London: Macmillan, 1904-1910) I, 581.

[247]Richard Strauss, "On Conducting Classical Masterpieces," Recollections and Reflections, ed. Willi Schuh, trans. L. J. Lawrence (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953) 44.

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and dynamic nuances form a major part of the discussion.[248] Methods of approaching phrasing, articulation, balance, and many of the other matters that require individual judgment by the conductor, sadly, are still summarily treated.[249] In the nineteenth century, hardly any of these issues were discussed, save in Wagner's own writings. These writings and their significance must now be examined in more detail.

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[248] For example, Max Rudolf, Grammar of Conducting; Hermann Scherchen, Handbook of Conducting, trans. M. D. Calvocoressi (London: Oxford University Press, 1933); Emil Kahn, Elements of Conducting, 2nd ed. (New York: Schirmer, 1975).

[249] An exception is Elizabeth A. H. Green and Nicolai Malko, The Conductor and His Score (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1975).

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Chapter V

WAGNER'S INTERPRETATIVE PRINCIPLES

As the numerous quotations in Chapter IV suggest, the evidence for Wagner's conducting practice is extensive. His writings on conducting, when taken together with the first-hand accounts of observers, form a unique and invaluable source for the study of nineteenth-century conducting. No other conductor, at least before the advent of sound recording, had his art documented so exactly. There is so much evidence that it is possible to construct detailed tables of the measure-by-measure instructions Wagner gave his orchestras for fourteen major works, including the whole of the Ring, as may be seen in Appendix II below.

The quotations in Chapter IV also suggest that Wagner's approach to interpretation was remarkably consistent. Banck's complaints at Dresden in 1844 are repeated by Davison at London in 1855 and Hanslick at Vienna in 1863; the extreme speeds, vague gestures, tempo modifications, and dynamic nuances that so disturbed them occurred too regularly to have been the results of arbitrariness or impetuosity. Clearly, Wagner's performances were habitually gov-

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erned by the application of coherent principles of interpretation. In this, the final chapter, it remains to discuss these interpretative principles and their significance.

Understandably, Wagner's written exposition of his own principles datesfrom the period in which his practice had reached its maturity. Although he advanced his ideas in an abstract way at Dresden in Künstler und Kritiker in 1846 (see above, Chapter IV, pp. 186-188), he did not produce a concrete formulation of his approach until later. The year 1852 was pivotal for him: on February 15 he sent his sketch for an article on conducting Beethoven's works to Theodor Uhlig; on August 23 he finished his essay on the performance of Tannhäuser (see above, Chapter IV, pp. 233-237). From 1852 on, his writings contained gradually more extended and developed passages on conducting, which culminated in Über das Dirigiren and his essay on the performance of Beethoven's Choral Symphony. All of these writings have been introduced in the preceding chapter; nevertheless, the most extended of them, Über das Dirigiren, requires a more detailed discussion.[1]

Like his performances, Wagner's Über das Dirigiren

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[1]Richard Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 6th ed., 16 vols., ed. Hans von Wolzogen and Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1914) 261-337.

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was greeted by some observers with dismay, by others with jubilation, but by all as something novel and highly individual (see above, Chapter IV, pp. 279-280). It presents a theory of interpretation which recognizes no precursors beyond the practical examples of Dionyš Weber, Spontini, Habeneck, and Schröder-Devrient (see above, Chapter II, pp. 79-95). Its precepts, however, are not completely new: as shall be seen, it has certain antecedents which must be taken into account when assessing its importance.

As an orchestral interpreter, Wagner was drawn above all to the works of Beethoven, and he discussed interpretation chiefly with Beethoven in mind. He left no specific instructions for the many French and Italian operas he conducted; for his own operas, he incorporated as much of his interpretative intentions as possible in his scores. Nevertheless, his approach to his own music is of great interest, and we shall therefore consider it separately from his approach to the works of others.

Significance of Wagner's Principles

In the 1830s, when Wagner began his career as a conductor, a good rendition of a piece was widely thought to require little more than correct delivery. In his Lexikon der Tonkunst, Schilling wrote:

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> Now, in addition, to a good execution such as this in general belong, first of all: a perfectly correct performance, the greatest accomplishment in playing or singing, security in time, knowledge of the figured bass and knowledge of the piece to be performed itself; additionally, it depends on the greatest distinctness in the performance and precision in the observation and following of the artistic symbols and prescriptions at hand; expression of the predominant character; taste, and deep feeling.[2]

Enlarging on his point, Schilling railed against wrong notes, bad intonation, poor tone, and indistinct phrasing and articulation. He made a distinction between the delivery of an allegro vivo or scherzando and an adagio con tenerezza: they should be distinguished not so much in their strength of tone as in their weight of accentuation.[3] This, however, is all he had to say about the practical side of the subject.

Perfect accuracy and precision as ends in themselves were pursued most relentlessly in the 1830s by Spontini, who was put forward by Schilling as the model of an

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[2]Gustav Schilling, "Vortrag," Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst, 7 vols. (Stuttgart, 1835-37; supplement, 1842), reprint (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973) VI, 804: "Hiezu, zu einem solchen guten Vortrage, gehört nun zunächst im Allgemeinen: eine volkommen richtige Ausführung, welche wieder die grösste Fertigkeit im Spiel oder Gesange, Sicherheit im Takte, Kenntniss vom Generalbasse und Kenntniss von dem vorzutragenden Tonstücke selbst nothwendig voraussetzt; dann gehört dazu die grösste Deutlichkeit in der Ausführung und Präcision in der Beobachtung und Befolgung der vorhandenen artistischen Zeichen und Vorschriften; Ausdruck des herrschenden Charakters; Geschmack und tiefes Gefühl."

[3]Ibid., VI, 805.

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outstanding conductor.[4] As a young man, Wagner was deeply impressed by Spontini and the dignity of his performances (see above Chapter II, pp. 85-86). His disillusionment with Spontini, after their collaboration at Dresden in 1844, may well have been one factor which propelled him to seek a deeper rationale for interpretation than mere technical perfection.

Although Schilling mentioned "expression of the predominant character" of a piece and "deep feeling" as important to good execution, he did not discuss how these were to be achieved, for such matters were felt to be beyond the power of words to explain. According to the pianist, composer, and conductor Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), one could differentiate between three aspects of execution: "correct delivery . . . which can be defined; beautiful delivery . . . which can merely be hinted at; [and] expressivity . . . which cannot even be marked, except at best through general terms which have little certainty."[5] Nevertheless,

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[4]Schilling, "Taktschlagen," Lexikon der Tonkunst, VI, 577.

[5]Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung zum Piano-forte Spiel vom ersten Elementar-Unterrichte an bis zur vollkommensten Ausbildung (Vienna: Tobias Haslinger, 1828) 417: "Richtiger Vortrag . . . was bezeichnet werden kann; schöner Vortrag . . . was bloss angedeutet werden kann; Ausdruck . . . was auch nicht einmal angezeigt werden kann, ausser allenfalls durch allgemeine Kunstworte, die wenig Bestimmtes haben."

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in his monumental piano method of 1828, Hummel has two chapters which go much further towards a specific discussion of interpretation than did other works of the time.

After stressing the importance of technical mastery for beautiful delivery, and calling for a distinction between the allegro and adagio character, Hummel takes the discussion well beyond the point where Schilling left it. An allegro, he says, "requires brilliance, strength, accuracy in execution, and a pearly velocity in the fingers," while an adagio "requires expressivity, singing, delicacy, and calm."[6] In the more lyrical parts of an allegro, the performer "may hold back"; and in an adagio, certain tones and passages will require special stress "just as the stress of certain syllables or words is necessary in speech . . . in order to make the sense of those words clear."[7] These retardations in allegros and emphases in adagios must happen at the right place and without exaggeration"; to learn them, Hummel endorses C. P. E. Bach's advice that one listen to distinguished artists, especially

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[6]Hummel, Anweisung zum Piano-forte Spiel, 418: "Das Allegro fordert Glanz, Kraft, Bestimmtheit im Vortrag, und eine perlende Schnellkraft in den Fingern. . . . Das Adagio fordert Ausdruck, Gesang, Zartheit und Ruhe."

[7]Ibid.: "Er mag bei Gesangstellen anhalten. . . . Wie in der Sprache die Betonung gewisser Silben oder Worte nöthig ist, . . . den Sinn der Worte deutlicher zu machen."

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"soulful singers."[8]

Hummel also touches on dynamic nuances: ascending passages, of their nature, will be executed with a crescendo and descending passages with a diminuendo, "to bestow on them light and shade."[9] But there are instances where the opposite procedure, or a continuous, even tone is sometimes called for, depending on the composer's intentions.

There is evidence to suggest that tempo modifications and dynamic nuances became quite fashionable among solo instrumentalists of Hummel's generation, although Hummel's own playing was characterized more by objectivity than subjectivity.[10] Among conductors, however, these practices were almost unknown: whatever liberties Hummel took as a pianist, his orchestral conducting was quite metronomic.[11] In the 1820s and 1830s, such discussion as

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[8] Hummel, Anweisung zum Piano-forte Spiel, 417: "seelenvoller Sänger."

[9] Ibid., 418: ". . . um ihnen Licht und Schatten zu ertheilen."

[10] Walter Schenkman, "Beyond the Limits of Urtext Authority: A Contemporary Record of Early Nineteenth-Century Performance Practice," College Music Symposium XXIII/2 (Fall, 1983) 149-150.

[11] It was Hummel's performances of Beethoven symphonies at Weimar that Ferdinand Hiller found so uninspiring when compared with Habeneck's performances at Paris; see above, Chapter II, p. 91.

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occurred about allegro-adagio distinctions, tempo modifications, and dynamic nuances was directed chiefly at solo instrumental performers or singers.

In Wagner's writings, the discussion of these matters is directed at conductors as well as singers and instrumentalists. His theory of interpretation has many parallels with Hummel's precepts: he distinguishes between the allegro and adagio characters, advises retardations in the lyrical passages of an allegro, calls for moderation in applying these retardations, urges conductors to study the delivery of dramatic singers, and discusses both natural dynamic nuances and the virtue of evenly sustained tone. There is no evidence that Wagner knew Hummel's piano method; indeed, the work did not have great influence, for it was expensive, voluminous, and quaintly expressed.[12] Yet whether he knew this work or not, Wagner's contribution to the theory of interpretation was enormous, for he alone developed an all-embracing rationale for these practices. It was Wagner who, on the one hand, applied the interpretative methods of soloists to the orchestra and, on the other hand,

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[12]Schenkman, "Beyond Urtext Authority," 147. For other criticisms of the work, see Joel Sachs, Kapellmeister Hummel in England and France, No. 6 of Detroit Monographs in Musicology (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1977) 96.

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turned one minor aspect of the discussion of performance into a major issue. Whereas Schilling devoted only a few lines to interpretation and Hummel only two pages of text, Wagner produced a work of more than eighty pages on it--Über das Dirigiren.

Not all orchestral conductors before Wagner ignored the question of interpretation. Weber regarded tempo modification as essential in orchestral performance (see above, Chapter II, p. 75), and if the biographer Anton Felix Schindler (1795-1864) can be believed, Beethoven employed tempo modifications in conducting his symphonies.[12] Commenting on Schindler's report, the composer Ignaz Moscheles (1784-1870) wrote:

> The slight deviations of time recommended must give life and expression, not only to this movement [of Beethoven's 2nd Symphony], but also to the imaginative compositions of all great masters. Their success, however, can only be assured by intimate acquaintance on the part of the band with the manner of the conductor and his mode of conveying his intentions, either from long intercourse or careful rehearsal.[13]

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[12] See the detailed accounts of Beethoven's tempo modifications in Anton Schindler, The Life of Beethoven, ed. Ignaz Moscheles (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1841) 163-169.

[13] Ignaz Moscheles, editorial annotation in Schindler, Life of Beethoven, 166.

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The Viennese composer-conductor Ignaz von Seyfried (1776-1841) reports that Beethoven at least tried to indicate interpretative nuances in his performances.[14] Furthermore, among Wagner's contemporaries, even Berlioz seemed to be aware of the value of tempo modifications. He wrote:

> I do not mean to say that it is thus necessary to imitate the mathematical regularity of the metronome, which would give the music thus executed an icy frigidity; I even doubt whether it would be possible to maintain this rigid uniformity for more than a few bars.[15]

But these practices were hardly characteristic of orchestral performances in Wagner's day. The surprise with which critics everywhere greeted Wagner's interpretative nuances confirms the picture painted by Schilling: customarily, little more than correct delivery was expected.

Works by Other Composers

The all-embracing rationale for Wagner's inter-

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[14] Ignaz von Seyfried, cited in Beethoven: Impressions by His Contemporaries, ed. Oscar George Theodore Sonneck (New York, 1926), reprint (New York: Dover Publications, 1967) 41-42.

[15] Hector Berlioz, Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes (Paris, 1844-56), English version trans. by Theodore Front (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1948) 419.

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pretation of orchestral works by other composers was not explicitly stated in Über das Dirigiren. It is in his 1852 letter to Uhlig that we find the clue to many of his remarks about interpretation: his approach was to regard instrumental works as latent music dramas (see above, Chapter IV, pp. 233-234). Consequently, all questions of tempo and delivery could be settled by reference to an imaginary dramatic scenario. Verbal explanations and Erläuterungen were therefore of special significance, for they made the concealed narrative of the drama explicit for players and listeners.

The artistry of Schröder-Devrient showed Wagner how a dramatic scenario could govern the whole delivery of a musical line. But Schröder-Devrient was a singer, and when he first heard her at Leipzig in 1829 he could not yet make a connection between dramatic singing and instrumental style. There was a dramatic quality in Spontini's startling dynamic nuances, which Wagner heard at Berlin in 1836; yet this was a product of mechanical precision rather than human drama. It was not until he heard Habeneck conducting the Société des Concerts at Paris in 1839 that he could suddenly perceive an equation between music drama, expressive singing, and orchestral delivery. Habeneck's performance was so good

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because "the orchestra sang that melody. That was the secret."[16] This led Wagner to his fundamental point:

> He [Habeneck] found the right tempo as, through continuous diligence, he led his orchestra towards grasping the melos of the symphony.
>
> And likewise, only a right grasp of the melos sets the right tempo: both are inseparable; each implies the other. And if in this I do not hesitate to express my judgment concerning almost all of our performances of classical instrumental works--that I consider them lacking to an objectionable extent--then I intend to bolster this by the contention that our conductors know nothing about correct tempo, for the reason that they understand nothing about singing.[17]

To understand what Wagner meant in this context by melos, we must imagine Schröder-Devrient's style of singing. She sought dramatic portrayal above all else; Chorley wrote of her:

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[16] Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 271: "diese Melodie sang das Orchester. Dies war das Geheimniss."

[17] Ibid.,VIII, 273-74: "Er fand das richtige Tempo, indem er durch anhaltenden Fleiss sein Orchester darauf hinleitete, das Melos der Symphonie zu erfassen.

"Nur die richtige Erfassung des Melos gibt aber auch das richtige Zeitmass an: beide sind unzertrennlich; eines bedingt das andre. Und wenn ich hiermit mich nicht scheu, mein Urteil über die allermeisten Aufführungen der klassischen Instrumentalwerke bei uns dahin auszusprechen, dass ich sie in einem bedenklichen Grade für ungenügend halte, so gedenke ich dies durch den Hinweis darauf zu erhärten, dass unsre Dirigenten vom richtigen Tempo aus dem Grunde nichts wissen, weil sie nichts vom Gesange verstehen."

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> Her voice was a strong soprano--not comparable in quality to other German voices of its class (those, for instance, of Madame [Clara] Stockl-Heinefetter [1813-1857], Madame [Jenny] Burde-Ney [dates of birth and death unknown], Mademoiselle [Therese] Tietjens [1831-1887])--but with an inherent expressiveness of tone, which made it more attractive on the stage than many a more faultless organ. . . . Her tones were delivered without any care save to give them due force. Her execution was bad and heavy. There was an air of strain and spasm throughout her performances--of that struggle for victory which never conquers. But then, as an actress, the devouring suspense of the disquieted wife, throughout the first half of the tale [Fidelio], enabled the German Leonora to exhibit all her passion of by-play, in judicious interpretation of the situation. . . . By no one has Madame Schroeder-Devrient been equalled in this opera. In no other opera was she seen to such advantage--her fatal and sinister acting as the Lady in Chelard's "Macbeth" was hampered, in some measure, by the music; for this demanded an executive facility which she did not possess. . . . As years went on, she exaggerated every peculiarity as a singer and as an actress.[18]

Seeing her sing Euryanthe at Dresden in 1839, Chorley thought she performed "with a force and freshness I found . . . totally impossible to account for"; later he came to suspect that the lower pitch used at Dresden had allowed her "apparently renovated clearness and purity."[19] The French critic Henry Blaze de Bury (1813-1888) had similar observations to make of Schröder-Devrient's Leonora:

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[18] Henry F. Chorley, Thirty Years' Musical Recollections, ed. Ernest Newman (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926) 55-58.

[19] Idem., Music and Manners in France and Germany: A Series of Travelling Sketches, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1844) III, 130.

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> You remember Devrient in this role, this blond Fidelio, so full of sadness and tenderness, whose beautiful eyes were clouded with such pathetic tears in the Grave Scene, and who rose later on, vehement, passionate, sublime in her despair. Now then!--Devrient herself never filled any of Beethoven's conditions for the character except one: that which was missing in this beautiful Viennese, in this daughter of Schroeder, tragediénne of the soul, was the art of the singer, the great art of Mara [Gertrude Elizabeth Schmeling (1749-1833)] and [Anna] Milder[-Hauptmann (1785-1838)], of which one was able to convince oneself later on, when she sought to approach the Italian repertoire, where quite different demands reign. Devrient acted this music, and did not sing it at all; and such is the character of Beethoven's score that to him it was far better to have acted than to have sung.[20]

Evidently, her voice deteriorated in the 1840s: while Weber, Goethe, Beethoven, and other listeners of the 1820s had admired her, Berlioz and other later writers were very critical of her tone and mannerisms (see above, Chapter II, p. 83). After her performance of Schubert's Am Meer in 1849, Bülow complained of her turning of "Wieder" into "Wie-ie-ie-ieder," "vergiftet" into "verrrrrrgiftet," and lyrical melodies into

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20 Henri Blaze de Bury, Musiciens contemporains (Paris: Michel Lévy fréres, 1856) 84: "Vous vous souvenez de la Devrient dans ce rôle, de ce blond Fidelio si plein de mélancolie et de tendresse, dont les beaux yeux se voilaient de larmes si pathétiques dans la scène de la fosse, et qui se relevait plus tard véhément, passioné, sublime dans son désespoir. Eh bien! la Devrient elle-même n'a jamais rempli qu'une des conditions du personnage de Beethoven; ce qui manquait à la belle Viennoise, à la fille de la Schroeder, tragédienne dans l'âme, c'était l'art de la cantatrice, le grand art des Mara et des Milder, comme on a pu s'en convaincre par la suite lorsqu'elle a voulu aborder le répertoire italien où règnent de tout autres exigences. La Devrient jouait cette musique et ne la chantait point, et tel est le caractère de la partition de Beethoven, qu'il lui vaut mieux encore être jouée qu'être chantée."

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melodramatic shrieks.[21] Wagner was not blind to her deficiencies: "She had no voice at all," he wrote, "but she knew how . . . through [her breathing] to let a genuinely feminine soul come pouring forth, resounding so wonderfully that one thereby thought neither of singing nor of voice!"[22] This all-important power of utterance, in which beauty of tone was a subordinate consideration, was what Wagner sought in his orchestral interpretations.

Of course, there were many rapid, rhythmical movements in which any kind of singing style was inappropriate. This led him logically to enlarge upon a concept discussed both by Schilling and by Hummel--the need to distinguish between the allegro and adagio character. The singing style, "sustained tone," belonged to the adagio:

> For the tempo adagio the sustained tone gives the norm; here rhythm flows into the self-referring, self-sufficient realm of pure tone. In a certain, subtle sense, one can say of a pure adagio that it cannot be taken slowly enough: here a luxurious confidence in the convincing sureness of a pure tonal language must prevail; here the languor of sensation becomes rapture; that which the change of the figuration in the allegro expressed is said here through the endless diversity of the inflected tone; here the slightest change in harmony produces a surprising effect, as the remotest chord successions are prepared as if expected, through the ever taut sensibility.[23]

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[21] Hans von Bülow, letter to Joseph Joachim Raff (January 28, 1849) Briefe, 7 vols., ed. Richard Du Moulin Eckhardt (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899-1910) I, 147.

[22] Wagner, "Über Schauspieler und Sänger," Sämtliche Schriften, IX, 221: "Sie hatte gar keine 'Stimme'; aber sie wusste . . . eine wahrhaftige weibliche Seele durch ihn so wundervoll tönend ausströmen zu lassen, dass man dabei weder an Singen noch an Stimme dachte!"

[23] Idem., "Über das Dirigiren," Sämtliche Schriften VIII, 285: "Dem tempo adagio gibt der gehaltene Ton das

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The allegro, on the other hand, was governed by rhythmic motion, which he termed "figuration." But now, Wagner made a further distinction of his own. Allegros, he wrote, were of two types: "naive," such as Mozart's alla breve overtures or most symphonic finales, and "sentimental," such as Beethoven's symphonic first movements.[24] Here he was employing the terms of Johann Christoph Schiller (1759-1805), as expressed in his theoretical work Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung (1795-96): Schiller draws a distinction between the unself-conscious poise of the ancient Greek writers (naive) and the self-conscious emotionalism of the writing of his day (sentimentalische).[25]

"Naive" allegros, such as the Overture to The Marriage of Figaro, "cannot be taken too fast," wrote Wagner, for vocal melody plays no part in them: their "restless

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Gesetz; hier zerfliesst der Rhythmus in das sich selbst angehörende, sich allein genügende reine Tonleben. In einem gewissen zarten Sinne kann man vom reinen Adagio sagen, dass es nicht langsam genug genommen werden kann: hier muss ein schwelgerisches vertrauen in die überzeugende Sicherheit der reinen Tonsprache herrschen: hier wird der languor der Empfindung zum Entzücken; was im Allegro der Wechsel der Figuration ausdrückte, sagt sich hier durch die unendliche Mannigfaltigkeit desflektierten Tones; der mindeste Harmoniewechsel wirkt hierbei überraschend, wie die fernsten Fortschreitungen durch die stets gespannte Empfindung als erwartet vorbereitet werden."

[24] Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," 287.

[25] Johann Christoph Schiller, On Naive and Sentimental Poetry, ed. William F. Maitland (Oxford: Blackwells, 1950).

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motion ought to induce. . . a certain kind of intoxication."[26] The "sentimental" allegros, on the other hand, always have a predominantly dramatico-lyrical quality:

> The allegro can be regarded in a subtle sense as the most extreme result of the rupture of the pure adagio character by the more lively figuration. . . . But what lies between these two extreme points is subject to the law of their mutual relationship to each other, and those laws which modified the sustained tone itself in all conceivable nuances cannot be enforced enough in their subtlety and variety. . . [through] modification of the tempo.[27]

In this way, Wagner developed a rationale for the practice, advocated by Hummel, of holding back the tempo in the lyrical parts of an allegro: modifications of tempo were unavoidable, because the allegro character was intersected by the adagio.

Like Schilling, Wagner warned against diminishing the strength of tone in an adagio tempo. For "the more moderate tempo," he wrote, "a completely different execution

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[26]Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," 288: "Das sie Mozart nicht schnell genug gespielt werden konnten. . . . dieses Allegros, welcher gar nicht durch Kantilene uns fesseln, sondern vielmehr nur durch rastlose Bewegung uns in eine gewisse Berauschung versetzten soll."

[27]Ibid., 286: "Das Allegro kann, in einem zart verständigen Sinne, als das äusserste Ergebnis der Brechung des reinen Adagio-Charakters durch die bewegtere Figuration angesehen werden. . . . Was aber zwischen diesen äussersten Punkten liegt, ist dem Gesetz der gegenseitigen Beziehungen zu einander unterworfen, und diese Gesetze können nicht zartsinnig und mannigfaltig genug erfasst werden, . . welche den gehaltenen Ton selbst in allen erdenklichen Nuancen modifizierten . . . Modifikation des Tempos."

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would also have to be found."[28] A real adagio required a "real, sonorous cantabile" and a "real, sonorous piano," and this required "even, strongly sustained tone." Again, he invoked dramatic singing as a model:

> Yet as in singing so with the orchestra, this even, strongly sustained tone is the basis of all dynamics: only from this are all the modifications attainable, whose manifoldness above all determines the character of the execution. . . . It is all too easy to draw the bow really loosely over the strings, to bring forth only a whispering rustle, whereas it needs great artistic mastery of breathing to produce, by moderate expenditure of the breath, an always recognizable and pure tone on a wind instrument. The violinists should therefore learn the real, sonorous piano of distinguished wind players, as soon as they [wind players], for their part, let it become a pressing matter to appropriate the same from excellent singers.[29]

Finally, in another original development, Wagner extended the practice of making modifications at the intersection of allegro and adagio within a movement to cover joins between different movements and sections of a composition. In the second movement of Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata, for example, where the theme changes to the much

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[28]Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," 281: "das gemässigtere Zeitmass . . . natürlicherweise auch ein ganz anderer Vortrag gefunden werden musste."

[29]Ibid. 283: "Doch ist dieser gleichmässig stark ausgehaltene Ton die Basis aller Dynamik, wie im Gesang, so im Orchester: erst von ihm aus ist zu allen den Modifikationen zu gelangen, deren Mannigfaltigkeit zunächst den Charakter des Vortrages überhaupt bestimmt. . . . es allerdings sehr leicht fällt, den Bogen recht locker über die Saiten zu führen, um sie eben nur zu einem flüsternden Schwirren zu bringen, wogegen es grosser künstlerischer Bewältigung des Atems bedarf, um auf einem Blasinstrumente bei mässigster Ausströmung desselben immer noch den Ton kenntlich und rein zu produzieren. Von ausgezeichneten Bläsern müssten daher die Geiger das wirklich tonerfüllte Piano lernen, sobald jene ihrerseits es sich angelegen sein liessen, dasselbe sich von vorzüglichen Sängern anzueignen."

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livelier tempo of the first variation, Wagner recommended making a gradual transition between the one tempo and the other rather than a sudden change. For the first movement of Beethoven's String Quartet in C-sharp Minor, Op. 131, he proposed that the adagio tempo of the opening should remain until the ninth measure of the following allegro, so that the change "does not jar." In the Overture to Don Giovanni, he felt the last fifteen measures "veered unmistakably into the realm of the 'sentimental'," and therefore ought to slacken to the tempo of the opening scene.[30] Dramatic contrasts of tempo and style, therefore, needed smooth, seamless connections; the sudden shock of juxtaposed opposites was not an effect Wagner advocated.

These principles explain why, for example, his performance of Beethoven's 7th Symphony at London in 1855 provoked comment that the slow movement was "taken andante instead of allegretto," while the final movement was "taken presto instead of allegro con brio" (App. II, Fig. 3), just as it explains why his Dresden performances were so fast in

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[30] Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," 294-295.

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Mozart overtures and so slow in Beethoven adagios. The former were "naive"; the latter "sentimental." His principle of tempo modification explains why, in his performance of Beethoven's 3rd Symphony at London in 1855, the critics reported quickening here and there in the first movement: the tempo would press forward where figuration had the upper hand, but hold back in more lyrical passages (App. II, Fig. 1). The same principle governed the many modifications of tempo Porges observed in Wagner's performance of Beethoven's Choral Symphony at Bayreuth in 1872 (App. II, Fig. 5). His desire for smooth, seamless connections perhaps explains the frequent complaints of the Dresden critics that each of his new tempos took a few measures to settle down, and their impression that "in many instances he could not do as he wished" (see above, Chapter IV, p.204). It seemed to them that Wagner would set one tempo, his musicians would choose another, and after a short time he would have to give in to the latter tempo.

Among the works Wagner interpreted, however, there is one in which he avoided applying tempo modification. At measure 19 in Gluck's Overture to Iphigénie en Aulide, despite the disappearance of lyrical lines and the appearance of a long passage of sixteenth-note figuration, he cautioned against any quickening of tempo (App. II, Fig. 7).

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Anyone who has conducted this work will know that the temptation to quicken the following section is difficult to resist; indeed, in the edition of the work popular in Wagner's day, there was an allegro marking at this point (see above, Chapter IV, p. 221). But for Wagner, the drama was the governing factor: whereas, in a Beethoven symphony, the drama had to be perceived from the movement itself, in Gluck's Overture the drama was obvious from the following opera, from which the Overture's themes were drawn. Therefore, the tempo of the figuration in the Overture had to correspond to the speed of the same theme in Act I scene 1 of the opera. For Wagner, in matters of orchestral interpretation, the drama was always the paramount guide.

As well as in performances, Wagner illustrated his principles for the interpretation of the works of others in print, through a detailed discussion of Weber's Overture to Der Freischütz (App. II, Fig. 6). The performance he gave of the work at Vienna on December 27, 1863, was observed by Hanslick, whose report confirms the broad details of the discussion.[31] Wagner also cited the final section of

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[31] Eduard Hanslick (December 1863), cited in Krebs, Meister des Taktstocks, 127, trans. in Elliot Galkin, "The Theory and Practice of Orchestral Conducting Since 1752" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1960) 482.

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the Leonora Overture No. 3, where (at m. 534) the main theme needs an extra burst of speed, to allow for which the earlier themes must have been modified first.[32]

If allegro and adagio represented extremes of figured motion and sustained tone, then at the median between them, according to Wagner, were minuet and andante. Because Haydn used Ländler and increased the tempo in his minuet movements, most conductors since have tended to take all minuets too fast; but some minuets, such as that in Mozart's 40th Symphony, which needed a "cheerful, festal gait," were not without sustained-tone passages. Similarly, the andante of the same symphony, "this spirited, floating piece," needed tempo modification between the opening, the 32nd-note passages (at m. 29-- "the tender whispering, rustling like angels' wings"), and its closing measures, expressing "the ecstasy of a death through love."[33]

The rapid "Paris" tempos which Wagner adopted in allegro movements, and the nuances and ritardandos that his

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[32]Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," 303.

[33]Ibid., 305:"dieses schwungvoll schwebende Tonstück . . . den zartflüsternden wie von Engelsflügeln angeweht . . . der Seligkeit eines Todes durch Liebe;" ibid., 279: "sowohl anmuthigen, als festlich kräftigen Ausdruck erhält."

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Dresden and London critics found so difficult to accept are therefore easily accounted for by his approach. It is doubtful whether critics today would react so vehemently to these idiosyncracies, for many of Wagner's principles for judging the tempo of a movement, for making the transition between one theme and another, and for differentiating between sustained tone and rhythmic figuration have become commonplace.

Unquestionably, there are some instances where his recommendations are best ignored: at m. 390 in the first movement of the Eroica, for example, he proposed an alteration to the sharp dissonance in the second violin part (App. II, Fig. 1, m. 390). Of this Willy Krienitz has written:

> In his Vienna performances of the work on May 12, 1872, Wagner had switched the Ab of the second violins to a G and spoke firmly in favor of this decision from that time on. In any case, Wilhelm Tappert says that in Wagner's Cologne concert of April 24, 1873, he had left it with the A♭, and when Tappert asked him about it, Wagner answered: "When a passage that ninety-nine out of 100 musical experts would judge wrong is held by people to be something quite remarkably marvelous because Beethoven is supposed to have written it, the best thing to do is to be silent.[34]

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[34]Willy Krienitz, "Felix Mottls Tagebuchaufzeichnungen aus den Jahren 1873-1876," Neue Wagner Forschung I/1 (Spring, 1943) 200: "Wenn eine Stelle, die unter hundert Musikverständigen 99 als falsch bezeichnen, von den Leuten für etwas ganz besonders Herrliches gehalten wird, weil Beethoven sie geschreiben haben soll, dann--ist Schweigen das Beste." The Tappert referred to is the writer Wilhelm Tappert (1830-1907).

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Evidently, he thought that people who could not see that this passage was an error were not worth arguing with. No conductor today would agree; Wagner's failure to recognize in this work one of Beethoven's truly inspired and daring strokes is surprising, for lapses of judgment of this kind are rare in his work. Generally, he had developed an unshakably convincing view of interpretation.

It is interesting that none of the critics, at Dresden, Zurich, London, or elsewhere, seems to have noticed Wagner's alterations in the scoring of Beethoven's symphonies. This is significant, for--whatever these men might have lacked in vision or imagination--their ears were sharp and their observations almost invariably detailed. It is likely that at London, where rehearsal time was restricted, these retouches were not introduced; they were definitely used at Bayreuth in 1872, but Porges' essay on the performance is silent about them. Wagner wrote that his alterations improved the clarity of the score "which, on the other hand, did not strike anyone as a change or innovation."[35]

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[35] Wagner, "Zum Vortrag der neunten Symphonie Beethovens," Sämtliche Schriften, IX, 237: "welcher anderseits als Neuerung oder Veränderung niemandem auffiel."

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How drastic Wagner's rubatos and nuances were cannot be determined with any certainty. They were imitated in very different ways by his different pupils; Adrian Boult reports, for example, that Richter was shocked at Nikisch's tempo modifications in Beethoven's 5th Symphony.[36] Like Hummel, Wagner urged that all nuances should be carried out with the utmost delicacy (see above, Chapter IV, p. 239), and we may assume that he exercised moderation in his own performances.

It is not difficult to find corroboration for Wagner's complaints about other conductors of the day. Of Mendelssohn, whom Wagner lampooned for hurried performances, John Ella reports very quick tempos, and fastest of all in his own music.[37] Of Franz Lachner, whom Wagner accused of metronomic insensitivity, Max Zenger's comments have already been cited (see above, Chapter IV, p. 268). The Leipzig conductor and teacher Carl Reinecke (1824-1910) was mildly treated by Wagner in comparison to the account of him given by the English composer-conductor Sir Frederick Cowen (1852-1935):

> Though very capable, he was hardly inspiring, and he had a peculiar way when he was conducting of beating time with his head in inverse ratio to his baton, so that when the latter was up his head was down and vice versa, which reminded one for all the world of those

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[36] Adrian C. Boult, Thoughts on Conducting (London: Phoenix House, 1963) x.

[37] John Ella, Musical Sketches Abroad and At Home, 3rd ed., ed. John Belcher (London: William Reeves, 1878) 148.

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> little Chinese figures that, once set wagging, take a long time to stop.[38]

Ferdinand Hiller, according to Wagner, played J. S. Bach well, but could not grasp the proper tempo for the minuet of Beethoven's 8th Symphony; Reissiger made the most absurd nuances in Beethoven's 7th Symphony; and Reissiger's successor at Dresden, Julius Rietz (1812-1877), conducted the Overture to Die Meistersinger metronomically throughout.[39] Wagner's contemporaries confirmed these opinions: these men produced careful, finished, but uninspired performances.[40]

In Wagner's performances, on the other hand, many striking features attract our attention. The suspense of his long fermate in Beethoven's 5th Symphony, played "as if wringing the last drop of life out of them" (App. II, Fig. 2), the ardor of his reading of the wind phrases in the Eroica (App. II, Fig. 1), the vigor of his dynamic nuances

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[38]Frederick Cowen, My Art and My Friends (London: Edward Arnold, 1913) 22.

[39]For Wagner's complaints of other conductors, see Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," 266-267, 277-278, 305-306, 311-326.

[40]See Adam Carse, The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz: A History of the Orchestra in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, and of the Development of Orchestral Baton Conducting (New York: Broude Brothers, 1948) 362.

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in Gluck's Overture to Iphigénie en Aulide (App. II. Fig. 7. mm. 43, 62, 71), the beauty of his vision of the minuet in Beethoven's 8th Symphony (App. II, Fig. 4), and the profound conviction and dramatic sureness of the whole of his reading of Beethoven's Choral Symphony (App. II, Fig. 5)--all these are conveyed to the reader with a vividness and immediacy that still resonates today.

Works by Wagner

Few of Wagner's operas and none of his concert works were discussed for their interpretations in his writings on conducting. Of Rienzi, for example, the only instruction that has survived from Wagner's work appears to be his request that the turns for trumpet and bassoon in the Overture be taken from the upper rather than the lower note.[41] Of The Flying Dutchman, the only report that has come to light is a brief comment by Bernard Shaw:

> The allegro [of the Overture under Mottl], too, was a true allegro con brio, as marked, and not the customary allegro pomposo. His treatment of those batteries of chords which lead up to the first forte in the quick

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[41] Edward Dannreuther, Musical Ornamentation, 2 vols. (London, 1893-1895), reprint (New York: Belwin Mills, [n. d.]) 173-174; see also, Adolf Beyschlag, Die Ornamentik der Musik (Leipzig: Beritkopf und Härtel, 1908) 279-280.

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> movement reminded me of Wagner himself, whom I once saw stamping to them with his foot, and, I am afraid, swearing at the band between his teeth because they would not hit them out tremendously enough for him.[42]

Shaw also reported that the contrasts between the Storm and Salvation Themes, marked respectively ritenuto and a tempo in the score, required appropriate tempo modifications.[43]

In fact, most of Wagner's interpretative instructions for these works are already marked in his scores. Tempo modifications, dynamic nuances, and tonal qualities are explicitly prescribed; consequently, correct interpretation follows from complete observance of the markings, and Wagner's comments in rehearsals contain only clarification.

However, even with these clarifications, few passages are completely unambiguous. Even Wagner's pupils carried out his instructions in a variety of ways. Comparing Mottl and Richter, after a performance of the Overture to Tannhäuser under the former in 1894, Bernard Shaw wrote:

> Have we not often shrunk from the coarse and unsatisfactory effect of the three trombones at the climax of the Pilgrims' March in the first section of the Overture?

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[42]George Bernard Shaw, Music in London 1890-1894, 3 vols., Vol. XIX of Standard Edition of the Works of Bernard Shaw (London: Constable, 1932) III, 196.

[43]Ibid., III, 195.

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> With Richter it is rather worse than with the others, since he insists on the full power of the fortissimo. Mottl effected a magical transformation. The chant was as powerful as Richter could have desired; and yet it was beautiful, broad, easy, with a portamento which an Italian singer might have envied. . . .
>
> How was this brought about? In the simplest way in the world. Instead of keeping strict Procrustean time for the florid work of the violins, thus forcing the trombones to chop their phrases so as to fit the accompaniment, Mottl gave the trombones a free hand, allowing them to give the time to the whole band, and making the violins wait, when necessary, between the bars, so to speak, until the slow-speaking brass instruments had turned their phrases with unembarrassed majesty. The effect was magnificent.[44]

To Wagner's instructions that each note of the brass theme be sustained forcefully for its full length and that the players breathe as needed (App. II, Fig. 8, m. 37), Richter responded with a blaring fortissimo, while Mottl called forth tempo modifications (presumably Luftpausen) in the accompaniment to accommodate the phrasing (and thus the breathing) of the brass players. Mottl also achieved a richer tone and more expressive phrasing than Richter at the first cello entry (m. 9), and a perfect freedom for the clarinet lead in the Venus Music (m. 212ff).[45] Comparing both conductors

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[44] Shaw, Music in London, III, 195-197.

[45] Ibid., III, 196.

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and another Wagner pupil, Levi, the French violinist-composer Alfred Pochon (1878-1959) wrote:

> It is known as a matter of fact that the three great orchestra conductors Hans Richter, Hermann Levi, and Felix Mottl each received all tempo and other indications in the conducting of the Siegfried Idyll first hand from Wagner himself. And yet testimony of irreproachable authority relates that these three interpreters differed from one another quite sensibly. 46

With these differences, no completely reliable tradition of Wagner's personal practice has survived. Quite likely, his own readings were closer to those later given by Mottl than those of Richter: he had never been happy with Richter's readings of his music (see above, Chapter IV, p. 300).

Quite extensive evidence for Wagner's interpretation of Lohengrin survives from his single performance of the work, but little for Tristan und Isolde, Die Meistersinger, or Parsifal, none of which he ever conducted. For the Overture to Die Meistersinger he gave detailed instructions in Über das Dirigiren; for the rest of the work, how-

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46 Alfred Pochon, Musique d'autrefois: interpretation d'aujourd'hui (Geneva: Henn, 1943), trans. in Benjamin Grosbayne, Techniques of Modern Orchestral Conducting, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 143.

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ever, his only instruction was that Hans Sachs' song in Act III scene 5 (Mässig bewegt, p. 802 in the full score) should be a brisk alla breve, with a processional four-in-a-bar returning one measure before the choral entry (p. 812), to match the sequence of events in the Overture.[47] Mottl's annotated score for Parsifal appears to be the sole source of authentic instructions from Wagner's 1882 Bayreuth rehearsals; but, for the Ring, very detailed instructions may be compiled from a number of sources (see below, App. II, Figs. 11-14).

Obviously, Wagner's instructions at the Ring rehearsals are our richest source of clarification for the many interpretative instructions in his scores, and by studying them a number of general conclusions may be drawn. A constant refrain in Wagner's instructions was "No recitative!" At a rehearsal for Siegfried on June 2, 1876, Mottl records Wagner saying: "Everything in strict time! No recitative, it doesn't exist with me! Just 'arias'!"[48] In his article on

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[47] Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," 303.

[48] Krienitz, "Mottls Tagebuchaufzeichungen," 198: "Alles streng im Takt! Kein Rezitativ, das gibt es nicht bei mir! Lauter 'Arien'!"

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Tannhäuser. Wagner wrote:

> In my opera there exists no distinction between so-called "declaimed" phrases and "sung" phrases. . . . in passages where the poem drops from a more impassioned lyric flight to the mere utterance of tender speech, I have never given up the right to prescribe the execution just as strictly as in the purely lyric vocal parts.[49]

In other words, Wagner regarded the Italian secco style of delivery as alien to his works: his dialogue was to be delivered as if it were song.

Wagner's approach to the vocal style also guided the choice of tempo. After observing Wagner rehearsing the Ring, Porges concluded that there was "no better test of a correct tempo" in the work "than to enquire whether . . . the sense is grasped by the listener"; and grasping the sense required that the dialogue have a tempo "the same as that of speech."[50] On the other hand, treating the dialogue at the tempo of speech did not mean fleshing it out with the

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[49] Wagner, "Über die Aufführung des 'Tannhäuser'," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 128: "In meiner Oper besteht kein Unterschied zwischen sogenannten 'deklamierten' und 'gesungenen' Phrasen. . . . an den Stellen, wo die Dichtung vom erregteren lyrischen Schwunge sich zur blossen Kundgebung gefühlvoller Rede herab senkt, habe ich mir nie das Recht vergeben, den Vortrag ebenso genau wie in den lyrischen Gesangsstellen zu bestimmen."

[50] Heinrich Porges, Wagner Rehearsing the "Ring": an Eye-Witness Account of the Stage Rehearsals of the First Bayreuth Festival, trans. Robert L. Jacobs (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 80, 14.

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subjectivity of conversation. Porges noted that Wagner was continually cautioning against over-emotional responses to his markings in the score. At ritardandos he was constantly urging "No dragging!" In Scene 4 of Das Rheingold, he says that subjective hesitation "is death to dramatic expression" (App. II, Fig. 11, F/S p. 616). Emotional passages can tempt singers to linger, but such lingering is self-indulgent: "Everything must appear authentic and natural," wrote Porges.[51] This is particularly important in Die Walküre, where many deeply emotional passages must be delivered in a completely naive manner. Pathos and mannerism were out of place; Wagner was always endeavoring to guide his performers towards "an ideal naturalness and an ideality made wholly true to nature."[52]

A general rule, which Porges reported at the first vocal entry in Rheingold, was that the dynamics in the orchestra must be moderated whenever voices enter. Porges wrote:

> Wagner declared that the orchestra should support the singer as the sea does a boat, rocking but never upsetting or swamping--he employed that image over and over again.[53]

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[51] Porges, Wagner Rehearsing, 37.

[52] Ibid., 4-5; 44.

[53] Ibid., 12-13.

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It is interesting that such a comment needed to be repeated so often in the Bayreuth Festspielhaus, with its splendid, balanced acoustics; how much more important these modifications are in less ideal houses cannot be over-emphasized.

Another general rule concerns the rendering of the Leitmotiven. Whenever a Motiv depicts an actual event, on-stage character or object, it was to be delivered "in a grand style, slowly and broadly"; but when a Motiv served as a reminiscence of a past event, it was to be played "slightly faster and with accents less pointed," in the throwaway style of "an actor delivering an interpolated sentence."[54] Next to his comments to the singers on their characterizations, Wagner's greatest number of remarks related to the clarity of phrasing and rhythmic precision of these Motiven, whose power to convey the essence of the drama were not to be underestimated. So that the performers understood the significance of these Motiven, Wagner advised that rehearsals begin with a reading of the text (see above, Chapter IV, p. 236).

Wagner's phrasing and articulation are marked in great detail in his scores, and he had little to add to them at rehearsals, save to insist on their exact observance. He might call for a greater awareness of a certain marking or nuance, such as his insistence on very sharply delineated

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[54] Porges, Wagner Rehearsing, 12, 84, 89.

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crescendo-pianos,[55] but generally a rendering which carried out all his markings as prescribed satisfied him. "It is not easy to go wrong," wrote Porges,"because the accentuation, correctly performed, will automatically produce the required interpretation of musical and verbal stress."[56]

Wagner had much more to say at the Rheingold rehearsals than at the rehearsals for any other part of the Ring. Rheingold is the Ring's exposition: each scene brings new characters and introduces new Leitmotiven. Once Wagner had obtained the interpretation he wanted for a particular Motiv in Rheingold, he frequently let later appearances of the same Motiv pass without further comment. Consequently, in some later scenes, such as Siegfried, Act III, scene 1, or Götterdämmerung, Act I, scene 1, he made only occasional remarks. The two most important orchestral passages in the whole drama, Siegfried's Funeral March and the symphonic conclusion of Götterdämmerung (App. II, Fig. 14, F/S pp. 1165, 1320), brought only one instruction each from Wagner, for they are almost entirely constructed of previously-heard Leitmotiven in polyphonic combinations. The Leitmotiven play a crucial role in conveying the essence of the drama, and Wagner clearly intended that, in each of their appear-

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[55] Porges, Wagner Rehearsing, 42.

[56] Ibid., 100.

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ances, they should be so musically similar as to be easily recalled by the listener.

Just as he did with phrasing and articulation, Wagner marked tempo modifications in great detail in his own works. Few extended passages are unencumbered with detailed instructions urging the conductor to push forward or hold back at some point. But unlike his approach to phrasing and articulation, where exact observance of the score satisfied him, his rehearsals were filled with additional tempo instructions. Indeed, a comparison of his rehearsal comments for the Ring with the score might give the impression that he was constantly countermanding his written tempo markings: in an accelerando passage he frequently says "Not hurried," and in the midst of a ritardano passage he often says, "No dragging." In fact, these comments were a product of his abhorrence of "strident" effects: in rehearsals, as in his articles on interpretation (see above, Chapter IV, p. 239), he found it necessary to insist repeatedly on great subtlety in all modifications of the basic tempo. It is significant that Liszt, whose piano transcriptions scrupulously follow Wagner's phrasing and articulation, also thought it advisable to add remarks cautioning against too much agitation in many passages (for example, App. II, Fig. 8, m. 39).

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Finally, the reader is frequently impressed with the numerous practical suggestions for improving the orchestra's delivery. Many examples might be cited: among the notable ones in Die Walküre (App. II, Fig. 12) are the ingenious suggestion for the Wagner tuba to emphasize the E in the Donner Motive in the Prelude (F/S p. 6); the advice to drop the dynamic level at m. 5 of the Ride of the Valkyries, Act III, scene 1, so that a renewed rise to a forte might occur (F/S p. 619); or the special attention Wagner gives to the first tone (B) of each group in the Valkyrie Motive, because the highest tone (D) takes care of itself (F/S p. 623). The fruits of long experience in conducting are frequently rich in these instructions.

Conclusions

In conclusion, Wagner's principles for interpreting the overtures and symphonies of Beethoven, Weber, Gluck, and Mozart may be summarized as follows:

1. He conceived of orchestral works as latent music dramas, both in their sequence of movements and within the movements in their sequence of events. To this end, he believed verbal or written accounts of the narrative content of a work to be of value to both players and listeners.

2. Like his contemporaries, he distinguished between the style of delivery suited to an allegro and that suited to an adagio. The former was governed by rhythmic motion

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(figuration), the latter by a singing style (sustained tone); the former could never be taken too fast, the latter could never be taken too slowly.

3. Making a further distinction of his own, he differentiated between "naive" allegros, such as Mozart's Overtures, in which the allegro character predominates, and "sentimental" allegros, such as Beethoven's symphonic first movements, in which the allegro character was at times intersected by the adagio character.

4. The concept of an intersection of allegro and adagio provided him with a rationale for applying to orchestral music the tempo modifications already fashionable in solo instrumental and vocal practice: he would either speed up or slow down, depending on whether figuration or sustained tone was predominant.

5. Like his contemporaries, he called for moderation in the application of these modifications, and cautioned against equating adagio with a diminished strength of tone. His contemporaries urged solo instrumentalists to follow the example of singers; he urged conductors to do likewise.

6. He extended the practice of tempo modification to cover connections between movements and sections of compositions, connecting sections of different character with gradual, smooth transitions.

7. He evidently believed that alteration to a score, provided it did not make any noticeable change, was entirely proper where greater clarity could thereby be obtained.

For his own works, Wagner marked his scores with considerable interpretative detail: distinctions between true allegros and true adagios, between sustained tone and rhythmic figuration, and among the different deliveries appropriate to each are already made explicit in the music. Complete observance of all the markings in the scores is therefore, broadly speaking, all that is required for the satisfactory interpretation of Wagner's music; far less in-

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terpretation is required here than in the works of other, earlier composers. But in consideration of the findings of this chapter, the following additional principles may be articulated:

1. Correct interpretation begins with an understanding of the text as a drama; to this end, the rehearsals should not begin until the cast has held a preliminary reading, in which the text is read as if it were a spoken play.

2. Neither operatic recitative nor affected, mannered aria is anywhere intended; the dialogues must be delivered at the pace (but not with the subjectivity) of natural speech, so that they can be fully comprehended at all times.

3. A delivery at the pace of comprehensible speech will lead logically to the correct tempo of any passage.

4. The detailed phrasing, articulation, and accentuation marked in the score must be strictly observed; together with a delivery at the pace of comprehensible speech, this will lead naturally to the correct interpretation of any passage.

5. The detailed tempo modifications and dynamic nuances marked in the score must be observed with the greatest delicacy; strident nuances, rushing, and dragging are nowhere intended.

6. Whenever voices enter, all orchestral dynamics must be modified; the orchestra must be like the sea supporting a boat--rocking but never swamping.

7. In the works in which Leitmotiven play a crucial role, the power of the Motiven to convey the essence of the drama must be understood. Each Motiv must be delivered with the greatest clarity of phrasing and rhythmic precision; each must be delivered in a similar way at each of its appearances.

8. Although a Motiv must be easily recognizable at each of

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its appearances, where it refers to a present event or on-stage character or object, it must be delivered in a grand, broad style; where it refers to a past event or absent character or object, it must be delivered in a slightly faster and less pointed style.

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CONCLUSIONS

Wagner's reputation as a capricious and eccentric conductor seems to be based on an uncritical acceptance of reports by eloquent but hardly impartial witnesses. Certainly, to Schladerbach, Davison, and Hanslick, Wagner's tempo modifications were extreme and his speeds outlandish; but they were accustomed to the workmanlike, metronomic performances of Reissiger, Costa, and Lachner. Against their views must be set Wagner's constant plea, at his rehearsals and in his writings, that his nuances be carried out with the greatest of subtlety. It is also true that Debussy, Weingartner, and the critics of the early twentieth century were vehemently opposed to the Wagnerian practices; but they had never heard Wagner conduct. They wrote chiefly with Bülow in mind, whose interpretations in his later years were no doubt as exaggerated as they claimed. Stravinsky and the conductors of his generation, too, were suspicious of Wagner's emphasis on interpretation; for they sought to make faithfulness to the score a matter of the greatest importance. Their opinions must be seen in the context of prevailing fashion among performers in the early years of the twentieth century.

Indisputably, Wagner gave emotionally charged, highly

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dramatic performances. All the observers agreed that his allegros went at breathtaking speeds, his adagios were soaked with pathos, and his ever-fluctuating beat made the whole seem fluid and spontaneous. He must have been a compelling figure--holding his baton high, away from his body, giving small beats which radiated chiefly from his wrist, usually keeping his left hand still, and invariably using his eyes to communicate with his players in glances of startling intensity. His practice of conducting from memory astonished everyone, and his gestures, which concentrated on expressing phrase and nuance, seemed vague to a public used to mechanical time-beating. Almost a decade before Liszt, he eschewed time-beating as "a burdensome tool."

Yet it is unlikely that his modifications would be regarded today as extreme or capricious. They provoked a reaction chiefly because, in Wagner's day, they were thought to be inappropriate to orchestral performance. Among all the commentators of the time, Berlioz saw the problem most clearly: after hearing Wagner conduct at London in 1855, he wrote: "He conducts in free style as Klindworth plays the piano . . . sempre tempo rubato" (see above Chapter IV, p. 251). Wagner played upon the orchestra as a virtuoso pianist played the piano; he took the soloist's liberties. In Über das

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Dirigiren, when he described a quality of vocal utterance as the ideal for the orchestra and recommended that conductors imitate the artistry of singers, he was following a practice that had been known among solo instrumentalists for more than forty years. His plea that tempo modifications and dynamic nuances be carried out with the utmost delicacy echoes lines in such works as the 1828 piano method of Hummel. There is no reason why these practices would have been more exaggerated when Wagner applied them to the orchestra than when Klindworth or Liszt applied them to the piano. The critics reacted so strongly because they were not used to hearing individual interperetation in a mode of performance where even the problems of ensemble and intonation were sufficiently complex to be beyond the grasp of all but the best exponents. For the first time, they encountered a conductor who behaved like a soloist.

Because of the traditional misreading of the first-hand reports of Wagner's work, Über das Dirigiren has been credited with originality for the wrong reasons. It has rightly been regarded as an important achievement in the field of performance practice: many of its recommendations for the performance of the instrumental works of Beethoven, Weber, Mozart, and Gluck are routinely applied today. Yet the principles behind these recommendations are not par-

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ticularly novel in themselves. Wagner's achievement was to apply them to the orchestra and to make them the overriding issue. The standard beat patterns were not his concern; he wished to evoke an art,while older textbooks on conducting had simply explained a craft. Ultimately, the importance of Über das Dirigiren is that, for the first time, the conductor was discussed as an expressive performing artist.

There are many aspects of the way Wagner performed that most people today would not wish to have revived. Few would want to have Beethoven's Choral Symphony performed with the choral basses divided into two groups and antiphonally separated from the other voices. Even fewer would wish to experience Don Giovanni played with drastic revisions to its sequence of scenes and recitatives; and hardly a soul could enjoy a conductor who imitated Wagner's habit of audibly tapping with his foot.

On the other hand, a great deal is lost by ignoring the evidence of Wagner's conducting practice. Neither Wagner nor--for that matter--Mendelssohn or Weber conducted continuously: they would lay the baton down where no gesture seemed necessary. How much more meaning they imparted--and how much more attentiveness they commanded--in those passages for which they did feel motivated to make gestures may well be imagined. Furthermore, few people know that Wagner performed most of his operatic overtures at

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London in 1877 with the wind parts doubled. The London orchestra of 150 players pleased him immensely, but hardly any conductor today would dare to follow suit. While non-continuous conducting and wind doubling are simply possibilities worth exploring, there are other aspects of our modern Wagner performances that are unquestionably erroneous and need correction. The Siegfried Idyll, for example, is still regularly performed by a chamber group small enough to squeeze onto the stairs at Triebschen; the fact that Wagner himself later performed the work at Mannheim with a full complement of string players has been overlooked.

The study of performance practice can no longer be limited to the period before 1800; many aspects of nineteenth-century practice remain to be fully investigated. Indisputably, the conductor's modern location, at the head of all his forces, is preferable to his former position, with the orchestra behind him in the opera house and the choir out of his sight in the concert hall. Yet modern seating arrangements are probably detrimental to many nineteenth-century works, written under the assumption that first and second violins would be on opposite sides of the podium with the string basses enclosing them both. Again, the explosive contrasts in the performances of such Wagner conductors as Solti and Furtwängler are certainly far removed from the

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ideal of subtle transition and gentle nuance that Wagner advocated. Furthermore, the whole thrust of Wagner's approach to rehearsing the Ring suggests that complete observance of all prescriptions in the score constitutes the essence of the interpretation; and this raises many questions about the interpretation of other late nineteenth-century scores. The idea that strict realization of the score constitutes the interpretation is usually associated with composers of Stravinsky's generation; but it was evidently incipient in Wagner's day. The approaches taken to other composers therefore need to be reviewed: Brahms' distaste for Bülow's interpretation of his 4th Symphony, for example, needs to be reassessed.

Many aspects of Wagner's work as a conductor invite further research. He conceived his rationale for the interpretation of Beethoven's symphonies in the same years Liszt was writing symphonic poems, and his view of symphonies as latent dramas has an affinity with Liszt's conception of a narrative symphonic work. In the preceding inquiry, it has been shown how Wagner influenced Liszt's conducting, but the full extent of their mutual influence remains to be determined. Again, Wagner explained his dramatic conception of Beethoven's works through Erläuterungen. He was accused of having plagiarized this

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kind of explanatory writing from Mendelssohn's mentor, A. B. Marx (see above, Chapter IV, p. 219), but the relationship between music and the writing of the Romantics remains to be fully illuminated. Wagner also set a pattern for the conducting of Beethoven's symphonies, which he based on the soprano Schröder-Devrient, and she had studied Leonora, her most famous role, with Beethoven himself. Accordingly, Wagner must have preserved elements of the authentic Beethoven performance practice; but the question of how Beethoven wished his symphonies to be played has never been comprehensively examined. Furthermore, Wagner wrote vividly about the conducting of Dionys Weber, Spontini, and Habeneck, who had considerable influence on him, and about Mendelssohn, too. These men were among the most important exponents of orchestral and operatic music in the nineteenth century; yet none of them has been made the subject of an extended study. Finally, Wagner's work as a choral conductor and vocal coach was a significant part of his activities. It is of great interest for the light it might shed on the vocal roles in his own works; but it has not been studied in any detail.

Clearly, even in the case of so major a figure as Wagner, about whom more has been written than any other musician in the history of music, important issues of performance practice have been insufficiently examined. The

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present volume has described only the subtle, interpretative art that constituted Wagner's orchestral conducting practice. Hopefully, as the vast Wagner literature continues to expand, the nineteenth-century reports of his conducting will no longer be repeated out of context, for his achievement is too crucial to be misconstrued. He belongs among the pioneers of modern interpretative conducting, for he established the conductor's claim to a place among the noblest ranks of performing artists. Through his example, his teaching, and his writing, he set a pattern which influenced the most important conductors of the next generation, and which continues to resonate through their successors, even in our own day.

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Appendix I

WAGNER'S ORCHESTRAL CONDUCTING REPERTOIRE

The following lists indicate the size and scope of Wagner's orchestral conducting repertoire, reconstructed by a collation of his autobiographical writings[1] with surviving theater and concert handbills,[2] accounts in the press,[3] and other contemporary documents.[4]

In the case of operas, operettas, and other theat-

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[1]Richard Wagner, Mein Leben, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: Paul List Verlag, 1976); idem., "Autobiographische Skizze," Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 6th ed., 16 vols., ed. Hans von Wolzogen and Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1914) I, 14-19; idem., "Die rote Brieftasche," Sämtliche Briefe, 4+ vols., ed. Gertrude Strobel and Werner Wolf (Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1967-) I, 81-84; idem., Das braune Buch, ed. Joachim Bergfeld (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1975).

[2]Many handbills are reproduced in Erich W. Engel, Richard Wagners Leben und Werke im Bilde (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1922), and Max Fehr, Richard Wagners Schweizer Zeit, 2 vols. (Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer 1934-1953).

[3]Press references before 1851 are transcribed in Helmut Kirchmeyer, Situationsgeschichte der Musikkritik und des musikalischen Pressewesens in Deutschland. IV. Teil: Das zeitgenössische Wagner-Bild, 3 vols., Bd. 7 of Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1968).

[4]Many contemporary documents are cited in W. Ashton Ellis, Life of Richard Wagner, 6 vols. (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908), and Ernest Newman, The Life of Richard Wagner, 4 vols. (London, 1937), reprint (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

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rical pieces (Fig. A), once Wagner added a work to a company's repertoire, he usually conducted it many times; in the following list, therefore, a code indicates the company for which he prepared the work. In the case of symphonies and other major concert works (Fig. B), the codes refer to single performances unless otherwise indicated.

As the lists attest, Wagner's orchestral conducting repertoire was comprised of more than sixty operas and more than seventy major concert works. The possibility of omissions cannot be discounted, for certain records, such as those of the Deutsche Stadttheater, Riga, are no longer extant, and others, such as those of the Königsberg Theater, are imperfect. These totals, therefore, should be regarded as stating the minimum number of works he conducted. It should also be stressed that these are lists of orchestral works; the numerous choral works he conducted while director of the Dresden Liedertafel, for example, and the minor vocal items used to supplement his concert programs have been omitted. Many of the latter, in any case, he did not conduct; at Dresden and Zurich he regularly left these to assistants.

The emphasis on popular French and Italian works in Wagner's operatic repertoire was characteristic of the time. A survey of operatic performance between 1834 and 1855 in Germany reveals a universal thirst for the newest Italian

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and French works: Auber, Donizetti, Bellini, Halévy, and Hérold were the staple of German opera houses, and even the monumental scores of Meyerbeer were widely presented. Among the older generation, Boieldieu, Spontini, and Rossini continued to hold the stage, while Méhul and Cherubini enjoyed regular revivals. The Germans rarely occupied a central position in the repertoire, but Weber, Spohr, Marschner, and Lortzing were all frequently performed. Save for Fidelio and a handful of works by Mozart, German operas of the past were seldom presented. New operas were readily tried, but if they were a failure with the public, they were quickly withdrawn. It was normal, therefore, for Wagner to have conducted works such as Dorn's Der Schöffe von Paris, Hiller's Konradin, or Kittl's Die Franzosen vor Nizza, which have long since disappeared from the repertoire. His revival of Gluck's Armide and Iphigénie en Aulide, on the other hand, was much more unusual.[5]

Undoubtedly, the most significant feature of Wagner's operatic repertoire was the absence of most of his

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[5]See Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera 1597-1940, 2nd ed. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1970) 723-878. Many more obscure works appear in John Towers, A Dictionary-Catalogue of Operas and Operettas which Have Been Performed on the Public Stage (Morgantown, W. Va., 1910), reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967).

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own works from the list. If the Würzburg Musikverein performed the music from Die Hochzeit (1833) in 1833, there is no record of it, and the excerpts they gave from Die Feen (1833-1834) in the same year were not conducted by Wagner (see above Chapter II, n. 62, p. 72). Wagner conducted the disastrous première of Das Liebesverbot at Magdeburg on March 29, 1836, and the premières of The Flying Dutchman at Dresden on January 2, 1843, and of Tannhäuser at Dresden on October 19, 1845.[6] He took over direction of Rienzi from Reissiger at the sixth performance on December 12, 1842, and subsequently conducted it over twenty times--more often than any of his other works.[7] Tannhäuser was also a solid draw with the public, and he directed twenty performances of it at Dresden and Zurich,[8] although none at Paris.[9] The Flying Dutchman, on the other hand, was received by the public without enthusiasm, and in all he conducted only twelve performances of it.[10] Of the operas after Tannhäuser, he conducted none

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[6] Loewenberg, Annals of Opera, 849.

[7] Newman, Life of Wagner, I, 387-388; ibid., II, 45.

[8] Fehr, Wagners Schweizer Zeit, I, 349; Engel, Wagners Leben, 137; Newman, Life of Wagner, II, 42, 45, 188.

[9] Newman, Life of Wagner, III, 56-82.

[10] Ibid., I, 343, 378.

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in its entirety, save for a single performance of Lohengrin at Vienna on March 2, 1876. At the last performance of Parsifal in his lifetime, on August 29, 1882, he took the baton from Hermann Levi, who was unwell, and conducted the last act himself; aside from this, he left the conducting of his later works entirely to others. Of his fourteen operas, he conducted complete performances of only five.

There is no need to ask whether Wagner's conducting abilities were perhaps not equal to the complexity of his later works: doubts his pupils had about this were swept away by his direction of Lohengrin in 1876 (see above, Chapter IV, p.299). In 1868, he wrote to his old friend, the Dresden costume designer Ferdinand Heine (1798-1872):

> I have nothing whatever to do with the theater, and this is the very foundation of the peace I have won for myself. So long as my nerves hold out, I attend important rehearsals of my works [at Munich]; but I never stay to attend a performance: each time [I] am already among my mountains beforehand.[11]

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[11] Wagner, letter (March 28, 1868) to Ferdinand Heine, Richard Wagners Briefe an Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, Ferdinand Heine, ed. Hans von Wolzogen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911) 406-407: "Ich habe mit dem Theater nicht das Mindeste zu thun, und dies ist die erste Basis des von mir eroberten Friedens. So lange es meine Nerven aushalten, bin ich bei wichtigen Proben meiner Werke darbei: nie bleibe ich aber bei einer Aufführung zugegen, und bin jedesmal vorher schon wieder zwischen meinen Bergen."

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The need of tranquility to compose was the reason Wagner often gave for not conducting his later works. Sometimes, too, he complained of his failing health.[12]

In Wagner's concert repertoire, the most striking feature was the preeminence of Beethoven over all other composers. Wagner conducted seven of the nine symphonies, including eight performances of the 3rd and eleven each of the 5th and the 7th. There was nothing unusual in this, however; a survey of concert programs of the Leipzig Gewandhaus, Paris Société des Concerts and London Philharmonic orchestras in Wagner's lifetime shows that, while French and Italian composers were recognized masters of the opera house, German composers were most popular in the concert hall. Haydn, Mozart, Mendelssohn, Weber, Schumann, Spohr, Handel, Hummel, and above all Beethoven were the backbone of concert programing. French and Italian music was not completely absent, for the typical concert program consisted of six to eleven items, including choral pieces, instrumental solos, dramatic scenes, arias, and operatic ensembles, as well as symphonies, overtures, and concertos; the minor numbers were frequently drawn from French and Italian operas, but generally these

[12]For a full account of his failing health, see Newman, Life of Wagner, III, passim.

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were not directed by the conductor.[13] As in the opera house, therefore, Wagner's repertoire in the concert hall was characteristic of the time.

As an exponent of his own works, Wagner was much more active in the concert hall than in the opera house. At his concerts, he conducted excerpts from all his operas, and in later years usually drew his programs entirely from such excerpts. He gave more than thirty concerts devoted to his own music, from a series of three at Zurich in May 1853 to eight at the Royal Albert Hall, London, in May 1877.[14] As well as the public concerts included in the repertoire list above, there were private concerts on March 31, 1858, at the Wesendonck Villa, Zurich; on Christmas Day 1870 at Triebschen and Christmas Day 1878 at Bayreuth for Cosima; and on November 12, 1880, at Munich for Ludwig II.[15] The purpose of all

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[13]Programs for these orchestras may be found in Alfred Dörffel, Geschichte des Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis 25. November 1881 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1884) 66-80; Antoine Elwart, Histoire de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire Imperial du Musique (Paris: Librairie-Castel, 1860) 160-230; and Myles B. Foster, History of the Philharmonic Society of London 1813-1912 (London: John Lane, Bodley Head, 1912) 113-126.

[14]Programs in Fehr, Wagners Schweizer Zeit, I, 224, and Engel, Wagners Leben, 223; see Newman, Life of Wagner, II, 180, and IV, 553.

[15]Newman, Life of Wagner, IV, 273, 629.

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these concerts was to whet the public's appetite for Wagner's operas, and the selections chosen were those with immediate appeal. These selections, many of which were performed by Wagner more than thirty times, were overtures, choral pieces, or vocal Nummern rather than scenes involving dramatic action, for Wagner disliked the presentation of dramatic action out of context in concerts. Of Iphigénie en Aulide he wrote in 1854:

> Speaking among ourselves, I can conceive of no more distorting travesty of a dramatic, especially a tragic, piece of music, than when, for example, the mortal agonies of Orestes and Iphigenia are broadcast down at us from the concert orchestra [platform] by people in tuxedos and evening gowns, with a huge bouquet of flowers and the score clutched in kid-gloved hands. That is how the "one-sidedness" of my nature is; where the artistic illusion fails to work its effect on me completely, I will not be so much as even half satisfied, something which, nevertheless, is quite easily the case with every professional musician.[16]

Because the main substance of his operas belonged to the

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[16]Wagner, "Gluck's Ouvertüre zu Iphigénie in Aulis," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 112: "Unter uns gesagt, kann ich mir keine entstellendere Travestie eines dramatischen, namentlich tragischen Musikstückes denken, als wenn vom Konzertorchester herab von Leuten in Frack und Balltoilette, mit dem grossen Blumenstrausse und der Stimme zwischen den Glacéhandshuhen, z.B. Orestes und Iphigenia ihre Todesschmerzen uns kundgeben. Das ist nun einmal die "Einseitigkeit" meines Wesens, dass ich, wo die künstlerische Täuschung nicht ganz auf mich wirkt, auch nicht einmal halb befriedigt werde, was doch jedem Musiker von Fach so leicht möglich wird."

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theater, in his concerts Wagner concentrated on his instrumental works and the orchestral preludes and interludes from his operas.

In its size and scope, then, Wagner's repertoire was characteristic of the day; aside from the absence of an extensive involvement with complete performances of his own operas, it contained little that was unusual at the time.

KEY TO SYMBOLS - Figure A

M = Magdeburg Theater Company, August 1834-July 1836 [performances at Lauchstädt, Rudolstadt, Bernburg, Magdeburg]
K = Königsberg Theater, March 1837-April 1837
R = Deutsche Stadttheater, Riga, September 1837-May 1839 [performances at Riga, Mittau]
D = Hoftheater, Dresden, December 1842-April 1849
Z = Aktientheater, Zurich, October 1850-December 1852

KEY TO SYMBOLS - Figure B

M = Logenkonzert, Magdeburg, September 1834-May 1836
K = Königstädter Theater, Königsberg, March 1837
R = Schwarzhäupterhaus, Riga, March 1838-May 1839
D = Hoftheater or Opernhause, Dresden, March 1844-April 1848
Z = Allgemeines Musikgesellschaft, Zurich, January, 1850-February 1855
L1= London Philharmonic Orchestra, March 1855-June 1855
P = Théâtre Italien, Paris, January-February 1860, and Théâtre de la Monnaie, Brussels, March 1860
T1= Tour of Europe, December 1862-December 1863 (Vienna, Prague, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Budapest, Karlsruhe, Löwenberg, Breslau)
T2= Tours between April 1871 and March 1876 (Berlin, Mannheim, Hamburg, Vienna, Budapest)
L2= Royal Albert Hall, London, May 1877
()= Numbers in parentheses are numbers of concerts if more than one

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Figure A. Wagner's Orchestral Conducting Repertoire. (a) Operas, Stage Works

Composer (dates of birth and death)	Work (date of composition)	Performances by Wagner
Auber, Daniel François Esprit (1782-1871)	Le maçon (1825)	D
	La muette de Portici (1828)	M, R, D
	Lestocq (1834)	M, R, D
	Fra Diavolo (1835)	M, D, R
Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770-1827)	Fidelio (rev. 1814)	M, D, Z
Bellini, Vincenzo (1801-1835)	La straniera (1829)	M, R, D
	I capuleti ed i montecchi (1830)	M, R, D
	Norma (1831)	K, R, D, Z
	I puritani (1835)	K
Blum, Karl (1786-1844)	Marie, Max und Michel (1836)	R
Boieldieu, François Adrien (1775-1834)	Jean de Paris (1812)	D, Z
	La dame blanche (1825)	M, R, D, Z
Cherubini, Luigi (1760-1842)	Les deux journées (1800)	M, R, D, Z
Donizetti, Gaetano (1797-1845)	Lucrezia Borgia (1833)	D
	La Favorita (1840)	D
	The Daughter of the Regiment (1843)	D
	Dom Sébastien, roi de Portugal (1843)	D
Dorn, Heinrich (1804-1892)	Der Schöffe von Paris (1838)	R (première)
Flotow, Friedrich von (1812-1883)	Alessandro Stradella (1844)	D
Fusz, János (1787-1819)	Guttenberg (ca. 1806)	D
Gläser, Franz (1799-1861)	Der Adlers Horst (1831)	R
Gluck, Christoph Willibald von (1714-1787)	Iphigénie en Aulide (1774)	D
	Armide (1777)	

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Figure A. (Continued)

Composer (dates of birth and death)	Work (date of composition)	Performances by Wagner
Halévy, Fromental (1799-1862)	La juive (1835)	K, D
Henenstreit, Michael (ca. 1812-after 1850)	Der verkaufte Schlaf (ca. 1844)	D
Hérold, Louis Joseph Ferdinand (1791-1833)	Zampa (1831)	M, R, D
Hiller, Ferdinand (1811-1885)	Konradin, der letzte Hohenstafen (1847)	D
Kittl, Jan Bedřich (1806-1868)	Die Franzosen vor Nizza (1848)	D (première)
Krug, Friedrich (1812-1892)	Meister Martin der Kueffner und seine Gesellen (ca. 1846)	D
Lachner, Franz Paul (1803-1890)	Catarina Cornaro (1841)	D
Lortzing, Albert (1801-1851)	Zar und Zimmermann (1837)	D
	Der Wildschütz (1842)	D
Marschner, Heinrich August (1795-1861)	Der Templar und die Jüdin (1829)	M, R, D
	Hans Heiling (1833)	D
	Kaiser Adolphe von Nassau (1844)	D (première)
Méhul, Etienne Nicolas (1763-1817)	Joseph (1807)	R, Z
Meyerbeer, Giacomo (1791-1804)	Robert le diable (1831)	R, D
	Les huguenots (1831)	D
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791)	The Abduction from the Seraglio (1782)	D
	The Marriage of Figaro (1786)	R, D
	Don Giovanni (1787)	M, R, D, Z
	La Clemenza di Tito (1791)	D
	The Magic Flute (1791)	R, D, Z

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Figure A. (Continued)

Composer (dates of birth and death)	Work (date of composition)	Performances by Wagner
Müller, Adolf (1801-1886)	Der böse Geist [Lumpaci-vagabundus] ca. 1830	M, R
Paisiello, Giovanni (1740-1816)	La molinara [L'amor contrasto] (1788)	M, R
Rossini, Gioacchino (1792-1868)	Otello (1816)	M, R
	Tancredi (1813)	M, R
	The Barber of Seville (1816)	M, R
	William Tell (1829)	D
Schmidt, Maria Heinrich (1809-1870)	Der versiegelte Bürgermeister (ca. 1845)	D
Spohr, Louis (1784-1859)	Jessonda (1823)	M
Verdi, Giuseppe (1813-1901)	Ernani (1844)	D
Wagner, Richard (1813-1883)	Das Liebesverbot (1836)	M (première)
	Rienzi (1840)	D, Hamburg, Berlin
	The Flying Dutchman (1841)	D (première), Z, Berlin, Munich
	Tannhäuser (1845)	D (première), Z, Vienna
	Lohengrin (1847)	Vienna
	Parsifal (1882)	Bayreuth (last act only)
Weber, Carl Maria von (1786-1826)	Der Freischütz (1821)	M, R, D, Z
	Preciosa (1821)	M, R
	Euryanthe (1823)	D
	Oberon (1826)	M, R, D
Weigl, Joseph (1766-1846)	Der Schweizerfamilie (ca. 1810)	M, R
Winter, Peter von (1754-1825)	Das unterbrochene Opferfest (1796)	D

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Figure B. Wagner's Orchestral Conducting Repertoire. (b) Symphonies, Overtures, Concertos

Composer (dates of birth and death)	Work (date of composition)	Performances by Wagner
Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770-1827)	Symphony No. 3, Eroica (1803)	D, Z(3), L1 St. Gall, T1(2+)
	Symphony No. 4 (1806)	R, Z, L1
	Symphony No. 5 (1808)	R, D, Z(4), L1, T1(3+), T2
	Symphony No. 6, Pastoral (1808)	R, D, Z(2), L1
	Symphony No. 7 (1812)	R, D, Z(5) L, T2(2)
	Symphony No. 8 (1812)	R, D, Z(3), L1
	Symphony No. 9, Choral (1824)	D(3), L1, Bayreuth
	Overture, Coriolan (1807)	Z
	Overture, Egmont (1810)	Z(3)
	Overture, Leonora No. 3 (1806)	L1, R
	Overture, Fidelio (1814)	Z
	Wellington's Victory (1813)	M
	Violin Concerto (1806)	L1
	Piano Concerto No. 2 (1795)	L1
	Piano Concerto No. 5, Emperor (1809)	Z(2), Budapest
Cherubini, Luigi (1760-1842)	Médée scena (1797)	D
	Overture, Les deux journées (1800)	L1
	Overture, Anacreon (1803)	L1
Chopin, Frédéric (1810-1849)	Piano Concerto in E Minor (1830)	L1
Gluck, Christoph Willibald (1714-1787)	Overture, Iphigénie en Aulide	Z(3)
Haydn, Franz Joseph (1732-1809)	Symphony No. 104 (179)	D, Z, L
Hummel, Johann Nepomuk (1778-1837)	Piano Concerto in A Minor (ca. 1816)	L1

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Figure B. (Continued)

Composer (dates of birth and death)	Work (date of composition)	Performances under Wagner
Liszt, Franz (1811-1886)	Piano Concerto No. 2 (1863)	Leipzig
Macfarren, George Alexander (1813-1887)	Overture, Chevy Chase (1836)	L1
Mendelssohn, Felix (1809-1847)	Symphony No. 3, Scottish (1843)	D, L1
	Symphony No. 4, Italian (1833)	L1
	Overture, Midsummernight's Dream (1827)	L1
	Overture, Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage (1828)	M, R
	Overture, The Hebrides (1832)	L1
	Violin Concerto in E Minor (1844)	L1
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791)	Symphony No. 38 (1786)	D
	Symphony No. 39 (1788)	L1
	Symphony No. 40 (1788)	R, L1
	Symphony No. 41, Jupiter (1788)	Z, L1
	Overture, The Magic Flute (1791)	Z, L1, T2
Onslow, Georges (1784-1852)	Overture, L'alcalde de la Volga (1791)	L1
Potter, Cipriano (1792-1871)	Symphony No. 10 (1832)	L1
Rossini, Gioacchino (1792-1868)	Overture, William Tell (1829)	M
Spohr, Louis (1784-1859	Symphony No. 7 (1841)	L1
	Overture, Berggeist (1824)	L1
	Violin Concerto No. 8 (ca. 1816)	L1
Spontini, Gasparo (1774-1851)	Overture, La Vestale (1807)	Z

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Figure B. (Continued)

Composer (dates of birth and death)	Work (date of composition)	Performances under Wagner
Wagner, Richard (1813-1883)	Symphony in C Major (1832)	Venice
	Overture, Die Feen (1833)	M, Leipzig
	Overture, Columbus (1835)	M, R
	Overture, Faust (1844)	Z, Munich
	Overture, Rule Britannia (1837)	R
	Overture, Tannhäuser (1845)	P(6), T(10+), Z, L2(8), L1(2)
	Overture, The Flying Dutchman (1841)	T(10+), Z(3), P(6), L2(8) Munich
	Prelude, Lohengrin (1847)	Z(3), P(6), T(10+), L1, L2(8), Munich
	Overture, Die Meistersinger (1862)	T(10+), L2(8), Leipzig, Munich
	Prelude and Liebestod, Tristan und Isolde (1858)	T(10+), P(6), L2(8), Munich
	Trauermusik (1844)	D
	Huldigungsmarsch (1864)	L2(2), Palermo
	Kaisermarsch (1871)	L2(2), Palermo
	Grosser Festmarsch (1876)	L2(2)
	Siegfried Idyll (1870)	T, Palermo
	Lohengrin, Act III Entr'acte (1847)	Z(3), P(6), T(10+)
	Lohengrin, Bridal Music (1847)	Z(3), P(6), L1, L2(8)
	Die Meistersinger, Act III Procession (1862)	T(10+)
	Rienzi, Friedenmarsch (1840)	Z(3), T(10+) L2(8)
	The Flying Dutchman, Soldiers' Chorus (1841)	Z(3), T(10+)
	Das Rheingold, Act III Entry of the Gods to Valhalla (1854)	T(10+), L(8)
	Götterdämmerung, Act III Siegfried's Funeral March (1874)	T(10+), L2(8)
Weber, Carl Maria von (1786-1826)	Overture, Rübezahl (1805)	L1
	Overture, Jubel (1818)	D
	Overture, Der Freischütz (1821)	Z(2), L1
	Overture, Preciosa (1821)	L1
	Overture, Euryanthe (1823)	R, Z(2), L1
	Overture, Oberon (1826)	R, L1

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Appendix II

WAGNER'S PERFORMANCE INSTRUCTIONS

The following tables present the interpretative instructions Wagner gave his orchestras as he prepared performances of fourteen major works, including the whole of the Ring. Wagner's writings on conducting are widely known,[1] but their information on his interpretations has never been collated with the first-hand accounts of his work as a conductor, despite the immense value such a collation might have, not only for scholars of nineteenth-century performance practice but also for conductors of these works.

Sources of the Instructions

The critics and observers of Wagner's performances sometimes conveyed specific information about his interpretations (see above, Chapter IV), and where relevant their remarks are included in the tables below. But by far the richest sources of Wagner's instructions are six of his own writings and seven works by his close associates. Beginning with his own writings and taking them in chronological or-

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[1]His writings are found in Richard Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 6th ed., 16 vols., ed. Hans von Wolzogen and Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1914).

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der, these thirteen principal sources are described below.

1. Wagner, Letter to Theodor Uhlig, February 15, 1852[2]

The first sketch of his approach to conducting Beethoven's symphonies and overtures, this letter was sent by Wagner to Uhlig with his Erläuterung on the Overture to Coriolan. Wagner suggested Uhlig work the ideas into an article on "Wagner as Conductor of Beethoven" for the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik. Uhlig subsequently published a series of Wagner's Erläuterungen in the journal, commencing with a preface of his own on September 24, 1852,[3] but the article on conducting did not appear.

2. Wagner, "Über die Aufführung des 'Tannhäuser': eine Mitteilung an die Dirigenten und Darsteller dieser Oper," 1852[4]

The most detailed exposition of his intentions for the conducting, staging, and directing of any of his own

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[2] Wagner, letter to Theodor Uhlig (February 15, 1852), Sämtliche Briefe, 4+ vols., ed. Gertrude Strobel and Werner Wolf (Leipzig: Paul List Verlag, 1967-) IV, 285-292.

[3] Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, XXXII/12 (September 24, 1852).

[4] Sämtliche Schriften, V, 123-159.

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operas, this pamphlet was privately printed by Wagner for circulation among the theaters and then excerpted in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik commencing on December 3, 1852. The essay includes specific instructions for conducting the Overture to Tannhäuser and many observations that might be applied generally to Wagner's works.

3. Wagner, "Gluck's Ouvertüre zu 'Iphigénie in Aulis'," 1854[5]

Invaluable for its information on how his idea of the poetic content of a work translated itself into specific nuances and modifications, this short article accompanied the publication of the score of Wagner's concert ending for Gluck's Overture in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik on July 1, 1854.

4. Wagner, "Bericht an Seine Majestät den König Ludwig II von Bayern über eine in München zu errichtende deutsche Musikschule," 1865[6]

Evidently written largely by Bülow, but under Wagner's close supervision,[7] this voluminous document was

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[5]Sämtliche Schriften, V, 111-122.

[6]Ibid., VIII, 125-176.

[7]See Wagner, letter to Ludwig (January 21, 1865), König Ludwig II und Richard Wagner, Briefwechsel mit vielen anderen Urkunden, 5 vols., ed. Otto Strobel (Karlsruhe: G. Braun Verlag, 1936-1939) I, 51.

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presented to Ludwig II and published as a pamphlet in 1865. Although mostly concerned with the structure of Wagner's proposed German Music School, the text includes a section on the education of conductors (see above, Chapter IV, pp. 268-270), which elaborates an approach to the interpretation of Classical works.

5. Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," 1869[8]

First published in eight installments in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik from November 26, 1869, and then as a book by C. F. Kahnt of Leipzig the following year, this was Wagner's most extended discussion of his theory of interpretation, and for later conductors his most influential work. It contains specific instructions for conducting the Overtures to Der Freischütz and Die Meistersinger, a discussion of general principles of interpretation, illustrated by reference to numerous works of Beethoven, Mozart, and others, and frequently acerbic comments on the abilities of nineteen prominent conductors of the period.

6. Wagner, "Zum Vortrag der neunten Symphonie Beethovens," 1873[9]

As well as specific instructions for conducting

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[8] Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 261-337.

[9] Ibid., IX, 231-257.

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the Choral Symphony, this essay contains remarks on the conducting of passages in Beethoven's 5th, 7th, and 8th Symphonies, and is immensely valuable as a source of Wagner's interpretation of Beethoven. A number of instructions involve changing the scoring at points where, in Wagner's view, errors had occurred because of Beethoven's deafness, "which so greatly paled the lively aural image of the orchestra."[10] The essay was published in the Musikalisches Wochenblatt in April, 1873, eleven months after Wagner's famous performance of the Choral Symphony for the laying of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus foundation stone.

7. Cosima Wagner's Diaries, 1869-1883[11]

Kept in twenty-one volumes, these diaries form a daily record of Wagner's activities during the last fourteen years of his life. Intended for his children as a continuation of Mein Leben, which had originally been planned to extend to 1868, the diaries contain brief references to Wagner's conducting and his views on interpretation.

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[10] Wagner, Sämtliche Schriften, IX, 235: ". . . das lebhafte Gehörbild des Orchesters so weit verblasste."

[11] Cosima Wagner's Diaries, 2 vols., ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980).

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8. Felix Mottl's Diary 1876[12]

As a young conductor in Wagner's circle, Mottl was present at a number of the rehearsals and performances of Tannhäuser and Lohengrin directed by Wagner at Vienna in 1875, at all the rehearsals and performances of The Ring at Bayreuth in 1876, and at many of the performances of Parsifal at Bayreuth in 1882. He recorded many details of Wagner's interpretations in brief entries in his diary.

9. Felix Mottl, Annotated Vocal Scores of Wagner's Operas[13]

C. F. Peters of Frankfurt engaged Mottl as an editor for their vocal scores of Wagner's operas, and published his editions of Lohengrin, Tannhäuser, Tristan und Isolde (Act I), and the four Ring operas. Mottl's editorial work amounted chiefly to the addition to the text of very many annotations, set off from the text by the marks "B" or "W"; these annotations were remarks Wagner had made to his singers and orchestra during rehearsals. Only a small percentage of them appeared also in Mottl's diary: most of these correspond to the diary entries (as may be seen in Appendix II

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[12] For excerpts, see Willy Krienitz, "Felix Mottls Tagebuchaufzeichnungen aus den Jahren 1873-1876," Neue Wagner Forschung, I/1 (Autumn, 1943) 167-209.

[13] Wagner, Lohengrin, Tannhäuser, Tristan und Isolde, Das Rheingold, Die Walküre, Siegfried, Götterdämmerung, Parsifal, Vocal Scores, ed. Felix Mottl [Tristan und Isolde with Gustav F. Kogel] (Frankfurt: C. F. Peters, 1914).

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below) and are undoubtedly authentic. The rest perhaps depended upon Mottl's memory. The annotations in Acts II and III of Tristan und Isolde were based on later rehearsals conducted by Mottl himself, and are of lesser value. Taken together, these annotated scores comprise a unique source of Wagner's interpretative principles.

10. Heinrich Porges, "The Performance of Beethoven's 9th Symphony under Richard Wagner at Bayreuth, May 22, 1872"[14]

This pamphlet was published by Kahnt soon after Wagner's performance of the Choral Symphony at Bayreuth in 1872. It contains both an analysis of the work and detailed instructions for its performance, based on Porges' observations of Wagner at work. After reading this essay, Wagner commissioned Porges to make a similar record of the Ring rehearsals in 1876.

11. Heinrich Porges, "The Rehearsals for the Bayreuth Festspiel of 1876"[15]

Published first as a series of articles in the

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[14] Heinrich Porges, Die Aufführung von Beethovens 9. Symphonie unter Richard Wagner in Bayreuth. May 22 1872 (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1872).

[15] Heinrich Porges, "Die Bühnenproben zu den Bayreuther Festspielen des Jahres 1876," Bayreuther Blätter, III/5 (June 1880), 141-148; III/6 (July 1880), 149-159, 193-199;

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Bayreuther Blätter between 1880 and 1896 and then as a book by Sigismund und Volkening of Leipzig in 1896, this work, like Porges' essay on the Choral Symphony, combines analysis with a detailed account of Wagner's instructions to his singers and orchestra at the 1876 Bayreuth rehearsals. It is the most extended record of all of Wagner at work, and should be of great importance to conductors, singers, and directors of the Ring. Instead, it has been largely forgotten or ignored; hopefully its recent appearance in an English translation will bring it to attention once more. Most of its comments are parallel with those published by Mottl (as may be seen in Appendix II, Figures 10-13), although Porges' account is by far the more comprehensive.

12. Franz Liszt, Piano Transcriptions from Wagner's Operas 1842-1882[16]

Apart from being in close contact with Wagner and

III/9 (September 1880) 252-258; III/11 (November 1880) 301-307; IV/4 (April 1881) 89-98; IV/7 (July 1881) 198-206; IV/8 (August 1881) 233-238; IV/9 (September 1881) 259-272; VII/3 (March 1884) 70-77; IX (1886) 337-345; XIII (1890) 373-380; XVI (1893); XIX (1896); ibid., (Leipzig: Sigismund und Volkening, 1896), English version trans. by Robert L. Jacobs (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[16]Franz Liszt, Complete Piano Transcriptions from Wagner's Operas, ed. K. Sorokin, introduction by Charles Suttoni (New York: Dover Publications, 1981).

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in sympathy with his interpretative approach, Liszt conducted the première of Lohengrin and saw Wagner conduct concert excerpts from his works on several occasions. It is likely, therefore, that the expressive instructions which he added to his own piano arrangements of excerpts from Wagner's operas were based on his own estimation of Wagner's intentions. Liszt published fifteen piano transcriptions from Wagner's works; some of these, such as the "Fantasy on Themes from Rienzi," are free paraphrases with little relation to the original, but five are faithful piano arrangements from Wagner's scores--the Overture to Tannhäuser, the Entry of the Guests from Tannhäuser, and the Admonition, Bridal Procession, and Festival and Bridal Song from Lohengrin.

In these five pieces, Wagner's broad phrasing and careful articulations are meticulously observed, but ornaments indicated by symbol in Wagner's score are usually written out, and editorial nuances are added. Little can be learned about Wagner's balance or sonority, on the other hand, for Liszt's chord spacing and keyboard scoring are frequently influenced by a desire for dazzling bravura effects.

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13. Arthur Nikisch, Recording of Beethoven's 5th Symphony 1913 [17]

This acoustic recording cannot be claimed as a direct survival of Wagner's Beethoven interpretations, but it is important as the only known aural evidence of the Wagnerian conductors of the first generation following Wagner's death. Nikisch had played violin under Wagner in performances of the Eroica at Vienna on May 12, 1872, and of the Choral Symphony at Bayreuth in 1872 (see above, Chapter IV, p. 285), and acknowledged Wagner as the primary influence on his own conducting. The interpretation is therefore of considerable value.

Construction of the Tables

Although the sources span a period of more than thirty years of Wagner's life, it is possible to consider them together, without regard for their dates of origin. Wagner was highly consistent in his approach to a single work, no matter where or when he was performing it: in the third movement of Beethoven's Choral Symphony, for example,

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[17] Reissued as "Arthur Nikisch Conducts the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra," Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. Arthur Nikisch (Perennial 2002), and in "100 Jahre Berliner Philharmoniker. Frühe Aufnahmen 1913-1933" (Deutsche Grammaphon DGG 2740 259).

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Porges reported a dynamic modification at the 1872 Bayreuth performance which was identical to that which Wagner reported after his 1846 Dresden performance, twenty-six years before (see below, Fig. 5, m. 93). Furthermore, all the principal sources date from 1852 on, when Wagner's conducting practice had already reached its maturity. While Wagner's gestures developed gradually in the years up to 1852, his conducting did not change greatly thereafter: his later performances were based on principles and practices formed in earlier years.

In the following tables, therefore, the evidence of the sources is presented as a collation. Concordances are always shown: where instructions for a particular measure are preserved in more than one source, they are listed sequentially, separated by a diagonal dash (/). Each piece of information has been expressed as a command; in some instances, where the Imperativ was not preserved in the source or the instruction was preserved in a prose discussion, some rephrasing or summary was called for, as explained in the Key to Symbols below.

Page numbers from the full scores (F/S) have been given;[18] additionally, for Wagner's operas, page numbers from

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[18] In all cases, the full scores used were the miniature scores published by Ernst Eulenburg, London.

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the Mottl editions of the vocal scores (ME) have been given.[19] Where musical terms were translated from the German or Italian, the Terminorum Musicae Index was used as the authority,[20] In the Ring tables, as so many instructions concern the execution of the Leitmotiven, the name of a Motiv is given [in square brackets] wherever an instruction refers to its rendering; the names are those given in Deryck Cooke's thematic analysis of the work.[21]

For a discussion of the general principles governing these instructions, see Chapter V above. Not all conductors today would care to accept Wagner's instructions for the works of older composers; his attitude to his own works, on the other hand, should prove of immense and enduring interest.

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[19] See above, Footnote 13.

[20] Terminorum Musicae Index Septem Linguis Redactus: Polyglot Dictionary of Musical Terms, ed. Horst Leuchtmann et al. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978).

[21] Deryck Cooke, An Introduction to Wagner's "Der Ring des Nibelungen," being An Explanation and Analysis of Wagner's System of Leitmotifs, recording booklet for Wagner, Der Ring des Nibelungen, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Hans Hotter, Kirsten Flagstad, et al., cond. Georg Solti (Decca OSA1309).

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KEY TO SYMBOLS

BnsD — Richard Wagner, "Bericht über die Aufführung der neunten Symphonie von Beethoven im Jahre 1846," Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 6th ed., 16 vols., ed. Hans von Wolzogen and Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: F. W. Siegel, 1914) II, 50-64. Instructions extracted by rephrasing the prose.

CWD — Cosima Wagner's Diaries, 2 vols., ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980). Instructions are the entries rephrased.

Ell — Criticisms of J. W. Davison, et al., transcribed in W. Ashton Ellis, Life of Richard Wagner, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (London, 1908), reprint (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977) V, passim. Instructions extracted by rephrasing the prose.

Erl — Wagner, "Erläuterungen," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 169-181, and XII, 344-350. Instructions extracted by summarizing the prose.

F/S — Full score (London: Edition Eulenburg, n.d.).

GIiA — Wagner, "Gluck's Ouvertüre zu 'Iphigénie in Aulis,'" Sämtliche Schriften, V, 111-159. Instructions transcribed.

HC — Eduard Hanslick, criticism of Wagner's performance (December 27, 1863), Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1869-70), English version trans. by Henry Pleasants III (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1950). Instructions extracted by rephrasing the prose.

KW — Gustav Adolph Kietz, Richard Wagner in den Jahren 1842-1849 und 1873-1875: Erinnerungen, compiled by Marie Kietz (Dresden: Carl Reissner, 1905). Instructions extracted by rephrasing the prose.

LPT — Franz Liszt, Complete Piano Transcriptions from Wagner's Operas, ed. K. Sorokin, introduction by Charles Suttoni (New York: Dover Publications, 1981). Instructions transcribed.

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MD — Felix Mottl, Diary excerpts in Willy Krienitz, "Felix Mottls Tagebuchaufzeichnungen aus den Jahren 1873-1876," Neue Wagner Forschung, I (1943) 167-209. Instructions transcribed.

ME — Felix Mottl, Annotated vocal scores of Wagner's operas (Frankfurt: C. F. Peters, 1914). Instructions transcribed.

NR — Arthur Nikisch, Recording of Beethoven's 5th Symphony, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, 1913, reissue (Deutsche Grammaphon, DGG 2740 259). Metronome markings calibrated; instructions extracted from the recording.

PP — Heinrich Porges, Die Aufführung von Beethovens 9. Symphonie unter Richard Wagner in Bayreuth. May 22 1872 (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1872). Instructions transcribed.

PR — Porges, Die Bühnenproben zu den Bayreuther Festspielen des Jahres 1876 (Leipzig, 1896), English version trans. Robert L. Jacobs (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Instructions transcribed.

UAd T — Wagner, "Über die Aufführung des 'Tannhäuser': eine Mitteilung an die Dirigenten und Darsteller dieser Oper," Sämtliche Schriften, V, 123-159. Instructions rephrased.

UdD — Wagner, "Über das Dirigiren," Sämtliche Schriften, VIII, 261-337. Instructions rephrased.

VdnS — Wagner, "Zum Vortrag der neunten Symphonie Beethovens," Sämtliche Schriften, IX, 231-257. Instructions rephrased from the prose.

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Figure 1. Wagner's Interpretation of Beethoven's 3rd Symphony (Eroica).

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Allegro con brio		
-	Erl	It embraces all the emotions of the hero in "the heyday of unresting youth: prosperity and adversity, gladness and want, sweetness and sadness, riot and revel, daring, defiance, and an ungovernable sense of Self," which all spring from "a shattering strength."
-	UdD / Ell	It must not be strictly in tempo throughout as if it were a Mozart allegro / It was sometimes quickened (Davison).
3	UdD	The main cello melody contains a predominantly lyrical element "derived from the character of an adagio"--a "sentimental" rather than "naïve" character. The allegro tempo is a consequence of figuration subdividing the character of an adagio; the allegro character is thus felt where figuration has the upper hand, and elsewhere tempo modification is necessary.
83	UdD	The following wind phrase must not be strictly a tempo.
284	UdD	This "wailing" oboe melody must not be strictly a tempo.
390	MD	2nd Violins: the A♭ in the next seven measures should be a G.
Marcia funèbre: Adagio assai		
-	Ell	The tempo was a good deal slower than usual, and the pathos was thereby heightened (Hogarth).
-	Ell	The tempo sometimes slackened (Davison).
-	Erl	A tragic crisis: "emotion tamed by deep grief . . . out of grief springs new strength that fills us with a sublime warmth; we succumb to grief once more . . . and then rouse ourselves to the fullest strength."

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Figure 1 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Scherzo: Allegro vivace		
-	Erl	Buoyant gaiety, the hero glad amid Nature: "radiant, playful, tender-hearted exultation." Particularly expressed by the horns.
Finale: Allegro molto		
-	Erl	"The whole man, harmoniously at one with Self," expressed in one simple theme, around which "wind and cling tenderer and softer feelings . . . the overwhelming power of Love." The main theme develops from gentlest delicacy to grandest strength; at the close "Love speaks out"; finally the main theme, now wedded to Love--and thus complete--bursts forth.
-	UdD	In essence an immensely expanded set of variations, which must be interpreted with the utmost possible variety. Dissimilarities--the inherent weakness of variation form--are related to each other: a rhythmic figure previously hinted at is carried further, a satisfying sense of surprise is created when something lacking in one variation is made good in the next. "At the very boundaries of sustained tone [adagio character] and allegro movement, Beethoven suddenly evokes an overwhelming longing" for contrast and satisfies it by making one kind of motion follow upon the other.

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Figure 2. Wagner's Interpretation of Beethoven's 5th Symphony.

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Allegro con brio		
1	CWD	The 2/4 should be changed to 4/4, for the former is awkward to beat and the nuances suffer, producing too many accents.
2	UdD / NR	Hold the fermata with an evenly-sustained tone, without weakening, as long "as if wringing the last drop of life out of it"; the G at m. 21 (Violins) dramatic, very long / fermate at mm. 2, 5, 21 very long.
16	NR	Accel. from here to the fermate (from MM♩= 76 to MM♩= 96).
30	NR	Gradual accel. from here, then slower at m. 59 (the second theme varies from MM♩= 72 to MM♩= 88).
90	NR	Gradual accel. from here.
128	NR	Long fermata.
133	NR	Gradual accel. from here; very quick (MM♩= 100) from m. 160.
196	NR	Much slower (MM♩= 72) from here; m. 228 quicker, then slower again.
241	NR	Accel from here; long fermata at m. 252; then slower and molto rit. from m. 263
268	UdD / NR	Oboe: apply the principle of dramatic song and expression to this moving solo / Very broad and very lyrical
269	NR	Quickly returning to tempo primo; bassoons detached and slower at mm. 304-305; accel. from m. 323; held back at m. 344-345; quicker from m. 346; slower at mm. 387-388.
478	NR	Held back; the fermata at m. 482 long; then very slow; suddenly very quick at m. 491.
Andante con moto		
-	UdD	A variation form conceived as a continuous whole; we admire the way one variation leads

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Figure 2 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
		into another with expressive refinement.
14	NR	The triplet 16th-notes a little held back here and at mm. 18 and 19. (MM♪= 72).
28	NR	Accel.; a somewhat quicker tempo after the next two measures; slower from m. 38; pushing ahead at the crescendo in m. 47, then steady at m. 48.
60	NR	Flute: held back; the triplets held back (as at m. 14) in the following phrase; steady tempo primo from m. 71; quicker from m. 81.
96	NR	Pushing ahead, then steady from the 32nd-notes at m. 98.
114	VdnS	Either reduce the loudness of the 16th-note accompaniment in the next seven measures, or add the missing tones to the trumpet and timpani (those not available on Beethoven's natural trumpets) to avoid drawing the listeners' attention away from the vital bass melody.
117	NR	Quicker from here (MM♪= 84) and then a long fermata at m. 123; then slower again.
141	NR	Slight quickening.
172	NR	Slight quickening from here; slower at m. 178.
198	NR	The triplets held back as before.
211	NR	Accel. and cresc. in the next two measures.
218	NR	Held back triplets as before; the phrase commencing at m. 223 very lyrical and held back; the eighth-notes at mm. 227-228 very long.
240	NR	Accel. in the next two measures; a slight delay at m. 246.

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Figure 2 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Allegro		
2	NR	Portamento in mm. 2-4; rit. in mm. 5-7; long fermata in m. 8; rit. in mm. 15-17.
21	NR	Not too fast from here (MM ♩. = 88), steady.
50	NR	Rit. from here.
110	NR	Accel from here, then slower from m. 137 and accel. from m. 158.
180	NR	Accel. from here, again from m. 194, and again from m. 214; slower from m. 221; rit. from m. 234; molto rit. from m. 242 and again from m. 248.
282	NR	Poco rit. for three measures.
363	NR	Poco accel. from here.
Allegro		
-	Ell	Taken very quickly (Davison).
22	NR	Accel.; held back at mm. 26-27, then accel. again; held back at mm. 30-31; accel. mm. 41-42 (Tempo MM ♩ = 80).
57	NR	Accel. from here, then rit. in mm. 62-63; m. 64 much slower.
77	NR	Molto accel.; tempo primo at m. 90.
122	NR	Accel. here and at m. 132.
205	NR	Accel.
228	NR	See above, m. 22.
249	NR	Accel.; quick from m. 252; accel. at m. 268; slower at m. 273; accel. at m. 288; accel. at mm. 306 and 313; slower at m. 318; molto accel. from m. 324; molto rit. from m. 333.
342	NR	Accel. from here; even faster at mm. 405, 423, 434.

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Figure 3. Wagner's Interpretation of Beethoven's 7th Symphony

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Allegretto		
1	Ell	Taken andante instead of allegretto (Davison).
75	VdnS	For the next eight measures complete the trumpet part to make it a unison with the clarinet.
Presto; Assai meno presto		
441	Ell	Now taken quicker than at the start (Davison).
Allegro con brio		
1	Ell	Taken presto instead of allegro con brio (Davison).
1	UdD	The exclusively allegro character dominates this movement, for figuration has the upper hand. Rhythmic motion as such "celebrates its orgy"; hence it must be played "with the utmost speed and tautness."
349	UdD	No diminuendo or piano here; a tremendous coda begins building. Sustain the forte.
389	UdD	Now the final outburst approaches.

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Figure 4. Wagner's Interpretation of Beethoven's 8th Symphony

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Allegro vivace e con brio		
6	VdnS	Here the all-important melody is in the clarinet; the oboe and flute entries above it are non-thematic and disturbing.
Tempo di Menuetto		
1	Ell	Taken "too slowly" (Davison).
1	UdD	The two middle movements form a contrast to the two outer movements (which are allegro); hence the second must not drag so much that the third has to rush as a contrast. This is a minuet in the traditional sense, not a scherzo or invigorating Ländler. The tempo must match the tender lyricism of the horn and clarinet melodies. The opening melody should have a comfortable, weighty expression.
4	UdD	Distinct, short cresc.
45	UdD	The Trio must be at a speed where the cellos' triplet eighth-notes are a "delightful idyll" rather than a "veritable monstrosity of painful scratching."
45	Ell	The melody taken by a single cello (Davison).
68	UdD	Basses and bassoons: the sforzandos, played at the proper speed, are humorous.

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Figure 5. Wagner's Interpretation of Beethoven's 9th (Choral) Symphony

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Allegro, ma non troppo, un poco maestoso		
-	Erl	"A titanic struggle of the soul . . . a thirst for joy against the veto of that hostile power which rears itself between us and earthly happiness." This is the main theme, which appears "as if disrobing from a ghostly shroud." "We struggle, we recognize happiness in passing gleams," but all is overshadowed by "the archfiend."
15	PP	Very broad, significantly slower, majestic grandeur and sublimity in the transition to the main theme; the most expressive and declamatory accentuation from m. 19.
24	PP	1st Violins: hold the B♭ with the utmost force, terrible energy and anguished accent. Trumpet (m. 27): pounding, unyielding feeling. Woodwind (m. 28): soft, wailing tone. These passages push forward with energy; the 7th-chords at the end heavy and broad, ending in the gruesome, desolate 5th again.
80	PP	The melody: a timidly-urging plea for love, intensely outspoken in expression, avoiding all forced accent, free of superabundance of sentiment, held-back in tempo.
92	PP / VdnS	Violins: allegro once more, the figure at mm. 102-103 with cutting force / Violins (m. 98): replace the cresc. with poco cresc. so as not to drown the woodwind theme.
116	PP / UdD	Impersonal, even pianissimo in the strings / Dynamic monotony; perfect, even pianissimo, no cresc. on the ascent, imperceptible changes of bowing and strings.
138	PP / VdnS	Oboes: very sharp contrast, the most expressive and subjectively-felt woodwind playing, held-back in tempo, alternating with the fortissimo tempo primo with cutting sharpness, as if anguished, bitter scorn were meeting the

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Figure 5 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
		voice of consolation / Held-back in tempo, the oboe must lead, the flute moderate in volume; at m. 139 the oboe should play the flute part (down an octave); at m. 143 the flute should play down an octave from the second 16th-note to preserve the melodic contour. The dynamic nuances marked at m. 138 should be repeated in each of the following measures until m. 144, when there should be a general cresc.
160	PP	Tragic, gripping re-entry of the string tremolo; the 32nd-note upbeats in the preceding two measures with a rapid decrease of force, very precise, effecting a return to dead silence.
188	PP	Terribly defiant motives; the main melody (m. 192) lamenting, achieved through the most accurate slurring of its first two tones (G to B).
267	PP	Woodwind: accel. slightly until the last 16th-note of m. 270, where a rit. suddenly sets in as if a flash of recovery of consciousness; the melody at m. 275 moderate in tempo, as if declamatory speech.
301	PP	Slightly faster, the strongest force of tone; here everything destructible is destroyed as if in a world immolation.
339	PP	The promise of love, like a view of the sun, shines quietly and clearly.
363	VdnS	Remove the cresc. from the string parts, but a very energetic cresc. in the woodwind.
407	VdnS	1st Flute: take m. 408 an octave lower, play E-G-B♭ instead of G-B♭-B♭ in m. 409; take m. 410 an octave lower, play A-C-E♭ instead of C-E♭-E♭ in m. 411; take the last three 16th-notes of m. 412 an octave lower, play G-B♭-D instead of B♭-D-D in m. 413, take the third and fourth 16th-notes of m. 414 an octave lower. 2nd Flute: tacet in m. 410. 1st Oboe: as for 1st flute in mm. 412 and 414 (first

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Figure 5 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
		four 16th-notes). 2nd Oboe: play the old 1st Flute part at the last three 16th-notes of m. 413 and the first 16th-note of m. 414. All four instruments: play the nuances marked for m. 138 (as revised) in mm. 407, 409, 411, and 413, but a general cresc. in mm. 408, 410, 412, and 414.
457	VdnS	This and the next measure piano throughout; at mm. 459-460 a weak cresc. by the strings but a strong cresc. by the woodwind, then a general cresc. in the remaining two measures before the fortissimo.
463	PP	Storming like army columns; the horn entrance at m. 469 with the tenderest, utmost quietness, the presentiment of sure, final victory glows with victorious enthusiasm, our nerves pulsate in feverish expectation.
513	PP	A dynamic build-up begins from the mystifying, trembling pianissimo, growing as if by itself into huge, ghost-like greatness; m. 531 like the scream of the frightened Will.
539	PP	The re-entry of the main theme: a mighty, forceful restraining of the tempo. At the rising 32nd-notes accel. so that the last two measures stand before us in naked greatness.
Molto vivace; Presto; Molto vivace		
-	Erl	A wild excitement seizes us; from despair we are swept onwards to "a frenzied orgy." In the middle of the movement "a scene of earthly merriment," the theme "naïve, self-contented mirth;" at the end "merriment is thrust from us with impatience."
-	PP	Above all the sharply characteristic presentation of metrically connected periods and the most precise presentation of the dynamic degrees of strength are important.
9	PP	After the dashing strength of the introductory measures, a call of hell to uninhibited lust,

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Figure 5 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
		the main theme in a pianissimo that takes the breath away.
78	PP	A character of seeming calm, through restraint of the rhythmic emphasis without restraint of the tempo.
93	PP / VdnS / BnsD	The string figure with half strength only, an "inner" forte / Double the 1st oboe and bassoon parts with four horns (and even trumpets) until the theme is not obscured / The strings a mere suggestion of forte, the woodwinds doubled.
268	VdnS	A marvelous outburst of high spirits of which only Beethoven was capable.
276	VdnS	1st Violins: an octave higher until the first quarter-note of m. 277; 2nd violins and violas likewise; 1st flute: the B♭ an octave higher.
330	VdnS	Quiet the trumpets so as not to obscure the woodwind theme.
395	PP	On the repetition, the fermata is not to be held onto but should break off concisely; then, after a short general break, the wild coda breaks in.
412	PP	The presto mark strictly refers only to the first two measures; the following theme is at a restricted, somewhat comfortable pace, in a stout manner. Avoid all redundant cresc.; the cellos and violas (from m. 422), however, with all the warmth and bliss of song.
470	PP	Sudden entry of piano after a moderate cresc.; drastic piano at the end of the oboe solo, which needs the greatest tenderness.
530	PP	Do not hold this fermata; the phrase rather should echo away like a sentimental lament. The repeat of the movement a little faster; the wild, daemonic element celebrates its orgy even more so.

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Figure 5 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Adagio molto e cantabile; Andante moderato		
-	Erl	The memory of "purest happiness in early days" is awakened; a hope-inspiring first theme, a tender, yearning second theme of love; each recurrence of our former grief is "met by fresh exertion of gentle strength."
1	UdD / PP	A true adagio tempo, to which attention is drawn by its alternation with andante moderato. Sustained, inflected tone / The tempo of the whole is determined by the first two measures, which require the innermost-felt expression, the tenderest, softest inflection of the tone.
11	PP	Woodwind: without any emotion, in the most straightforward, simple manner; do not over-stress the augmented 5th.
25	PP	Begin this melody with the utmost pianissimo.
42	PP	Like a last sentimental glance at the all-too-rapidly-vanishing image of the purest bliss (the violin 16th-notes). The fermata not held; it refers rather to sustaining the full value of the quarter-note in the woodwind.
83	PP	As if from the clouds; not at all for the sake of effect. The more delicately, the more audible; the timbre of individual instruments must be neutralized, stepping into the background.
98	PP / UdD	Special diligence in observance of the cresc. / An instructive example of a pure adagio broken up by ornamental figuration; the tempo may no longer fluctuate, for the original melody is now fixed by the figuration.
104	PP	Special diligence at the sudden switch to piano.
121	PP	The brief cresc. preceding this must grow gradually, yet so fast that the arrival of the forte figure feels like a miraculous transfer to another world.

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Figure 5 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
[Finale:]		
-	Erl	A more definite speech-like character; the recitative for basses and cellos stems the tumult of the other instruments, and by passing into a song-like theme, in which all the other instruments join, attempts to phrase a stable, unruffled joy by instrumental means alone. Yet the rebel assemblage is incapable of that restriction; wild, chaotic passion returns, louder than before. A human voice confronts the din, light breaks on chaos, a sure, definite mood of utterance is won, and the highest, lasting happiness joy shall find is expressed. Presently, warlike sounds draw nigh, a contest is fought (instruments alone), joy is achieved anew, a vow of universal brotherhood leaps from the breast. As if a revelation had confirmed that every human soul was made for joy, we shout in conviction to one another, "Seid umschlungen Millionen . . . " With God to consecrate our universal love, we now taste purest joy; we are given innocence of heart and childhood's buoyancy again; then jubilation, shouts, and laughter fill the air.
1	PP	The whole movement is a kind of monumental musical fresco. The sudden scream at the outset is to be executed as if all in one measure, without accentuation. The whole first eight measures form an upbeat, storming to the last tone with mounting force.
2	VdnS	Replace the rests in the trumpet part here and in the passage commencing at m. 17 with tones doubling the woodwind.
8	BnsD/ PP	Cellos and basses: a phrasing that sounds almost spontaneous, and the most striking expression, at once of tenderness and potent energy / Breaks forth with the utmost energy, like a storm, completely in tempo, each tone with equal force. A dashing accent on the Bb at mm. 14-15, then an expressive dim., making the impression of the music entering the

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Figure 5 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
		threshold of consciousness and seeming to begin to be comprehensible language.
56	PP	As if the cellos and basses were saying "Not so!" (Nicht doch!); the last four tones of the phrase (mm. 61-62) with the tenderest, trembling emotion, changing into unspeakable calm.
92	PP	A short break before the Allegro assai, suspense-filled expectation.
203	PP	With expressive sentiment, and then (m. 205) the inner quieting, and slow lingering at the E-flat Minor passage is enhanced by retarding the tempo.
Presto		
1	VdnS	The trumpets should double the woodwind as before.
1	PP	As if all the kettledrums on earth were sounding with terrifying vehemence.
9	PP	Soloist: this is the turning-point in the work. The singer should dramatically shout his words in noble outrage.
Allegro assai		
2	BnsD / PP	An exceptionally strong chorus is required (there were 300 at Dresden) / At Bayreuth a small bass choir was in the trumpeters' boxes on either side of the stage, providing a theatrical effect in their dialogue with the main choir.
5	VdnS / PP	"Freude" not as written but rubato, as on the same word in the previous measure / Soloist and choir must pay special attention to the soft, legato delivery of the "Freude" melody.
94	PP	With the modulation to F Major, the most trembling effect; hold the fermata uncannily long, the tone growing continuously until the moment of cutting off.

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Figure 5 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Allegro assai vivace; alla marcia		
101	PP / BnsD	The following fugato at a fiery speed, feeling much shorter than it actually is; basses and cellos must play as if the devil were let loose / Read the fugato as a battle piece in fiery tempo and with the utmost, straining energy.
211	PP	A cresc. mounting to the utmost vehemence in the next two measures.
Andante maestoso		
1	PP / BnsD / KW	Sung by the small men's choir in the trumpeters' boxes / Must not be sung in the ordinary way but be shouted out as if in the highest transport, especially at "Brüder! überm Sternenzelt muss ein lieber Vater wohnen" / This section, particularly "Brüder! . . . ," must be shouted out in great rapture.
60	PP	The 9th-chord must sound with a hardly audible pianissimo: so much so that silence is perceived as a sensation.
Allegro ma non tanto		
33	PP	Choir: begin with moderate calm, but from m. 39 the stormiest excitement. The dramatic element in the melodious stream of all these passages comes from diligent regard paid to all nuances, to the evenness of the degree of strength, and to the changing tempos, letting the contrasting moods evolve from one another.
75	VdnS	Tenor: sing a half-note C#, then quarter-notes A#-C#instead of the passage given for "Sanfter . . . dein"; the original makes breathing difficult and blurs the clarity.
Prestissimo		
30	PP	With blazing, daemonic power throughout.
33	PP	Rit. at the four-beat C Major chord, then

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Figure 5 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
		accel. with the most vehement energy.
66	PP	The broadest adagio tempo from the "Maestoso"; the most elementary strength of mere sensation is now in the dominant position, and sunlike clarity of the spirit appears.

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Figure 6. Wagner's Interpretation of Weber's Overture to Der Freischütz

Measure	Source	Interpretation
1	UdD	The introduction is a quiet forest fantasy, not an andante.
10	UdD / HC	Horns: except for the mezzo forte (m. 18) a sustained pianissimo; a gentle inflection rather than sforzando before the melody dies away at m. 25 / Gradual horn cresc. and dim.
27	UdD	Cellos: gentle sigh, not violent emphasis.
33	UdD	Terrifying fortissimo, overwhelming effect: a mysterious, sinister atmosphere.
37	UdD	A turbulent allegro--a headlong rush.
96	UdD	The tempo has worked up to a feverish heat; now the succeeding passage (mm. 109-119) slows down imperceptibly, despite the animated 8th-notes in cellos and 2nd violins.
123	UdD / HC	Clarinet: the cantabile second theme now slightly slower than the main tempo, and in an even piano, with no breaks in the phrase, no vulgar accents or cresc. / Somewhat held-back in tempo.
145	UdD	Gradually speeds up again.
159	UdD	Emphatic reaffirmation of the main tempo.
181	UdD	The conflict between sharply contrasted motives is compressed into shorter periods and worked out in more urgent form.
243	UdD	The desperate energy lashes itself to a climax; the turmoil leads to further modification of the tempo.
278	HC	This fermata and the next prolonged.
292	UdD	The now jubilant cantabile slightly slower than the main tempo; the accent in m. 295 should be read as dim.
303	UdD	The theme has naturally swelled from m. 295 into a thrilling expression of rapture.

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Figure 7. Wagner's Interpretation of Gluck's Overture to Iphigénie en Aulide

Measure	Source	Interpretation
1	GIiA	The first eight measures a gentle, gradual cresc.; a motif of "appeal from out of a gnawing anguish of the heart."
9	GIiA	Unobtrusive decresc. from here to m. 19.
19	GIiA	Massive breadth, stubborn. The tempo should not be quickened, but should correspond to the speed of the same theme in Act I scene 1 of the opera; a motif of power--imperious, overbearing demand.
29	GIiA	Violins: the 16th-notes with as long a sweep of the bow as possible; pomp and energy.
34	GIiA	Cellos and basses: sturdy pacing up and down the scale.
39	GIiA	At the piano: grace and tenderness, a motif of girlish tenderness.
43	GIiA	Flute and violins: cresc. towards the high C, then piano on the second 8th-note of m. 44; cresc. on the 16th-notes to the third beat of m. 45, then piano; likewise in the following passages.
62	GIiA	Violins: a motif of sorrowing, agonizing pity; dim. on the dotted half-note; cresc. on the 16th-notes in m. 63 to mezzo forte at the dotted half-note in m. 64; piano on the last 8th-note of m. 64, then mezzo forte on the last 8th-note of m. 65; likewise in the following passages.
71	GIiA	Cresc. to forte in m. 72; cresc. again in m. 72; replace the piano with forte in m. 73; dim. in m. 73; piano in m. 74; mezzo forte on the last 8th-note of m. 74; likewise in the following passages.
111	GIiA	Some accel. where a violence of passion rises from the contrast of the principal motives.

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Figure 7 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
134	GIiA	See above, m. 43.
175	GIiA	Accel. for the next eight measures.
184	GIiA	At the return of the theme, slacken to the original tempo.

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Figure 8 . Wagner's Interpretation of Tannhäuser

Measure	Source	Interpretation
Overture		
1	UAdT / UdD	Seek the tempo in "the dramatic and musical situation"; do not depend on the metronome mark / At Dresden under Wagner it took twelve minutes; he regarded Mendelssohn's reading of it as "senselessly hurried."
1	ME	Opening theme: walking motion, not dragging.
2	UAdT	Winds: all breathe before the upbeat in mm. 2, 4, 6, and similar.
4	UAdT	Bassoons: change the dotted half-note to a half-note followed by a quarter-note to conform to the breathing in the other instruments.
16	LPT	Melody: accentato espressivo; begin the cresc. at m. 21 one measure earlier.
37	UAdT	Trombones and tuba: sustain each tone forcefully for its full length throughout the theme; breathe when needed.
39	UAdT / LPT	Accompaniment: fortissimo only on the first beat of each bar, dim. on the second and third quarter-notes / Melody: marcatissimo, always majestic, never agitated.
62	LPT	The melody always marked, even after the piano at m. 70.
81	UdD / ME	Take the ¢ in two; to take it in four would drag the piece out to twenty minutes / Calm at first; quick only later.
94	ME / LPT	Poco ritenuto / Melody (at m. 96): delicately but marked.
124	UAdT	Quicken, then at m. 124 restrain the pace, without causing conspicuous retardation, rather make a contrast in the expression: a yearning, panting character in the phrasing.

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Figure 8 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
132	UAdT / LPT	Change the forte-piano to piano in all parts / Sempre crescendo ed appassionato; sempre più rinforzando at m. 137.
140	UAdT / LPT	Somewhat more briskly / hurriedly.
142	UAdT / ME / LPT	Fiery, but not so fast as to give it "the taint of levity" / Broad, not hurried / [No Tempo I marking]; cellos: cresc. on each series of rising 8th-notes; grand at m. 159; briskly at m. 182.
195	ME / UAdT	Calmer / In the violin divisi, the upper part should be taken by the leader as a solo, the second (from m. 205) by the largest number of players, the lower six parts equal in strength.
202	UAdT	Clarinet: emphasize by separation that the two Es are apart.
212	UAdT / LPT	The clarinet is the leading part in this theme / Melody: always more reinforced, passionate, and cresc.
219	ME	Molto rit., then calm at m. 220.
228	UAdT	A rather strong accel.
234	ME / LPT	Increase the speed / Always forte, with energy.
240	UAdT	Slacken the pace for the tempo change.
242	UAdT / LPT	Energetic / Marcatissimo at m. 251; ferocious at m. 270; stringendo at m. 272; reinforced at m. 282.
301	UAdT / LPT	Maintain an unbroken body of the fullest tone in all instruments and avoid any abatement in the first eight measures / Melody: always marked.
321	UAdT / LPT	Violins: the utmost piano, wave-like figures almost whispered, and the theme above not loud but absolutely distinct / Expressive from m. 337.

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Figure 8 (Continued)

Measure	Source	Interpretation
369	UAdT / LPT	Gradual though marked accel. / hurriedly.
379	UAdT	Quick enough that the theme in the trombones is intelligible and does not seem to be detached, disconnected tones; an unbroken fortissimo must be maintained by the conductor and orchestra with the utmost energy and strength.
433	UAdT	Another accel.
439	UAdT	Slacken to a broad, solemn tempo.

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Figure 8 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Act I				
Scene 1				
VENUS: Geliebter, komm! [Song of Venus]	147	42	MD	Very calm, measured 8th-notes, and then more fluid.
Scene 4				
WOLFRAM: Gegrüsst sei uns, du kühner Sänger	206	62	ME	Very flowing.
TANNHÄUSER: Mir frommet kein Verweilen	212	65	ME	Always moving forward; quickening at "Mein weg heisst mich nur vorwärts eilen."
LANDGRAF: dass würdig er ihn löse!	224	70	ME	The following andante very calm at first, quasi adagio; more flowing at Wolfram's next entry; faint at "War's Zauber"; poco rall. from "unsren Kreis sie mied."
ALL: Brüder nenne uns fort an!	235	75	ME	Not held back.
TANN: Ha, jetzt erkenne ich sie wieder	239	77	ME	Fiery but not hurried.
ALL: das Lied aus jeder Brust hervor!	256	86	ME	The following tutti: quickening from the seventh measure.

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Figure 8 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Act II				
Prelude				
Allegro	263	87	ME	Violins: triplets always distinct, not blurred; the cresc. (m. 20) delicate, then (m. 22) very calm and (at m. 24) main tempo; the same in the next phrase (mm. 26-30); oboes (m. 44): broad; violins (m. 53): flowing.
Scene 1				
ELISABETH: Dich, teure Halle, grüss ich wieder	272	89	ME	All strictly in time; not a recitative; no portamento at "der Frieden, die Freude"; the 8th-notes on " "Sei mir gegrüsst!" calm, distinct.
Scene 2				
WOLF.: Dort ist sie	286	83	ME	Faint.
ELIS.: So stehet auf!	289	94	ME	Clarinet: the turn should be taken from the lower note at all these places.
ELIS./TANN.: Gepriesen sei die Stunde	312	101	ME	Not too fast at the start.

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Figure 8 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Scene 3				
Moderato	338	108	ME	Cellos (m. 18) omit the turns.
Off-stage trumpets	342	110	ME	Very lively.
Scene 4				
Allegro [Entrance of the Guests]	344	111	ME / MD / UdD / LPT	Very lively, always in two, m. 72 very rhythmic, not hurried / Very brisk, in two / Wagner criticized Lachner for taking this "at the tempo of an ecclesiastical procession" / trumpets (m. 17): *marcato*; violins (m. 41): dolce; a small accel. at m. 88.
CHOIR OF KNIGHTS: Freudig begrüssen wir die edle Halle	357	116	LPT	1st Tenor: take the turn from the upper note each time. At the Choir of Ladies (m. 108) dolce, with grace; small accel. from m. 192.
The Singers enter	384	121	ME / LPT	Not dragging, always march tempo / Only un poco più moderato; the preceding four measures for trumpet (mm. 211-214): accent the dotted quarter-notes.
Der Sängerkrieg				
WOLF.: Blick' ich umher in diesem edlen Kreise	402	128	ME	Always in time, not recitative!

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Figure 8 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
ELI S.: Der Unglücksel'ge, den gefangen ein furchtbar mächt' - ger Zauber hält	492	158	ME	Not dragging.
ALL: Ein Engel stieg aus lich- tem Aether	498	160	ME	Rather flowing tempo; the four 16th-notes very calm and melodic; from "Du gabst ihr Tod" a calmer tempo; at "bittet für dein Leben!" completely faint, as at "des Engels Flehn?"; dying away at "kann nicht ich widerstehn!"; no dragging from "Du gabst ihr Tod!"
LANDGR.: Ein furchtbares Ver- brechen	528	181	ME	The introduction very broad.
SINGER: Mit ihnen sollst du wallen	537	184	ME	Begin piano.
KNIGHT: Musst' unsre Rache weichen	543	190	ME	All these interludes faintly whis- pered.
Act III				
Prelude				
Andante assai lento	578	212	ME	Somewhat flowing; the second melody (m. 3) calmer; very broad at the 6/4.
Scene 1				
Più lento	624	227	ME	Very slow.

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Figure 8 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Scene 2				
WOLF.: O du mein holder Abend-stern	629	230	LPT	Always slow, but with a little more motion than the recitative. Start the poco rit. on "Engel dort."
Scene 3				
TANN.: Hör'an, Wolfram! Hör'an!	648	235	ME	Moving.
TANN.: Der Tag brach an	658	238	UdD	The 6/4 in six, three quarter-notes equal to two quarter-notes of the preceding 4/4. If it is in two, the Narration will be like a gay, elastic waltz.

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Figure 9. Wagner's Interpretation of Lohengrin

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Prelude				
Langsam	1	5	ME / MD / UdD	Very slow / Very slow and infinitely broad / Wagner thought the tempo was muddled almost everywhere, save under Esser at Vienna ("strong and precise") and Strauss at Karlsruhe ("hurried" but "vital and well executed").
m. 7	2	1	ME	Triplet always very calm and even.
m. 62	13	7	ME	Quite subdued, without expression; at m. 75 go on without a pause.
Act I				
Scene 1				
Ziemlich lebhaft	15	8	ME	Calm at first and little by little led into a livelier tempo.
Scene 2				
CHOR: Ha! wie erscheint sie so licht und rein!	56	19	ME	Only whispered.
ELSA: ein golden Horn zur Hüften	69	23	ME	Not hurried; somewhat flowing at "mit züchtigem Gebahren."

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Figure 9 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	Page No. ME	Source	Interpretation
KING: Gern geb' ich dir der höchsten Tugend Preis.	82	26	ME	Press forward.
KING: Dich frag' ich, Friedrich, Graf von Telramund!	84	27	ME	The preceding three measures lively and fiery.
ELSA: er soll mein Streiter sein!	89	29	ME	Very calm.
HERALD: Wer hier im Gottes-kampf zu streiten kam	98	31	ME	Very lively tempo; calmer at Elsa's "Mein lieber König."
Sehr bewegt	102	33	ME / MD	Very broad but nervous in delivery; from "Du tragest zu ihm" gradually livelier / Very broad and expressive.
CHOR: Seht! Seht!	106	34	ME / MD	Not too quick at first; increasing / Trumpets: begin pianissimo, tempo begins calmly, then greatly accelerates.
Scene 3				
CHOR: Gegrüsst,du gottgesandter Held!	123	40	ME / MD	Increasing / The A Major section fortissimo, very fiery and animated.
LOHENGRIN: Nun sei bedankt, mein lieber	128	42	MD	No portamento, everything in strict time, no recitative.

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Figure 9 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
CHOR: Wie fasst uns selig süsses Grauen!	129	42	ME	Very slow; after this passage, more flowing in tempo.
FRIEDRICH: Welch Zaubern dich auch hergeführt	156	52	ME / MD	From here until the attendant's passage, only mezzo forte / Not fast, the orchestra subdued in forte-piano.
Etwas weniger schnell	161	54	ME / MD	Very rhythmic, march tempo / quite animated.
HERALD: Nun höret mich	163	54	ME / MD	Rather lively / all in tempo.
KING: Herr und Gott, nun ruf' ich dich	172	56	MD	Not too slow.
Schnell [The Battle]	193	65	ME / MD	Very fast / Very fast.
ELSA: O fänd'ich Jubelweisen	203	67	ME / MD	Calm tempo at first, then increasing toward the end / Not fast at first, then accelerating after some time.
CHOIR: dem Helden laut zum höchsten Preise!	209	60	ME	Very rhythmic, without any hurrying.
Young Warriors raise Lohengrin upon his shield	230	83	ME	Orchestral postlude: very fiery tempo; always faster as the curtain falls.

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Figure 9 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Act II				
Prelude				
m. 18	233	84	ME	Cor anglais: first phrase rises to mezzo forte; second almost too soft to hear.
Scene 1				
ORTRUD: Gott?	262	93	ME / MD	This pause dreadfully long / A dreadfully long pause.
FRIED.: Du wilde Seherin	267	95	MD	Before this another long pause.
Fried. approaches still closer to Ortrud	268	95	ME / MD	This measure (two before Ortrud's "Weisst du") a little held back / Bass clarinet (one measure before "Weisst du") very slow.
ORTRUD: So lehr'ich dich der Rache süsse Wonnen!	288	100	ME	This whole part not too slow; calmer, alla breve time.
Scene 2				
ELSA: in Liebe, in Liebe	297	103	MD	This dialogue fluidly; here slowly, connect the oboe and horn A♭ and C♭.
ORTRUD: du ins fernste Elend	299	104	MD	Very strong cresc.
ORTRUD: In ferner Einsamkeit des Waldes.	300	104	ME	Very calm.

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Figure 9' (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
ELSA: Um Gott, was klagest du mich an?	302	105	MD	Wind: 16th-note figure very subdued.
ELSA: Wie schlecht ich	308	107	MD	Swift, vehement, and without a pause before the entry of the triplets (at Ortrud's "Nur eine Kraft" on p. 311).
ORTRUD: Nur eine Kraft	335	114	MD	Quite slow.
ORTRUD: der nie dich möge so verlassen	340	115	MD	The following tremolos: 32nd-notes fast; whole-notes slow.
Friedrich advances from the back	348	115	ME	Somewhat livelier.
Scene 3				
Etwas bewegter	356	121	ME	Very lively.
CHOR: In Früh'n versammelt uns der Ruf	361	122	ME	Before the entry of the choir, the tempo is strongly held back.
Scene 4				
[Bridal Procession]	435	146	LPT	Expressive from m. 26; the turns from the upper note.
CHOR: Gesegnet soll sie schreiten	437	147	MD / LPT	The pianissimo is very important / Poco rall. two measures before the procession arrives.

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Figure 9' (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
ORTRUD: Wenn falsch Gericht mir den Gemahl verbannte	456	154	ME	Always lively, never dragging.
Scene 5				
Mässig bewegt und feierlich	485	164	ME	These turns very calm and even.
LOH.: vor ihm wird Reine nie vergehn!	514	170	MD	In four but without rit.
Act III				
Prelude				
Sehr lebhaft	571	190	ME / MD / LPT	Very fiery, though never rushed / Not fast but fiery / Trill in m. 1: start on the main tone, with Vorschlag, then five notes; horn theme (p. 574): detached quarter- and 8th-notes, accented whole and half-notes; rit. before the new theme (p. 585, m. 4).
Scene 1				
CHOR: Streiter der Tugend, schreite voran!	598	194	ME / MD / LPT	From here a little calmer; main tempo at "euch gewonnen!" / Strong holding back at "Rauschen des Festes." / Poco rit. at "dem Glanze entrückt"; held back as the king blesses the couple; non legato from Im ersten Zeitmass; poco rit. at "bleibe da-

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Figure 9 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				heim!"; held-back at "dem Glanze entrückt"; rit. at "der Liebe bewahr!"; a tempo at "Siegreicher Mut".
Scene 2				
ELSA: Fühl' ich zu dir so süss mein Herz entbrennen	623	203	ME	Very slow.
LOH.: Wie hehr erkenn'ich unsrer Liebe Wesen!	628	204	ME / LPT	Etwas bewegter: still very calm. / Admonition: exactly as written.
LOH.: An meine Brust, du Süsse, Reine!	657	312	ME	The expression of this piece is tender intimacy, not vehemence. Calm quarter-notes at "Dein Lieben muss mir hoch entgelten."
Scene 3				
Lebhaft	697	223	ME	Not too quick at first; it increases later.
LOH.: Zum Führer sei er euch ernannt!	844	267	ME	The following passage very fast.

Figure 10. Wagner's Interpretation of the Overture to Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg

Measure	Source	Interpretation
1	UdD / MD	The tempo is broadly equivalent to allegro maestoso. No tempo needs more modification according to its contrasting thematic content. The main tempo is a lively allegro in four / A vigorous march tempo, not too slow.
41	UdD	Fanfare theme: massive quarter-notes.
58	UdD	From the dominant chord in the broad cantabile development of the march theme, change to alla breve beats.
68	UdD	As the modulations pile up, maintain the broad swing of the alla breve.
85	UdD	Return to beating in four.
89	UdD	In the next eight measures the tempo is now at its liveliest.
96	UdD	At the poco rall. slow down to the utmost limit of a 4/4 beat.
97	UdD	Prize Song: in four again; the livelier figuration gives the feeling of impassioned urgency, like a whispered declaration of love.
105	UdD	More and more restless, returning to the original tempo.
122	UdD	The theme in diminution: a brisk delivery in two; a lively scherzando.
158	UdD	Prize Song and March theme combine: a comfortable tempo, andante in two.
188	UdD	Broadening to 4/4.
196	UdD	Massive 4/4; the 32nd-notes ensure that the tempo is the same as at the opening.

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Figure 11. Wagner's Interpretation of Das Rheingold

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
-	-	-	UdD	The whole should take two-and-one-half hours.
Prelude				
-	-	-	PR	The huge cresc. should throughout create the impression of a phenomenon of nature developing quite of its own accord. Nothing must be forced.
E♭ (Double basses)	1	5	ME	The low note could be supported by an organ pedal tone.
Horn entries [Original Nature Motive]	2	5	ME / PR	Flowing and no cresc. / Very tenderly and with sustained softness, especially on the high notes; same on each appearance. Players must counteract the tendency to cresc. on a rising progression in these overlapping entries.
Cello [Nature Motive (Definitive)]	4	6	ME	Always delicate.
Scene 1				
WOGLINDE: Weia! Waga!	32	9	PR / ME	Even when the flow of lyrical feeling predominates, the sense of an

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation.
				ongoing dramatic dialogue was strictly maintained. The magical charm of these melodies is spoilt if they are delivered sentimentally or with deliberate self-conscious coquetry. All the Rhinemaidens' utterances must be infused with a native gaiety--in glaring contrast to Alberich. His voice must vibrate with the fire that is consuming him. The unexpected piano at the beginning of the scene creates the effect of a transformation of the waves of water into a single human figure; string accompaniment: as pianissimo as possible / Flowing tempo throughout; string accompaniment: as pianissimo as possible.
WELLGUNDE: Heia, du Holder!	56	20	ME	The Ruhig im Zeitmass not dragging.
FLOSSHILDE: Was zank'st du, Alp?	69	24	ME	Not dragged.
FLOSSHILDE: Wärst du mir hold!	77	28	ME	Take note of the piano marking.
ALBERICH: Fing'eine diese Faust!	104	36	PR	Opening words ("He, he!") delivered with a certain rough dryness of tone, the voice growing more impassioned as he is swept by lust compounded by hatred and, at the

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				climax, fury. No decresc. in tone; the vital D should not be frivolously thrown away.
Allmählich etwas langsamer	104	36	ME	From here the tempo gradually calms.
Gleichmässig ruhig im Zeitmass (Violins [Gold Motive])	105	36	ME / PR	Enters firmly, calm / Always smooth and even; climax of the whole scene as sunlight penetrates the water causing the Rhinegold to glow.
Trumpet [Gold Motive]	110	38	ME / PR	Full brilliance / Radiating a sublime Apollonian joy.
WOGL: Nur wer der Minne Macht versagt	140	50	PR	Solemn, touched with tragedy, the individual feeling of the performer restrained. Tempo restrained as if in suspended animation; not an effect of peace and calm.
ALB: Das Licht lösch'ich euch aus	163	60	PR	Not only with great power but also with very sharply defined accents.
RHEINTÖCHTER: Weh! weh!	170	60	PR	Wind: very sharply defined rhythmic accents; apart from a slight retardation at Alberich's laughter, very fast, with no letting up.
Etwas langsamer [Renunciation of Love Motive]	179	62	PR	Expressively declaimed.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	Page No. ME	Source	Interpretation
Scene 2				
Ruhiges Zeitmaass [Valhalla Motive]	184	64	ME / PR	Never dragged / Feeling of sublime calm; a broad adagio throughout, which does not mean the span of the phrasing should be wide: on the contrary, accents should demarcate the two-measure sections of longer periods. These accents, with a proper grading of the different dynamic levels, bring out the inner dramatic development of the principal musical theme of the whole Ring.
FRICKA: Wotan, Gemahl ! erwache!	188	65	PR	Not a violent outburst but should be sung grandly. Orchestral dynamic markings should be moderated here and in general to ensure that the words and inflections make their proper impact.
WOTAN: Vollendet das ewige Werk! [Valhalla Motive]	191	66	PR	Singer should, by means of great clarity of phrasing and precision of rhythmic and metrical accent, bring out the various motives in this free counterpoint of voice and orchestra.
FRICKA: Nur Wonne schafft dir	196	67	ME / PR	All these dialogue scenes very flowing, in time / Not too fast, heavy accent on the last syllable.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				Broadly at "So ohne Scham . . ." with no dragging, pointedly rhythmic; with deep feeling at "mein holdes Geschwister"; a tone of bitter reproach at "froh des Schächergewerb's!";a striking contrast, heroic at "giert ihr Männer nach Macht!"
FRICKA: Um des Gatten Treue besorgt	201	70	ME / PR	Not becoming slower--no arias! / Deep tenderness, touched with ingratiating flattery; the phrasing and unusually detailed expression marks make clear that it must be lyrically sung. It must give the impression of heartfelt speech, purely lyrical rather than dramatically lyrical; dramatically lyrical again at "Herrschaft und Macht soll er dir mehren."
WOTAN: Wo freier Mut frommt	213	75	ME	Press forward in tempo.
FRICKA: Dort schreiten rasch	215	77	PR	Timpani and basses: powerfully rhythmic.
FREIA: Wo harren meine Brüder [Freia Motive]	216	77	PR	Orchestra: warmth and passion, observing the wealth of carefully-indicated dynamic changes.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Sehr wuchtig und zurückhaltend im Zeitmaass[Giants Motive]	218	78	PR	Strings, trombones, tubas: strongest possible accents to avoid sluggishness; very much held back on the second and third beats of the measure so that the brass choir comes through completely independently; the progression G to C delayed by a sharp caesura. A motive of peremptory and commanding power.
FASOLT: Sanft schloss Schlaf dein Aug'	220	78	ME	Somewhat gentler in time from here.
FASOLT: Zieh' nun ein; uns zahl' den Lohn.	222	80	PR	Avoid the temptation to drag. Wotan's "Nennt, Leute, den Lohn" quite abrupt and casual; Fasolt's "Bedungen ist" calm at first, faster at "Vertragen ist's, sie tragen wir heim."
FASOLT: Die dein Speer birgt [Spear Motive]	226	81	PR	Horns and bassoons: very deliberate accentuation; the climax of Wotan's and Fasolt's crucial dialogue. Fasolt's "Was du bist" starts calmly, excitement contained, breaking out passionately at "deinem Wissen fluch'ich."
FASOLT: Weisst du nicht offen	230	83	PR	A little bit held back, with the clearest enunciation of every word; expresses Fasolt's innermost

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				character: powerful yet deeply sensitive. Trembling and agitated at "Höhn'st du uns?"; Wotan's "Die ihr durch Schönheit herrscht" broadly expounded, almost pictorial.
FASOLT: Ein Weib zu gewinnen	235	85	ME / PR	Very flowing tempo / Very expressive singing; voice and orchestra fading out gently in the last two measures.
FAFNER: Gold'ne Aepfel wachsen in ihrem Garten [Golden Apples Motive]	237	86	PR	Avoid dragging, but soften the precise rhythms with a smoothness of delivery to give a mysterious, veiled effect.
FRIEA: Helft! Helft!	241	88	PR	Strings: rapid accel.
Schneller [Froh Motive]	242	88	PR / ME	Not hurried although still fast / Not rushed.
WOTAN: Halt, du Wilder! [Spear Motive]	247	90	ME / PR	Trombones: accel. / Must be presented as a unity; the opening C 6/4 chord with such powerful force that it still lingers when the low E arrives; then, at "Verträge schützt meines Speeres Schaft," moderate the time a little. "Spar' deines Hammers Heft" in the manner of speech.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
WOTAN: Eiltest du so, den du geschlossen [Magic Fire Motive]	250	91	PR	Violins: precise but light accents, like darting flames.
LOGE: Immer ist Undank Loge's Lohn!	270	98	PR	A tone of irony, containing no trace of affectation; climax at "in der Welten Ring nichts ist so reich . . ."
Etwas bewegter, doch sehr ruhig [after Renunciation Motive (Second Form)]	273	100	ME / PR	The triplets remain very calm and clear / Triplets singing, steady and even, dissolving the tension of the situation.
LOGE: Viel frug ich	275	101	PR	Smoothly, no traces of accents in the wind chords, they cut off as if swallowed up.
LOGE: Keiner kennt ihn, doch einer übt ihn leicht	301	110	PR	Cellos [Renunciation of Love Motive]: not too loud; avoid any expression of sentimentality.
LOGE: Gerathen ist ihm der Ring! [Renunciation of Love Motive (Second Form)]	303	111	PR	Wagner gave great importance to this. Very harsh, shrill singing; a mocking lament for a lost paradise and yet a lament that is being mocked; piercing accents.
WOTAN: Den Ring muss ich haben!	304	111	ME / PR	Energetic but not too loud / Somewhat impassioned.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Mässig [Giants Motive]	315	115	ME / PR	The previous seven measures a bit held back / Strong rit. and heavy accentuation; from Fafner's entry the excitement increases from moment to moment.
FAFNER: Bis Abend achtet's wohl!	320	118	ME	Strictly in time with no holding back.
LOGE: Über Stock und Stein	324	119	PR	The measure describing the Giants' stumbling accel. a little; the original tempo as fog fills the stage--but it must be reduced only gradually, in imperceptible steps; avoid any dragging. The whole event acquires an epic quality, the blood in the Gods' veins courses more slowly. Rapidly and freely from "Doch, ihr setztet alles"; more moderate and urgently accented from "nun sorgt,wie ihr das wahrt!"; strict tempo throughout "Ohne die Äpfel . . ."
FRICKA: Wotan, Gemahl	344	126	ME	Not dragging.
LOGE: So dürfen Erhörung sie hoffen?	346	127	PR	Oboes, bassoons: slightly held-back accent on the second beat (A♭).
Scene change	351	129	PR	Frightening weight and energy, as full and as powerful as possible;

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				scrupulously observing all dynamic accents and phrasing; each new motive must have great clarity and precision.
Trombones, tubas [Renunciation of Love Motive (Second Form)]	355	130	PR	The motive must grow more expressive as it makes its decresc., first serious, on its repetition later woefully lamenting.
Sehr schnell [Freia Motive (Second Segment)]	359	131	ME / PR	Strings: accurate, distinct and clear / Phrased with penetrating precision, after an accel. of daemonic vehemence, winding up to a tempo of extreme rapidity.
Tutti fortissimo [Nibelungs' Motive]	363	132	PR	Incredible energy and painful agitation, as if stepping into hell on earth.
Scene 3				
-	373	135	PR	In this scene, tense, driving energy is demanded above all; never any lingering or hesitation unless specifically necessary to the situation.
1st-4th Horns [Tarnhelm Motive]	377	137	PR	Not unduly drawn out, very steady calm. Conceived as if an adagio: twilit harmonies; one feels the presence of a mysterious spirit world.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
MIME: Sorglose Schmiede	402	145	PR	Song-like introduction, rather slow but in strict time; horns: clearly but not too strongly accented.
MIME: Mit eurem Gefrage, wer seid denn wir	419	150	PR	Slightly slower; utmost vehemence at Alberich's "He! wer ist dort?"
Etwas langsamer [Ring Motive]	433	156	PR	Sinister pianissimo and then in the fourth measure [Rheingold Motive] the climax: tremendously forceful accentuation--fortissimo suddenly bursts in, yet still developed from the piano.
LOGE: Kennst du mich gut	440	158	ME	Not hurried.
Sehr lebhaft	444	160	ME / PR	Never rushed / The calm, self-control of Wotan contrasts with the savage passion of Alberich. This dialogue, conceived as a scherzo, must be taken at the fastest possible tempo, but with the utmost precision of rhythmic and metrical accents to avoid frivolity; the bass triads must not drag; carefully observe the rapid changes of piano and forte.
WOTAN: Zu was doch frommt	446	162	ME	Without any retardation.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
ALBERICH: Wie ich der Liebe abgesagt	452	165	PR	Do not slow down much. At "Habt Acht!"-- dramatic, the character of a free recitative, biting mockery, not a trace of sentimentality.
LOGE: denn Mond und Stern', und die strahlende Sonne	464	170	ME	Lively, still not overheated.
Scene change [Ring Motive]	495	181	ME / PR	Very fiery, accel. / Individual themes with precision and fierce vitality.
A Tempo [Nibelungs' Motive]	497	181	ME	Not hurried, so the anvils will remain distinctly audible.
Mässig bewegt [Giants' Motive]	501	183	PR	Observe the frequent changes of tempo, accel. for eight measures, then a sudden return to the slower tempo, to convey Wotan calmly holding Alberich in a grip of iron.
Violas [Loge Motive]	507	184	ME	Distinct, not hurried.
Woodwind [Loge Motive]	511	185	PR	Speeds up significantly, but not so as to detract from the clarity.
Scene 4				
ALBERICH: eine Witzigung wär's, die weise mich macht	522	189	ME	Somewhat calmer.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
ALBERICH: Wirfst du Schächer die Schuld mir vor	549	197	PR	Tempo somewhat abated, lingering.
ALBERICH: war nun so leicht die Kunst, es zu schmieden erlangt?	552	198	PR	Ditto.
WOTAN: Her den Ring!	557	200	ME	Cellos, basses: always agitated, vehement, no retardation.
ALBERICH: Ha! Zertrümmert!	558	200	PR	Wind: broad and calm, beginning piano and growing into the majestic Etwas langsamer as if by magic power.
Alberich disappears	573	205	ME / PR	Extreme strength and energy / With extreme strength and volume, without letting up until the dim.; overwhelming us with the menacing, evil expression.
Mässig und sehr ruhig	579	206	ME	Violins: no cresc.
FROH: Wie liebliche Luft	586	208	ME	Triplets: not slower but calm.
FAFNER: Gepflanzt sind die Pfähle nach Pfandes Maass [following the Giants Motive]	596	211	ME	Lighter tempo from the second measure of the five measures before this.
FROH: Freia's Schmach eil'ich zu enden	596	212	ME	From the tuba entry: very flowing tempo.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
FRICKA: Sieh, wie in Scham schmählich die Edle steht	602	214	ME	Not held back.
FAFNER: Mit nichten Freund!	613	218	PR	Rough and brutal.
LOGE: Lasst euch rathen!	614	218	PR	Always lively.
LOGE: Schlimm dann steht's um mein Versprechen	616	219	PR	Very lively; the forward motion must be strictly observed; hesitation because of the emotional content of the melody is death to dramatic expression.
ERDA: Weiche, Wotan! weiche!	625	222	ME / PR	Very slow and solemn / Veiled tone color; slow and sustained at "weiss ich," as if the spirit were sinking back into herself; at "Höre!" heavily accented.
1. tempo	632	228	ME / PR	With great momentum from the fourth measure / At "meide den Ring!" piercing and horrifying; at "sinn in Sorg'und Furcht!" calm yet emphatic.
WOTAN: Soll ich sorgen und fürchten	636	229	PR	Trembling with emotion: the only time in the Ring that Wotan loses self control.
FAFNER: An den Reif rühr'st du nicht mehr!	653	231	PR	Percussion: a powerful cresc. in the following five measures to a strong fortissimo [Curse Motive]. No dragging in Loge's next speech.

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Figure 11 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
FRICKA: Wo weilst du, Wotan?	659	234	ME	No dragging.
DONNER: Heda! Heda! Hedo! [Donner Motive]	664	236	ME	Without becoming broader.
Mässig bewegt [Rainbow Bridge Motive]	684	239	ME	Easily moving tempo.
[Valhalla Motive]	696	245	PR	Calm majesty with incredible fullness of sound yet the utmost gentleness.
RHEINTÖCHTER: Rheingold! Rheingold! reines Gold!	726	250	ME	Flowing, no retardation.

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Figure 12. Wagner's Interpretation of *Die Walküre*

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Prelude				
Stürmisch [Storm Motive]	1	5	ME / PR	Fast and very vehement / As fast as possible, spirited energy of phrasing; precise observation of dynamics. Cello, bass: quintuplets must always be as clear as possible, staccato quarter-notes weighty, pointed, our breath must be taken away by fear.
Entry of wind parts	3	7	PR	Rhythmic precision, percussive power.
Bass tuba entry [Donner Motive]	6	9	PR / ME	The main emphasis is on the high note E: this important, graphic theme must be played with great conviction / The upbeats must be very strong and distinctly heard.
Entry of kettledrums	16	10	MD / PR	Very tenuto, with very distinct upbeats / Terrifying, crashing strength.
Curtain rises	20	11	PR	Pianissimo [Storm Motive] should not be pointed by the cellos but rather heavy.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Act I				
Scene 1				
Siegmund enters	21	12	ME / PR	Strings: always heavier / Painful, heavy accents, broad rit., impression of great fatigue.
SIEGLINDE: Wess'Herd dies auch sei	22	12	PR	Very slow and calm so that the 16th-note rests are quite distinct.
Etwas belebt [Sieglinde Motive]	23	13	PR	Tempo only quickens a litte; careful of the cresc.-piano marking.
SIEGLINDE: sank er müd'auch hin	24	14	PR	Any dragging would lead to sentimentality.
Sieglinde goes to fetch a drinking vessel	24	14	ME / PR	Rising motive in the cellos: not much accel., original tempo at the forte (high A in violins) / Not hurried too much, then held back just a little in the final measures; the piano-forte must be deeply felt but the subjective feelings of the players should be hardly noticeable.
SIEGMUND: Wer ist's,der so	27	15	PR	More warmth in his voice, then very slow tempo, so that the 8th-note rests have a faltering effect.
SIEGLINDE: Diess Haus und dies Weib sind Hundings Eigen	27	16	PR	The pause is long: a dramatic musical effect is intended.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEGLINDE Die Wunden weise mir schnell!	28	16	ME	Not hurried.
SIEGMUND: die Sonne lacht mir nun neu	31	17	ME / PR	Tender trembling / With a light, floating quality; one of the characteristics of the opera is that very sentimental feelings are proclaimed in the most naïve way.
SIEGMUND: Unheil wende der Wunsch von dir!	35	19	ME	Don't rush the triplets.
SIEGLINDE: So bleibe hier!	39	20	PR	At first desperately urgent, the full power of the voice; at "wo Unheil im Hause wohnt" broadly, anguished vibrato.
SIEGMUND: Hunding will ich erwarten [Volsungs' Bond of Sympathy Motive]	40	21	PR	The following passage slow and measured, with rather marked rhythms, though tenderly expressive. Cello, bass theme: calm determination; clarinet: a contrast, suppressed longing.
Scene 2				
Violin, viola entry	42	22	PR	Stringendo, beginning steadily.
Wagner horns [Hunding Motive]	42	22	PR	Very measured and precise; rhythmic marks and accents with the utmost precision; guard against dragging.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
HUNDING: Du labtest ihn?	43	22	PR	Not dragged, Sieglinde's reply calm.
HUNDING: Wie gleicht er dem Weibe!	46	24	PR	Not too many detailed accents; at "Weit her, traun" more in the style of a recitative.
SIEGMUND: Friedmund darf ich nicht heissen	52	27	ME / PR	Simply, without sentimental retardations / Defiant and determined, though subjective--an epic tone.
SIEGMUND: zum Stumpf der Eiche blühender Stamm	57	28	PR	A plaintive tone, rising to grief at "erschlagen der Mutter muthiger Leib"
SIEGMUND: leer lag das vor mir	63	31	ME /PR	Very simple delivery; no emotionalism / Slower.
SIEGMUND: Was rechtes je ich rieth	65	32	ME	Not hurried.
SIEGMUND: Mit wilder Thränen Fluth betroff sie	72	35	ME / PR	Very calm at first, livening at "eignen Brüder" / Avoid rushing; strings: painful, lamenting expression.
Sieglinde indicates a spot in the ash-tree with her eyes	89	40	ME	A little livelier from three measures before the 4/4.
Scene 3				
SIEGMUND: Ein Schwert verhiess mir der Vater	94	42	PR	Objective rigidity and hardness; when he thinks of Sieglinde, he

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				gradually softens; anguish at "Zu der mich nun Sehnsucht zieht."
SIEGMUND: Wälse! Wälse!	97	44	PR	Tempo faster from "bricht mir hervor."
A sword-hilt is seen in the ash-tree [Sword Motive]	98	44	ME	Always discriminate clearly between the 8th- and 16th-notes in this motive.
SIEGMUND: Nächtiges Dunkel deckte mein Aug'	109	45	ME	Not dragging.
SIEGMUND: Heil macht mich dein Nah'n!	114	48	ME	Violin triplets: no cresc.
SIEGLINDE: ein Greis in grauem Gewand [Valhalla Motive]	118	50	PR	Avoid any slowing down in this motive.
SIEGLINDE: mir allein weckte das Auge süss sehnenden Harm	121	50	ME / PR	Without retardation of the tempo / No rit., maintain the naïveté of the expression in the whole passage.
Sehr lebhaft [Sword Motive]	128	52	PR	The approach to this must be made by a gradual speeding up in the first bars; the whole phrase must have fiery and impassioned longing.
SIEGLINDE: käm' er aus Fremden zur ärmsten Frau!	130	53	ME / PR	At "Fremden" the beat should be held back / A slight steadying of

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				tempo, otherwise this expressive phrase would be meaningless and indifferent.
SIEGLINDE: Erjagt hätt' ich	133	53	ME	Not hurried.
SIEGMUND: Was je ich ersehnt	139	55	ME	Never hurried.
SIEGMUND: Auf lach'ich in heiliger Lust	142	56	ME	These two measures a little held back; in the third the original tempo.
Mässig bewegt [Liebeslied]	150	58	ME / PR	Cello triplets: melodic, distinct; Siegmund very flowing tempo / Avoid sweet sentimentality; not a concert piece interrupting the dramatic flow, just slowing it a little--a slightly hestitating episode.
SIEGLINDE: Du bist der Lenz nach dem ich verlangte	169	64	ME	Somewhat livelier in the preceding two measures, then broader again.
SIEGLINDE: Fremdes nur sah' ich von je	175	66	PR	Violin (A Major passage): very lightly and with great agility; livelier from the seventh measure.
SIEGMUND: Seligstes Weib! [Freia Motive (First Segment)]	185	69	ME	Flute, 1st violin: held back in the second measure; very calm after the dim.
SIEGLINDE: und so süss die Sinne mir zwingt	189	70	ME	Becalming; calm at Siegmund's entry.
SIEGMUND: was mich berückt	193	71	ME	Livelier, calmer at "denn wonnig

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				weidet mein Blick"; then very calm.
SIEGLINDE: Mir zagt es vor der Wonne	196	72	ME	Livelier; calm after "entzückt."
SIEGLINDE: Im Bach'erblickt' ich mein eigen Bild	199	73	ME	The two preceding measures flowing; livelier from "es wieder."
SIEGLINDE: Wehwahlt heisst du für wahr?	205	76	PR	With the utmost simplicity, without sharp accents, calm.
SIEGLINDE: War Wälse dein Vater, und bist du ein Wälsung	209	77	ME / PR	Triplets: not hurried / Violin figure: very sharp and clear throughout, tempo not hurried.
Mässig schnell [Sword Motive]	217	81	PR	A slight rit. may occur in the two preceding measures. Elemental power and tremendous energy at the end of the scene.
Act II				
Prelude				
Heftig [Freia, Sword Motives]	245	87	ME / PR	Trumpet 8th-notes: very distinct / Cutting, energetic, thrusting strength; confidence and dash; the prelude throughout requires greatest intensity of all accents yet the freest lyrical animation: a sense of fearless, anguished ecstasy of the ill-fated lovers in flight.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Dim. [Freia Motive (Second Segment)]	250	88	ME	Becoming calmer; pushing forward again in the fourth measure.
Immer fortissimo	256	90	PR	C Minor passage: strong accents on the first beat of each measure; slight holding back of the tempo because of the heaviness of the section.
Trombones [Valkyries Motive]	260	90	PR	Very dominant, precise rhythms, with conviction as in the Act I Prelude; accent each quarter-note in the last measure.
Scene 1				
BRÜNNHILDE: Hojotoho!	267	91	ME / PR	Pay attention to giving accurately the dotted 8th-notes / Wotan's and Brünnhilde's dialogue is brisk and rapid--Wotan weighty and powerful, Brünnhilde overflowing with youthful enthusiasm.
BRNHILD.: Hei! wie die gold'ne Geissel sie schwingt!	273	94	PR	Accompaniment: much softer here; no hesitation at emotional passages in this whole dialogue.
FRICKA: Wo in Bergen du dich birgst	284	96	ME / PR	The dialogue must remain a controlled flowing; never dragged / Her speech harsh at first, hard and violent at "Heraus sagt ich's," then the

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				accompaniment always subordinate in the lamenting section.
FRICKA: Dass nach Lust und Laune nur walte	297	102	PR	The two preceding measures: a little held back, expressive; accompaniment: as quiet as possible, especially at "wie des Wechsels Lust."
WOTAN: Nichts lerntest du	313	106	ME / PR	Calm / Stressed and held back at "der ledig göttlichen Schutzes."
FRICKA: In deinem Schutz scheinen sie stark	319	107	PR	16th-notes not short; her reply at no time hurried; emphasize "gewinnst du," "schütz' auch heut' ihn nicht!" "Nimm ihm das Schwert."
Ein wenig mehr belebend [Wotan's Frustration Motive]	323	109	PR	The musical counterpoint to Wotan's inner, nagging despair.
FRICKA: Entzieh' dem den Zauber	336	114	PR	Emphasize first word of each of the two phrases with biting accents.
FRICKA: Deiner ew'gen Gattin heilige Ehre	339	116	ME / PR	Calm but flowing / Moderate tempo so that the 8th-note triplets may be heard quite separately and individually; Fricka exalted and warm at "heilige."
FRICKA: Der Wälsung fällt meiner Ehre	341	117	ME	Preceding two measures: somewhat held back.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
WOTAN: Nimm den Eid!	342	118	PR	Very angry yet sounds almost broken.
Scene 2				
Immer belebter [Wotan's Revolt Motive]	348	119	PR	The most violent accents, great vehemence, a truly frightening effect: Wotan expresses the pathos and anguish of his vain struggle.
WOTAN: Als junger Liebe Lust mir verblich	359	123	PR	A little faster than the preceding; epic-dramatic style: we should feel the emotions of the narrator and at the same time understand clearly the substance of his narration. Mysterious, sombre tone of voice, but at the same time managing to connect the many characterizations of the narration. Only a few supplementary remarks to the detailed prescriptions of the score need to be made.
WOTAN: mit ihm bezahlt ich Walhall's Zinnen	363	124	ME / PR	Following measures: a little broader, flowing again at "Die Alles weiss" / Cellos, basses: rather heavy, as if a great effort.
WOTAN: aus der ich der Welt nun gebot [Erda Motive]	363	124	PR	A perceptibly slower tempo as a contrast to what had come before.
WOTAN: Durch Alberich's Heer	375	128	PR	Voice dies away to nothing.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
WOTAN: dann wäre Walhall verloren	376	128	PR	Broaden the tempo slightly to give the impression of deeply troubled thought.
WOTAN: Doch mit wem ich vertrug [Treaty Motive]	380	130	PR	Unhurried, clear and measured.
WOTAN: das sind die Bande die mich binden	380	130	PR	With emphasis, slightly holding back the tempo; trombones [Treaty Motive]: strong accents.
Etwas belebter	381	130	PR	Not quickly at the beginning; gradual accel. without any rush or haste; Wotan's narration is an expressive declamation: not so fast that many nuances are impossible.
WOTAN: das Ende!	410	138	ME / PR	The pause (before the C Minor chord) is long / Long pause giving an effect of a deep inner self-realization having taken place in Wotan.
WOTAN: Des Hasses Frucht	415	139	PR	The first phrase caustic bitterness, the second yielding gentleness.
Sehr breit [Valhalla, Rheingold Motives]	418	140	PR	A slight hesitation in tempo, and heavy accents on the first two chords of the Valhalla Motive will make both of these motives clear in this passage.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
BRNHILD.: Den du zu lieben stets mich gelehrt	425	144	PR	Sung with abandon; "der in hehrer Tugend dem Herzen dir theuer" glowing warmth.
BRNHILD.: erzürnt ihn sonst wohl auch ein Zank? [Wotan's Frustraion Motive]	446	149	PR	Cellos: the motive must not drag; the following trumpet entry [Valkyries Motive]: very lightly as if just hinted at.
Sehr langsam [Erda Motive]	448	150	PR	Moving epilogue, like a tragic chorus.
Scene 3				
Bewegter [Freia Motive (Second Segment)]	450	151	ME / PR	Calm at first, forming a transition to the agitato / Faster tempo: must not start suddenly but grow imperceptibly out of the preceding; the emotions require a performance combining melting tenderness with vehement passion.
M. 13	450	151	ME	Always impassioned.
Siegmund and Sieglinde appear	453	152	ME	Very agitated, vehement.
SIEGLINDE: Der Wind mag sie verweh'n	465	155	PR	Greatest possible force; moving depth of feeling at "Da er sie liebend umfing."
SIEGLINDE: vor der süssesten Wonne heiliger Weihe	468	156	ME / PR	Very calm at first, molto accel. at the 3/4, vehement and agitated at

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				the 9/8 / Accents of unrestrained vehemence,
SIEGLINDE: Horch, die Hörner!	478	160	PR	Terrified and muted like a ghost.
SIEGLINDE: Deines Auges Stern lass' noch einmal mir strahlen	482	161	ME	All very faint / Utmost passion, throbbing with joy and anguish, nothing holding back.
Scene 4				
Sehr feierlich und gemessen	491	165	PR	Timpani: rests must not be lengthened, slightly increase the tempo as the rhythmic tension slackens; the recurring theme [Annunciation of Death Motive] must not drag, for the dramatic character of the dialogue would be lost.
SIEGMUND: Hella halte mich fest!	535	177	PR	Great energy in the following orchestral part, the triplets as fast and energetic as possible, bursting into their climax (on E♭).
BRNHILD.: Pfandes willen	550	182	ME / PR	Held back, a tempo after "empfing!" / A slight steadying.
BRNHILD.: Siegmund	556	184	ME / PR	Very fiery / Unleashed flow of the most passionate energy but not pointlessly rushed.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
BRNHILD.: Nun rüste dich, Held!	561	186	PR	Somewhat calmer; short, sharp accents in the accompanying chords.
Heavy stormclouds sink down in the background	567	187	PR	Tempo slows down a little.
Scene 5				
SIEGMUND: der Traurigen kos't ein lächelnder Traum [Winterstürme Motive]	572	189	ME / PR	Very delicate; small cresc. / Extremely pianissimo, like a voice from another world.
SIEGLINDE: Mutter! Mutter! [Hunding Motive]	582	192	PR	Handle with great care, piano throughout, precise rhythmic phrasing to enable the ear to grasp it as an independent image. In the following catastrophe, every theme must be given its full significance, even when the sheer volume is like a hurricane.
Act III				
Prelude				
Lebhaft [Ride of the Valkyries]	619	202	PR	At the start the string and woodwind figures loud, but hold something in reserve until the B Major section; woodwind: accent the first tone (F#) of each phrase; strings (m. 9): precisely execute the accent of the arpeggio; cellos (m. 5): lead--at this point all the other

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				instruments must be soft and return to forte only gradually. The impression depends more on correct phasing than on sensual effects of strength or weakness of sound.
Bass trumpet, 6th and 8th horns [Valkyries Motive]	623	203	ME / PR	The dotted 8th-note rhythmic motive stressed very sharply and distinctly throughout / The first accented tone of each group (B) especially must be sharp and vigorous, for the high tone (D) will emerge by itself.
Scene 1				
ORTLINDE: Zu Ortlinde's Stute stell' deinen Hengst	660	208	ME / PR	Modification / Tempo a bit held back, sharp accents, moderate force; words weighty and steady, similarly in the other dialogue sections.
GERHILDE: Sie reiten zu zwei	680	213	PR	After the B Major arrives, every detail must be perceptible with the greatest clarity; at the violent uncontrolled outbursts of the motive in its full glory, original, faster tempo returns.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SCHWERTLEITE: War't ihr Kühnen zu zwei?	714	221	PR	Accompaniment: rhythmically very weighty, cut short and slightly dry; Valkyries' Motive not heavy or cumbersome here.
WALTRAUTE: säh'ohne sie er uns nah'n	719	222	ME	Modification [of tempo]
Schneller (C Minor)	724	224	PR	A little louder before the entry of the voices, but basses throughout let their parts penetrate with significant accents.
Schnell und heftig	736	228	ME / PR	All very quick and always urgent / From here tension increases from moment to moment.
SIEGLINDE: Nicht sehre dich Sorge um mich	765	241	PR	Deathly tone, no dragging, not too slow, sincerity of expression; every word and syllable audible and clear.
SIEGLINDE: Soll um die Flucht dir Maid ich nicht fluchen	765	242	PR	Desperate outburst; a daemonic unleashing of power at "stosse dein Schwert mir in's Herz!"
BRNHILD.: Lebe, O Weib, um der Liebe	770	242	ME / PR	Somewhat arrested on "Lebe" / Not rushed, despite its more dynamic tempo; accompaniment: subordinate and adapted to the free-flowing

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				line of the singer; unhurried and great rhythmic force at "Rette das Pfand"; greatest stress at "ein Wälsung wächst dir im Schoos!"--prophetic fervor--a crucial moment to the development of the action.
WALKÜREN: Der Walküren keine wag' ihren Schutz!	777	244	PR	Penetrating unison, every word and sound with the utmost precision.
SIEGLINDE: rette die Mutter!	778	245	ME	Only after "Mutter" should the conductor put the orchestra into action.
BRNHILD.: Fort denn eile, nach Osten gewandt!	790	249	PR	Rapid but no obvious rushing; particular importance to "den hehrsten Helden der Welt," though no slowing down.
SIEGLINDE: O hehrstes Wunder! [Redemption Motive]	799	251	ME / PR	Broad; pushing forward at "Wunder"; broad at "Herrliche"; pushing forward at "Maid!" / All possible intensity, releasing a flood of emotion, enraptured, enrapturing. Excitement reaches its climax when Wotan's voice is heard.
Scene 2				
Sehr heftig	814	259	PR	Bassoons, trombones, cellos, basses: great energy, colossal dimensions.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
WALKN.: L.ass' dich erweichen!	828	263	PR	Moderate rit. in the second-last measure, with Gerhilde coming through predominantly.
WOTAN: eine Treulose straft?	831	265	PR	Fast tempo once more. All his speeches should be forceful and unrestrained.
Etwas breiter, doch nicht gedehnt [Wotan's Frustration Motive]	831	265	PR	Always enraged, never histrionic.
WOTAN: die mein Wunsch allein ihr schuf!	834	266	PR	A little slower of its own accord throughthe more intense emotion; urgent, precise observation of all accents at "Nicht strafe ich dich erst!" and insistent forward motion, perpetually enraged.
BRNHILD.: Du verstössest mich	846	270	ME / PR	Always excited, angry, never pathetic in Wotan's following speech / As fast as possible, in two throughout; Wotan: without any sorrow at "nicht weis'ich dir mehr Helden zur Wal" [Annunciation of Death Motive]--it voices two contrary feelings: ruthless anger coupled with secret grief.
Allmählich etwas langsamer (Bass clarinet)	890	287	PR	Inexpressibly tragic sadness--anxiety, expectancy through very subtle cresc.; the repetition in the major is heartrending.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Scene 3				
Etwas langsam (Bass clarinet)	892	287	PR	Held back, slightly hesitating.
BRNHILD.: Weil für dich im Auge das Eine ich hielt	905	293	PR	Violins: do not drag; cellos: the sextuplet 16th-notes always unstressed but moving to a stress on the dotted 8th-notes; the whole rather steady in tempo, heartfelt, and naively submissive.
BRNHILD.: ihm nur zu dienen konnt ich noch denken	917	296	ME	Faint beginning; from "Sieg'oder Tod" always more fervent; at "vertraut" (E) hold longer.
Trombone [Curse Motive]	930	300	PR	Emphasized yet with control; accompaniment to Wotan's "da labte süss dich selige Lust" as softly as possible and adapted to the freedom of the singer. Wotan's speech at first stern, then intense anguish.
BRNHILD.: Du zeugtest ein edles Geschlecht [Volsung Race Motive]	941	304	PR	Horns and bassoons: soft, muffled, but great rhythmic precision so that it comes through very clearly; Brnhild.: mysterious, half-whispered.
BRNHILD.: Die von dir sich riss	943	305	ME / PR	Very distinct / Make its meaning clear.
1st and 2nd horns [Siegfried Motive]	944	306	PR	Soft, muffled, but with great precision so that it comes through

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				clearly; somewhat stronger than the Volsung Race Motive.
BRNHILD.: Sie wahret das Schwert	945	307	ME	Still emphatic and urgent.
WOTAN: Doch fort muss ich jetzt	949	308	ME	Dry.
BRNHILD.: die Schlafende schütze	955	310	ME	Somewhat held back on "schlafende" and "scheuchenden"; in time at "schütze" and "Schrecken."
BRNHILD.: Grausamer,nicht	961	312	PR	A strength of passion that overcomes all barriers.
[Song of Redemption]	990	319	PR	Very controlled in the first two measures, then massively powerful cresc.; an impression of great grandeur; timpani: quite audible; rising wind phrases (m. 9): with glowing warmth; the character of an expressive song. It must be a work of art, swelling to a supreme fortissimo.
A tempo (m. 5)	994	320	ME / PR	Violins (B): heartfelt ceremonial / The knot of the tempo is untied: the peak of tension, from which all gradually sinks back to a calmer softer emotion.

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Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Langsam	998	320	ME / PR	8th-note equals the earlier quarter-note / Wotan's farewell flowing calm, always elegance; the speech's significance must imprint itself on our minds without disturbing the flow of lyrical feeling. Words and music on an equal footing; the accompanying obbligato figure calm and even at first, always subordinate to the singer.
WOTAN: wenn Hoffnungssehnen das Herz mir sengte	1001	322	PR	Begin strictly in time, then make a steady, gradual rit. from "nach Welten," introduced by heaviness of accent, that stretches evenly to the end of the phrase.
Wotan covers Brnhild. with a shield	1009	324	ME	Very faint in the third measure after this.
Mässig bewegt [Spear Motive]	1012	325	ME	Very heavy.
WOTAN: bann'ich dich heut'! [Spear Motive]	1013	326	ME	Somewhat broad; flowing at "heut."
[Magic Fire Motive]	1917	327	PR	Increase the tempo; the cresc. in the previous measures must lead back to the original calmness after the two measures of chromatic sixths.
WOTAN: Speeres Spitze [Siegfried Motive]	1034	329	ME / PR	The 16th-notes of the theme very distinct / the 16th-notes clear

Figure 12 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
			/ (1)	and precise / Under Mottl the trombones lead, the strings waiting between the measures.
Wotan gazes sorrowfully back at Brnhild.	1048	331	PR	Tempo must not hurry; peaceful, exalted; the reference for the tempo is the 16th-note passage in the harps: every single tone must be clearly heard; give the Fate Motive due weight.

(1) George Bernard Shaw, Music in London 1890-1894, 3 vols., Vol. XIX of Standard Edition of the Works of Bernard Shaw (London: Constable, 1932) III, 195.

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Figure 13. Wagner's Interpretation of *Siegfried*

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Prelude				
Mässig bewegt	3	5	ME / PR	Violas [Nibelung Motive]: very rhythmic and distinct / Great attention to accents and dynamic marks, particularly the countless cresc.-piano marks, which must convey the double character of a person under the spell of supernatural elements and yet confounded by weakness and irresolution. Bassoon [Scheming Motive]: pensive, introspective meditation; cellos [Servitude Motive (Mime Version)]: dark, daemonic greed, and violas [Nibelung Motive]: incessant hammering.
Fortissimo	7	7	PR	The previous ascending line reaches its goal: an expression of tyrannical power and thoughts of world dominance; even more clarity of phrasing where possible.
Allmählich bewegter [Ring Motive]	8	7	PR	Now contemplation gives way to agitated craving bordering on madness; clarinets: quite clearly marked, in m. 5 clear separation before the piano after each cresc.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source Interpretation	
Act I				
Scene 1				
MIME: Fafner, der wilde Wurm	21	11	ME / PR	No dragging / No dragging or heaviness of expression in the monologue, an easy mistake with bass tuba accompaniment.
MIME: Nothung das Schwert! [Nibelung, Sword Motives]	25	13	PR	Not too slow; the two four-measure phrases in the tubas must be heard as a whole.
Siegfried comes from the forest	31	14	ME	Very lively.
SIEGFRIED: Nach bess'rem Gesellen sucht' ich	38	18	ME / PR	Always very lively / Complete naturalness and heroic energy in Siegfried's portrayal.
MIME: Ich schuf die Waffe scharf	42	19	ME	Very enlivened accel.
SIEG.: Da hast du die Stücken, schändlicher Stümper	44	20	ME / PR	Quick, very fixed in tempo, without hurrying / Energetic strength and playful agility, achieved by making two two-measure, four one-measure, and one four-measure sections out of the twelve-measure phrase by exaggerated accents in the hammering 8th-notes.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Riesen und rüstigen Kämpfen	47	21	ME / PR	Not hurried / The new motive (8th-notes) must be lightly stressed in its accents, without reducing precision.
MIME: Nun tob'st du wieder wie toll	53	23	PR	Absolutely no rit. at first; the main beats not stronger than the weak beats from the measure preceding Mime's entry; a relaxing of tension.
MIME: Doch speisen magst du wohl	58	24	PR	Great care with the tempo modifications in these passages; the prescribed slowing never so great as to suggest lingering peace and quiet; the fourteen-measure rit. slows chiefly in the last four of its measures. The slowing in "Das der Sorgen schmählicher Sold!" should be prepared in the previous two measures.
SIEG.: Vieles lehrtest du, Mime	70	28	ME	Six measures before this: soothing transition, then flowing; a little slower and calm at Sieg.'s entry.
MIME: Mein Kind, das lehrt dich kennen	81	32	ME / PR	Always flowing, never dragging / As if from a dream; the D Minor continuation (Mässig, wie zuvor) without feeling, coming from the distance; Mime: strict tempo, no dragging.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Es sangen die Vöglein so selig im Lenz	86	34	ME	D Major entry: very flowing and simple / A little more fullness of tone though basically still piano.
SIEG.: du sagtest selbst da ich's wissen wollt'	87	34	ME	Very severe.
SIEG.: und beider pflegten der Brut	89	35	PR	Flute: 16th-notes very gently; at the bassoon entry: stronger and made more obvious by slight hesitation.
SIEG.: Da lernt'ich und wohl, was Liebe sei	93	36	PR / ME	Do not give in and follow the passionate character of the melody; accompaniment: always calm, even, though not precluding rise and fall of shading in the melodic line / Malicious at "Du machtest."
MIME: ich bin der Vater und Mutter zugleich	96	38	ME / PR	Calm in the measures following "erschienen sie gleich" / For the recurring of this G Minor section--the principal theme of the scene--the preceding comments apply.
MIME: An's Leben geh'st du mir schier!	108	42	PR	A full storm of passion breaks through; the molto cresc. for basses were never strong enough for Wagner: the most drastic accentuation.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
MIME: aus Erbarmen allein barg ich dich hier	111	43	ME	Pushing forward very much; sweetish flattery at "doch Siegfried."
MIME: Meinem Schutz übergab sie dich	115	45	ME / PR	Following the clarinet solo: not dragging / Mime's tale gives the wind an opportunity for the declamatory-lyrical style. As the Valkyrie Motives return,the distinction between present and recollected events must be preserved. Clarinet: not too slow, and hurried a little in the last two measures when Sieg. interrupts. Preserve a glaring contrast between Sieg.'s increasing passion and Mime's pacifying. Contemptuous at "ein zerbroch'nes Schwert!"
SIEG.: Und diese Stücken sollst du mir schmieden [Sword Motive]	132	51	PR	The Motive must burst forth with fiery energy, great tension, and in one broad stroke.
SIEG.: Auf! Eile dich, Mime!	133	51	ME / PR	Not rushed / The beginnings of each two-measure Motive should have extra accentuation; here melodic accents in the orchestra match the vocal speech accents.
SIEG.: den Trümmern allein trau' ich' was zu!	134	52	PR	Now everything softer and light; the sequence [built on the Sword Motive] almost like a comic opera.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Aus dem Wald fort in die Welt zieh' n	138	53	ME / PR	Not rushed / Great energy and freedom of expression for the singer, but in the accompaniment the beginnings of all related sections must be accurately and incisively emphasized; otherwise the contrapuntal combinations at the end will be unintelligible.
MIME: Siegfried! Siegfried! He!	145	54	ME / PR	The following passage very lively and fiery / Mime's monologue dissolves the previous mood and makes the transition to Wanderer's entry. Penetrating understanding of every detail is required--both the confusion of Mime's mind and his lust for power. Gradual quickening will give the effect of frenetic agitation.
MIME: des Niblungen Neid	152	56	PR	Broad rit. with all power and grandeur on each of the Motive's repetitions.
Scene 2				
Mässig und etwas feierlich [Wanderer Motive]	154	57	ME / PR	Never dragging, always flowing, orchestra: very dampened / Solemn yet flowing, without tension: the motion of an andante fused with the restful tranquility of an adagio; metric and rhythmic accents strong

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				but not harsh; brass; drop the dynamics towards the end of each two-measure phrase; keep the basic dynamic piano and barely observe the cresc. to allow the speech of voices to be dominant.
WANDERER: lös' ich's mit Lehren nicht ein [Nibelung Motive]	172	62	PR	Basses, cellos: the fortissimo sudden and so drastic that ahumorous effect is produced.
WAND.: der Rauhen Fürsten, neideten Nibelung's Macht [Giants Motive]	184	66	PR	The preceding measure piano but weighty; then a little faster; original tempo at "der Fasolt fällte" [Fafner Motive], but this not too slowly.
WAND.: Die dritte Frage nun droht [Nibelung Motive]	186	67	ME /PR	Following Motive: as full of mystery as possible / Wagner was never satisfied that this was mysterious enough.
WAND.: Auf wolkigen Höh'n wohnen die Götter [Valhalla Motive]	188	68	ME / PR	Motive: fairly flowing, without prolonging it / Cellos: stronger than the basses an octave below to bring out the lyrical quality; no dragging, especially in the four measures of cresc.
WAND.: mit seiner Spitze	193	69	PR	Cellos, basses: the staccato 16th-notes very precise and forceful;

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	Me	Source	Interpretation
				guard against turning dotted quarter-notes into quarter-notes with 8th-note rests; tuba: the repeated chords must each have a dim. when constant strength of tone is prescribed.
WAND.: ewig gehorchen sie alle des Speeres	196	70	ME / PR	Not too strictly in time / Very vigorously, but lighter than the preceding; the tempo may move on slightly.
WAND.: sag' mir zum ersten [Volsung Race Motive]	208	74	PR	Not too slowly, despite the dense, heavy weight of the accents. A reminiscent passage: not to be overburdened with the expression of immediate events.
WAND.: und das doch das Liebste ihm lebt?	209	74	PR	Noticeable broadening by singer and orchestra.
MIME: Die Wälsungen sind das Wunschgeschlecht[Volsung Race Motive]	210	74	PR	Somewhat faster than its last appearance, in the faster tempo for a few measures before this.
MIME: Siegmund und Sieglind' [Volsung Race Motive]	211	75	ME / PR	Very flowing / Accel. at "den stärksten Wälsungenspross."
Mime rubs his hands with pleasure [Nibelung Motive]	216	77	ME / PR	Not rushed; not hurried at "in einer Esche Stamm" / Not too fast, not stilted or subjective in phrasing: each part having its individual character.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
WAND.: Ha, ha, ha, ha!	221	79	PR	Do not speed up; at "Der Witzigste" read forte-piano for forte.
WAND.: Nur wer das Fürchten nie erfuhr [Sword Motive]	233	83	PR	Do not rush; fully conscious of its symbolic significance.
WAND.: schmiedet Nothung neu	234	83	PR	Langsam, m. 2: speed up a little, but not too fast.
Scene 3				
Dreitaktig [Magic Fire Motive]	237	85	PR	A dread of daylight: not too fast, the Motives always clearly recognizable in the glitter of the orchestration; bass tuba [Fafner Motive]: very lyrical, the intended effect is half horrible, half comic.
MIME: Was säuselt und summt, und saus't nun gar?	242	87	PR	Hold back the cresc. as long as possible.
SEIG.: Sonderlich seltsam muss das sein!	280	100	ME / PR	Very simple, without any sentimentality / Accompaniment to the Mime-Sieg. dialogue: very poetic, delicate interpretation, though never personal emotions; horn, cello and oboe at this point [Sleeping Brünnhilde Motive] particularly delicate.
SIEG.: Wie wär'st du, Memme mir Meister?	287	103	ME	The quicker tempo begins at once.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Dann schnell! Schaffe das Schwert	291	105	ME	Not too hurried.
SIEG.: ich selbst schweisse das Schwert	300	108	ME / PR	Never hurried / From here a very grand style, expressing the upsurge of a powerful life-force. No rushing, especially in the dotted 8th-note figure and the Nibelung Motive.
MIME: Mit dem Schwert gelingt's	318	112	PR	In the previous measure, cresc. to forte; now immediately back to piano.
MIME: Doch weh'mir, Armen!	321	113	ME	From here push forward.
SIEG.: Nothung! Nothung! [Forging Song]	327	115	PR	Broad, very forceful, massive power, not only through extreme volume and massive cresc. but also through barely perceptible slowing of movement of each figure; triplet motive: with heavy accents; cellos, basses sequence (from the A tempo): a slight holding back; singer: very heavy expression, slight steadying of tempo at "Blase Balg! Blase die Gluth!"; flute, oboe, clarinet sextuplets in the next measure (p. 338 F/S) very light; trumpets: very marked at "In springenden Funken sprühet sie auf," but held back at piano.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Bald schwing'ich dich als mein Schwert! [Sword Motive]	363	123	PR	A lot faster than the preceding.
SIEG.: Starr ward er und steif	368	125	PR	Triplets: despite the indication (Very measured, almost slow), must not be too slow: a dashing, fanfare quality.
Mime carefully puts his pot on the other side of the fire	374	126	PR	This theme (Etwas bewegter) very light, with definite lifting in the third measure, in which its scherzo character must come through.
SIEG.: Brenn'ich hier Stahl	376	126	ME	Very flowing.
Schwer und kräftig, nicht zu schnell	382	129	ME / PR	With iron rhythm / Massive display of power; all the heaviness and strength of the orchestra join forces; increasing energy from the first measure.
MIME: Er schafft sich ein scharfes Schwert	392	132	PR	String figure at "Schwert": strictly adhere to the main tempo.
MIME: Den der Bruder schuf [Nibeling Motive]	409	137	PR	Avoid speeding up too much; great power of heroic serenity soon breaks through: the artists have to give in to the unleashed flow of sound, to be carried away to the climax of enthusiastic joy.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpertation
Act II				
Prelude				
Träg und schleppend [Giants Motive]	449	145	PR	The mark "sluggish and dragging" can be achieved only by holding back the second and third beats of the motive; the beats between move on in tempo; Wagner tuba [Fafner Motive] must be lyrical; clear separation of the syncopated rhythms in clarinets, horns, bassoons [Ring Motive, Alberich Motive].
1st-3rd Trombones [Siegfried Motive]	455	147	PR	Strong but restrained in tone.
Bass Trombone [Curse Motive]	457	147	PR	Tempo speeds up a little following the urgent character of the passage; thus the holding-back of the Giants Motive is even more effective (Etwas zurückhalten); note the kettledrum instruction--do not rush. The next section firmly accented throughout.
Scene 1				
ALB.: Nachtist's wieder [Siegrfied Motive]	469	151	PR	Horns: a slight cresc.
ALB.: doch wo du schwach bist	482	154	PR	Alb. is governed by uncontrollable fury, manifest only in outbursts.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				Hence, in restful sections like this the tempo must not be slower.
ALB.: was als Zoll du gezahlt [Treaty Motive]	484	155	PR	Tense, pushing forward in tempo in the Motive.
ALB.: Der Welt walte dann ich!	497	159	PR	Utmost violence; bassoon, trombone: vigorous cres.
ALB.: Da reitet er hin auf lichtem Ross	523	168	PR	This section in strict time.
ALB.: Doch lacht nur zu	525	169	PR	Tubas [Curse Motive]: a very slight rall., stronger tone, though quite definite emphasis throughout the dim.; then the fortissimo outburst at Alb.'s "So lang'das Gold" will have its proper effect.
Scene 2				
Etwas belebend	529	171	PR	Horn [Forging Motive]; rhythmically precise but still a slight sluggishness of accent. The transformation of the [Magic Fire] Motive with feeling but not exaggerated.
MIME: Glaube, Liebster, lern'st du heut' und hier das Fürchten nicht	534	172	PR	Hold back the tempo a little at the tremolando.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Nothung stoss'ich dem Stolzen in's Herz!	543	176	PR	Begin calmly, at the end speed up again, but no passion.
SIEG.: Dass der mein Vater nicht ist	559	182	ME	Very simple and strictly in time.
Clarinet [From Sieglinde Motive]	564	184	PR	Cresc. only hinted at, very impersonal; the effect of coming from a distance. The whole prevailing mood of the scene is deep calm, the stillness of high noon on a summer's day.
Clarinet [Woodbird Motive]	573	189	PR	The 16th-note triplet: very sensitively but with clear articulation.
Siegfried tries to blow the pipe again and gets angry [Woodbird Motive]	585	190	PR	Speed up angrily.
SIEG.: Einer Waldweise, wie ich sie kann	588	192	ME	Lively but not too fast.
Clarinet (five measures before the horn solo)	590	193	PR	Charming, warm, but very calm.
Off-stage horn [Siegfried's Horn Call]	590	193	PR	Not too fast. In the first measures, above all, the theme must be established; after the fifth set of pauses [Siegfried Motive] begin very softly with the most delicate attack; with all its emotion any

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				pathetic expression must be avoided; at the next pauses (the repeated A) a slight vibrato, without obvious pauses between the tones.
Lebhaft [Siegfried's Horn Call]	598	197	ME / PR	Very quick / The fight scene, despite its stormy excitement, must not sound overly emotional.
SIEG.: Nothung trägst du im Herzen!	610	199	ME	Bassoons, cellos, basses: triplets always heavy and broad.
SIEG.: Viel weiss ich noch nicht [Siegfried Motive]	614	200	ME / PR	Well held back / Horns: a little less lively.
FAFNER: den letzten Riesen, fällte [Sword Motive]	619	202	PR	Drop the volume at the end of this passage; Fafner's speech: more and more broken; bass trumpet: the last tone of the Motive (E♭) forte.
SIEG.: Woher ich stamme, rathe mir noch	622	203	PR	Avoid hesitation; like conversation, free of any sentimentality.
Sieg.'s attention is caught by the forest bird's song	626	205	PR	Tempo moves on at the flute entry.
SIEG.: Nützte mir das des Blutes Genuss?	629	208	PR	Tempo slows down again.
VOICE OF WOODBIRD: Hei! Siegfried gehört nun	630	206	PR	Not too quickly; otherwise it is too difficult to make the words audible.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpertation
Scene 3				
SIEG.: Im Schlafe willst du mich morden?	693	231	PR	No slowing down. The dialogue of Alb. and Mime dominated by savage greed and a scornful sense of superiority; Mime: agitated confusion becoming fury. Correct accentuation of the markings prescribed will produce the best result.
SIEG.: Neides Zoll zahlt Nothung	700	233	PR	Following trombone phrase [Curse Motive]: very controlled, steady, must not drag.
SIEG.: In der Höhle hier lieg'auf dem Hort!	703	234	PR	All the individual parts of the phrases in the combination of motives [Nibelung, Siegfried's Horn Call, Curse Motives] must be played with rhythmically sharp accents, but should not sound urgent as if pressing forward.
SIEG.: dass er vor Dieben dich deckt	706	234	PR	Kettledrums, Wagner tubas, basses [Giants Motive]: a little slower than the preceding, very heavy accentuation.
Sieg. lies down under the lime tree and looks upward again	715	236	PR	Third measure of C Major chords: becomes somewhat faster and the style of the expression lighter; cello: the theme must not result in any rit.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Werd'ich das Feuer durchbrechen? [Siegfried Motive]	736	243	PR	Strictly in time; no slowing down because of the importance of the Motive.
Act III				
Prelude				
Lebhaft; doch gewichtig	757	248	ME / PR	Agitato, not dragging, the quarter-notes very steady / Wotan's last ride: another descent into the underworld. Utmost weight of volume and emphasis, utmost vocal eloquence. Bass melody: dotted quarter-notes heavy, 8th-notes sharply accented. Spear Motive: utmost precision: likewise the entry of all new themes.
Scene 1				
WAND.: Wache, Wala!	784	251	ME / PR	As soon as Wand. enters, orchestra very subdued / Orchestra very subdued but no slackness.
ERDA: Männerthaten umdämmern den Muth [Ring Motive]	820	260	PR	Very soft (a reminiscence); the reminiscence of Brnhild. absolutely ghostly.
ERDA: Wirr wird mir seit ich erwacht	831	263	ME / PR	As faint and as mysterious as possible / Extreme intensity, demanding the utmost exertion.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
ERDA: . . . störrischer Wilder	842	266	ME	Each time incisive accents.
WAND.: froh und freudig führe frei ich nun aus	849	268	ME / PR	Not held back / Slightly faster, very brought out, like the proclamation of a new religion. The piano (four measures preceding this) scrupulously observed: this makes possible the deliberate increase of emphasis. The rest of the scene: the same spirit of spiritual renewal.
Scene 2				
WAND: Ein Vöglein schwatzt	883	277	ME	First two 8th-notes: always somewhat held back in the strings; the others shortly clipped / Wand.-Sieg. dialogue without any passion; Wand.'s deep feelings touched with tender humor, Sieg.'s arrogance with nobility of his nature; accompaniment: very precise rhythm, perceptibly slower, short pause on the 8th-note rest of the first measure, then livelier on its reappearances, the accents losing their stress.
WAND.: Ich seh', mein Sohn, wo du nichts weisst	906	293	ME / PR	Always flowing / Said calmly without accent; Valhalla Motive: gentle.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Doch hör, nun schwatz' ich nicht länger	908	284	ME	Pressing forward.
Sieg. strides through the flames	955	294	PR	The thematic material, not the tone painting, should predominate; Sieg.'s Horn Call played with the bell turned upward; Sieg.'s Motive in imposing tones.
Scene 3				
1st Violin entry (sehr ruhig)	971	299	ME / PR	Subdued, even without cresc. / Very calm, with certainty of phrasing.
SIEG.: Was strahlt mir dort entgegen?	974	300	ME / PR	From here on, flowing tempo / The quality of a reminiscence--softly, even when passionate.
SIEG.: Komm mein' Schwert	981	303	PR	[Sword Motive]: very calmly and rather slowly, as a transition to the clarinet melody. This extreme tenderness is the first stirring of desire.
Sehr lebhaft	982	304	PR	Violins: effect of a sudden storm.
SIEG.: dass sie ihr Auge mir öffne?	988	305	ME / PR	Orchestra enters with the Lebhaft only after both tones of "öffne" have been sung / Deep understanding is required of the orchestra: breadth, compelling momentum combined with detailed elucidation of motives.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Im Schlafe liegt ein Frau	993	307	PR	Sung in one breath; all players must take the same care in the following: perfect calm, suggesting sleep. The viola solo: more slowly; violin figure: following fast and strongly accented; following Sword Motive (oboe, clarinet): loud; Sieg.'s "Wie mild erzitternd" with the utmost tenderness, sostenuto marks (above "Zitternd") and gentle vibrato, not the bad habit of tremolo.
Brnhild. awakes	1020	311	PR	Harp: 32nd-note scale not hurried but in one broad sweep, leading to unprecedented exuberance in the whole orchestra.
BRNHILD.: erwachen durft' ich nur dir!	1031	316	ME / PR	With extreme strength and very broad / Postlude: the climax of the scene; cellos, basses [Volsung Motive], trumpets [Siegfried Motive] and a new motive in the woodwind combine in a counterpoint.
BRNHILD.: Siegfried!	1038	317	PR	Tension relaxes at "der Welt, wie ich dich je geliebt!"; cellos (and later violins): as though without feeling; Brnhild. speaks like a mother to a child--tender, intimately.

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Figure 13 (Contined)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
BRNHILD.: Du selbst bin ich	1044	319	PR	Gradually more intense, overflows with feeling at "Selige," calms down in "Was du nicht weisst."
SIEG.: Wie Wunder tönt	1053	322	ME / PR	Triplets in the preceding two measures: softly agitated / Until now Sieg. and Brnhild. have been carried away, as if in the realm of the gods; now they begin to face each other as persons: Brnhild. sublimely innocent, Sieg. passion awakening.
SIEG.: Auf wonnigem Munde weidet mein Auge	1062	325	PR	Cellos in preceding two measures: somewhat stressed; violins: now immediately revert to piano.
SIEG.: Noch bist du mir die träumende Maid	1079	330	ME / PR	Flowing / Trembling voice, as one is suffering; increasing intensity at "das Leuchten der Liebe."
Sehr ruhig und mässig bewegt	1093	334	ME / PR	Strings: triplet 8th-notes always very calm / Brnhild.: emphasize "Schmach"; bass clarinet: A recitative; strings: as pianissimo as possible, as if from another world, not slow, care with the lightly flowing, calm triplets.
BRNHILD.: So berühre mich nicht	1099	336	PR	Heavily accented.

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Figure 13 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Dich lieb'ich	1104	338	PR	Emotion must reach a pitch of terrifying violence.
SIEG.: Aug'in Auge, Mund an Mund	1124	343	ME	Tempo,held back from "Fasst dich mein Arm," now presses forward again.
BRNHILD.: himmlisches Wissen stürmt mir dahin	1128	344	ME	Very rhythmic, held back from here; vehement accel. at "der Liebe jagt es davon!"; pushing forward, fiery after Siegfried's "Ha!"
BRNHILD.: lachend zu Grunde gehn!	1146	349	ME / PR	Rather broad / Horns: it is not easy to fulfill Wagner's detailed instructions here--find the right tempo in Sieg.'s and Brnhild.'s exchange "Sie ist mir ewig"--"Er ist mir ewig." Throughout, an expression of sublime joy, a celebration of life in the face of which death appears to have lost its power.

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Figure 14. Wagner's Interpretation of Götterdämmerung

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpertation
Prelude				
-	-	-	PR	A scene of types, not individuals, hence the basic expressive element here is sublime calm; nothing disrupts the continuously developing flow of melody and harmony.
The curtain opens [Fate Motive]	5	6	PR	Always deliberately emphatic accents.
NORN III: Im kühlen Schatten rauscht ein Quell	13	8	ME	Never dragging.
NORN II: ewigversiegte der Quell [Ring Motive]	29	12	PR	Very moderate cresc., no more than a hint.
NORN III: Es ragt die Burg von Riesen gebaut	31	13	ME	Very broad at first, later flowing.
NORN II: ein rächender Fluch nagt meiner Fäden Geflecht	59	21	ME	More flowing.
The red glow of sunrise grows [Siegfried Motive]	66	23	ME / PR	The two 8th-notes of the third measure of the Motive: somewhat quicker, very vigorous; next measure: very calm and free, molto dolce; eight measures later: somewhat flowing, molto dolce / Both 8th-notes a trifle faster; the

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				accel. expresses his strength and confidence.
Im Zeitmaass [Siegfried, Valkyrie Motives]	71	24	ME / PR	Very vigorous / Its own peculiar might and grandeur; every feature of its rhythmic structure rendered with the utmost precision; a feeling of strength held in reserve.
BRNHILD.: Zu neuen Thaten	73	25	ME / PR	Never dragged; dialogue! never arias! / Throughout exultantly heroic, deeply passionate.
SIEG.: Mehr gabst du	82	28	ME / PR	Very vigorous; somewhat calmer at "Nicht zürne"; very short pause at the end of his speech.
SIEG.: Lass' ich, Liebste	104	33	ME	Previous four measures: rather broad, now flowing again; pushing on at "Ich erschlug einen wilden . . ."; slackening a little at "als Weihegruss meiner Treu'!"; very rhythmic at "nicht mehr schwingt es sich mutig des Wegs."
BRNHILD.: Ihn geiz' ich als enziges Gut!	109	34	ME / PR	Very lively / A sense of rapture.
SIEG., BRNHILD.: Heil, siegendes Licht! [Duet]	138	41	ME / PR	Somewhat held back in the first meas.; very lively in the next / Plastic, eloquent precision, perpetually pushed on, never hurried.

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Sieg. leads the horse to the edge of the slope	144	42	ME / PR	Very brisk; not too quick at Rasch, very heavy; very enthusiastic at the close / (See previous instruction).
Act I				
Scene 1				
-	199	51	ME / PR	Considerable motion / Now ordered society and laws of custom are presented; Gunther Motive: with great precision and powerful tone even when piano; vigorous thrust, great weight at Hagen's "die beid."
GUNTHER: Vermag das mein Muth zu besteh'n?	214	55	ME	Very hurried; flowing at "Welche That schuf er so tapfer."
HAGEN: Solch'ungeheurer That enttagte des Helden Ruhm	221	57	ME	Very broad in the first measure, original tempo in the third measure; rather drawn out at "Knecht sind die Nibelungen," then pushed on.
HAGEN: Ihn zwängebald deine Bitte	230	60	ME / PR	Not dragged / A touch of violence, but he finishes the speech in his characteristically noncommittal tone.
HAGEN: auch zu Gibich's Strand an den Rhein	240	65	ME	Somewhat accel., always more accel. from here.

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Gibich'sstarkem Sohne	256	168	PR	Very rapidly, strict time, incisive intonation.
Scene 2				
SIEG.: Das biet'ich mit mir zum Bund	277	75	PR	All Sieg.'s phrases: the rhythmic articulation cannot be emphasized too strongly, especially these syncopations.
SIEG.: Vergäss'ich Alles,was du mir gab'st	287	79	PR	Not a lyrical outburst but an important psychological-ethical event; no sentimentality, emphasize the triplet 8th-notes; emphasize the syncopated E♭ in "Ha, schönstes Weib!"
SIEG.: Sind's gute Runen:	296	82	ME / PR	With faint, trembling voice, then sudden decisiveness, always violent, utterly violent at "böt' ich mich dir zum Bund?"/ Voice trembling with emotion, then sudden decisiveness at "Deinem Bruder bot ich," with violence.
GUTRUNE: darf Brünnhilde's Freier sein	303	85	ME / PR	Very accented, then dying away; not too rushed at Schnell und heftig / Accent the name Brnhild.;

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				voice dies away as the phrase ends; Potion Motive follows very slow and drawn out, as if out of the void into the void.
Siegfried and Gutrune at their arms [Blood Brotherhood Motive]	314	87	ME / PR	Very driving / Vigorous, powerful forward drive.
SIEG.: Frisch auf die Fahrt!	335	93	ME / PR	Not too rushed / Orchestra: the first two quarter-notes exceptional dash and freedom, swinging triplets must rush by, brimful of joy and good humor; the same in the following sequence--Sieg.'s passion for Gutrune is now a force of destiny impelling him.
HAGEN: Hier sitz'ich zur Wacht [Hagen Motive]	354	97	PR	Preceding measures: must be powerfully characterized: heavy rall. on the first two quarter-notes, then a taut, propulsive rhythm in triplets. These nuances must not be exaggerated.
HAGEN: mir aber bringt er den Ring	360	99	ME / PR	"Ring": cutting sound, almost as if spoken / At "Ihr freien Söhne" unrestrainedly mocking scorn touched with superior irony.
Breit	364	100	PR	Postlude: the deeply expressive Hagen Motive--a declamatory style

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				verging on speech; trumpet solo: the same mocking scorn as when spoken by Hagen; woodwind [Rhinegold Motive]: the cresc. to forte with conscious deliberation.
Scene 3				
WALTRAUTE: Seit er von dir geschieden	419	115	ME / PR	Pushing forward somewhat; "Gott und Welt" pianissimo and fuller calm at "Welt" / Walt.'s narration at no point dragged; always in epic style, yet fear and haste must be felt. Drop the voice to create pathos on the last word of "die hatte ein Held ihm geschlagen"; increase tempo in "Seine Raben beide sandt'er auf Reise"; the atmosphere now increasingly charged with mystery; voice and orchestra muted in equal degrees; as pianissimo as possible and calm at "Gott und Welt."
BRNHILD: Mehr als Walhall's Wonne	461	127	ME / PR	Very calm at first, flowing at "währendes Glück"; rather energetic at "wahrt mir der Reif"; with great feeling at "die Liebe liesse ich nie"; very quickened at "Walhall's strahlende Pracht!" then Walt. utterly beside herself at "Diess deine

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpertation
				Treue?" / Brnhild.'s reply is an impassioned declaration of love, becoming a powerful rebuttal at "Sie wahrt mir der Reif," reaching a pitch of exaltation at "Geh' hin zu der Götter heiligem Rath!" and above all at "die Liebe liesse ich nie"; Walt. beside herself; "Diess deine Treue" is reproachful. All these fine shades of psycho-ethical feeling must be brought out.
SIEG.: Brünnhilde!	503	136	PR	The prescriptions in the score in this scene are so detailed that it is impossible to misinterpret Wagner's intentions.
SIEG.: trenne mich von	539	145	ME / PR	G-E-C-B-F-F-B instead of E-C-G-B-C-F-B / ditto.
Act II				
Prelude				
-	545	147	ME / PR	Noticeably subdued / The syncopated chords absolutely piano after the initial fortes, adapted to the cresc.-dim. nuances of the main bass melody, which must be telling.

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(Continued)

Item	Figure Page F/S	No. ME	Source	Interpretation
Scene 1				
-	554	149	ME / PR	Accompaniment: as delicate as possible / A whispered, daemonic presence; the Motives sharply defined, reminiscent, yet subordinate to the singers in volume and accent.
ALB.: Mich Lustfreien	563	151	ME	Tempo held back; in time at "du sollst!"
Scene 2				
Prelude	588	160		Depicts nature's rebirth at the dawn of a new day; intoned and phrased with delightful smoothness and captivating poetry.
GUTRUNE: Sengte das Feuer ihn nicht?	603	164	PR	Accent "Feuer"; the lively conversation with the greatest ease and facility, wholly in the style of a comic opera--exuberant joy in Sieg.'s coloratura, effusive; Gutrune's question must preserve her individual tone: a feeling for the harmonic structure of her short melodic phrases. Ringing with the joy of doubt dispelled at "Lasset uns sie hold empfangen."

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
Scene 3				
Steerhorn sounds	628	172	PR	Orchestra: slightly reduce tone, fortissimo again at the 4/4 section (scene 4) to increase the effect of Hagen's speech. Heavy, striding phrases, performed with ruthless energy, no trace of pathos, and charged with defiant self-assertiveness. Vassals exchanges: individually characterized--the strong accents and incomparable variety of rhythms create a new free counterpoint.
Scene 4				
GUNTHER: ein edleres Weib ward nie gewonnen	718	198	ME / PR	"Brünnhild' und Gunther, Gutrun' und Siegfried!" with pride / Emphasize slightly; conscious pride at "Brünnhild' und Gunther, Gutrun' und Siegfried."
BRNHILD.: Ha! Der Ring	736	203	ME / PR	8th-note exclamations very protruding / As though struggling for breath but very enunciated, with the utmost vehemence.
HAGEN: Jetzt merket klug	737	204	ME / PR	Very rhythmically cutting / Dotted notes and syncopations incisively accented.

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Von keinem Weib kam mir der Reif	748	207	ME / PR	Utterly as if in a dream / As if in a dream.
BRNHILD.: Rauntet ihr diess in eurem Rath?	764	211	ME / PR	Completely unified; she is now utterly lost to her surroundings, which do not understand her; "ihr Herz zu zerbrechen" violent, characteristically labored / In mysterious tones as if to herself; emphasize "Schmach"; she is now as though lost to the world, which cannot understand her behavior.
BRNHILD.: Wohl kenn'ich seine Schärfe	787	217	ME / PR	Mysteriously / Her final passage in tones of biting irony fused with unutterable tenderness, veiled.
BRNHILD.: Helle Wehr!	808	223	ME / PR	Accompaniment: strong, then at once drawing back in power / Woodwind triplets: attack them, but always a sudden reduction of volume at the piano passages.
SIEG.: thu'es der Glückliche gleich!	837	230	ME	These measures somewhat broader; in time at "gleich!"
Scene 5				
BRNHILD.: Wer bietet mir nun des Schwert	855	235	ME / PR	At this point, Wagner said "pitch is nothing; the essential point is knowledge" / A voice of steel: the

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				most terrible moment; everything she has undergone is compressed into this question.
BRNHILD.: nie reicht'er ihm fliehend den Rücken	870	239	ME / PR	Here she softens, tender memories are awakened / Ditto.
HAGEN: Und dort trifft ihn mein Speer!	871	244	ME / PR	With hardened, disparaging expression / A tone of biting sarcasm; hard and obdurate at "Dir hilft kein Hirn."
BRNHILD.: Was rieth' mir mein Wissen?	900	248	ME / PR	No dragging; she has now fallen completely under Gunther's spell. Orchestra: lively, pushing forward very much; very free, broad, in time at "Zauber"/ She vents her rage and spite; a craving for revenge and devilish jubilation; she must reach extremes of ecstasy. At "Zauber" a cresc. ringing with wild destructive joy, blood-curdling; accompaniment [Gutrune Motive]: rhythmically precise but not too loud.
BRNHILD.: Schmach, die er mir schuf!	910	251	PR	Players must concentrate on supporting the singer and her expression. Sieg.'s fate having been decided, the expression sweeps to a climax of tense, propulsive rhythm, rigidly phrased, ending in the threat of destruction and con-

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				tradicting overflows of joie de vivre.
Act III				
Prelude				
[Siegfried's Horn Call]	933	256	PR	Brightly, tempo continually pressing onwards.
[Wave Motion Motive]	938	257	ME / PR	Suitable flow, not dragging; clarinet entry as curtain rises: very light as if dying away / Not dragged; when taken over by the woodwind, the strings subordinated.
Scene 1				
FLOSSHILDE: Behalt ihn Held	1005	279	ME / PR	Very serious / Mocking irony but serious expression on her face; bass trumpet [Rhinegold Motive]: very softly, as a gentle warning.
RHEINTÖCHTER: Siegfried!	1010	281	ME / PR	Somewhat calmer at "Rheines Gold ist der Ring geglüht," then flowing once more / Forcefully, each time accented with increasing intensity; woodwind [Ring Motive]: expressively but very moderate in tone; the mysterious, complex web of sound must make its effect.

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Mein Schwert zerschwang einen Speer [Treaty Motive]	1025	286	ME / PR	Ironic, thrown away / Sung vigorously; emphasizing "Flüche" in the following passage, which ends in dismissive irony.
RHNTÖCH.: So weise und stark	1037	290	ME / PR	Tempo held back for four measures, then in time as before / Not hurried, absolute clarity of words and notes; the impression of them talking among themselves.
Scene 2				
HAGEN: Kommt herab!	1070	301	ME	Horn triplets: flowing quietly.
HAGEN: Der uns das Wild verscheuchte	1079	303	ME / PR	Press forward in tempo / Clarinet, horn [Gibichung's Horn Call]: characteristically terse and rhythmically precise.
SIEG.: erschlagen würd'ich noch heut'	1085	139	ME / PR	With significant expression and labored / Significant emphasis and very serious expression.
SIEG.: Dank'st du es mir [Nibelung Motive]	1099	309	PR	At a comfortable, heavy tempo, still somewhat slower than the Nibelung Motive in Rheingold; livening up at "Sie hör' ich gern" and slowing down again at "Mime hiess ein mürrischer Zwerg."

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	Page No. ME	Source	Interpretation
SIEG.: Auf den Ästen sass es und sang [Forest Murmurs Motive]	1110	313	ME / PR	He sings the woodbird song with completely lighter falsetto / The narration: calm and evenly until Hagen administers his antidote reviving his memory of Brnhild.; the accompaniment here: a transcendent tone quality, as if from another world.
GUTRUNE: Hagen, was thatest du? [Fate Motive]	1147	324	ME / PR	Not held back / Must not be played slowly.
Vassals raise Siegfried's body and carry it away	1165	328	PR	Violas, cellos, basses: the octaves must be brought alive by powerful cresc. and slight alterations of the time values of the rests to make them uneven. It must be like the revolt of the individual against overwhelmingly destructive tragic anguish. The funeral music: a unique heroic lament in the style of the ancient epics.
Scene 3				
Gutrune comes from her room [Gutrune Motive]	1192	332	PR	Like a breath of fresh air; then becomes an expression of apprehension.
GUTRUNE: Bist du wach?	1195	334	PR	Fermata lengthened so that the effect of silence is uncanny; stress

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
				"sah?"; at "Nein! Öd'alles!" flutes, horns [Gutrune Motive]: very softly.
Hagen's voice from outside	1197	324	PR	His utterances rough and off-hand, as if talking of unimportant matters.
GUTRUNE: Was bringen die?	1203	336	PR	Ring out, sharply accented and then abruptly cut off.
HAGEN: Her den Ring![Ring Motive]	1225	342	PR	Searing delivery; the culmination of all horrors heaped upon us; the "significantly slower tempo" not exaggerated--it should be treated as a broad andante alla breve, typical of older church music (e.g., the "Kyrie eleison" of the Missa Solemnis).
BRNHILD.: Armsel'ge schweig'!	1235	344	ME / PR	No bitterness or commiseration / No bitterness, resembling an ancient German prophetess, all human passion extinguished, she is now a pure eye of knowledge, the spirit of love has taken possession of her.
GUTRUNE: Wie jäh'nun weiss ich's	1238	345	PR	Emphasize "weiss ich's."

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Figure 14 (Continued)

Item	Page No. F/S	ME	Source	Interpretation
BRNHILD.: after remaining long absorbed in contemplation	1241	345	PR	The incisive rhythmic orchestral figure coincides with her decision.
BRNHILD.: schied er sich durch sein Schwert	1264	349	ME / PR	Orchestra: ring out after "And! rer / Trumpet [Sword Motive]: not too loud; when she sees Sieg. in her mind's eye, she is lost in her surroundings, not speaking to the people; like a wonderful vision.
BRNHILD.: Verfluchter Reif!	1281	353	PR	Forceful and cutting.
BRNHILD.: das lichte Gold	1287	355	PR	Clarinets [Ring Motive] and trombones [Curse Motive]: as pianissimo as possible; Brnhild. is now inspired as never before, swept away by sublime joy reducing all worldly cares to nothing.
BRNHILD.: Fühl' meine Brust auch [Redemption Motive]	1311	360	ME / PR	Very calm at first / Great calm by both singer and orchestra, despite the heartfelt warmth.
The flames immediately blaze up [Magic Fire Motive; Rhinemaidens, Rhine, Valhalla, Redemption, Power of the Gods, Siegfried, Twilight of the Gods, and Redemption Motives]	1320	362	PR	The symphonic conclusion: saying everything of this cosmic drama, it demands a grip of iron; the themes and melodies pile themselves up before us like a Cyclopean wall.

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