Interpreting Race and Difference in the Operas of Richard Strauss

by

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Dedication

For my family,
three down and done.

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Abstract

After World War II, Richard Strauss's life and compositions came under intense scrutiny as scholars tried to understand his position with respect to the National Socialist regime. Their conclusions varied; however, the focus remained on separating Strauss's actions and works during the Third Reich from his earlier career. By combining theoretical and historical resources on race, biography, and music, my research demonstrates continuity between Strauss's early biography and operas and his later works and political decisions. Examining the racialization of German Others in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provides an unexplored, yet relevant facet of the composer's biography, one that has direct consequences for the interpretation of not only Strauss's relationships with and views toward these Others, but also how these attitudes are reflected in his operas.

Using current musicological research on musical difference and exoticism, I offer a new perspective on Strauss's approach to depicting the Other in opera, taking into account both the origins and the significance of historical German representations of racial, national, and gendered Others. In order to discuss the normalcy of racism and racist behaviors in early twentieth century German society, my research borrows from critical race theory as it relates to musicological research, adapting existing models of racial difference to the study of constructions of Others that were prevalent in Strauss's lifetime. Further, I engage with the work of musicologist Ralph Locke who argues that musical exoticism evokes in or through music—whether that music is

'exotic-sounding' or not—a people, place, or social milieu that is not entirely imaginary and that differs profoundly from the dominant culture in morals, attitudes, and customs. Although there is a general tendency within music scholarship to privilege explanations that grow out of the notes of the score or the music itself, Locke's broader definition of musical exoticism does not exclude works that exhibit few stylistic markers of "Otherness" or none at all. I analyze four of Strauss's operas—*Salome*, *Rosenkavalier*, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, and *Friedenstag*—as exotic musical works, presenting a broader context that incorporates not only staged representations of race and difference, but also accounts for the social and cultural tropes that were articulated during Strauss's life.

Introduction

Contextualizing the Other in late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Germany

On June 17, 1935, German composer Richard Strauss (1864–1949) wrote to his Jewish librettist, Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), expressing his frustration, disbelief, and disgust over Zweig's apparent refusal to continue their working relationship. In the letter, Strauss admonishes Zweig for his "Jewish obstinacy, [his] pride of race, [and] feeling of solidarity."[1] The composer concludes by instructing Zweig to "be a good boy, forget Moses and the other apostles for a few weeks, and work on your two one-act plays."[2] The nature of Strauss's comments raises important questions about late nineteenth and early twentieth century German societal norms and their influence on Strauss's attitude toward the racial Other.[3] It can be assumed that these societal norms impacted Strauss's life, possibly contributing to the ease with which he addressed his intellectual peer in such a condescending manner. To what extent did such norms shape the composer's outlook? How should we interpret their effect on Strauss's life and compositions? This dissertation will respond to these questions—and others like them—by exploring the

[1] Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, 1931–1935,* translated by Max Knight (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 99.
[2] Ibid, 100.
[3] The term, Other, has been used by a variety of scholars such as but not limited to Ralph Locke, Tina M. Campt, and Edward Said. The term is also generally capitalized following the work of the aforementioned authors as well as Georgina Born, David Hesmondhalgh, and Sander Gilman. Each author has defined what constitutes the Other in relation to their own respective works but generally speaking, the term refers to those persons who are outside the racial or gender norm of their particular society or culture. For the purpose of this dissertation the term Other will be used as a noun, representing those persons who differ from non-Jewish German males including Jews, women, foreigners, and blacks.

complex ways in which attitudes towards those considered Other permeated Strauss's life and extended to his operatic output.

Using scholarship on the topic of difference, one can form a working definition of the term Other with respect to the parameters of this dissertation. In the 1990s and 2000s, literature on music and difference appeared in North American musicology. *Musicology and Difference*, edited by Ruth Solie in 1993, was the first collection expressly dedicated to the topic of difference. Its main purpose was to consider "whether and in what circumstances the differences between and among people are worth taking seriously" in music scholarship.[4] The work's impact was profound, and related collections soon followed on sexual difference, postcolonialism, race, gender, and exoticism.[5] In *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*, Olivia Bloechl and Melanie Lowe state that historiographies in the nineteenth century reported historical change as a unified, teleological process that culminated in the modern West. Commonly referred to as "races" in this period, darker skinned individuals and groups such as Jews and the working class were generally denied agency over their own history.[6] Referred to in this dissertation as Others, these groups, which also include foreigners[7] and women, maintained a presence in Germany and specifically affected Strauss in both his personal and professional life.

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[4] Ruth Solie, ed., *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 1.

[5] Examples include Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas, eds., *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994); Jonathan Bellman, ed., *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds., *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000); Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman, eds., *Music and the Racial Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); and Julie Brown, ed., *Western Music and Race* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[6] Olivia Bloechl, Melanie Lowe, and Jeffrey Kallberg, eds., *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 12.

[7] This dissertation defines "foreigner" as "a person who comes from another country," from standard dictionaries such as Merriam-Webster, Collins English Dictionary, and the Cambridge English Dictionary. Specifically, in this dissertation, a foreigner refers to a person who was not born in Germany.

However, it was the Jews that mainly occupied the minds of German society and produced the most scholarly text and scientific investigation. Even before Strauss's time, Germany was particularly concerned with its Jewish population, who, unlike blacks and foreigners, were viewed as more subversive because of their ability to blend into German society. The presupposition that Jews were a radical Other and therefore more dangerous to the alleged innate superiority of the Germanic or Aryan mainstream began to solidify into modern anti-Semitism[8] during the latter half of the eighteenth century as a reaction to the Jewish enlightenment or *Haskala*. This enlightenment broadened the Jewish mind to the culture of Europe and opened up the possibilities of acculturation into German society. Acculturated Jews became less committed to Judaism as a religion and started to neglect their Jewish traditions, some even choosing conversion to Christianity. [9]

As the cultural, intellectual, and religious lines between Christians and Jews began to blur, there was no reason to keep them apart which in turn led to questions concerning the validity of emancipation. Although Jews did not receive emancipation until 1871, the *Haskala* contributed to the rift between the conservatives who were against emancipation, and the liberals who advocated for it.[10] The neglect of Judaism as a religious practice, widespread conversions,

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[8] The term anti-Semitism is hyphenated in accordance with the language of nineteenth and twentieth century German racial science, the time period in which this dissertation is most concerned. For more information please see Sander L Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 211 and K.M. Knittel, *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Virginia: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 7.

[9] On the history of Jews in Germany, see Monika Richarz, "The History of the Jews in Europe during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," lecture given to the Twenty-Four National Information Officers from the global network of United Nations information centers (2008), 81; Michael Meyer, "Judaism and Christianity," in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 2, Michael Meyer and Michael Brenner, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 168–169 and Peter Pulzer, *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority, 1848–1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[10] For more information on the *Haskala*, Jewish emancipation and its effect on German politics, please see Michael Meyer and Michael Brenner, eds., *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 2–3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). In short, Jewish emancipation was the external (and internal) process in various European nations of eliminating such Jewish restrictions on travel, entry into certain countries, and the ability to vote for example. Emancipation also allowed the recognition of Jews as entitled to equality and citizenship rights.

and the integration of Jews into German society all contributed to the construction of modern anti-Semitism—a racial as opposed to religious based anti-Semitism. According to Jerome Chanes: "Beginning in the eighteenth century, continuing into the nineteenth, some writers began characterizing the Jews as a 'race,' causing the myth of the 'Aryan race' to develop. Modern German anti-Semitism was forged by German Romantic nationalism from the idea of an organic identity in which the Jew, as a wandering, landless people could not participate: the *Volk*, an organic folk people."[11] This dissertation will demonstrate the extent to which Strauss was influenced by this atmosphere of anti-Semitism, an atmosphere which only grew more pervasive as he aged. Strauss always had Jews in his life, far more than blacks and foreigners. Therefore, the debate in the literature devoted to the composer focuses on the relationship between Strauss and anti-Semitism, rather than any other race or gender.

Richard Strauss was born in Munich, Germany on June 11, 1864 to Franz Strauss (1822–1905), principal horn player in the Munich court orchestra, and Josephine Pschorr Strauss (1837–1910), daughter of Georg Pschorr, a wealthy Munich brewer. Strauss began piano lessons at the age of four, composed his first works at the age of six, took up the violin at the age of eight, and at eleven began five years of compositional study with Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer. At this time, the most important musical influence on the young Strauss was his father, who brought him up on Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang A. Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Franz Schubert. After graduating from the Munich Ludwigs-Gymnasium in 1882, he began to make a name for himself with some important premieres outside Munich, including the *Serenade in E flat major* Op. 7 (1881) and the *Violin Concerto in D minor*, Op. 8 (1881–1882). Strauss's fame spread quickly with his Second Symphony receiving its first performance in the United States in 1884, and its

[11] Jerome A. Chanes, *AntiSemitism: A Reference Handbook* (California: ABC Clio, 2004), 53.

first European performance in Cologne the following year. With the deaths of both Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms, Strauss emerged as the most important living German composer. During an artistic career which spanned nearly eight decades, he composed in virtually all musical genres, but became best known for his tone poems and his operas, following the success of his third opera, *Salome*, in 1905.[12]

As a member of the cultured German bourgeoisie during the last third of the nineteenth century, the young Strauss was not immune from the prejudices that pervaded his environment. His father, Franz Strauss, worked under the Jewish Kapellmeister, Hermann Levi, whom he loathed, often referring to him with anti-Semitic epithets.[13] Letters with Strauss's childhood acquaintance, Ludwig Thuille (1861–1907), show that even from an early age he felt a need to label Jews as Others. Thuille became a regular visitor to the Strauss household after his mother heard about the musically gifted boy. The two met in 1872 when Strauss was eight and Thuille was eleven. During their early correspondence, which spanned from 1877 to 1879, Strauss reports on his musical education, his compositional pursuits, and concerts he attended.[14] Throughout the letters Strauss consistently identifies Jewish musicians as such. For example, in an undated letter to Thuille, Strauss writes "A lightning-quick Jew, name of Josephy, from Vienna, played the splendid E-minor concerto by Chopin…Scherzo by Goldmark, another Jew."[15] When referring to other musicians, Strauss only mentions their name without racial or religious qualification. Noting this distinction may seem trivial, but it demonstrates that even at an early age Strauss recognized and labeled Jews as different.

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[12] Bryan Gilliam, "Strauss, Richard," *Grove Music Online,* https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.
[13] Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 243.
[14] Susan Gillespie, trans., "Selections from the Strauss-Thuille Correspondance: A glimpse of Strauss during His Formative Years," in *Richard Strauss and his World*, Bryan Gilliam, ed. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992.), 193–94.
[15] Ibid, 206.

Willi Schuh, Strauss's official biographer, adds his own opinion to Strauss's early writings concerning Jews in the first part of what was originally intended as a two-part biography of the composer that remained unfinished at the time of Schuh's death.[16] In the first portion of his Strauss biography, entitled *Richard Strauss: Jugend und Frühe Meisterjahre Lebenschronik 1864–1898*, Schuh discusses Franz Strauss's and Alexander Ritter's anti-Semitism in relation to their influence on the younger Strauss. Ritter was one of Strauss's early influences, persuading him to abandon the conservative style of his youth, and begin writing tone poems. He also introduced Strauss to the essays of Richard Wagner and the writings of Schopenhauer.[17]

Interestingly, whenever Schuh provides evidence of the younger Strauss's anti-Semitic behavior, giving several examples in his book, he nevertheless qualifies the composer's actions as being influenced by Ritter or his father. For example, Schuh published a letter Strauss wrote to his sister in June 1892. In it, Strauss summarized his assessment of conducting for a performance of Hans Sommer's *Loreley*. Even though Strauss was not particularly impressed by Sommer's score, he concluded his letter by stating that he was "glad that we have once again done a little honor to a German composer who isn't a Jew."[18] Commenting on the letter, Schuh noted that "once again we are reminded of how susceptible Strauss still was at that date to the anti-Semitism of his father and Alexander Ritter."[19] Schuh never allows Strauss agency over his own

[16] Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss: Jugend und Frühe Meisterjahre Lebenschronik 1864–1898* (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1976). In a review for Schuh's biography of Strauss's early life, Bryan Gilliam writes that the composer and biographer met in 1936 at the Swiss premiere of *Die Schweigsame Frau* and soon became close friends. Over the course of several years, Strauss granted Schuh exclusive access to letters, diaries, and memoirs dating back to the preceding century. Bryan Gilliam, Review of *Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years (1864–1898) 19th-century Music*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Autumn 1983): 174–175.
[17] Norman del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, vol.1 (London: Barrie and Jenkins, LTD., 1972), passim.
[18] Ibid, 197.
[19] Ibid.

anti-Semitic behavior, instead he attributes Strauss's comments to outside influences. In this way Schuh is able to diminish Strauss's role in his own anti-Semitic comments.

Analysis of the cultural atmosphere in Germany that surrounded the composer is another important facet of this dissertation. Despite a general lack of evidence suggesting that certain key historical events personally affected the composer, the general social and political milieu provides a glimpse into what ordinary German citizens, including Strauss, experienced in their daily lives. Throughout the composer's formative years, anti-Semitic propaganda was disseminated throughout Germany, representing Jews as responsible for all of society's ills. For example, in the fall of 1880 when Strauss was sixteen, the "Anti-Semites Petition" was circulated, asking the German government to "free" Germany from Jews who were described as "foreigners" trying to "master" and "destroy" the German people.[20] The petition had two hundred twenty-five thousand signatures when it was presented to Chancellor Bismarck in April 1881.[21]

Jewish writer Berthold Auerbach (1812–1882) reflected on the success of the anti-Semitic movement, writing that "the fire's caught and will go on burning. It's to the point where you have to be grateful to almost every single person who declares himself free of prejudice."[22] Although there is no evidence of the young Strauss personally commenting on this type of propaganda, there is also no evidence suggesting he was sheltered from it. The fact that Strauss identifies Jewish musicians in his early correspondence demonstrates that he felt differentiation

[20] David A. Altshuler and Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *Hitler's War Against the Jews* (New Jersey: Behrman House, Inc., 1978), 31.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Amos Elon, *The Pity of it All: A History of the Jews in Germany, 1743–1933* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 219.

was necessary and right. As Auerbach noted, anti-Semitic propaganda was widely disseminated to the point where it was rare to find a German who was unaware of it.

At the age of twenty-one, Strauss was hired as assistant conductor to Hans von Bülow in Meiningen, a man described by Michael Kater as an "unreconstructed Wagnerian" and a "dyed-in-the-wool anti-Semite."[23] Bülow became one of Strauss's most illustrious early advocates, securing his first regular employment in Meiningen and providing opportunities for performances of the composer's early works. At Meiningen Strauss was under Bülow's tutelage, observing the business of leading an orchestra and preparing works for performance. For the rest of his life Strauss remembered and cherished Bülow's early professional guidance.[24]

Another important influence on the young composer was Cosima Wagner, the wife of Richard Wagner, whose notoriously anti-Jewish views contributed to the atmosphere of anti-Semitism in late nineteenth century Germany. Cosima and Strauss kept in touch intermittently beginning in 1889, when the young composer worked as a répétiteur at Bayreuth.[25] In their correspondence, which lasted until 1906, Strauss, ever eager to please his idol's widow, made many anti-Semitic remarks to the Bayreuth matriarch, usually condemning all Jewish artists as talentless and emotionless. For example, on November 3, 1891, he commented about the Jewish influence on music being performed outside of Bayreuth:

> Oh, dearest ma'am, it is horrible, infinitely sad in our Germany; if it were not for Bayreuth, I would now be "God knows what," but not at all an artist. For as an artist, ultimately one wishes to communicate one's self to someone; but to expect any interest in a serious artistic project from this gang of so-called Germans is simply foolish. Yes, the Jews have gotten us into quite a fix! … So poor "Parsifal" is nevermore to be released from the Jewish torture chamber? Why must this poor work atone for

[23] Ibid, 244.
[24] George Richard Marek, *Richard Strauss: The Life of a Non-Hero* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 54–59.
[25] Michael Kennedy, "Strauss, Richard," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 18, Stanley Sadie, ed. (London: McMillian Publishers Limited, 1980), 219–220.

Levi's "merits?"[26]

In this passage, Strauss indicated that no one could expect any serious artistic endeavor from a Jewish composer. Hermann Levi, as a conductor of Parsifal between 1882 and 1894 and already known to Strauss from his father as the subject of his anti-Semitism, was an easy target. For Strauss, Levi's conducting served as the perfect example of the "Jewish torture chamber."

One famous example of what could be interpreted as an illustration of Strauss's tendency to engage in anti-Semitic rhetoric occurred in 1932, when it seemed likely that the National Socialists would become the ruling party in Germany. Otto Klemperer, a Jewish German-born conductor and composer, mentions a conversation concerning politics with the Strausses at their Garmisch home. In his book containing reminiscences about various musicians, Klemperer recalls that Strauss asked what might happen if all Jewish conductors were to leave Germany, to which Klemperer replied that it probably would not paralyze music in Germany. Hereupon Strauss's wife, Pauline, told Klemperer to see her "if they want to harm you." Strauss countered with a smile: "That would be just the right moment to stick up for a Jew!"[27]

Some scholars attribute Strauss's comment to his political naïveté which could very well be true. Nevertheless, the comment demonstrates that the anti-Semitic atmosphere of his childhood and youth remained deeply embedded in his thinking, coloring his everyday interactions with Jewish people. In his book, Klemperer concludes that Strauss's comment was so naïve that no-one could interpret it as "evil." However, by including this particular memory of Strauss in a book published almost thirty years later, Klemperer demonstrates that he was

[26] Franz Trenner, ed., *Cosima Wagner—Richard Strauss: Ein Briefwechsel* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), 108. Translation by Harald M. Krebs and Patricia J. Moss.
[27] Otto Klemperer, *Meine Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler und andere autobiographische Skizzen* (Freiburg and Zürich: Atlantis Verlag, 1960), 39–40. Translation by Herold M. Krebs and Patricia J. Moss.

affected by Strauss's thoroughly tactless, if not outright anti-Semitic, comment. According to Peter Heyworth, Klemperer was appalled when Strauss failed to inquire after his well-being at the Salzburg Festival in 1933.[28] Later that same year, Klemperer emigrated to the United States after his dismissal as conductor of the Kroll Opera in Berlin. He was appointed Music Director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra and in this capacity boycotted Strauss's works until 1936, when the precarious economic condition of the orchestra forced him to abandon his stance.[29]

Scholars such as Michael Kater and Willi Schuh have stated that as he aged, Strauss's anti-Semitic outbursts became fewer as his professional collaborations with Jews intensified. However, despite his mostly amicable relationships with Jews, the above-cited June 17 letter written to Zweig, his later collaboration with the Third Reich, and certain characters in his operas all suggest that Strauss remained profoundly influenced by the anti-Semitism of his youth. Yet, to the extent that scholars of Strauss's music have discussed his racial attitudes at all, they have mostly failed to recognize this connection, focusing instead on isolating his actions and works during the Third Reich from his earlier years.

The earliest contributors to the scholarly literature about Strauss, those writing while he was still alive, primarily focused on structural musical analysis.[30] It was not until the end of the Second World War that scholars began to write about Strauss's personal life and connect his biography to his work. Here, the general trend was to defend the composer and his actions during

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[28] Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, vol. 2, 1933–1973* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 15.
[29] Ibid, 20–22, 77.
[30] See for example, Gustav Brecher, *Richard Strauss: eine monographische Skizze* (Leipzig: H. Seemann, 1900), Henry T. Finck, *Richard Strauss, The Man and His Works* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1917), and Richard Specht, "Von *Guntram* zur *Frau ohne Schatten,*" in *Almanach der Deutschen Musikbücherei*, Gustav Bosse, ed. (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1923): 150-163. Authors generally provided a short biographical information, musical analysis on the works to date, and personal commentary on Strauss's overall contribution to German music.

the time of Hitler's reign.[31] Writers focused almost exclusively on determining whether or not Strauss was a Nazi. Biographers and critics of his works chose to concentrate on Strauss's ideological stance as well as the political ramifications of his works written between 1933 and 1945. The topic of anti-Semitism is one of the main themes that follows any discussion of the Third Reich and those associated with the regime. Strauss was no exception, although direct mention of his anti-Semitism did not appear until decades after the war.[32]

Officials within the Third Reich wasted no time reestablishing the financial and social position of musicians and musicologists lost during the Weimar Republic; they immediately created protection for music institutions and professionals, under the control of the new Reichsmusikkammer or RMK. Strauss became the chamber's first president, causing early critics of the regime to closely examine all of his actions. According to Michael Kater, "much of the opposition to the composer originated in the United States, where there was already a strong core of anti-Hitler musicians led by Toscanini."[33] At the end of the Second World War, the world looked to the denazification trials for answers to the crimes of the regime and the reasons why so many Germans followed Hitler's policies.[34] All of Strauss's actions, as well as the compositions written during the regime were tagged by many foreign critics as politically motivated. The taint of National Socialism has relentlessly followed Strauss ever since. Biographer Willi Schuh, writing in the immediate post-war period, felt obligated to protect the composer as well as Germany itself from criticism. During the process of denazification and in the following decade,

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[31] See for example the works of Willi Schuh, footnote 35 below.
[32] See for example Michael Kater, Gerhard Splitt, and George Marek, footnotes 49 and 51 below.
[33] Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 221.
[34] David Monod writes that in the summer of 1945 the Americans launched a major expulsion of cultural personnel thought to be Nazis or those sympathetic to the Third Reich. Following the purge, in the winter of 1945–46, only those artists and personnel considered "politically clean" were reinstated to their previous positions. David Monod, "Introduction," in *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945–1953* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press), 1–11.

artists and their defenders wanted to quickly destroy any connection between their work and the Nazi regime. Therefore, there was a distinct trend among scholars in the late 1940s and 1950s to defend Strauss against foreign critics who found his behavior during the Third Reich execrable or at least worthy of scrutiny.

In 1945, Willi Schuh wrote a short article in the journal *Tempo* explaining Strauss's behavior during the Third Reich. With the international community judging Strauss's actions, Schuh defended the composer, arguing that he had an "entirely non-political nature," that he had "little in common" with the regime and that he only "stayed in Germany for the sake of his family."[35] Strauss, according to Schuh, lived in a world of music and held little concern for the contemporary world; he "wrote nothing which had any direct connection with the circumstances through which he passed."[36] Schuh's apologist tone as well as his overall judgement of the composer was echoed by many scholars throughout the next decade.[37]

With more distance from the Third Reich and from the horrors of the Second World War, previously undisclosed documents became available for scholars to examine. During the 1960s, some writers began to challenge the early defenders of the compromised composer, primarily in response to Joseph Wulf's published collection of the aforementioned documents concerning music in the Third Reich.[38] Included in Wulf's chapter titled "Der Fall Richard Strauss" are several letters written by Strauss to key members of the Nazi Party, including Hitler himself, as well as Strauss's acceptance speech for the position of Reichsmusikkammer president. Strauss's own words in these documents suggest that he was more openly conciliatory toward the Regime

[35] Willi Schuh, "Strauss during the War Years," *Tempo*, No. 13 (Dec. 1945): 8.
[36] Ibid, 8, 10.
[37] See for example: Otto Erhardt, *Richard Strauss: Leben, Wirken, Schaffen* (Olten: Otto Walter, 1953) or Ernest Kraus, *Richard Strauss: Gestalt und Werk* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1955).
[38] Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich, eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963).

than had previously been imagined, and that he was neither indifferent nor apolitical. His opening address at the first convention of the chamber on February 13, 1934 provides insight into his acceptance of the new Reich:

> The RMK—the dream and goal of all German musicians for decades—was created November 15, 1933, thus constituting a most important step in the direction of the reconstruction of our total German musical life. At this point I feel compelled to thank Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler and Reich minister Dr. Goebbels in the name of the entire musical profession of Germany for the creation of the RKK [Reichskulturkammergesetz (Reich Culture Chamber Law)].[39]

After elaborating on the "illustrious history of German music," the "commitment to recreate unity between music and the German people which had been marred in the recent past," "musical taste," and "the poor economic situation of German music,"[40] Strauss concluded that:

> Adolf Hitler's seizure of power has not only resulted in a transformation of the political situation in Germany, but also of its culture, and since the National Socialist government has called to life the RMK it is evident that the new Germany is not willing to allow artistic life to remain in isolation, but that new ways and means will be explored for the revival of our musical culture.[41]

According to Pamela Potter, Wulf's publication "represents a definite turning point in the way authors were to look at Strauss thereafter."[42] Even though there were still some scholars who clung to the defensive arguments of Schuh, others, motivated by the new information provided in Wulf's book, passed judgment on the composer and his actions.

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[39] Ibid, 180–181.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Pamela M. Potter, "Strauss and the National Socialists," in *Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and his Work,* Bryan Gilliam, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 98.

Emblematic of this shift is George Marek's 1967 biography, which holds Strauss accountable for cooperating with the Nazis.[43] Marek states that although Strauss was not a Nazi, he was nonetheless cognizant of the methods, aims, and precepts of the regime. His decisions were only prompted by what was best for him at the time. Additionally, for the first time in the literature, Marek mentions Strauss's anti-Semitism directly, claiming that his daughter-in-law, Alice, who had Jewish family members, "contributed to Strauss's losing the anti-Semitic prejudice instilled in him by his father, and by [Alexander] Ritter and [Hans von] Bülow. But in truth he had lost most of this prejudice with maturing age."[44] Even though Marek does acknowledge that Strauss demonstrated some anti-Semitic behavior, he easily dismisses the composer's actions as youthful pandering. Importantly, Marek draws no connection between the early anti-Semitism and Strauss's involvement in the Third Reich.

Musicologists writing about Strauss in the 1970s did not shy away from the subject of anti-Semitism. Dominique Jameux's 1971 biography addresses Strauss's anti-Semitism, albeit only in relation to the Third Reich.[45] Jameux argues that Strauss was "conservative, apolitical, and a little irresponsible but he backed the regime in power."[46] Jameux suggested that Strauss did demonstrate resistance to the regime by not composing any important or worthy music between *Die Schweigsame Frau* and *Capriccio*. Furthermore, to Jameux's understanding, Strauss was not anti-Semitic because "he did not accept that being Jewish could have any influence on talent."[47] In 1972, Norman del Mar published his famous three-part biography and critical study of the composer's work.[48] Del Mar maintained that Strauss was politically naïve and accused Marek of

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[43] Marek, *Richard Strauss.*
[44] Ibid, 252.
[45] Dominique Jameux, *Richard Strauss* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971).
[46] Ibid, 151.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, vol.1–3. (London: Barrie and Jenkins, LTD., 1972).

being the composer's enemy for suggesting otherwise.[49] Michael Kennedy's 1976 biography repeated del Mar's points verbatim, adding only that Strauss was "not a deep thinker" and "not cut out for heroics."[50]

The most significant contribution to scholarship about Strauss in the 1980s was Gerhard Splitt's 1987 dissertation, which relied heavily on previously unknown archival research.[51] However, Splitt's tone is overtly polemical as he unabashedly claims Strauss to be a strong supporter of the Nazis whose activities and decisions were only for the benefit of the party. Splitt writes that Strauss's anti-Semitism was social rather than racial, and thus indicative of his place among the German elite. He only considers Strauss's anti-Semitism in relation to the composer's decision to replace the Jewish Bruno Walter as conductor for the Berlin Philharmonic on March 20, 1933. According to Splitt, Strauss only agreed after being asked by prominent Nazis, Hugo Rasch and Julius Kopsch. Splitt concludes that this act proves Strauss's latent anti-Semitism and loyalty to the Nazi government.[52]

Unlike earlier writers, Splitt's dissertation only concerned the years 1933 to 1935, therefore any discussion of earlier anti-Semitism or any connections made to Strauss's overall biography would have been outside his purview. Nevertheless, Splitt was the first to accuse Strauss of an anti-Semitic act in his adulthood, and the first to relate that act directly to his relationship with the Third Reich. Following Splitt's dissertation, the 1990s as well as the 2000s saw an increase in scholarly interest in Strauss, with additional critical evaluation and assessment of the composer's biography. Many authors actively attempted to move past blanket judgments

[49] Ibid, vol. 3, 47.
[50] Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss* (London: J.M. Dent, 1976), 95.
[51] Gerhard Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935: Ästhetik und Musikpolitik zu Beginn der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus Verlagsgesellschaft, 1987).
[52] Ibid, 49–58.

about the composer's character, so that more attention was paid to Strauss's early anti-Semitism. But while some writers admitted that Strauss demonstrated some degree of anti-Semitism, many joined Splitt in limiting, qualifying, and dismissing the extent to which anti-Semitism was involved in Strauss's life and operative in his decisions.

In both the late 1990s and early 2000s, German historian Michael Kater published two books about musicians working in the Third Reich and focused considerable attention on Strauss and his relationship to the regime.[53] In both books, Kater argues that Strauss accepted Nazism in order to further his own quest for copyright reform.[54] In his 1997 book, he describes the composer's anti-Semitism as "genteel, largely economic, religious, and culturally motivated; his aversion to Jews was not personal but was rather most likely directed at a perceived cultural stereotype."[55] Like earlier writers, Kater backs away from the accusation of anti-Semitism.

In 2000, Kater again minimizes Strauss's actions, writing that the composer's anti-Semitic ravings were "nonspecific and rather more like the stereotypes reflecting the anti-Semitic Zeitgeist, because almost everybody did it. The young Strauss was a conformist to society, and these were some of its tendencies at the time."[56] According to Kater, as Strauss matured his anti-Semitism was "offhand and was never ad hominem."[57] Additionally, Kater maintained that Strauss's anti-Semitism was tempered in later life because he had many Jewish friends.[58] Although Kater mainly focuses on Strauss's activities during Hitler's regime, he departs from the tendencies common to earlier writers on Strauss by commenting specifically on the role anti-

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[53] Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) and Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[54] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 204–205 and Kater, *Composers*, 216–218.
[55] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 207.
[56] Kater, *Composers*, 245.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid, 245–246.

Semitism played throughout the composer's life. However, he does not directly connect Strauss's early anti-Semitism to his acceptance of the Third Reich. Kater, like Splitt, ultimately downplays the role of anti-Semitism in Strauss's life. What results in the secondary literature is an overall dismissal of the importance and weight of anti-Semitism not only in Strauss's life but also in the German socio-political milieu.

More recent scholarship has continued to follow the path established by Splitt and Kater, consistently providing reasons why the composer is either not anti-Semitic or how his anti-Semitism was based in youthful pandering to social conventions. Writing in 2002, Matthias Herrmann stated that "many were affected in their youth by the anti-Semitic environment," although Strauss "worked with and benefited from many Jews."[59] Herrmann writes that many artists celebrated Nazi racial theories and uses the pianist Elly Ney as an example of a musician who undoubtedly supported the Nazis. Herrmann's only opinion is that Strauss, the optimist, apparently overestimated his position within the Reich.[60]

The 2014 *Richard Strauss Handbuch* edited by Walter Werbeck points to Strauss's avoidance of the 1935 Hamburg music festival because the music of Jewish composer Paul Dukas was not allowed.[61] For Werbeck, Strauss's behavior demonstrated that "quality music took precedent over Nazi policies."[62] Instead of providing more thorough information on Strauss's relationship to anti-Semitism before or even during the Third Reich, both Herrmann and Werbeck select specific examples to categorically diminish the role of anti-Semitism in Strauss's life. Furthermore, the idea that Strauss had Jewish friends and seemingly respected

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[59] Matthias Herrmann, "'Mir geht nichts über Mich!' Richard Strauss im 'Dritten Reich'," in *Richard Strauss Essays zu Leben und Werk*, edited by Michael Heinemann, Matthias Herrmann und Stefan Weiss (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2002), 225.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Walter Werbeck, ed., *Richard Strauss Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2014), 45.
[62] Ibid.

certain Jewish authors cannot be used to dismiss his overall and continuous anti-Semitic behavior.

In previous scholarly literature on Strauss, there has been a continued interest in the composer's anti-Semitism and its influence on his professional, political, and personal decisions during the Third Reich. The argument that his anti-Semitism should be disregarded because he was parroting a youthful influence, or following social convention is dismissive of the profound effect of nineteenth century German culture. While not wholly discounting previous scholarship on the subject, this dissertation argues that Strauss's social environment should also be strongly considered because it became a part of who he was and consequently influenced his behavior, outlook on the world, relationships, and musical works. Additionally, in previous Strauss scholarship, there has been a general silence on the composer's views toward German Others and specifically their representation in his operas.

According to Jolanta T. Pekacz, the traditional approach to writing biographies has relied on a number of assumptions about the subject's personality such as that there is a unity and coherence to personality. In an effort to achieve this unity, many biographers have concealed the unknown, papered over the cracks, and made casual connections that originated from the mind of the writer rather than from that of the subject.[63] However, Pekacz argues that identities and constructions of race should be viewed as mobile, fragmented, and shifting, depending as much on context as on any defining trait of character.[64] In this dissertation, the focus is on German societal views of foreigners, blacks, and Jews in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, highlighting an unexplored, yet relevant, facet of the composer's biography, one that has direct

[63] Jolanta T. Pekacz, "Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and its Discontents," *Journal of Musical Research*, vol. 23, no. 1(2004): 45.
[64] Ibid, 66–67.

consequences for the interpretation of not only Strauss's relationships with and views toward these Others but also how these attitudes are reflected in his operas.

Following the June 17 letter, amid the loss of Zweig as his librettist and his growing estrangement with the Nazi government, Strauss chose to compose *Friedenstag*, an opera that originated with Zweig in late summer 1934. Like Strauss's biography, scholarly analysis of the opera has also been tainted by his affiliation with National Socialism, while completely ignoring any evidence of stereotypical Othering that may have influenced aspects of the chorus and other characters in the opera. The principal characters of the Commandant and his wife were praised by the National Socialists as the ideal model for Nazi men and women. However, the townspeople were imbued with the kinds of racialized imagery Nazi propagandists reserved for those considered outside the pure Aryan race. Nevertheless, the opera ends with a reconciliation between the two warring Commandants and a jubilant chorus of all the characters celebrating the end of war.

The composer intentionally made the message of the opera ambiguous, which allowed it to be interpreted alternatively as the first true Nazi opera by the Reich and a paean to peace by international observers.[65] When discussing the opera, scholars such as Pamela Potter and Gerhard Splitt have focused almost exclusively on advancing either a strictly Nazi or pacifist interpretation of the work while the townspeople, with their stereotypical characteristics, have gone unnoticed. This dissertation contends that the stereotypes present in *Friedenstag* did not

[65] Biographer Alan Jefferson wrote that when *Friedenstag* premiered it was hailed as the first opera that accurately embodied the ideals and characteristics of National Socialism. In recent years, most scholars, such as Pamela Potter, have found that the opera represented a pacifist reaction to the time, while others, such as George Marek, have questioned its artistic merit. Gerhard Splitt argues for a purely Nazi interpretation of the work. Alan Jefferson, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Dawlish: David and Charles (Holdings) Limited, 1973), George Richard Marek, *Richard Strauss: The Life of a Non-Hero* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), Pamela M. Potter, "Strauss's "Friedenstag": A Pacifist Attempt at Political Resistance," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (Summer, 1983): 408–424, and Gerhard Splitt, "Oper als Politikum.'Friedenstag' (1938) von Richard Strauss," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 55. Jahrg (1998): 220–251.

arise in a vacuum. Rather their inclusion demonstrates the need to understand Strauss's earlier works as part of, and inseparable from, the entirety of their context ―political, social, and cultural. Further, Strauss's decision to include stereotypes of difference in *Friedenstag* was deliberate. Far from simply pandering to the prejudices of the Reich, this dissertation argues that Strauss utilized similar stereotypes in several of his earlier operatic works.

Questioning the origins and context of the anti-Semitic rhetoric present in the June 17 letter and the stereotypes in *Friedenstag* will lead to new insights into Strauss's biography and his earlier operatic works. Furthermore, studying the ramifications of cultural influences on Strauss will assist in creating a model for more sophisticated and deeper examination of other composers' biographies and their works. Following the ideas of Jolanta Pekacz, this dissertation argues that Strauss's operas were vulnerable to local tendencies or cultural tropes, exemplifying the continuous interplay between the ways in which difference was articulated in Strauss's works and the ways difference was articulated in the socio-political culture in which he lived. [66] Throughout the context of Strauss's life and work, Jews, foreigners, and blacks were racialized in Germany in an "effort to interpret and order difference without regard to explicit phenotypical or biological difference, using cultural characteristics as the foundation of differentiation."[67] My work will show how this musical, cultural, and political activity manifested in the composer's operas.

The first chapter provides context for the formation of prejudice against German Others and discusses theoretical approaches and cultural influences. Chapters two through four focus primarily on three of Strauss's operas composed before the rise of the Third Reich—*Salome*, *Der*

[66] Pekacz, "Memory, History and Meaning," 76.
[67] Jo Haynes, *Music, Difference and the Residue of Race* (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2013), 12.

Rosenkavalier, and *Die Frau ohne Schatten*—illustrating the impact of that prejudice on Strauss's life and musical depictions. Using current musicological research on musical exoticism, this dissertation demonstrates that certain characters in each of the aforementioned operas are differentiated from the general ensemble.[68] Their difference should be considered a part of the cultural atmosphere in which they were composed. Unlike earlier scholarship on Strauss, which tends to separate the composer's actions and music during the Third Reich from the rest of his life, this dissertation will show that the composer continuously and consistently adhered to the social norms of German society. Further, Strauss's personal correspondence, manuscripts, and day books found in both archival and published sources will be used to provide context for not only the creation of Others in his operatic works, but also to illustrate the social and political environment in which the works were conceived and produced.

This researcher's work concludes with a discussion of *Friedenstag*, an opera both conceived and composed during the National Socialist period, thereby revealing both an uninterrupted link between the composer's biography and work. This link also reveals the impact social constructions of race and gender have had on Strauss's interpersonal relationships, political decisions, and the ways in which his music has the capacity to participate in and propagate those constructions in daily life. Strauss's participation in the socio-political atmosphere of his time should not be subjected to qualification, lasted throughout his life, shaped his operatic oeuvre in the form of negatively charged stereotypes, and influenced his political decisions.

[68] Musical exoticism is a term coined by Ralph Locke. It refers to the process of evoking in or through music—whether that music is "exotic-sounding" or not—a place, people, or social milieu that is not entirely imaginary and that differs profoundly from the home country or culture in attitudes, customs, and morals.

Chapter 1

Forming the Other: Theoretical and Historical Influences on the Construction of Difference in the Operas of Richard Strauss

Historical construction of German Others began in the long nineteenth century with philosophers such as Johann Herder and Johann Fichte. Their ideas concerning language and the *Volk* were used by later scholars and musicians such as Wagner to justify racist ideas and racial categorization. This chapter will detail the early development of German racism and then use current racial theories to analyze and discuss how race manifests in nineteenth century opera generally, and in Strauss's works specifically.

German nationalism and the Romantic aesthetic shared a symbiotic relationship in the long nineteenth century. Both supported and bolstered the other while serving as a response to the Universalist sentiment of the Enlightenment. Following the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 and the subsequent invasion of Napoleon, German-speaking lands united against their foreign ruler. With the 1815 defeat of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna, a widespread debate developed, one concerned with the notion of German-speaking lands becoming a nation-state. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, two of the great political movements—liberalism and nationalism—converged in their world views. Both were shaped by Romanticism

and a glorification of the individual and the *Volk*.[1] Additionally, both movements reflected the ideals of a national consciousness as theorized by the German philosopher Johann Herder (1744–1803) in his 1777 treatise *Origins of Language*.[2] His reflections on nationhood played a fundamental part in modern nationalism, which in turn provided Germans with new pride in their origins. Herder argued that the uniqueness of individual cultures was expressed primarily in the language of the people (the *Volk*). Thus, the spirit of a nation (*Volksgeist*) was best expressed in its popular culture, a conviction that inspired innumerable ethnographers, scholars, and Romantic nationalists.[3]

Herder's conception of the *Volk* was further developed by Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) in his patriotic *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Addresses to the German Nation), delivered in a series of lectures in Berlin from 1807–1808. Language, for Fichte, was crucial in defining nationhood. Building on Herder's idea, Fichte contrasted the German nation with its linguistic Other which, at that time, was France. Later writers would transform his juxtaposition between Germans and the French into a contrast between Germans and Jews.[4] Richie Robertson writes that, "Fichte's linguistic mysticism powerfully supported the notion of the 'hidden language of the Jew'—the idea that, no matter how impeccably the Jew speaks and writes German, it is not his true language and serves merely to conceal his true identity, which will always be revealed as Jewish through verbal peculiarities, tones of voice, or body-language."[5] As nation-building and

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[1] Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck 1800–1866*, translated by Daniel Nolan (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 250–274.
[2] Johann Herder, "Treatise on the Origins of Language," in *Herder: Philosophical Writings*, Michael N Forster, ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 65–164.
[3] Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, 267–274. See also James J. Sheehan, *German History 1770–1866* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), Richard Taruskin, "The Discovery of the Folk," in *Oxford History of Western Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), and Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press.
[4] Ritchie Robertson, *The 'Jewish Question' in German Literature 1749–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 157–158.
[5] Ibid, 158–159.

nationalism grew in Germany, concern about race came to the fore. However, it was the Jews that received particular attention from racial theorists. According to Alain Finkielkraut in his study of modern anti-Semitism,

> Anti-Semitism turned racist only on the fateful day, when, as a consequence of Emancipation, you could no longer pick Jews out of a crowd at first glance. Since the Jews—those revolting mimics—were no longer distinguishable by any particular trait, they were graced with a distinct mentality. Science was charged with succeeding where the gaze had failed, asked to make sure that the adversary remained foreign, to stigmatize the nation of Israel by enclosing it within a Jewish reality…. Racial hatred and its blind rage were essentially the Jews' punishment for no longer placing their difference on display.[6]

By mid-century the 'science' of race had emerged, and not only in Germany. Scottish anatomist Robert Knox wrote that, "Race is everything: literature, science, art—in a word, civilization, depends on it."[7] Assumptions about race became pervasive, drawing partly on physiology, with its attempts to classify humanity into different types, and partly on the new science of comparative philology. Using assumptions dating back to Herder, this new science suggested that language could provide evidence about the cultural and even physical character of its speakers, thus providing an easy move from language to race.[8]

Although there is no clear evidence of a written record suggesting the response of Strauss and his collaborators, Hofmannsthal and Zweig, to the rise of scientific racism, they, as other German or Austrian citizens, would have been immersed in this social environment. The normalcy of racism in everyday existence is one of the basic tenets of critical race theory.

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[6] Alain Finkielkraut, *The Imaginary Jew*, K. O'Neill and D. Suchoff, trans. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 83. Originally published as *Le Juif Imaginaire*, 1980.
[7] Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Fragment* (London: Henry Renshaw, 1850), v.
[8] For more information regarding contemporary studies on race and racial categories please see J. Deniker, *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography* (London, 1900), Ludwig Woltmann, *Die Germanen und die Renaissance in Italien* (Liepzig, 1905), Richard Andree, *Zur Volkskunde der Juden* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1881), and C.H. Stratz, *Was sind Juden? Eine ethnographisch-anthropologische Studie* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1903).

Critical race theorists are interested in the study and transformation of the relationships among race, racism, and power.[9] The theory itself developed from a need for a new language and literature devoted to the study of race relations and the implications of power. For the purpose of this dissertation there are two components of the theory that will be utilized: the social construction theory and differential racialization. The social construction theory states that race is a product of social relations and thoughts. Corresponding to no biological or genetic reality, races are categories that are not objective, fixed, or inherent, but rather invented and manipulated by society. Differential racialization draws attention to the ways the dominant society racializes and stereotypes minority groups at different times.[10]

Both aspects of critical race theory are useful for explaining the impact of race in Germany and for interrogating how racial stereotypes became a societal commonplace. Race theory also presupposes a hierarchy of differences and assumes the existence of identifiable, distinct races, each with its own separate "character" or "essence". The assumption is that there are "inferior" and "superior" races which supposedly embody lower and higher values respectively. In the racist system of classification, these differences are deemed to be immutable, eternal, and hereditary and serve to rationalize and justify the exclusion of the alien, inferior and more primitive Other.[11] Though Strauss and his collaborators would not have thought in terms of the theories proposed, racial theories are relevant in exploring the cultural atmosphere in which they were reared. Those theories show how that atmosphere contributed to their world-view

[9] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical race theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 3.
[10] Ibid, 8–9.
[11] Robert S. Wistrich, "Introduction: The Devil, The Jews, and Hated of the 'Other'," In *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism, and Xenophobia*, Robert S. Wistrich, ed. (The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 2.

concerning the Others with whom they interacted on a daily basis and the way these groups are represented in the operas under consideration.

From its inception, opera has depicted the political and social realities of the time as observed by those involved in the creation of the work. Opera Scholars Mary Ingraham, Joseph K. So, and Roy Moodly write that, "representations of operatic characters at the margins of contemporary society, frequently constructed as the antithesis of European goodness and virtue, treated as 'Other,' and portrayed as powerless, forbidden, devious, or dangerous (or some combination of these), thus can be observed across centuries of repertoire and performance."[12] By the mid-nineteenth century, everyday situations and a broader spectrum of social classes and characters gained popularity in opera, opening the genre to more direct political and social reflection.[13] While studying the operas of Strauss, it is possible to uncover commonalities that mark differences and exhibit stereotypical late nineteenth century and early twentieth century racial characteristics.

Strauss's *Salome*, *Der Rosenkavalier*, and *Die Frau ohne Schatten* each contain prominent characters who clearly embody stereotypes of difference and the operas span a considerable length of the composer's life before the start of the Third Reich. However, only *Salome* has actual Jewish characters as identified in the libretto. In *Der Rosenkavalier*, the two Italian characters, Valzacchi and Annina, are the outsiders of the cast while in *Die Frau ohne Schatten* it is the Nurse, as a representative of the devil, who is eventually differentiated from the cast and ultimately banished. Musicologist Ralph Locke argues that, "musical exoticism is the process of evoking in or through music—whether that music is 'exotic-sounding' or not—a place,

[12] Mary I. Ingraham, Joseph K. So, and Roy Moodley, "Introduction, Opera, Multiculturalism, and Coloniality," in *Opera in a Multicultural World: Coloniality, Culture, Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 1–2.
[13] Ibid, 2.

people, or social milieu that is not entirely imaginary and that differs profoundly from the home country or culture in attitudes, customs, and morals. More precisely, it is the process of evoking a place (people, milieu) that is perceived as different by the people who created the exoticist cultural product and by the people who received it."[14] In art there are two kinds of Other that are generally demonized: the internal Other, usually identified as a member of society who differs in religion, gender, or social class and the external Other, those belonging to a different culture or nation. Depictions of these two groups relied upon caricature, stereotypes, and exaggeration and often these portrayals had little or nothing to do with the people they represented.[15] According to Sindhumathi Revuluri, "most musical exoticism is so distant from any connection to the 'actual,' so attenuated, that to see the problem as solved once the source materials are identified is to miss the importance of the issue of representation."[16] Therefore, within the context of late nineteenth century German socio-cultural norms, the characters to be discussed in *Salome* and *Die Frau ohne Schatten* will be shown to represent the internal Other while the characters in *Der Rosenkavalier* provide examples of the external Other.

Although there is a general tendency within music scholarship to privilege explanations that grow out of the notes of the score or the music itself, Locke's broader definition of musical exoticism does not exclude works that exhibit few stylistic markers of "Otherness" or none at all.[17] Often, musicologists turn to the score to identify the exotic elements in a work. Hearing or reading the music alone, the musicologist may not identify any immediate ethnic or geographic

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[14] Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 47.
[15] Ziva Amishai-Maisels, "The Demonization of the 'Other' in the Visual Arts," in *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism, and Xenophobia,* Robert S. Wistrich, ed. (The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 44.
[16] Sindhumathi Revuluri, "Maurice Ravel's *Chants populaires* and the Exotic Within," in *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*, Olivia Bloechl, Melanie Lowe, and Jeffrey Kallberg, eds. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 254–255.
[17] Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 46.

overtones. There are, however, extramusical clues in works that are exotic such as sung text, choreography, and costumes. In context, the audience would accept the exotic character's apparent proclivities.[18] Other clues such as contemporary reviews or remarks in letters by the composer or those close to him could be considered circumstantial, though not necessarily any less revealing.[19] Such a search is an inviting task, but it remains a limited one. Attention should be given to the chief contextual aspects of exotic works, that which contemporary artists and audiences would have recognized to be essential to understanding a work: its sung words, visual elements, plot, and action.[20]

There are myriad sources that focus on both the musical analysis of Strauss's operas as well as aspects of his biography.[21] However, in this dissertation, Strauss's operas are analyzed as exotic musical works, presenting a broader context that incorporates aspects of race and difference in the words, actions, and visual components in the staged productions of *Salome*, *Rosenkavalier*, and *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. In this way, the present study is distinct from that of earlier scholarship, demonstrating as it does the continuity of difference and racial stereotypes leading from the aforementioned operatic characters to those of Strauss's 1938 opera, *Friedenstag*. Additionally, the cultural and political atmosphere that surrounded the composer and his collaborators are addressed. Moreover, the critical responses to performances of the operas are examined, to provide some indication of the extent to which these stereotypes of race and difference were understood and processed by contemporary audiences.

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[18] Ibid, 64.
[19] Ibid, 74–75.
[20] Ibid, 82–84.
[21] For more information on musical analysis please see A.A. Abert, *Richard Strauss: die Opern: Einführung und Analyse* (Volk Verlag: Hanover, 1972) and Bryan Gilliam, "Strauss's Preliminary Opera Sketches, Thematic Fragments and Symphonic Continuity," *19th Century Music* 9 (1985–6): 176–88. For information on musical analysis and biography please see Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss*, vol. 1–3 (London: Barrie and Jenkins, LTD., 1972) and Bryan Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Strauss's musical development was heavily influenced by Richard Wagner (1813–1883), whose effect on the operatic world was as strong as Beethoven's influence on the symphony. Strauss was first introduced to Wagner's music through *Siegfried* in April of 1878, then *Die Walküre* six months later. In his childhood correspondence with Ludwig Thuille, Strauss included a review of the performances, commenting, "I have become a Wagnerian; I was in *Die Walküre*, I am enraptured; I don't even comprehend people who can claim a Mozart might be as beautiful, who can go as far as to do harm to their tongue and their gullet by expressing such a thing."[22] Strauss attended a performance of *Tristan und Islode* later that year and his notes tell us that it also made a significant impression on him. Recalling his feelings later in life about the performance, Strauss wrote, "At any rate, it was not until I studied the score of *Tristan*, that I entered into this magic work, and later into the *Ring des Nibelungen* and can well remember how, at the age of seventeen, I positively [devoured] the score of *Tristan* as if in a trance, and how intoxicated I was with enthusiasm."[23]

Strauss was also well acquainted with Wagner's prose works, writing to another friend in April 1889 to request that his copy of Wagner's writings be returned so that he could have them bound. Even as Strauss aged, he continued to read Wagner's prose, as evidenced when in 1944 he wrote to his favorite soprano, Viorica Ursuleac, that he was spending his time reading the "least-read writings of Wagner."[24] Notable secondary scholarship by Willie Schuh, Bryan Gilliam, and Charles Youmans, to name a few, have also noted the important role Wagner, his

[22] Susan Gillespie, trans., "Selections from the Strauss-Thuille Correspondence" (28 October 1878), 212–213.
[23] Richard Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, Willi Schuh, editor and L. J. Lawrence, trans. (Zurich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1949, 1953), 132.
[24] George Richard Marek, *Richard Strauss: The Life of a Non-Hero* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967) , 82, 327.

music, and his writings had on Strauss's musical development.[25] In this study, by focusing on the exotic elements in Wagner's writings and operas, comparisons will be made with Strauss's own works in order to understand the background or foundation for many of the negative stereotypes utilized by Strauss and his collaborators in their own productions.

Many of Wagner's published prose and operatic works were written as anti-Semitism in Germany became more prominent in response to the growing population of assimilated Jews.[26] According to Peter Pulzer, as the Jewish population began to rise to the middle class, they were allowed some degree of social acceptance and with the political revolutions of 1848 came more civil liberties including elected representation of Jewish politicians at the state level. Many Germans, however, responded with violent anti-Jewish rioting to the point where scarcely any Jewish community was spared vandalism or plunder. The failure of the revolutions incited a political backlash regarding Jewish emancipation, and the topic became an inescapable issue. The demand for equal rights strengthened the impression of Jews as a skilled, arrogant, and power-hungry unwanted intruder.[27] It is during this fraught time that Wagner anonymously published his infamous essay, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (*Jewishness in Music*, 1850), revealing himself as the author only in 1869.

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[25] For more information on Strauss's early Wagnerian influence please see Bryan Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain: Richard Strauss and Modern German Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss: Jugend und Frühe Meisterjahre Lebenschronik 1864–1898* (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1976), and Charles Youmans, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[26] For more information on Wagner and anti-Semitism please see David Large and William Weber, eds. *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984), Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner, Race and Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1992), and Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, Rodney Livingston, translator (London: NLB, 1981).

[27] Peter Pulzer, "The Return of Old Hatreds," in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vols. 3, Michael Meyer and Michael Brenner, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 197–198.

According to Wagner, his goal was to explain the "rooted dislike" of the Jewish people and the "involuntary repellence" felt by Germans toward the Jewish nature and personality.[28] With respect to music, Wagner voiced his complaints concerning the commercialism of Jewish artists as well as their lack of artistic originality. Additionally, harkening back to Fichte's "hidden language of the Jew," the essay purported that Jewish artists could not articulate the inner emotions and feelings of the *Volk* because their rootlessness prevented them from speaking in the instinctive and natural voice of Germans who have had the privilege of a historical community. Therefore, music created by Jews merely mimicked authentic Germanic creativity or dealt in the superficial and was thus unable to penetrate the depths of the soul as true art should. Wagner continued by characterizing the cultured or converted Jew as being "in the midst of a society he does not understand, with whose tastes and aspirations he does not sympathize, whose history and evolution have always been indifferent to him."[29]

Wagner scholar Barry Millington tried to soften Wagner's obvious opportunistic anti-Semitic diatribe by writing that there was a partial truth in Wagner's observations:

> Along with the racial abuse, which conformed to the traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes, Wagner advanced a thesis of some originality. There is some truth in Wagner's argument, to the extent that it relates to a transitional period—the period of Wagner's time in which Jewish artists were among the first to be emancipated from the ghettoes and take their place in what had been previously a society closed to them. Wagner, to his credit was 'offer[ing] explanations for what other people had not even noticed.'[30]

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[28] Richard Wagner, *Judaism in Music and Other Essays,* William Ashton Ellis, trans. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 79–80.
[29] Ibid, 88.
[30]Barry Millington, "Wagner and the Jews," in *The Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagner's Life and Music*, Barry Millington, ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1992), 162. For the most part, Millington is echoing and affirming the statements of Bryan Magee which can be found in his book entitled *Aspects of Wagner*. Bryan Magee, *Aspects of Wagner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

Additionally, Millington attempts to reduce Wagner's essay to a simple personal animus, highlighting that the essay was written in the shadow of his failures in Paris between 1839 and 1842. The success of fellow Jewish contemporaries such as Meyerbeer and Halévy only served to aggravate his feelings of inadequacy and fueled his anti-Semitic sentiments.[31]

Derek Katz places Wagner, his essay, and discussions concerning emancipation in a more historical context. Katz writes that around 1850, many Jews began to shed their Jewish religious heritage in order to become integrated into the German cultural milieu. During his formative years Wagner must have been privy to an atmosphere of lively discussion that certainly influenced his ideas, conceptions, and impressions of Jews and Judaism. The dominant liberal trend was toward state secularization, implying the granting of legal rights to the Jews.[32] However, the rise and dissemination of racial anti-Semitism countered these views. There was hardly any anti-liberal publication that did not promote the idea of Jewish domination.[33] Even some contemporary composers such as Robert Schumann (1810–1856) shared Wagner's anti-Semitic views. Schumann often wrote rather explicit, derogatory statements towards Jews in his correspondences with his wife and fellow musician, Clara.[34] However, unlike Wagner, this researcher has found that Schumann kept his anti-Jewish sentiments private, while publicly maintaining a basic level of respect for his Jewish patrons and fellow Jewish composers. Schumann's dual approach only serves to illustrate the two kinds of German anti-Semites: those who openly declared their feelings of inherent superiority and those who maintained some

[31] Ibid, passim.
[32] Jacob Katz, *The Darker Side of Genius: Richard Wagner's Anti-Semitism* (New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1986), 10.
[33] Pulzer, "The Return of Old Hatreds," 200.
[34] David Conway, *Jewry in Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 200.

degree of decorum, only resorting to anti-Semitic outbursts under special circumstances. Strauss, as will be demonstrated, falls into this second category.

An examination of Strauss's biography and works in a more historical context reveals that he, like Wagner before him, was also reared in an anti-Semitic environment. Both Wagner and Strauss matured during the time when Germany was responding to a more prominent Jewish presence. However, the scholarly research on both composers tends to qualify discussions of anti-Semitism, its description vacillating between a biological, economic, and/or religious foundation. For the purpose of this dissertation, German anti-Semitism is defined as a syncretic phenomenon, a *compositum mixtum* of different pseudoscientific doctrines, religious beliefs, racial or biological constructions, nationalistic exclusivity, ideas concerning unequal wealth distribution, and stereotypical opinions based on perceived connections between symbolic, social, fictitious, phenotypic, or mental traits. It presupposes that Jews are a radical Other and therefore deviant from the alleged innate superiority of the Germanic or Aryan mainstream.[35]

Manifestations of anti-Semitic behavior can range from subtle non-verbal ostracization to extreme physical violence. For the purpose of this dissertation, the racialized imagery and Jewish stereotypes that will be discussed with regard to Strauss's operas have been culled from several secondary sources specializing in Jewish history as well as Nazi propaganda films and books such as *Der Ewige Jude* and *Der Giftpilz.* There is agreement between these sources on the following images and stereotypes: Jews as a landless, wandering people with no connection to the German land or people as well as an inability to speak the German language correctly. Aspects of vocal production are characterized by a high pitch, buzzing, nasal intonation, a twisting of the structure of phrases, and mimicry in musical production. Jewish personalities and

[35] This definition has been constructed using a variety of different texts with topics on both anti-Semitism and racism.

talent are characterized by intellect rather than feeling or passion and they possessed an argumentative nature. Hypersexuality, perversion, and hysteria are thought to rule the Jewish psyche, with their motivations being guided by a desire for money that drove both their decisions and loyalty. The Jew portrayed in Nazi propaganda images and descriptions are a parasitic host that fed off the true German people.[36] As an uncontested German anti-Semite, Wagner wrote operas that provide concrete examples of characters with distinguishable stereotypical Jewish traits. For the purpose of this study, this translation of perverse societal racism to the stage provides the perfect avenue for comparison to Strauss and his collaborator's use of racial stereotypes in their operas.

Following the publication of his infamous essay, Wagner's opera, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg,* was completed and performed. Several scholars such as Theodor Adorno, Paul Lawrence Rose, and Barry Millington have likened the character of Beckmesser to a caricature of Jews.[37] The work itself is a product of the 1860s, before the Jewish emancipation, with the libretto completed in 1862, the music in 1867, and the first performance given in 1868. Critics point out that the characteristics imbued in Beckmesser represented the qualities Wagner attributed to those Jews who attempted to create music. Several conventions or Jewish stereotypes are recognizable, including a shuffling gait, a scheming and argumentative personality, and a tendency to be dishonest and self-defensive. In Act II, Beckmesser slinks up

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[36] The sources mentioned include: Richard Wagner, *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, translated by W. Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), Sander L. Gilman, "Strauss, the Pervert, and Avant Garde Opera of the Fin de Siècle," *New German Critique* 43 (1988): 35–68, K. M. Knittel, "'Polemik im Concertsaal': Mahler, Beethoven, and the Viennese Critics," *19th-Century Music*. vol. 29, no. 3 (Spring 2006): 289– 321, and Shulamit Volkov, "Antisemitism as a Cultural Code, Reflections on the History and Historiography of Antisemitism in Imperial Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, vol. 23, no.1 (1978): 25–46.

[37] For more information please see Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagne*r, Rodney Liverstone, trans. (London: NLB, 1981), Barry Millington, "Nuremberg Trial: Is There Anti-Semitism in *Die Meistersinger*?" *Cambridge Opera Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3 (November 1991): 247–260, and Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner, Race and Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1992).

an alley behind the Night watchman, and in Act III he stumbles and limps around the stage. He is a plagiarist and a thief, stealing Hans Sachs's song from his workshop while the cobbler is away. Additionally, he is argumentative, aggressive, and self-defensive. He always suspects the other characters of plotting against him. Beckmesser is "represented as the outsider, the Other, and is made painfully aware and cruelly aware of his Otherness in the course of the opera."[38] When understood in conjunction with *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, the character exemplifies Wagner's assertion of the inability of Jews to compose. In his renditions of songs in Acts II and III—both the borrowed piece and the one newly created by the character—Beckmesser lacks artistic sensitivity and is completely unmusical, he is utterly incapable of matching appropriate musical phrases to the text.[39]

With *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (1848–1874) Wagner created a lasting myth of the rational, loveless Jew who is cut off from the intuitive, warm German *Volk*. Thus, the Jew vengefully seeks to destroy the community of the *Volk* through the accumulation of power, money, and intellect.[40] According to Ritchie Robertson, the character of Alberich can be considered the Jewish capitalist who renounces love for the power of the Rhinegold, later enslaving and forcing the other creatures of the underworld to mine gold for his treasury. Alberich's brother Mime, whose very name suggests the imitativeness of the Jew, is another example of a character fashioned after Jewish stereotypes. In Act II of the third opera, *Siegfried* (1876), the German hero, Siegfried, returns to Mime, his adopted caretaker, after killing and then tasting the blood of the dragon Fafner. Having consumed the dragon's blood, Siegfried is able to understand the language of animals as well as the hidden language of the Jews. As Mime creeps

[38] Millington, "Nuremberg Trial," 250.
[39] Ibid, 251.
[40] Robertson, *The 'Jewish Question,'*162.

up to him with flattering gestures, Siegfried understands his true intention to murder him in his sleep. Thanks to his contact with nature (the dragon's blood), Siegfried is able to recognize the duplicity of the Jew and respond by murdering Mime first.[41]

Contemporary audiences would have understood the Jewish stereotypes being presented by Wagner. Even Gustav Mahler complained about the character of Mime at the Vienna Hofoper in September 1898, "No doubt, with Mime, Wagner intended to ridicule the Jews (with all the traits he bestowed on them—excessive humility and greed—the jargon is textually and musically so cleverly suggested)."[42] Wagner did not need to include the word "Jude" in his operas because the stereotypes featured were self-evident representations of the Jew in his culture. Wagner's myth was soon reinforced by the growing field of racial science.

As the nineteenth century progressed, European developments in anthropology and ethnology began attributing human abilities to racial characteristics. However, the ideas that Jews and non-Jews were biologically different originated in Germany. Peter Pulzer writes that "it was a precondition of successful political anti-Semitism that the distinction between traditional anti-Judaism and modern "scientific" beliefs be blurred and that the racial challenge be formulated in now-or-never terms."[43] Some aspects of this new formulation can be evinced in Wagner's final opera, *Parsifal*.

Composed and first performed in 1882, the creation of *Parsifal* can be viewed as directly aligned with the intermingling of scientific and religious anti-Semitism. Klingsor, as the evil magician, exemplifies the alien outsider whose presence threatens the community of the Volk. Klingsor can also be characterized as the cultured Jew who attempts and fails to successfully

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[41] Ibid, 161–162.
[42] Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 2: *Vienna: The Years of Challenge (1897–1904)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 113.
[43] Pulzer, "The Return of Old Hatreds," 203.

integrate into the dominant society. While Parsifal is seen to be pure with the ability to offer compassion to Kundry, Klingsor is completely impure and beyond the reach of compassion.[44] According to Paul Lawrence Rose, Wagner's opera should be interpreted as a dramatization of the redemption of the Aryan race, granting it racial immortality. Some contemporary reviews of the 1882 Bayreuth performance recognized the anti-Semitic message embedded in the work, as the opera was said to represent the embodiment of the false Jewish Christianity of converted Jews.[45] This representation was also linked to the writing of racial scientist Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882), whose *Essay on the Inequalities of the Human Races* stressed that all men were first and foremost members of a particular race, a condition that determined the salient features of their behavior.[46] *Parsifal* demonstrates that Jews and Aryans were biologically, culturally, and religiously incompatible. Furthermore, the opera also illustrates and reiterates the racial superiority of the German *Volk*.

Wagner's writing and music attracted contemporary supporters who then disseminated his social and aesthetic philosophy. One such follower was Hans von Wolzogen (1848–1938) who was entrusted by Wagner with the editorship of the *Bayreuther Blätter*, a monthly journal founded by Wagner to spread his ideology throughout the German-speaking lands. Wolzogen was not as devoted to Wagner's artistic works as he was to the composer's ideas.[47] In an 1879 letter to Ludwig II, Wagner wrote that Wolzogen was, "… the one man who fully comprehends the ideal meaning of my work and who will devote his life completely to furthering that ideal. He

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[44] Hektor K.T Yan, "The Jewish Question Revisited: Anti-Semitism and 'Race' in Wagner's *Parsifal*," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, vol.43, no.2 (December 2012): passim.
[45] Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1992), 159, 167.
[46] Ibid. See also Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of the Human Races*, translated by Adrian Collins (London: William Heinemann, 1915), originally published in Paris, 1853 and David Large and William Weber, eds., *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984).
[47] David C. Large, "Wagner's Bayreuth Disciples," in *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, David Large and William Weber, eds. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984), 83.

perfectly represents the aesthetic and social side of my art, when it comes to maintaining the purity of my ideas, I can count on him to function as my alter ego."[48] In a continuation of Wagner's philosophy, Wolzogen can be said to have assisted in advancing the spread of a more scientifically based and systematic racism among his fellow Wagnerians.[49]

As a contemporary of Strauss and reared in the same cultural environment, Hans Pfitzner (1869–1949) provides another example of a German opera composer who was also influenced by Wagner's music and writings. In Pfitzner's 1917 opera, *Palestrina*, art overcomes a brand of modernist intellectualism that was linked to Judaism. For Pfitzner, the alternative to atonality or other manifestations of modernism in music could be found in a revival of national and pre-modern folk musical traditions.[50] In his own writing, Pfitzner states that "the fate of our national art, especially music, is under threat from the proponents of atonality: internationalism, which is the enemy of the *Volk*…not only wants to break up states, but also poisons the innermost life of the *Volk*, their heart, as it were. Modern music is led by the Jewish-international spirit."[51] As we see, Pfitzner's language echoes not only Wagner's writing but also the pre- and post- unification anti-liberal rhetoric.

In his capacity as the leading late nineteenth century and early twentieth century German operatic composer, Strauss, along with his collaborators, followed and expanded Wagner's legacy by not only incorporating Jewish stereotypes in their operas but also racial stereotypes of blacks and foreigners. This dissertation posits that audiences and critics of the time would have recognized that certain characters in the operas were coded as Other, despite these characters not

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[48] Richard Wagner to König Ludwig II, Feb. 9, 1879, in *König Ludwig II und Richard Wagner Briefwechsel*, vol. 3, edited by Otto Strobel, (Karlsruhe: G. Braun Verlag, 1936–1939), 146.
[49] Large, "Wagner's Bayreuth Disciples," 86.
[50] Leon Botstein, "Pfitzner and Musical Politics," *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 85, no. 1 (Spring, 2001): 72–73.
[51] Claire Taylor-Jay, *The Artist-Operas of Pfitzner, Krenek and Hindemith* (Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), 49.

being explicitly identified as such. This study focuses on Strauss's works, according to the context in which they were conceived, and the cultural norms familiar to contemporary audiences. Strauss's *Salome*, *Der Rosenkavalier*, *Die Frau ohne Schatten,* and *Friedenstag* are discussed and analyzed respectively in the remaining four chapters as exotic musical works which incorporate characters that conform to the late nineteenth century racial stereotypes of the Other.

Chapter 2

The Scorching Sun in *Salome*: Cultural Coding of Jewishness as Oriental

> The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other.[1]

In a 1942 manuscript, later published by the composer's biographer, Willi Schuh, Richard Strauss reflected on each of his operas: their inception, composition, and first performances. Regarding *Salome*, Strauss wrote that he "had long been criticizing the fact that operas based on oriental and Jewish subjects lacked true oriental color and scorching sun."[2] Furthermore, Strauss notes that it was the "needs of the moment that inspired [him]" to create such a work.[3] In order to provide context and raise the possibilities of what "needs of the moment" inspired him, this chapter begins with a discussion of Strauss's cultural and social influences during the time of the opera's composition and premiere. Special attention is given to the term "oriental" and its function as an indicator of racial difference in contemporary German society. As an exotic work, *Salome* emphasizes Jewish parody and stereotypes in its text, music,

[1] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 1.
[2] Richard Strauss, *Recollections and Reflection Briefe and die Eltern 1882–1906,* Willi Schuh, ed. (Zürich: Atlantis Verlag, 1954), 150.
[3] Ibid.

and visual components. A comparison to Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* further contextualizes Strauss's use of anti-Semitic Jewish tropes. The chapter concludes with contemporary reviews and reactions to the work. It is within cultural atmosphere of Germany that the normality of racism can be located, and once discovered it can demonstrate that Strauss's environment influenced his artistic choices in the creation of the character of Salome and the five Jews.

Salome begins with King Herod Antipas of Judaea, Tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, celebrating his birthday with guests in the banquet hall of his palace. Salome, Princess of Judea, is the daughter of Herodias and step-daughter to Herod. The young captain, Narraboth, is captivated by Salome's beauty and continuously gazes at her while she is seated inside the palace. A page issues a stark warning to the captain, pleading with him to stop gazing at the princess. Tired of the unwelcome attention from her stepfather, Salome leaves the banquet hall for the open air where she hears the voice of Jochanaan, John the Baptist, for the first time. Jochanaan has been imprisoned in a cistern by Herod for speaking against the Tetrarch and his unlawful marriage to Herodias, the wife of his brother whose murder he arranged. Salome is immediately fascinated by the prophet's voice. She easily convinces the enamored Narraboth to release Jochanaan, defying the Tetrarch's orders. As the prophet climbs out of the cistern, Salome is enthralled by his mysterious nature. The increasing disgust he shows at her continual advances only heightens her obsession with touching his body and, ultimately, kissing his mouth. Eventually, Jochanaan curses her and climbs into the cistern again.

The opera continues with Herod, Herodias, and the Jews all coming out to the terrace as Herod searches for Salome. Herod tries to please his stepdaughter with fruit and wine, inviting her to sit beside him on her mother's throne. The five Jews begin to argue about religious matters until Herod ends their bickering by asking Salome to dance for him. The Princess first refuses

him but then changes her mind once she has gotten the Tetrarch to swear an oath to give her anything she asks. Following her dance, Herod is delighted and willing to fulfill Salome's wish immediately. She demands that the head of the prophet be served to her on a silver dish. Horrified, Herod attempts to dissuade the Princess from her appalling request, offering instead priceless artifacts and jewels from the court. Unable to persuade her with other gifts, the Tetrarch is forced to comply with Salome's wish and orders the prophet to be killed. Enthralled by the sight of Jochanaan's severed head, Salome speaks to the dead prophet. In a state of ecstasy she kisses his mouth, therefore fulfilling her desire. Herod, full of bafflement and foreboding, orders the Princess to be killed.[4]

Within *Salome* there are Jewish characters whose stereotypical mannerisms have already been both acknowledged and discussed by numerous scholars. These characters provide the perfect foundation for this dissertation because they demonstrate uncontested stereotypes of difference which can then be used as a point of reference for the remaining chapters of this dissertation. Unlike the chapters on *Der Rosenkavalier*, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, and *Friedenstag*, this chapter draws from existing secondary literature in order to present a cohesive examination of Jewish stereotypes and the social and cultural context in which they were conceived.

Some previous scholars have focused on comparisons between Oscar Wilde's play and Strauss's adaptation. Discussions include the differences between the French and German response to the text and historical examinations of opera and decadence. Writers who focused on Strauss and Wilde directly attributed Strauss's opera libretto to Wilde's play, usually without indicating whether their discussion focused on the original French version of Wilde's text or the

[4] This summary is provided by this researcher's reading of the *Salome* score and libretto. Richard Strauss, *Salome*, in Full Score (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1981).

later English translation.[5] However, despite previously made connections between Strauss and Wilde, this chapter argues that the composer only began work on *Salome* after being inspired by Hedwig Lachmann's German translation of Oscar Wilde's French text. The play was first suggested to him by the Viennese poet Anton Lindner whose poetry Strauss previously set for his 1898 *Hochzeitlich Lied*, op. 37. Lindner provided the composer with the translated play and offered to create a libretto for him. After reading through Lindner's sample scenes Strauss was unimpressed, leading the composer to compare Lindner's verses with Lachmann. It was the first line of Lachmann's translation, "*Wie schön ist die Prinzessin Salome*", that struck him as especially apt for musical adaptation. Strauss was able to confirm his intention to compose the opera following a private showing of the play at Max Reinhardt`s *Kleines Theater* when he indicated to another guest that he was already at work on the piece.[6]

After personally examining Strauss's annotated copy of Lachmann's translation in the archives located in the Richard Strauss Institute, it is clear to this researcher that *Salome*'s libretto is derived directly from Lachmann's translation with minor modification. For the most part Strauss removes text that does not drive the plot forward. For example, he cuts excess

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[5] For more information on *Salome* and decadence, please see Gary Schmidgall, *Literature as Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), Anne Hudson Jones and Karen Kingsley, "Salome: The Decadent Ideal" *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3 (September 1981): 344–352, and Ulrich Weisstein, "Biblical and Modern Decadence in the Twentieth-Century Austrian Opera: Arnold Schönberg's *Moses und Aron* in the Light of Richard Strauss' *Salome* and Alban Berg's *Wozzek* and *Lulu*," in *Decadence (Fin de Siècle) in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation*, Marián Gálik, ed. (Bratislava: Lufema Publishers, 2005). For more information on text comparisons between Strauss and Wilde, please see Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss* (Boston: Northwestern University Press, 1999), Clair Rowden, ed., *Performing Salome, Revealing Stories* (Virginia: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013) and Petra Dierkes-Thrun, *Salome's Modernity* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011).

[6] The story of *Salome*'s inception has been summarized from Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, 150, Charles Osbourne, *The Complete Operas of Richard Strauss* (Vermont: Trafalgar Square Publishing, 1988), 38., and William Mann, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Study of the Operas* (London: Cassell and Company, LTD, 1964), 41. Strauss's use of Lachmann's German translation is further discussed in Norma Chapple, *Re-(en)visioning Salome: The Salomes of Hedwig Lachmann, Marcus Behmer, and Richard Strauss*, Master of Arts thesis (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 2006).

conversations concerning the design and history of the cistern that held the prophet Jochanaan, conversations concerning religion (arguments over the number of Gods and if the prophet is Elias), what wine is being drunk at the Tetrarch's banquet, and a few repeated warnings from the page. Strauss also shortens text from characters throughout the opera, including Jochanaan's first speech from inside the cistern.

From Lachmann:

Nach mir wird Einer kommen, der ist stärker als ich. Ich bin nicht wert, ihm die Riemen an seinen Schuhen zu lösen. Wenn er kommt, werden die verödeten Stätten frohlocken. Sie werden aufblühen wie die Rosen. Die Augen der Blinden werden den Tag sehen und die Ohren der Tauben werden geöffnet. Das Kind wird an der Höhle des Drachen spielen, es wird die Löwen an ihren Mähnen führen.	After me shall come another who is greater than I. I am not worthy as to loosen the laces on his shoes. When he comes shall all the withered places be renewed. They will thrive like roses. When he comes shall the eyes of the blind see the day and the ears of deaf. shall be opened. The child will play at the dragon cave, they will lead the lions by their manes.

From Strauss:

Nach mir wird Einer kommen, der ist stärker als ich. Ich bin nicht wert, ihm zu lösen den Riemen an seinen Schuh'n. Wenn er kommt, werden die verödeten Stätten frohlocken. Wenn er kommt, werden die Augen der Blinden den Tag sehn, wenn er kommt, die Ohren der Tauben geöffnet.	After me shall come another who is greater than I. I am not worthy as to loosen the laces on his shoes. When he comes shall all the withered places be renewed. When he comes shall the eyes of the blind see the day, when he comes the ears of deaf shall be opened.[7]

The prophet's text is shorter without losing the essence of his speech, a technique Strauss employs with several characters throughout the opera in the interest of the plot.

[7] Hedwig Lachmann, *Salome, Übertragung von Hedwig Lachmann zeichnungen von Marcus Behmer* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlage, 1903, first published 1900). A facsimile of Strauss's annotations is located in the Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch, Germany. Richard Strauss, *Salome*, in Full Score (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1981). Throughout this dissertation, unless otherwise indicated, translations are provided by Martin Prokert and Patricia Prokert.

Musicologist Chris Walton writes that events in Strauss's biography have rarely been investigated with a view to examining *Salome*'s genesis. He notes the reason for this may be because the opera's subject matter seems so far removed from the composer's own experience. As Walton points out, however, "it is precisely in the realm of the biographical that we can find new insights."[8] Following this line of thinking, the broader German historical context in which Strauss's opera was conceived, written, and performed will be discussed.

A few years prior to his decision to compose the opera, the world was gripped by the ongoing drama and legal battle that surrounded the Dreyfus Affair in France.[9] In short, Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935), a Jewish captain in the French army, was arrested and convicted in 1894 for selling French military secrets to the Germans. The case was highly publicized in France and immediately picked up by the French anti-Semites who claimed that only a Jew, a cosmopolitan with no homeland, could not possibly serve any country faithfully.[10] As adamantly as the anti-Semitic press believed and propagated the idea of a Jewish villain, the liberal and Jewish presses perceived the strong possibility of judicial error.[11] By the summer of 1897, the rumor of a new trial began to circulate, leading the international press to start reporting on events surrounding the case.[12]

In Germany, of the numerous media outlets that covered the Dreyfus Affair, a few newspapers would have had a wide readership in Munich where Strauss had taken a post as

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[8] Chris Walton, "Beneath the Seventh Veil: Richard Strauss's 'Salome' and Kaiser Wilhelm II," *The Musical Times*, vol. 46, no. 1893 (Winter, 2005): 12.
[9] For general information regarding the Dreyfus Affair please see Jean-Denis Bredin, *The Affair: The Case of Alfred Dreyfus* (New York: G. Braziller, 1986) and Robert Hoffman, *More than a Trial: The Struggle for Captain Dreyfus* (New York: Free Press, 1980). For further information on the Dreyfus Affair and its influence on French music and composition please see Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1999).
[10] James F. Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair in the European Press, 1897–1899* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1998), 6–7.
[11] Ibid, 7.
[12] Ibid, 9.

Kapellmeister in 1894. For example, among the liberal papers was the most prestigious in Germany, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, owned by a prominent Jewish publisher and with a readership of more than one-hundred thousand. On the conservative side was the Munich based *Das Bayerische Vaterland*, which claimed to represent "Bavarian particularist views."[13] Generally, the German based liberal press focused on the exculpatory evidence while the Munich based conservative press attempted to muddy the evidence by insinuating anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.[14]

Dreyfus was permitted a new trial in 1899 in which he was again found guilty. Two weeks after the verdict, the French president pardoned Dreyfus. During the peak of the affair, between 1894 and 1899, Strauss was being heavily influenced by the anti-Semitism of Cosima Wagner and Alexander Ritter. If Strauss had formed an opinion on the matter, it would not be hard to imagine he would lean toward a more conservative view, especially since Dreyfus was twice convicted of treason. By the end of 1898, Strauss had moved to Berlin as the first Kapellmeister of the Berlin Court Opera. However, in 1904, the year before *Salome*'s premiere, the Dreyfus case was again brought to court for further investigation. It was not until 1906, the year after *Salome*'s premiere, that the Affair finally ended with the exoneration of Dreyfus. Within his article, Walton does not discuss the Dreyfus affair, instead he focuses on the court of Wilhelm II. Yet the prominence of the Affair and the international attention it received would most certainly have colored the social and political context within which the composition of *Salome* occurred.

According to Walton, the court of Wilhelm II provides the most immediate context for understanding Strauss's work on *Salome* was composed. During the latter part of the nineteenth

[13] Ibid, 128–129.
[14] Ibid, passim.

century, Berlin, as the capital of Germany, was Europe's fastest growing economic power, and at the center of that power was the royal court of Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859–1941). The Berlin Opera was funded directly by Wilhelm's purse, essentially making Strauss, as head Kapellmeister, a direct employee of the Kaiser. In such a position Strauss was subject to many meetings with the ruler and became a common presence at court.[15] Walton goes so far as to suggest that the court of Herod in the opera is really a depiction of the court of the Kaiser, providing comparisons between the characters in the opera and real life members of Wilhelm's government.[16] Further, Walton asserts that any anti-Semitic passages in the opera should be regarded as broadly anti-religious, suggesting that "the real target for Strauss here was almost certainly Christianity, which was a religion that he actively disliked, rather than Judaism, which neither interested him nor touched him enough to rouse his ire to a similar extent."[17] In examining this claim, the present chapter argues that the anti-Semitism present in *Salome* was deliberately included in the opera as a result of Strauss's desire to include "oriental and Jewish subjects." As we have seen, Strauss had associated Jews with difference from the time of his childhood. This chapter will demonstrate that the stereotypical characteristics ascribed to both Salome and the Jewish characters in the opera reflect nineteenth century cultural norms and specifically the rise of scientific racism. Furthermore, the anti-Semitism present at Wilhelm's court and fueled by such events as the Dreyfus Affair, only served to bolster the negative views towards the Jews.

Wilhelm's biographer Lamar Cecil has identified the Kaiser's "well-developed anti-Semitism, noting that he prevented Jewish citizens from having careers in the army and the

[15] Walton, "Beneath the Seventh Veil, 5–7.
[16] Ibid, 13.
[17] Ibid, 19.

diplomatic corps and frequently used abusive language against them."[18] Despite his personal anti-Semitism, the Kaiser also knew that the Jews provided important financial benefits to court, and was known to host Jewish nobles at court. Wilhelm was firm in his exclusion of Jews in the army, administration, and the restriction of their artistic and literary endeavors, but he never advocated for their expulsion from the Reich. He argued that if expelled from the Reich, "the Jews would take their enormous riches with them and we would strike a blow against our national welfare and economy which would put us back 100 years, and at the same time leave the ranks of the cultured nations."[19] The Kaiser recognized the value of the Jews only in relation to his own gain and to that of the county as a whole. As long as the Jews served this important financial purpose they could be tolerated.

Another influence on Wilhelm and his court was the publication of Houston Stewart Chamberlain's 1899 book, *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (*The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century)*, which proclaimed Germanic or Aryan superiority. Chamberlain (1855–1927) was an Englishman who greatly admired Wagner and chose Germany as his adoptive country. As an ardent Wagnerite he became a member of Cosima Wagner's inner circle in the late 1880s, eventually marrying Wagner's daughter, Eva.[20] Chamberlain's book argued for the superiority of the Teutonic race and the importance of racial categorization. For Chamberlain, race was the key to history. The Kaiser became one of Chamberlain's great admirers, writing him letters extolling him as a "liberator who had aroused 'all the mighty Germanic Aryanism (das Urarisch-Germanische) that slumbered within me'."[21] Wilhelm would hand out copies of

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[18] Lamar Cecil, *Wilhelm II: Prince and Emperor, 1859–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 57.
[19] Geoffrey G. Field, *Evangelist of Race: The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 253–254.
[20] Ritchie Robertson, *The 'Jewish Question' in German Literature 1749–1939: Emancipation and its Discontents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 169.
[21] Ibid, 170–171.

Chamberlain's book to court visitors and the Kaiser reported to Chamberlain that, on a visit to Rome in 1903, he "quoted whole pages" from the *Foundations* to Pope Leo XIII.[22] Despite Wilhelm's fondness and respect for Chamberlain's work, it did not lead him to adapt a new viewpoint but it did provide him with more "scholarly" arguments to support his existing beliefs. The public also clearly approved of Chamberlain's book, as it was widely sold, read, and discussed with three reprintings in its first year alone. [23]

Chamberlain and Strauss were known to each other through their shared friendship with Cosima Wagner. As early as 1891 Cosima wrote to Chamberlain to inform him of Strauss, "When I see you I shall tell you all about this remarkable man [Strauss], who for strength and sureness in our art has no rival."[24] It was through this connection with Cosima and his admiration for Wagner that Strauss became familiar with Chamberlain's earlier writing, even before he made it to Wilhelm's court. In 1893, the composer praised Chamberlain's essay, "Richard Wagner und die Politik" writing to Cosima that the essay was "highly commendable" and "had brought him much joy."[25] Following the publication of the *Foundations*, Cosima made sure to recommend Chamberlain's text to Strauss writing that "[he] would be very interested in the book."[26] Between Wilhelm, Cosima, and Strauss's own interest in Chamberlain's writing, it appears likely that the composer was familiar with the *Foundations.* As with Wilhelm, this researcher contends that Chamberlain's book would not have changed Strauss's views but rather

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[22] Field, *Evangelist of Race*, 253–254. For more information regarding Pope Leo XIII's opinion towards Jews please see David I. Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001).
[23] Ibid.
[24] Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss: Jugend und Frühe Meisterjahre Lebenschronik 1864–1898*. (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1976), 226.
[25] "Chamberlains höchst verdienstlicher Aufsatz in den letzten [Bayreuther] Blättern hat mir große Freude gemacht…" Florenz, den 13. Juni 1893. Franz Trenner, ed., *Cosima Wagner–Richard Strauss: Ein Briefwechsel* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1978), 166.
[26] "Ich habe jetzt ein Buch gelesen, von dem ich sicher bin, daß es Sie interessieren wird, es ist die‚Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts' von Chamberlain." Bayreuth, den 29. April 1899. Ibid, 235.

offered a more academic perspective to his own perception of the Jews, cementing that they were to be considered different, alien, and Other.

The Kaiser was not quiet about his views towards Jews; he freely acknowledged and argued his perspective to members of and visitors to the court. It can be assumed that Strauss, already acclimated to the anti-Semitic environment of his youth, would not have been surprised or bothered by the atmosphere of anti-Semitism in the court. According to sociologist Jo Haynes, the idea of race becomes durable "through everyday cultural imaginaries—meanings, values, beliefs, ideas and their representations—where race is regularly reproduced through discourses of difference relating to popular beliefs about color, ethnicity, and nationality."[27] In accordance with Haynes's understanding of the construction of race, this chapter posits that Strauss's experiences led him to develop a socially constructed view of Jews as Other, as he was consistently—and comfortably— in the presence of those who reinforced this world view.

It is my assertion that the anti-Semitism of the Kaiser's court figures prominently in Strauss's very conceptualization of the work. Even at the outset, this researcher contends that Strauss regarded Jewishness as the radical Other—oriental and exotic—and therefore deviant from the alleged innate superiority of the Germanic race, a view also posited by Wilhelm and disseminated throughout his court. According to Ritchie Robertson, the term oriental was initially applied to Jews as a marker of difference and defined them as alien. Although Jews had settled in Europe for many centuries, to call the Jews oriental meant that they could not be Europeans. Furthermore, Jewish women were credited with disturbing oriental sensuality.[28]

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[27] Jo Haynes, *Music, Difference and the Residue of Race* (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2013), 10.
[28] Robertson, *The 'Jewish Question,'* 428–430.

The identification of Jews as oriental was not a new concept in the Berlin court. In 1871, nineteenth century German historian Heinrich von Treitschke became a member of the Reichstag, and from that time until his death he was one of the most prominent figures in Berlin. Kaiser Wilhelm II recalled that out of all the highly esteemed scholars who visited his home when he was a child, "Treitschke made the deepest impression on [him]."[29] Treitschke observed that Jews were nothing more than "German-speaking orientals" whose Western language merely masks their oriental wiles, which is learned through their "Jewish Education."[30] Using his status and authority as a historian, Treitschke was able to lay claim to a scientific discourse about the Jews, thereby giving his work an air of credibility. Sander Gilman states that "Treitschke represented the privileged group, the academy, and he laid claim to the rhetoric of scientific objectivity in his work."[31] Considering the significance of the Dreyfus Affair, Wilhelm's anti-Semitism, and the writings of Chamberlain, this chapter contends that Strauss would have easily found the inspiration to create his opera. Moreover, from its inception, it is evident that Strauss's goal with *Salome* was to continue with the historic and culturally accepted meaning of the word oriental by presenting Jewish characters as Other, starting with the character of Salome herself. The remainder of the chapter will present a new interpretation of the Jewish parody and stereotypes found in the opera's text, music, and visual components.

The story of Salome and her relationship to John the Baptist is related in the Gospels, St. Matthew and St. Mark. In the Gospels, Herold and his family are gentile, not Jewish. Early in the opera Salome differentiates herself from the other guests at Herold's party, including the Jews. In her first appearance on the stage, as she escapes the party within, she describes the guests: "Jews

[29] Kaiser Wilhelm II, *My Early Life* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), 27–28.
[30] Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 214.
[31] Ibid.

from Jerusalem are quarreling over their ridiculous ceremonies, silent scheming Egyptians, and Romans with their cruelty, their dullness, and their course speech."[32] Although, she does not identify herself with any of the guests attending the party including the Jews, some scholars such as Ann Seshadri and Caryl Clark refer to Salome as a Jewish princess without any explanation of why they designate her as such.[33] This researcher finds that the common identification of Salome as Jewish can be attributed to the fact that Strauss imbues her character with several standard Jewish stereotypes that were spread throughout Germany. Her obsession with the prophet, his body, and her need to touch him and kiss his mouth indicate a hyper-sexuality that was immediately associated with stereotypical Jewish characteristics such as insanity, illness and disease.[34]

Anti-Jewish pamphleteer, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Grattenauer (1773–1838) argued that the "mentality of the Jew was unalterable," and that the "special nature of the Jew is related to their sexuality."[35] Grattenauer associated Jewish sexuality with disease, a sign of moral corruption, shamelessness, and whoredom.[36] By the 1880s, German anthropologists in general readily accepted the connection between Jews and psychopathology, and by 1890 standard German psychiatric textbooks disseminated the view that all Jews were especially prone to hysteria and neurasthenia. Neurasthenia was considered to be a disease of the Jews and was symptomized by deviant sexuality.[37] According to the psychiatric textbook by Richard Kraft-

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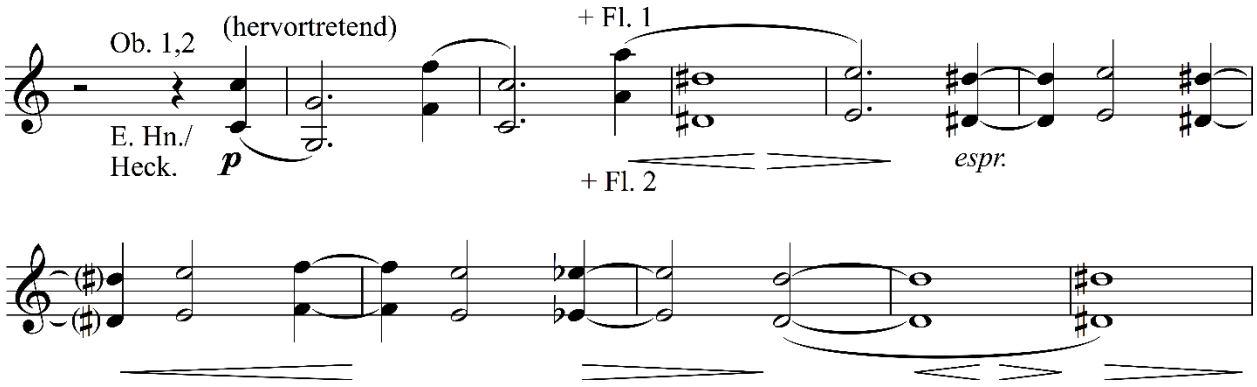
[32] Strauss, *Salome*, in Full Score, 22. Da drinnen sitzen Juden aus Jerusalem, die einander über ihre närrischen Gebrauche in Stücke reißen, Schweigsame, listige Egypter, und brutale ungeschlachte Römer mit ihrer plumpen Sprache.
[33] Caryl Clark, "The Dirt on Salome," in *Performing Salome, Revealing Stories*, Clair Rowden, ed. (Virginia: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013) and Anne L. Seshadri, "The Taste of Love: Salome's Transfiguration." *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture*, vol. 10 (2006): 24–44.
[34] Ibid, 101.
[35] Wilhelm Friedrich Grattenauer, *Concerning the Physical and Moral Characteristics of Contemporary Jews* (Leipzig: Voss, 1791) Quoted in Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, 101.
[36] Ibid, 101–102.
[37] Ibid, 286–289.

Ebing (1840–1902), the "anthropological cause" of insanity among Jews had sexual implications: an "abnormally intensified sensuality and sexual excitement that leads to sexual errors."[38] Throughout the opera, Salome displays symptoms of neurasthenia as she descends into madness and hysteria while her lust for the prophet grows, ultimately resulting in both of their deaths.

Within the music Strauss uses two distinct themes to emphasize Salome's obsession with the prophet. The first theme is heard for the first time after the Princess hears the voice of Jochanaan and begs for the prophet to be brought out of his prison (musical example 2-1). During the musical interlude as the prophet rises from the cistern the theme is played during the last part of the interlude before Jochanaan speaks again. Played in the oboes, English horn, and heckelphone, the theme is built on a series of descending open intervals, which end in a vacillating chromatic line.[39]

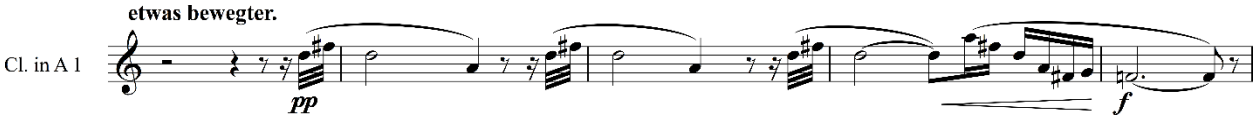


Musical Example 2-1: *Salome*, Dover Score pg. 48, at *hervortretend* (stand out) to rehearsal 66

[38] Richard Kraft-Ebing, *Textbook of Insanity*, Charles Gilbert Chaddock, trans. (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1905), 143. Quoted in Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, 288–289, 292.
[39] The theme is heard at the beginning of the third scene.

For Salome, this theme represents the secret music of Jochanaan's voice which becomes evident by the end of the opera as the Princess sings to the prophet's head. During her final soliloquy, she describes all the parts of Jochanaan's body, referring to his voice as "secret music."[40] It is at this point that Strauss inserts the longest sustained orchestra break in her speech, during which the first theme is heard in the flutes, oboe, and English Horn. Throughout the opera, the theme is usually heard during interactions between Salome and Jochanaan, including when he ultimately rejects her, exclaiming that she is cursed. As we hear, Jochanaan uses his voice to spread the word of God and castigate those who have sinned, such as Salome's mother, Herodias. Since his voice is the first thing that captures Salome's attention and attraction, she focuses on the sound. She does not listen to the prophet's words; she does not care for his warnings and advice. Her obsession for the sound of his voice highlights her own moral corruption which is in direct opposition to his moral fortitude.

The second musical theme of Salome's obsession with Jochanaan represents her lust and occurs for the first time as she begins to observe the prophet's physical features (musical example 2-2). Following Jochanaan's thorough denouncement of her mother, Salome states that "he is terrible."[41] The theme is heard as she sings, played on a solo clarinet, evoking the eroticism of the orient with its close chromatic ornaments and descending chromatic line.



Musical Example 2-2: *Salome*, Dover Score pg. 57, pickup to rehearsal 76, at *etwas bewegter* (more movement)

[40] "Deine Stimme war ein Weihrauchgefäss und wenn ich dich ansah, hörte ich geheimnisvolle Musik," Strauss, *Salome*, in Full Score, 329–330.
[41] Ibid, 76. "Er ist schrecklich."

This theme continues while Salome examines and comments on the prophet's body. When Jochanaan is horrified by her requests, she reacts by telling him that he repulses her. However, the presence of the second theme belies her words and demonstrates her lust for him has not waned. After the prophet is led back into the Cistern the second theme is not heard again until Salome's dance where all themes are present and intermingled. Following her dance and subsequent bargaining with the Tetrarch, the second theme returns with Salome's request of Jochanaan's head on a silver platter. The theme remains present throughout her interaction with the prophet's head and can be heard until she is killed. This second theme represents Salome's sexual deviancy. Both themes are carefully woven into the fabric of the orchestral accompaniment, sounding throughout the opera in many different instrumental combinations. The pervasiveness of the themes further illustrates musically the intensity of Salome's obsession and sexual desire.

Strauss also used music to emphasize the tension and hysteria in Salome's character. For example, after asking to touch Jochannan's body, Salome becomes fixated on the prophet's mouth. First, she asks to kiss his mouth and then, she tells him she will kiss his mouth. As her insistence and passion grows her vocal line climbs higher chromatically—G-natural, A-flat, A-natural, B-flat—to her highest note B-natural. The pattern is repeated at the end of the opera when Salome continuously asks Herod for the head of Jochanaan. Her vocal line gradually ascends until she reaches B-flat when the Tetrarch finally relents. This hysteria leads Jochanaan to proclaim that she is cursed and ultimately it leads to her own death.

Strauss may have drawn some inspiration for his musical characterization of Salome from the works of Wagner, who also deemed the Jew as oriental, exotic, and Other. In the fourth

chapter of his *Die Kunst und die Revolution*, Wagner juxtaposes the German communal spirit with the egotistical oriental barbarian.[42] According to Marc Weiner, when Wagner uses the term oriental, he means non-European, a foreigner bringing exoticism and the threat of a different body and a different world.[43] In both Strauss's *Salome* and Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, the oriental Other always functions as a danger to societal and cultural norms.

In short, Tannhäuser is a minnesinger who is seduced by Venus and willingly held captive in her grotto, the Venusberg. Tannhäuser is finally able to reject her sexual hold on him, break free from captivity, and rejoin his community for a time. However, he is tempted to call on Venus once more and she appears to return him to the Venusberg. It is through the intervention of his community that he is saved and offered salvation for his sins, thus Venus is rendered powerless and her hold on him is gone forever. Venus used her sensuality and hypersexuality to lure Tannhäuser and keep him her captive, away from his community. A comparison of the Venus and Salome characters can be made visually using the photographs below.[44]

[42] Richard Wagner, *Die Kunst und die Revolution* (Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1850), 33–34.
[43] Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1995), 242.
[44] Photo credits: Salome is provided by the Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Archiv Hanns Holdt, Thyma Larsen as Salome, Munich (1907). Venus and Tannhäuser painting by Gabriel von Max (c. 1878).

Figure 2-1: pictured left, Venus and Tannhäuser painting by Gabriel von Max (c. 1878); pictured right, Thyma Larsen as Salome, Munich (1907)

Figure 2-2: Thyma Larsen as Salome, Munich (1907)

Both women are posed seductively, and their lack of clothing suggest that they want attention on their body. Salome uses her sexuality and body to get Narraboth to bring Jochanaan from his prison. She tries to seduce the prophet and is rejected, leading to his own demise. It is also through her body and sexuality that she is able to convince Herod to give her his head. According to Ziva Amishai-Maisels, there are two kinds of Other that are demonized in visual art: the "external other" who belongs to a different nation or culture, and the "internal other", a member of society who differs in some way and exhibits dangerous qualities from which society as a whole must be protected. "This," Amishai-Maisels notes, "creates a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them' and helps bring about 'their' defeat, in feeling and in fact, through domination or extinction."[45] Based on these definitions, Wagner's Venus represents the outer Other, one that is apart from society. She separates Tannhäuser from the dominant society and morally corrupts him through her sexuality. The only way Tannhäuser is able to fully free himself from her influence is to reject her body and rejoin the dominant society. As Venus was never a part of Tannhäuser's community, she is simply sent back to her own realm. Salome, as an inner Other, poses more danger to the community in which she belongs. Jochanaan is able to completely reject her advances but it does not save him in the end. Since she was not accustomed to rejection by the men around her, her only recourse was to have the prophet killed in order to fulfill her own desires. However, this desire caused her to step outside the bounds of the court's morality. Salome must be killed to bring stability back into the dominant society.

[45] Ziva Amishai-Maisels, "The Demonization of the 'Oher' in the Visual Arts," in *Demonizing the Other: Anti-Semitism, Racism, and Xenophobia,* Robert S. Wistrich, ed. (The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 44.

Scholars such as Catherine Clément and Susan McClary have observed that the behaviors displayed by Salome are indicative of hysterical women in general.[46] Additionally, Sander Gilman agrees that Salome's actions are "closely linked to the general qualities ascribed to the feminine at the fin de siècle." "However," Gilman continues, "this link is a classic case of the simultaneous yet exclusionary existence of two related images of difference—the femme fatale and the *belle juive*—which usually function in two different cultural contexts, the former misogynist, the latter anti-Semitic."[47] Although the origins of the *belle juive* date back to medieval literature, the archetype's current form was established during the nineteenth century. The appearance of the *belle juive* is commonly deemed a manifestation of anti-Semitism on the part of the invoker, primarily because the archetype is commonly employed by non-Jewish artists and authors, and is frequently accompanied by other expressions of anti-Semitic notions both on the part of the creator which is then intended for consumption by anti-Semitic audiences. According to literary scholar Efraim Sicher, there are two main categories of the *belle juive*: the first is "positive", and is described as intelligent, noble, loyal, and pure, the second is overtly negative, and is described as coquettish, sly, dangerous, overly sexual, and destructive.[48] Their differences aside, both types serve the same purpose—to cause the distraction or destruction of the Christian hero. Sicher states that there are only two acceptable fates for the *belle juive*. The first is total submission to the Christian lover and through him to the Christian world. The second is death.[49] Salome serves as a purely negative *belle juive*. Her basic function as the *belle juive*

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[46] Catherine Clément, *Opera: The Undoing of Women,* Betsy Wing, trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979, 1988) and Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, & Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991, 2002).
[47] Sander Gilman, "Strauss and Racial Science," in *Opera in a Multicultural World: Coloniality, Culture, Performance*, Mary I. Ingraham, Joseph K So, and Roy Modley, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2016), 134.
[48] Efraim Sicher, *The Jew's daughter: A Cultural History of a Conversion Narrative* (Lanham: Lexington books, 2017), 10–13.
[49] Ibid, 170–171.

archetype is to serve as an erotic symbol of the Other. She is both forbidden and strange, and her seductiveness is dangerous to Jochanaan.[50] Considering that Strauss explicitly stated that he aimed to create an opera with true oriental color and Jewish subjects, this researcher concludes that his characterization of Salome is the embodiment of a *belle juive*.

In addition to Salome there are also male Jewish characters in the opera. The five Jews in the opera also embody several common anti-Semitic stereotypes of the time, including a wealth of anti-Semitic cultural codes the composer utilized that would have been immediately recognized by the German public. One of the oldest charges leveled against Jews concerned their use of the German language, the most infamous of which came from Richard Wagner in 1850. Wagner states that Jews were unable to speak European languages properly and that Jewish speech was always alien, their voice sounding unpleasant and outlandish. The sound of their voice taking the character of an "intolerably jumbled blabber", a "creaking, squeaking, buzzing snuffle;" they are incapable of expressing true passion.[51] He also writes that, "although the peculiarities of the Jewish mode of speaking and singing come out the most glaringly in the commoner class of Jew, who has remained faithful to his father's stock, and though the cultured son of Jewry takes untold pains to strip them off, nevertheless they shew an impertinent obstinacy in cleaving to him."[52]

Strauss highlights the foreign aspects of the Jews in the orchestra from the outset, even before the characters appear. The opera begins with a serene conversation between Narraboth and Herodias' Page, accompanied with relatively sparse and sustained orchestration. Suddenly

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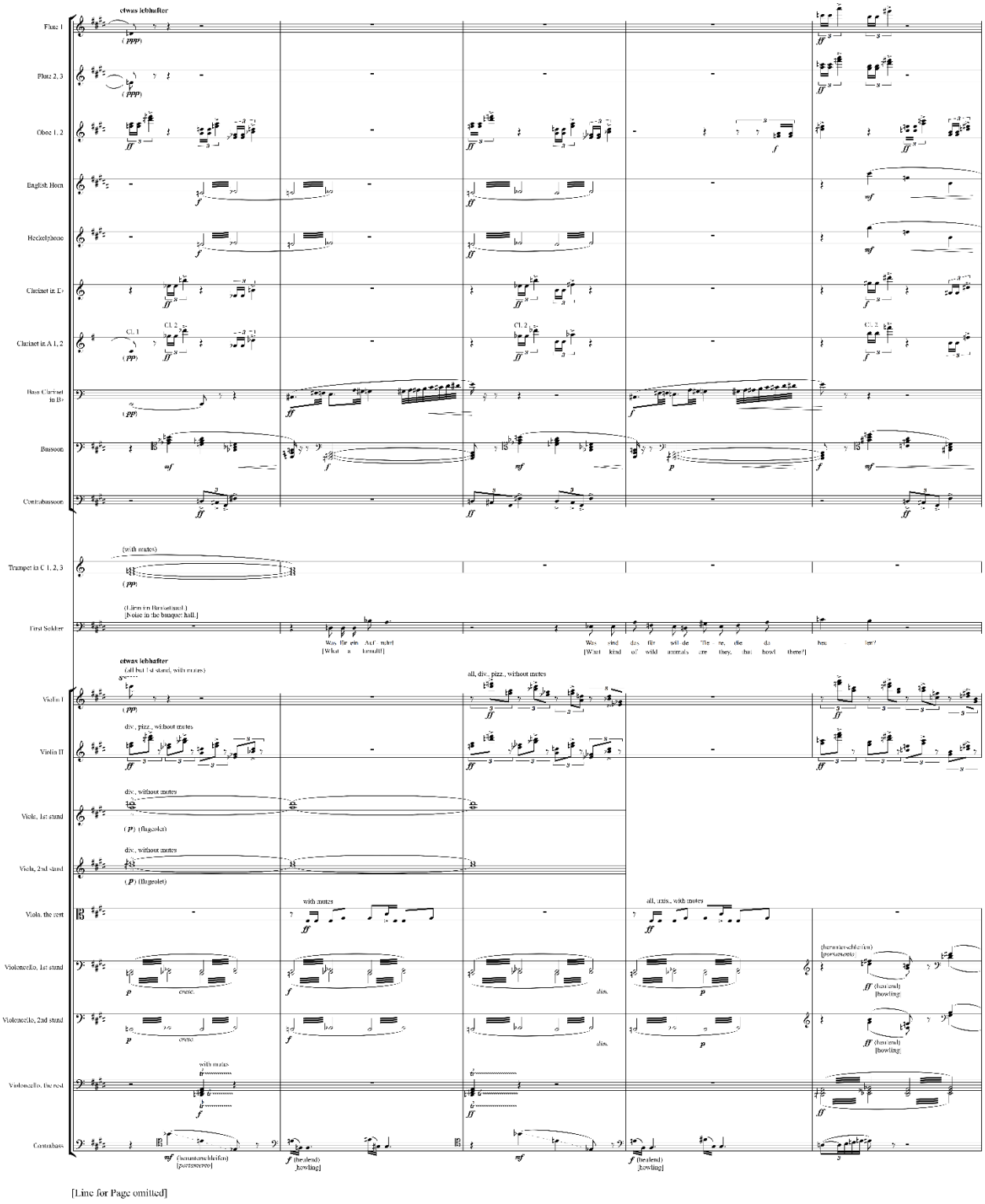
[50] Sander Gilman, "Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt and the 'Modern Jewess,'" *The German Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 2 (Spring, 1993): 198, 203–205, passim.
[51] Richard Wagner, *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, translated by W. Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 84–85.
[52] Ibid, 89.

more instruments are added to the orchestra, the dynamics jump from pianissimo to fortissimo, and the music becomes frantic and unstable (musical example 2-3). Immediately the characters onstage acknowledge and comment on the sudden change, the first soldier asking who sounds like wild animals howling? The answer is the Jews, who are always arguing about their religious doctrine. Here, before they even appear onstage, Strauss already identifies the Jews as different and completely separate from the rest of the characters.



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Musical Example 2-3: *Salome*, Dover Score pg. 7, rehearsal 4, at *etwas lebhafter* (livelier)

Another example of anti-Semitic cultural coding has been identified by historian Uffa Jensen as four categories of Jewish characteristics that nineteenth century educated, middle class Germans perceived and disseminated in literature and human sciences. According to Jensen, "both fields complemented each other: while in literature topical description of contemporary life and of bourgeois culture dominated, the human sciences provided historical foundations from ancient culture."[53] Nevertheless, in both fields the aim was to present an unchanging Jewish character diametrically opposed to the true German nature. The Talmudist is one of the categories identified by Jensen that is especially pertinent in the context of the Jews represented in *Salome*. Jensen writes that Talmudists were "not interested in true morals and deeper meaning, [they] tend to treat religious issues as purely logical problems without any regard to their ethical significance."[54]

In *Salome*, Strauss initially presents the Talmudist Jews only in the orchestra and by the description provided by the soldiers. Later, when Salome comes outside to escape Herod's party, she comments on the party guests inside. She describes the Jews as "tearing each other to pieces over all their foolish ceremonies."[55] When the Jews finally appear, their sole purpose is to argue over religious doctrine, perfectly embodying the Talmudist. Their music becomes increasingly chaotic as more voices are added to the dispute. After each of the Jews speak alone, they begin to repeat themselves, each singing over the other until all of the voices are heard, their words lost in the swell of overlapping arguments (musical example 2-4).

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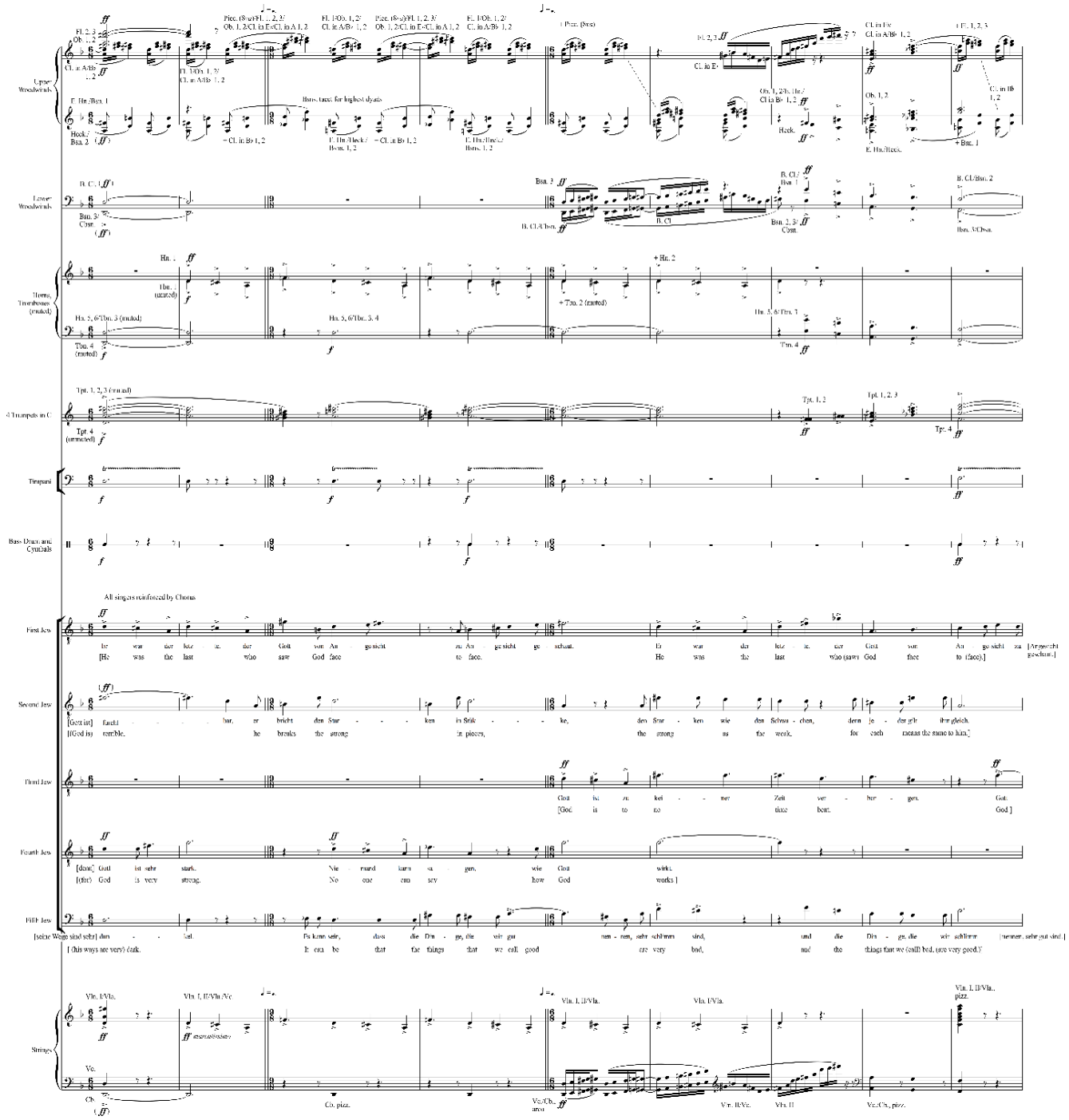
[53] Uffa Jensen, "Into the Spiral of Problematic Perceptions: Modern Anti-Semitism and *gebildetes Bürgertum* in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *German History*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2007): 367.
[54] Ibid.
[55] "Da drinnen sitzen Juden aus Jerusalem, die einander über ihre närrischen Gebräuche in Stücke reissen." Strauss, *Salome*, in Full Score, 21–22.



Musical Example 2-4: *Salome*, Dover Score pg. 160, rehearsal 197

The appearance of the Jews further exemplifies the outlandish and unpleasant sounds described by Wagner as well as the animalistic cacophony initially heard and discussed by the two soldiers.

The Jewish elements in, and anti-Semitic cultural coding of, the opera were not lost on contemporary reviewers and commentators. Regarding the opera itself and the character of Salome in particular, critics focused on the portrayal of "neurasthenia and perversity."[56] The opera was thought to be "too ugly in its core, too unhealthy. One would think that the Baptist is too sacred to be used as the object of a pathological harlot's desires."[57] Salome was thought to be a predator with the lust of a "degenerate creature that skips the border of natural sensuality."[58] Dr. Josef Fisher at the *Bayerische Kurier* wrote,

> Richard Strauss has ensured with *Salome* for the first time, the ugliness in art. It exclusively draws on the perverted, with repulsive naturalism. The wilder and outwardly repulsive Jochanaan looks, the more perverse pleasure he awakens in Salome, who seems to consider this desirable, which is not understandable for any normal person.[59]

One may think that Salome displays features of the classic femme fatale, however, the language used by the reviewers was culturally coded as anti-Semitic. As previously mentioned, German audiences would have recognized neurasthenia, perversity, and sexual deviancy as terms associated with the *belle juive*. Additionally, the comparison to ugliness and disease are known Jewish markers.

Contemporary critics also noticed that the five Jews were made to be a stereotypical farce. The reviewers note that the "Jews look ridiculous,"[60] the Jewish quintet is "characteristic

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[56] Lesnig Collection, *Salome*, Berlin Staatsoper, Erstaufführung (1906.5.12) Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen.
[57] (07.12.1906), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Salome* Reviews Folder.
[58] Dr. Adolf Weißmann, *Der Roland von Berlin* (12.1903), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Salome* Reviews Folder.
[59] Dr. Josef Ludwig Fischer, *Bayerischer Kurier*, München (27.11.1906), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Salome* Reviews Folder.
[60] *Berliner Abendpost*, Berlin (07.12.1906), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Salome* Reviews Folder.

but aesthetically almost unbearable,"[61] and from the Jews "one hears only babbling, a chatter that can no longer claim to be a musical design."[62] Dr. Adolf Weißmann astutely recognized the composers intentions when he wrote, "with the five Jews, Strauss adheres to their *mauscheln*[63], not the content of what they say, but the sound of their voice, their cadence, their gesture. The goal of the exceptional orchestra is not to score their thoughts but rather the imitation of their voices and gestures."[64] Another critic goes a step further when he suggests that when Strauss "lets the five Jews argue with each other accompanied by the orchestra's appalling anti-Semitic cacophonies, he obviously does not want us to understand one word they're saying. Here, it is mere noise for the sake of noise."[65] The Jews are immediately recognized as representations of stereotypes, some even going so far as to name them as anti-Semitic. Strauss was deliberate in his portrayal of the Jews' speaking and gestures, connecting them seamlessly with Wagner's own writing concerning their speech. The Jews are Other because they are unable to speak the language of the *Volk*. In the opera, with every reference, the Jews are identified by their quarreling, their wild cacophony, and this reference was easily identified by German audiences.

Julius Korngold, another German critic, attempts an explanation for the composer's choice, again using the coded language of the time: Strauss was attracted to Salome because she is afflicted with "contemporary problems such as neurasthenia, dispositions to hysteria, and sexual problems."[66] According to Korngold, as a thoroughly modern composer, Strauss "kept an

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[61] Lesnig Collection, *Salome*, Berlin Staatsoper, Erstaufführung, (1906.05.12) Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen.
[62] (07.12.1906), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Salome* Reviews Folder.
[63] A term applied to Jews speaking broken German with a Yiddish accent with or without bits of Hebrew thrown in. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, 140.
[64] Dr. Adolf Weißmann, *Der Roland von Berlin* (12.1903), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Salome* Reviews Folder.
[65] *Münchner Abendzeitung*, München, (27.11.1906), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Salome* Reviews Folder.
[66] "Strauss and the Viennese Critics (1896–1924): Reviews by Gustav Schoenaich, Robert Hirschfeld, Guido Adler, Max Kalbeck, Julius Korngold, and Karl Kraus," selected and edited by Leon Botstein, translated by Susan

eye out for anything contemporary, heeding the currents of the times."[67] Interestingly, Sander Gilman presents a similar rationale for the reason Strauss chose to set the opera. Without using the coded language of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Gilman argues that after the failures of his previous two operas, Strauss deliberately presented Jews from the East, who were the "embodiment of the anti-Semitic caricatures that haunted the dreams of the assimilated Jews."[68] In this way the composer believed he was successful in appealing to the German-Jewish avant-garde. Gilman cites economic reasons behind Strauss's decision to compose the opera, arguing that he used the censors to bolster public interest, thus increasing his revenue.[69] Whatever his exact motivation, it is clear that Strauss intentionally composed Jewish stereotypes that were immediately recognized by contemporary German critics and audiences alike.

Demonization of the Other creates boundaries between the in and out groups, helps to construct a moral order, and defines religious, social and national identity.[70] The Other is considered dangerous, defiling, and disruptive, therefore they must be cast out either by exile or death. By focusing on the political and social aspects of anti-Semitism in the cultural milieu which surrounded the composer during the time of *Salome*'s creation and premiere, a broader picture begins to emerge, one that demonstrates the importance of discussions concerning race and racism in Strauss's biography. It is important to realize that composers are more than their achievements and personality; they and their work are a part of the cultural system in which they

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Gillespie, in *Richard Strauss and His World*, Bryan Gilliam, ed. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 343.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Sander L. Gilman, "Strauss, the Pervert, and Avant Garde Opera of the Fin de Siècle," *New German Critique* 43 (1988): 65.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Robert S. Wistrich, "Introduction: The Devil, The Jews, and Hatred of the 'Other'," in *Demonizing the Other: Anti-Semitism, Racism, and Xenophobia*, Robert S. Wistrich, ed. (The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 8.

lived; their "subjectivity becoming inseparable from socially and culturally constructed categories of [race], gender, class, ethnicity, and nationality."[71]

Salome is one of Strauss's most researched works with scholars focusing on a variety of topics, including the anti-Semitic stereotypes associated with the five Jews and contemporary response to their characterization.[72] Salome is usually discussed as a Jewish princess, a *belle juive*. This chapter intersects closely with previous scholarship, diverging primarily by presenting more direct historical context of anti-Semitism in both Germany's cultural atmosphere during the conception of the opera as well as Strauss's personal connection to the anti-Semitism in his immediate working environment. As the only Strauss opera that includes named Jewish characters, *Salome* demonstrates that the composer is aware of racial stereotypes and willing to use them in his artistic works. Strauss's awareness, however, does not make him in any way a special case but merely reinforces the point that he was an ordinary German citizen that absorbed the normal cultural and social milieu, an atmosphere that highlighted difference in its own population.

In Strauss's formative years he learned that Jews were considered different. He heard and absorbed the anti-Semitic stereotypes upheld by his father, Ritter, and Cosima Wagner. These were further reinforced by Wilhelm's court. When Strauss used culturally coded anti-Semitic stereotypes, enhanced with music, to create his version of *Salome*, he was merely participating in his own communities' perception of the Jewish Other. According to Sander Gilman, Strauss's aim to create an opera based on oriental and Jewish subjects "reflect[s] the concept of the Jew

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[71] Jolanta T. Pekacz, "Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and its Discontents," *Journal of Musical Research*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2004): 79.

[72] For other perspectives on Salome and anti-Semitism, please see the previously mentioned works of Sander Gilman, Clair Rowden, and Chris Walton. Additionally, see Bryan Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain*, Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss*, and Bryan Gilliam, ed., *Richard Strauss and His World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).

held by both anti-Semites and some Jews in the German-speaking world" by 1905, in other words before production of the opera Salome: “The anti-Semite's charged ... that Jews were merely Orientals who would always be outsiders in the West.”[73] Jews in Europe would always remain outsiders, and Strauss's acceptance of this view is clear in the stereotypical behavior of Salome and the five Jews. The societal acceptance of those stereotypes is also reflected in the reception of the opera in Germany. With *Salome*, Strauss participated and propagated German stereotypes of Jews. *Der Rosenkavalier* continues this trend by expanding the purview to include both blacks and foreigners, the visible outer Other.

[73] Sander Gilman, "Opera, Homosexuality, and Models of Disease: Richard Strauss's *Salome* in the Context of Images of Disease in the Fin de Siècle," in *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 158.

Chapter 3

Silence and Caricature: Racial and National Stereotypes in *Der Rosenkavalier*

> "A fool of a German like me, with no word of Italian and very little French, alone and in Italy for the first time, completely dazzled by the glory of Nature and of Art: that is just the dish for the Italians, who can compete with any Jew."[1]

After completing *Salome* and *Elektra*, Strauss was interested in composing a lighter comedy for his next project. *Der Rosenkavalier,* an opera set in eighteenth century Vienna, became that next project. As part of the cast, Strauss includes silent African servants and two Italian characters whose actions provide a comic foil to the main protagonist. With the inclusion of these characters, Strauss and his librettist, Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929), continued to propagate conventional German views toward racial minorities and foreigners. Unlike with *Salome*, the characters representing difference in *Rosenkavalier* are not the focus of current scholarly discussion. If mentioned at all, these characters are only considered in relation to their proximity to the main cast, but never discussed alone or given their own agency. Although historical sources tend to focus on the German–Jewish relationship, blacks and foreigners were

[1] Richard Strauss and Hans von Bülow, *Correspondence,* edited by Willi Schuh and Franz Trenner, Letter to Bülow dated 23 June 1886 (Connecticut: Hyperion Pres, Inc., 1955), 33.

not completely absent from German society. While *Salome* includes the Jewish inner Other, *Der Rosenkavalier* presents blacks and foreigners as the visible outer Other, at the margins of German society but still visible enough to be included in the opera.[2] This chapter discusses the correlation between Strauss's characters in *Der Rosenkavalier* and the racial stereotypes associated with Africans and Italians in eighteenth and nineteenth century German society.

Between the premiere of *Salome* (1905) and *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911) Strauss enjoyed considerable fame and fortune. *Salome* became his greatest triumph to date, with performances in opera houses all over the world. During this time period, the composer maintained his appointment as conductor at the Berlin Court Opera and principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra while also serving as guest conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Vienna. Using proceeds from *Salome*, Strauss was able to purchase land in Garmisch-Partenkirchen and have a villa built there in 1906, residing there until his death.[3] The villa presently houses the Strauss Archive and some family members still reside on the grounds.

Additionally, in 1906, Strauss asked Hofmannsthal permission to set his play, *Elektra*, after seeing a production in Max Reinhardt's Kleines Theater in Berlin, the very same theater where *Salome* first peaked the composer's interest.[4] Around halfway through his setting of *Elektra*, Strauss wrote to Hofmannsthal praising him for being a born librettist. From that point on Hofmannsthal was Strauss's only opera librettist until his death in 1929.[5] In 1908 Strauss undertook an extensive European tour with the Berlin Philharmonic and throughout this time

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[2] The inner and outer Other are discussed in the first chapter and in the second chapter. In short, the internal Other is usually identified as a member of society who differs in religion, gender, or social class and the external Other are those belonging to a different culture or nation.
[3] George Richard Marek, *Richard Strauss: The Life of a Non-Hero* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 192.
[4] William Mann, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Study of the Operas* (London: Cassell and Company, LTD, 1964), 65, 69.
[5] Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, vol.1 (London: Barrie and Jenkins, LTD., 1972), 334.

period several entire "Strauss-Wochen" (Strauss Weeks) were commissioned in various cities including Frankfurt, Dresden, and Munich.[6]

Hofmannsthal began work on the libretto in 1909, following the premiere of *Elektra* in January of the same year. The libretto was complete on July 2, 1910, and by September of that year, Strauss had completed the entire score. *Der Rosenkavalier* received its premiere in Dresden on January 26, 1911. The opera begins in the bedroom of the Feldmarschallin Princess Werdenberg as she wakes with her young lover, Octavian. Their breakfast is interrupted by the Marschallin's cousin, Baron Ochs of Lerchenau, who has come to inform the Marschallin that he is engaged and to ask her for an envoy who will take the silver rose to his betrothed. In the course of their conversation the Baron admits he is only marrying for financial gain and he openly flirts with Octavian who is disguised as a chambermaid. The first act concludes with the Marschallin receiving various vendors and supplicants in the drawing room. Amongst the visitors are the Italian intriguers, Valzacchi and his accomplice Annina, who are quickly dismissed by the Marschallin but secretly hired by the Baron to discover the identity of the chambermaid.

The second act features the introduction of Ochs to his fiancée Sophie at her home. While the Baron is busy negotiating the wedding contract, Sophie informs Octavian that she has no desire to marry the Baron and asks him for help to end the engagement. United against Ochs, the two embrace, causing the Italians to burst into the room, exposing their affection. While the Baron laments his fate, one of the Italians brings happy news from the chambermaid asking for a rendezvous the next evening. The third and final act occurs in a private room where Ochs plans to meet the chambermaid. Unbeknownst to the Baron, Octavian has persuaded the Italians to

[6] Marek, *Richard Strauss*, 192.

help him expose the Baron's lecherous ways so that Sophie would no longer be bound to the marriage contract. As the Baron tries to engage in illicit activity, Annina appears with a multitude of children, claiming to be his abandoned wife. Startled, the Baron calls for the police who restores order but begins to question the Baron about his relationship with the chambermaid. The Baron lies, claiming she is his fiancée when Sophie and her father appear. The Marschallin also appears and reveals the true identity of the chambermaid. Realizing the engagement is over, Ochs leaves. The opera ends with the joining of the young couple, Octavian and Sophie, with the Marschallin's blessing.[7]

The Silent African Servant

Throughout *Der Rosenkavalier* there are several adult black servants who appear in the larger scenes and stand silently toward the back, holding trays, coats, and other such serving props. There is also a black child (*Kleiner Neger*) who serves the Marschallin directly. This child is seen twice: in the first act when the Marschallin rings for her breakfast and in the last act when, after all of the characters have exited, the child returns to the stage to search for the Marschallin's handkerchief. As with the other black servants, the child is nameless and silent, however, unlike the other black servants, the child is given specific stage instructions that allow him to briefly move around the stage, although he does not interact with the other characters.[8] With the inclusion of the black servants, Strauss and Hofmannsthal borrow from an historical precedent where Africans are used for the service of German aristocrats.[9]

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[7] This summary is provided by my own reading of the *Der Rosenkavalier* score and libretto. Richard Strauss, *Der Rosenkavalier*, in Full Score (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1987).
[8] All staging directions are taken from the *Der Rosenkavalier* score and libretto.
[9] The birth of the German colonial empire took place on April 24, 1884 with the annexation of the South-West African "Lüderitz-Land." For more information on the German occupation of Africa please see A. Adu Boahen, ed., *Africa under Colonial Domination 1880–1935* (California: University of California Press, 1985), Hellmuth Stoecker, ed., *German Imperialism in Africa, From the Beginings until the Second World War*, Bernd Zöllner, trans.

Historian Neil Macmaster writes that, some Africans were shipped to Germany as "gifts" for royals during the global slave era. Macmaster continues, "A favorite subject of eighteenth century portrait painters was of the noblewomen attended by her black servant, often a little boy, who served not only as a symbol of wealth and status, but also as a contrast to enhance the whiteness of the mistress's skin."[10] The black boy in *Rosenkavalier* functions exactly as described by Macmaster. Even the costume designs for the black characters exemplify the physical stereotypes of Africans. The following two photos are original sketches made by Alfred Roller of the costumes for the black characters in *Rosenkavalier*. Although the clothes are ornate, the faces of the servants reveal stereotypical characteristics for blacks such as exaggerated lips, extremely dark skin tone, and animalistic features.

(London: C. Hurst and Company, 1986), and Mary Evelyn Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire 1884–1918* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930).

[10] Neil McMaster, *Racism in Europe* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 71.

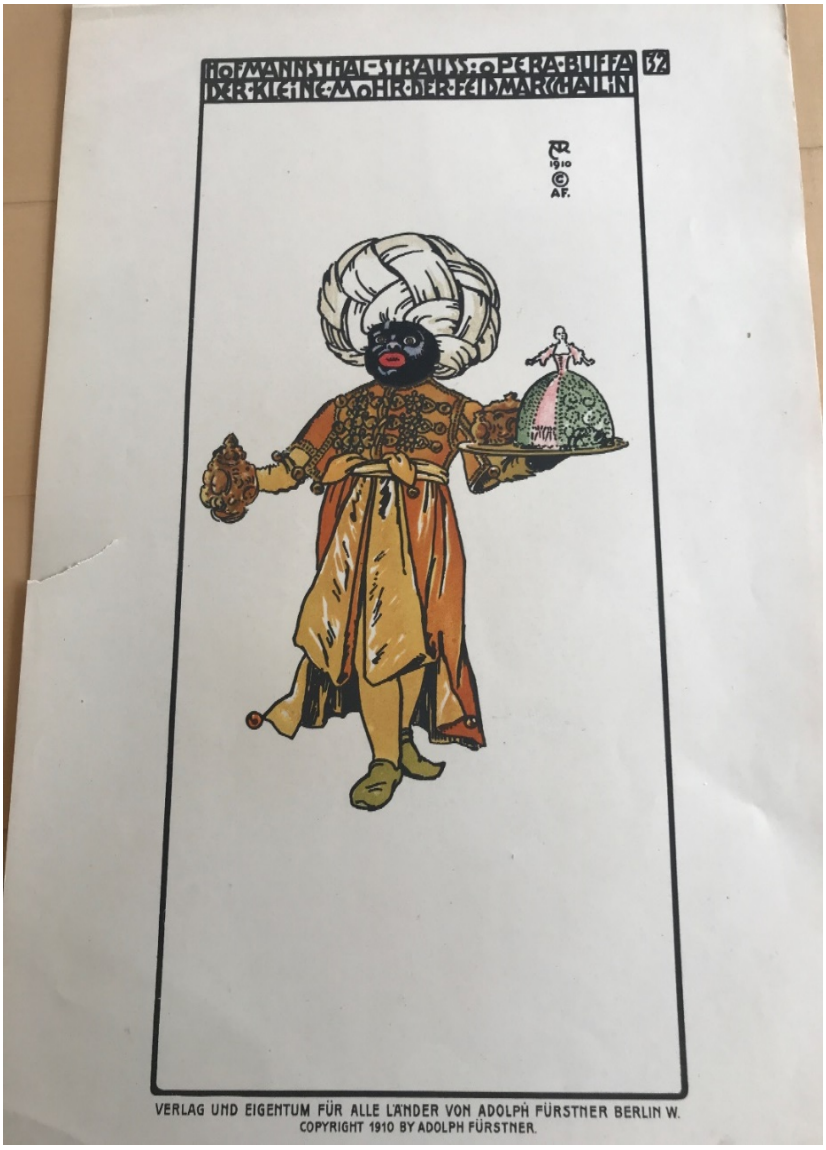

Figure 3-1: "Der Kleine Neger"[11]

[11] "Der Kleine Neger" is the name given to the black child in the libretto and score. Alfred Roller, *Der Rosenkavalier: Skizzen für die Kostüme und Dekoration* (Berlin: Adolph Fürstner, 1910). Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen.

Figure 3-2: Example of an African Servant [12]

However, the physical features attributed to the servants did not originate with Roller's designs. Instead, Roller drew upon long held cultural stereotypes of Africans and their relationship to animals.

[12] Ibid.

As eighteenth century racial scientists were categorizing and "Othering" Jews, they were also taking pains to describe and differentiate Africans. While Jews were demonized and their features scrutinized, Africans were considered one of the lowest racial categories and their physical characteristics more animal than human. Dutch anatomist, anthropologist, and paleontologist, Petrus Camper (1722–1789) was one of the first to study comparative anatomy and provide a series of profiled heads that allegedly document the progression from monkey to black to the average European and finally the Greek ideal. An example of the diagram follows:

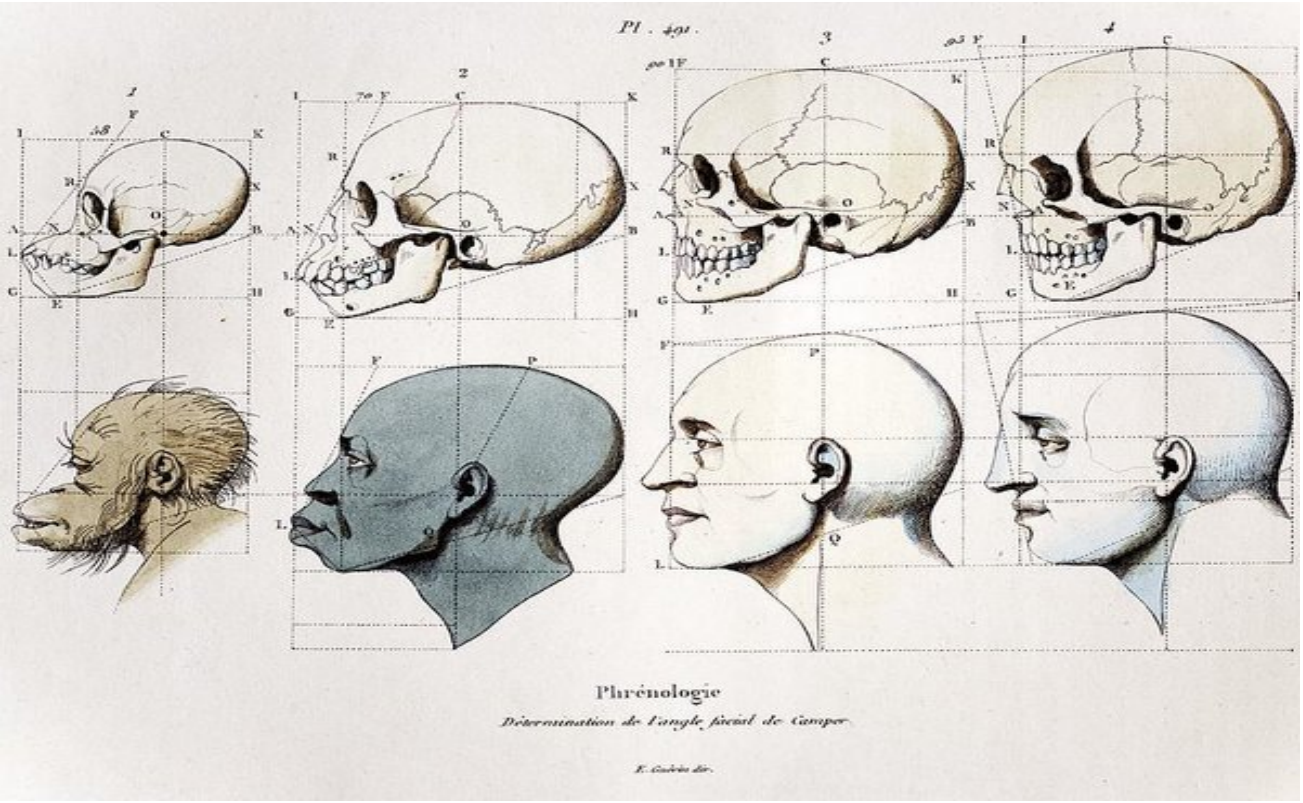

Figure 3-3: Camper's diagram of skulls and facial expressions.[13]

[13] Peter Camper, *Dissertation sur les variétés naturelles qui caractérisent la physionomie des hommes des divers climats et des différens ages* (Paris and the Hague, 1791), plate V. Printed in George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution, A History of European Racism* (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc., 1985), 35.

Camper's findings were later used as one of the bases for scientific racism, his work exploited as supposedly objective scientific proof for white supremacy.[14] Later proponents of scientific racism such as Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) and Ernst Haeckl (1834–1919) went even further to describe the character and physical features of Africans. In his *Essai sur l'inegalité des races humaines*, Gobineau argued that he had "been able to distinguish, on physiological grounds alone, three great and clearly marked types, the black, the yellow, and the white [...] the negroid variety is the lowest, and stands at the foot of the ladder. The animal character, that appears in the shape of the pelvis, is stamped on the negro from birth, and foreshadows his destiny."[15] This line of thinking was continued by Haeckl, German professor of philosophy and zoology. Haeckl, like Gobineau, ranked blacks among the lowest races and depicted them as savages related to apes. He also assigned a completely different value to their lives, equating people of African descent to other non-human mammals, such as apes and dogs, rather than to the civilized Europeans.[16]

This researcher has found that the thinking promoted by scientific racism continued into later centuries even as Africans started to become a visible presence in Germany. The stereotypes of blacks and their relationship to mammals were spread to the masses through the exploitation of Africans in human zoos. According to political scientist Clarence Lusane, in the nineteenth century, Africans voluntarily began to travel to Germany for academic study or to learn a trade. In the 1890s there were at least a hundred Africans in Berlin alone, from all walks

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[14] Miriam Claude Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper (1722–1789)* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), https://petruscamper.com/camper.htm.
[15] Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of the Human Races*, translated by Adrian Collins (London: William Heinemann, 1915), 205–212. Originally published in Paris, 1853.
[16] Ernst Haeckl, *Anthropogenie, oder Entwickelungsgeschichte des Menschen: Keimes- und Stammes-Geschichte* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1876), 10, 332. Quoted in Carol Wayne White, "Denying Black Humanity: White Supremacy and the Culture–Nature Binary," in *The Routledge Handbook of Religious Naturalism*, edited by Donald A. Crosby and Jerome A. Stone (New York: Routledge, 2018).

of life, including students, teachers, diplomats, entertainers, workers, and traders. However, in direct contrast to the Africans who were productive members of society, there were also physical exhibitions of Africans that reinforced the images of barely human creatures, uncivilized brutes, and the black savage.[17] Lusane continues by writing that the exoticizing of Africans not only reified notions of racial superiority but was also a profitable business. Europeans viewed the racist constructions exemplified and embedded by these absurd presentations as fact. Led by the zookeeper Carl Hagenbeck (1844–1913), Germany became a leader in this type of human degradation.[18]

Hagenbeck was a pioneer in displaying humans next to animals in human zoos. Beginning in 1874, he successfully toured his exhibits of human beings, considered "savages in a natural state," in Berlin, Paris, and London. The exhibits presented Nubians, Inuits, Samoan, and Sami people to the public. In 1907, Hagenbeck founded Germany's most successful privately-owned zoo in Hamburg.[19] The following photo illustrates a human exhibition from Hagenbeck's zoo.

[17] Clarence Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims: The Historical Experiences of Afro-Germans, European Blacks, Africans, and African Americans in the Nazi Era* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 54–56.
[18] Ibid, 56–57.
[19] Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009), passim.

Figure 3-4: Photo of Carl Hagenbeck's "Galla Truppe"[20]

The people are shown alongside animals from their native land in an enclosed area. On the left there is a group of spectators outside the fenced-in area and a larger section with stadium style seating is visible although empty. The people are supposedly featured in their natural habitat; therefore, some huts are also present. Hagenbeck, in his autobiography, writes that the animals used in the exhibit were either captured in the wild or bought directly from their owners. As for the people, Hagenbeck does not go into detail about how he persuaded the people to be a part of the exhibit.[21] There was no compensation, Hagenbeck simply states that the people accompanied

[20] Photo provided with permission from Clemens Radauer. www.humanzoos.net / Collection Radauer archive.
[21] Carl Hagenbeck, *Beasts and Men*, Hugh S.R. Elliot and A.G. Thacker, trans. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1912), passim.

their animals for a short visit to "the bustling civilization which they saw around them."[22] On some occasions, Hagenbeck writes that he instructed others in his employ to "import" humans along with animals for different exhibits.[23] Secondary sources also do not explain how exactly the people came to be in Hagenbeck's zoos, instead they use words such as "induced", '"acquired," and echoing Hagenbeck, "imported."[24] The next example is taken from a postcard advertisement for Hagenbeck's zoo, featuring Somali children, again in an enclosed area with animals.

Figure 3-5: Postcard featuring Somali children[25]

[22] Ibid, 19.
[23] Ibid, 20–25.
[24] See Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009) and Rikke Andreassen, *Human Exhibitions: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Ethnic Displays* (UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2015).
[25] Photo provided with permission from Clemens Radauer. www.humanzoos.net / Collection Radauer archive.

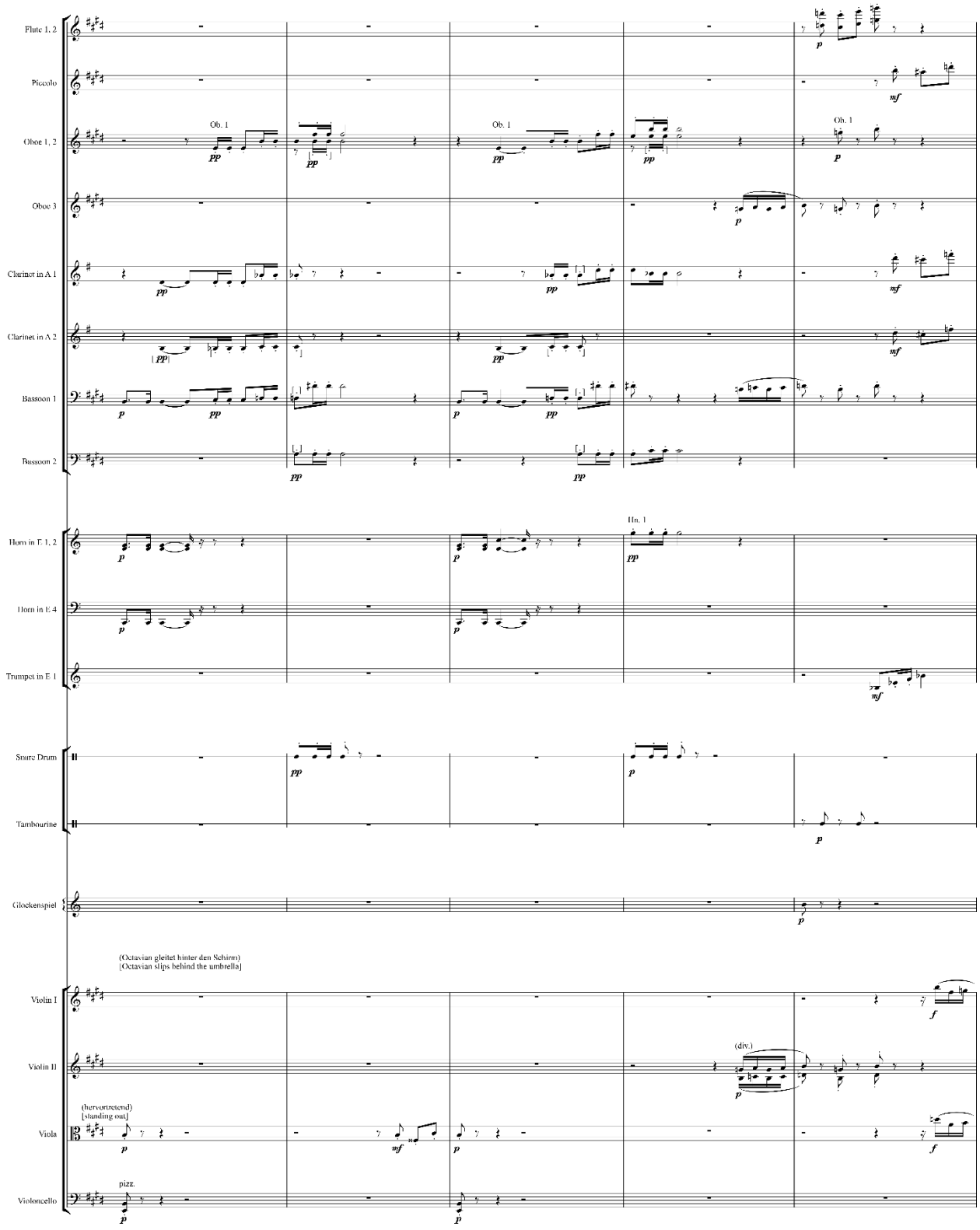
The children are presented alone, without any familial connection. Both examples illustrate the complete foreignness, to the German public, of the Africans being displayed. A postcard of unaccompanied children with primitive weapons, wearing unfamiliar clothes and jewelry and a photo of adults living in huts alongside animals, would both be considered abnormal and strange. The Africans have been removed from their home and used as a silent display of Otherness to entertain and demonstrate how utterly different they are from the German norm.

Africans are presented as the epitome of racial Otherness, those that represent the most mental, physical, and cultural difference from the civilized European. According to Lusane, "the first real contact between Africans or people of African descent and Berliners was through these types of exhibitions."[26] From 1883 onwards Strauss spent long periods of time in Berlin working in various positions such as Conductor at the Berlin Court Opera (until 1908), General Music Director (until 1924), and Principal Conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (until 1918). During his time in Berlin, Strauss would have encountered Africans in all walks of life and perhaps even toured zoos like Hagenbeck's. Clemens Radauer, a cultural and social anthropologist who specializes in human zoos, writes that "human zoos were very popular, and many painters, writers, and musicians/composers visited these exhibitions. It is likely Strauss also visited them or at least witnessed the hype some human zoos started. There is also at least one traditional Viennese song („Wienerlied") that refers to an Ashanti human zoo in Vienna."[27] With the inclusion of the black characters in *Der Rosenkavalier*, Strauss and Hofmannsthal engaged and furthered the stereotypes of difference associated with Africans that began in the eighteenth century and persisted through the early twentieth century. The human zoos of Strauss's time provided visual confirmation of the research espoused by racial science while the

[26] Lusane, *Hitler's Black Victims*, 56.
[27] Private email correspondence between Patricia Moss and Clemens Radauer.

sketches for *Rosenkavalier*'s black servants echoed ideas that were already pervasive in German society.

In the first act of *Rosenkavalier*, when the little black boy brings the Marschallin her breakfast, Strauss accompanies his movement with the light tinkling of the glockenspiel and the rhythmic beat of a tambourine, while the remaining instruments of the orchestra play in a quick staccato. As the child is completely silent, the orchestration most likely is in imitation of the boy's quick movements around the stage with the glockenspiel illustrating his young age and light steps (musical example 3-1). The music of the boy's final scene at the end of the last act also alludes to his movement. The orchestra again features the quick staccato and includes a tambourine for rhythmic punctuation. Focusing on the movement draws the audience's attention to the child, thus objectifying him for his difference just as the Africans placed in human zoos. The boy is used as a reminiscent curio of a forgone age.



Musical Example 3-1: *Der Rosenkavalier* Act I, Dover Score pg. 17, rehearsal 38

Contemporary reviewers noticed and praised Strauss's orchestration and its ability to mimic the actions of the black boy. Joseph M. Jurinek wrote in a review for the Dresden premier that Strauss tried to meet the farce-like elements in the libretto with musical humor, the most outstanding of which includes the negro boy serving breakfast and the music quickly illustrating the skipping of the black boy.[28] A reviewer for the Nürnberg premier was also impressed with the orchestration, noting the pointed drum rhythms and bells that accompany the black child.[29] The movement and demeaner of the child was another subject that interested the critics. In both Berlin and Dresden reviewers commented on the "light, small steps" of the child or the "trip, trip, shoo, shoo" sound of his steps.[30] The writers all seem to write about the black child with an endearing tone, as if he is a beloved figure from a bygone age. Even their name for him, *Negerchen*, invokes an aura of fondness for the child. The silent black servant seems to bring the audience to a happier, simpler time as evinced by the Dresden reviewer Alexander Dillman:

> The strongest impression was made by the final scene. Once the final song, full of dreamlike happiness, faded away and when, just like the last page of a cheerful children's book, the little Negro of the Marschallin skips into the inn with his candle in order to get the lost bride's handkerchief, the audience needs a moment to come back to reality from this delightfully cheerful world.[31]

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[28] Joseph M. Jurinek, Dresden (31.12.1910), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Der Rosenkavalier* Reviews Folder. "Dem schwankartigen Einschlag des Librettos sucht Richard Strauss durch musikalische Humoristika gerecht zu werden, deren Markanteste folgende sind. Ein Negerknabe trägt das Frühstück auf, und schnell ist die Musik bei der Hand, um drollig das Trippeln und Trappeln des Schwarzen zu illustrieren."
[29] N., *Nürnberger General-Anzeiger*, Nürnberg (28.01.1911), Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Der Rosenkavalier* Reviews Folder. "Ein Kapitel für sich wäre natürlich das Orchester, dass hier ein völliges Witzblatt geworden ist und einfach alles malen kann: pikante Trommelrhythmen klingen mit den Glöckchen des Negers zusammen." A force to be reckoned with on its own is the orchestra which has become a completely comic paper here, able to draw just about anything: pointed drum rhythms sound together with the bells of the Negro boy.
[30] Oscar Bie, *Berliner Börsencourier*, Berlin (28.01.1911) Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Der Rosenkavalier* Reviews Folder. "Ein Taschentuch liegt auf dem Boden, ein Negerchen kommt, findet es, trägt es ihr nach, tripp, tripp, husch, husch. " A handkerchief is on the floor, a little Negro comes in, finds it, and takes it to her, trip, trip, shoo, shoo and […] and *Dresdner Anzeiger*, Dresden (04.01.1911) Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Der Rosenkavalier* Reviews Folder. "Octavian achet nicht des hereintrippelnden dienstbaren Negerknaben." Octavian does not notice light small steps of the little Negro boy servant as he entered the room.
[31] Alexander Dillman, Dresden (26.01.1911) Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Der Rosenkavalier* Reviews Folder. "Den stärksten Eindruck hinterließ aber die Schlussszene. Als ihr Schlussgesang voll traumhaften

This researcher has come to the conclusion that the lighthearted movements and seemingly happy and carefree demeaner of the boy are for Strauss's contemporary German audience. However, what is being revered here is a parentless child who has been removed from his own home and reduced to a silent servant in a foreign land. Although dressed regally and placed in a palace, the little black boy in Strauss's opera remains tied to scientific racism and the human zoo. His Otherness is simultaneously on display as a relic of an eighteenth century aristocratic symbol of wealth and status, and of contemporary human exhibitions which displayed difference for entertainment. That the German critics viewed the little black boy as something nostalgic, pleasant, and right is a testament to the normality of African stereotypes in German culture.

The Italian Caricature

Unlike the little black boy who only appears twice, Strauss features two Italian characters who appear throughout the opera. The stereotypes present in their characteristics can be attributed to the experiences and interactions between both the composer and Hofmannsthal with foreigners. In this section different interpretations for the origins of the stereotypes present in the Italian characters will be discussed. Strauss journeyed to Italy for the first time in 1886 and his impression of the country was not altogether positive. On June 23 he wrote to his mentor, the conductor Hans von Bülow, detailing his journey and misadventures, quoted here in full:

> I set off on my great journey to Rome, in the course of which
> the Italians did not pull me to pieces quite in the way they once

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Glücks verklungen war und gewissermaßen als Schlussvignette des heiteren Bilderbuchs der kleine Neger der Marschallin mit der Kerze in die Gaststube trippelt, um das der Braut entfallende Taschentuch zu holen, brauchte das Haus Augenblicke, um aus dieser köstlich heitern Welt in die Wirklichkeit zurückzufinden."

> used to set upon the German Kings—yet all the same they robbed and pilfered me to such an extent that I came home practically like a tramp. With the exception of my ready money, of which they deprived me by honorable means (hotel bills); and my clothes, practically everything else was stolen; a leather handbag, with its contents, from the cab in Naples; laundry in Rome—twice by the washerwoman herself. Now, you know the much vaunted country and can imagine it: a fool of a German like me, with no word of Italian and very little French, alone and in Italy for the first time, completely dazzled by the glory of Nature and of Art: that is just the dish for the Italians, who can compete with any Jew. Finally I really grew to hate the people, but only those people, of course, with whom the traveler comes in contact.[32]

In general, German views of Italians ranged from the romantic fascination for the landscape and architect to the belittling of the unreliable, disloyal, and fraudulent Italian.[33] Strauss's experiences as evidenced above tend toward the latter end of the spectrum. Interestingly, and significantly for this study, the same adjectives he ascribes to Italians have also been designated as Jewish stereotypes. As has been previously discussed, Strauss was well accustomed to the negative stereotypes and caricatures attached to German Jews. It is thus understandable that, in his mind, any negative associations attached to the Italians or outer Others could be equated with Jews, the inner Other.

Additionally, another stereotype equated with Jews is an allegiance to money. As will be discussed in more detail, throughout the opera the actions and fidelity of the Italians are motivated by financial gain. According to Giangiorgio Satragni, the portrayal of Italian characters with negative stereotypes can also be seen in some of Strauss's later operas. For example, in *Die schweigsame Frau* (1935) two of the main characters belong to an Italian opera

[32] Strauss and Bülow, *Correspondence,* 33.
[33] Christian Goeschel, "A Parallel History? Rethinking the Relationship between Italy and Germany, ca. 1860–1945," *The Journal of Modern History* (September 2016): 615.

company and in that capacity Strauss "transforms and parodies several Italian songs."[34] The Italians also "venally fear not to be paid."[35] Further, Satragni writes, the Italian singers of *Capriccio* (1942) "are seen in the same negative light as the intriguers Valzacchi and Annina."[36] The only positive Italian figure, concludes Satragni, appears in *Friedenstag* (1938) as a Piedmontese boy who sings a short Italian song.[37] It seems that while Strauss may have been influenced by racial stereotypes, Hofmannsthal seems to have based the Italian characters on his own personal prejudices towards those of a different class or nationality.

Hofmannsthal belonged to an upper-class Christian family, but he did have Jewish ancestors that allowed him to be a target for anti-Semitism, although he never identified as a Jew. For example, when he co-founded the Salzburg Festival with Max Reinhardt in 1920, they were attacked in the local pan-German and Christian papers as "Jewish interlopers from Vienna invading an Aryan region."[38] On the other hand, he was also disparaged by Jews who felt that he turned his back on his heritage. For instance, in the *Jüdisches Lexicon* of 1928, Hofmannsthal's oeuvre was cited as "depicting the tragic situation of the modern cultural Jew who has lost his faith."[39] Although Hofmannsthal was aware of negative Jewish stereotypes, he self-identified with the same social class as Strauss and he certainly had reached the same level of fame if not more than the composer. According to Nina Berman, Hofmannsthal articulated a conservative

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[34] Giangiorgio Satragni, *Richard Strauss and Italy* (Torino: Allemandi, 2018), 197.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid, 197–198.
[38] Michael P. Steinburg, *Austria as Theatre and Ideology: The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 165.
[39] Julius Bab, "Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, " in *Jüdisches Lexicon* (Berlin: Jüdischer verlag, 1928), 1648. For more information concerning Hofmannsthal and his relationship to his Jewish heritage please see Sander Gilman, "Smart Jews in Fin de Siècle Vienna: 'Hybrids' and the Anxiety about Jewish Superior Intelligence–Hofmannsthal and Wittgenstein" in *The Spirit of Poesy, Essays on Jewish and German Literature and Thought in Honor of Géza von Molnár*, Richard Block and Peter Fenves, eds.(Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2000) and Abigail Gillman, *Viennese Jewish Modernism* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2009).

and paternalistic political vision. The dangers experienced by his central protagonists emanate from environments of poverty, low social status, and/or Germanic territories. These individuals in Hofmannsthal's texts are not depicted compassionately, rather they contribute to the downfall of the protagonist or, alternatively, must be eliminated to safeguard the existing order.[40] In the libretto Valzacchi and Annina are described as Italian intriguers, lower-class foreigners. In this capacity they eventually cause the downfall of the central protagonist, Baron Ochs. Considering Hofmannsthal's fundamental suspicion and perhaps dislike of non-Germans, it would seem that for him the Otherness of the Italians is based on their low class and nationality rather than Jewish stereotypes.

Valzacchi and Annina make their first appearance in the first act, when, "according to custom, a person of nobility receives appointed guests of the court after breakfast in his or her bedroom."[41] The libretto describes Valzacchi as an intriguer and Annina as his accomplice, already implying their role as deceitful plotters. For their entrance, the libretto instructs them to "slip in behind the other guests quietly,"[42] suggesting that they may not have been invited. Valzacchi takes the first chance he has to speak directly to the Marschallin, attempting to sell her what amounts to tabloid news. The Marschallin immediately rejects him, stating firmly "Don't bother me with that gossip"[43] and repeating herself each time he persists until the Italian walks away.

Bryan Gilliam writes that, "the Marschallin's rejection of the intriguers Valzacchi and his assistant Annina makes obvious her removal from sycophants and other people of questionable

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[40] Nina Berman, "Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Political Vision," in *A Companion to the Works of Hugo von Hoffmannsthal*, edited by Thomas A. Kovach (New York: Camden House, 2002), passim.
[41] Bryan Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain: Richard Strauss and Modern German Opera*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 109.
[42] Strauss, *Der Rosenkavalier*, 99. "Valzacchi und Annina hinter diesen rasch gleitend"
[43] Ibid,106. "Laß Er mich mit dem Tratsch in Ruh!"

morality."[44] After being thoroughly dismissed by the Marschallin, Valzacchi and Annina "sneak around the stage behind everyone over to the Baron where they introduce themselves with exaggerated servility."[45] Unlike the Marschallin, the Baron is susceptible to flattery and impressed by the Italians' knowledge of his upcoming marriage. The Italians promise to be of service by spying on his young bride, however, the Baron is more interested in them finding out the identity of the chambermaid. The Italians agree to help the Baron but not before conspicuously holding out their hand, begging for money, a gesture patently ignored by the Baron.[46] Blending into the background, Valzacchi and Annina remain in the bedroom until the Baron and all other remaining guests leave. As with their entrance, the two are instructed to leave "noiselessly and smoothly, without being observed."[47]

The stage direction of the libretto immediately designates the Italians as separate and different from the rest of the cast. As can be seen in the Munich 1937 production photograph below, Valzacchi and Annina are positioned in the shadows, behind and partially hidden by the Marschallin's hairdresser.[48]

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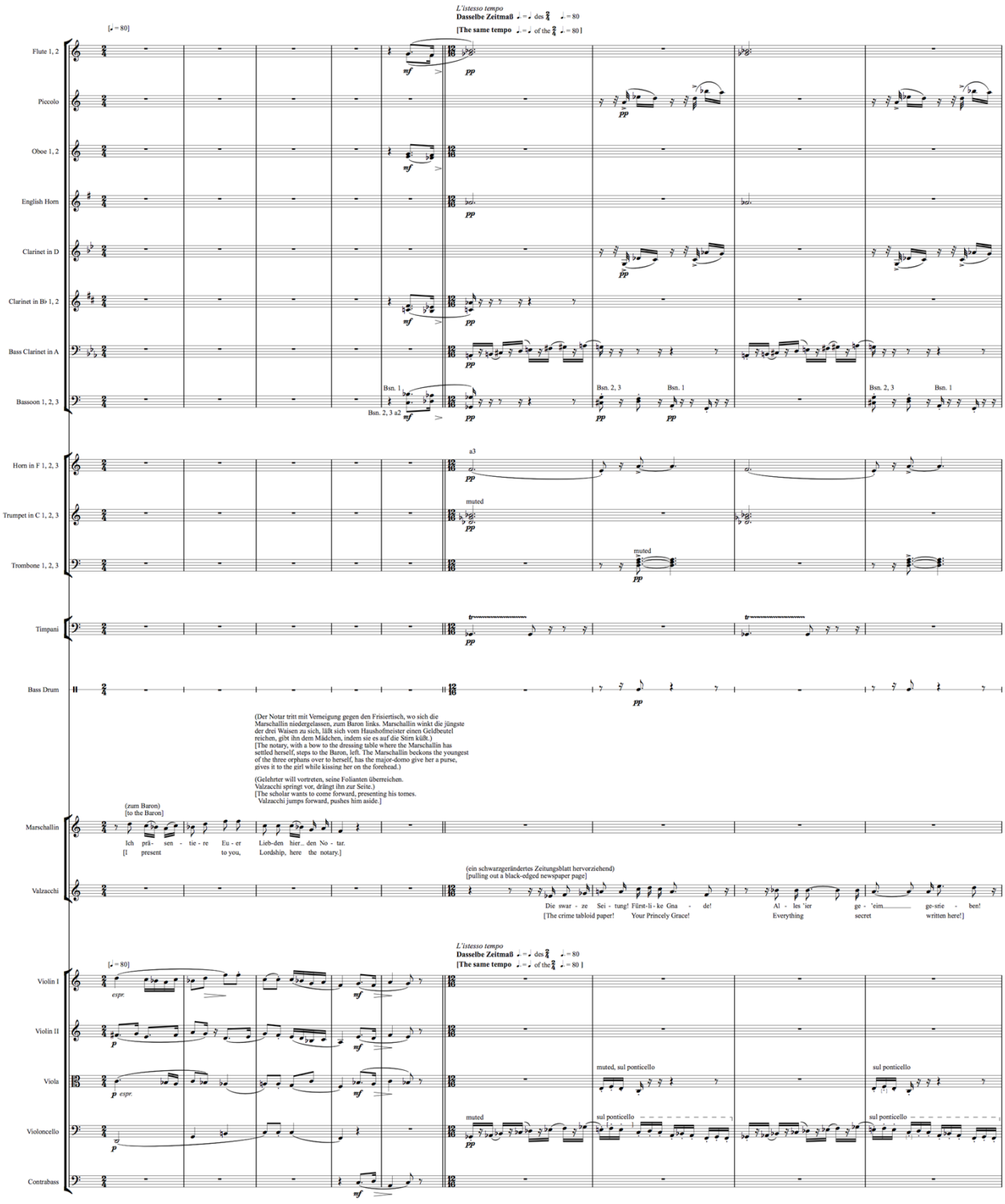
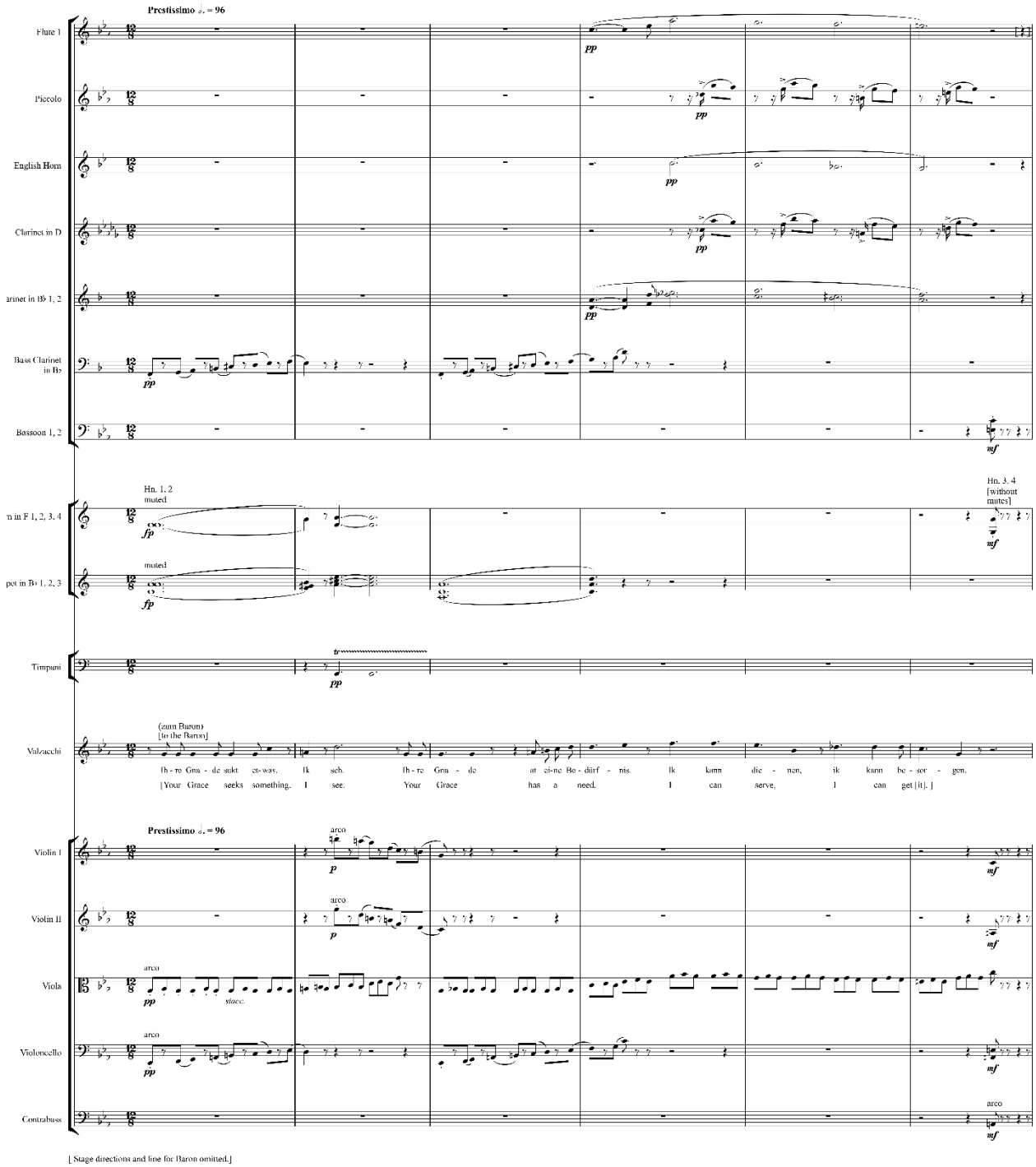
[44] Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain*, 110.
[45] Strauss, *Der Rosenkavalier,* 118–119. "Valzacchi und hinter ihm Annina, haben sich im Rücken aller rings um die Bühne zum Baron hinübergeschlichen und präsentieren sich ihm mit über Devotion."
[46] Ibid, 123. "Sie halten ihm die Hände hin, Geld heischend, er tut, als bemarke er es nicht"
[47] Ibid, 128. "Die beiden Italiener lautlos und geschmeidig, schließen sich unbemerkt an."
[48] Photo credits: Cast photo provided by the Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Archiv Hanns Holdt, Munch (1937). The photos are only used as a visual representation of the stage directions provided in the libretto.

Figure 3-6: Act I: The Feldmarschallin receives guests in her bedroom

They sneak around the Marschallin's bedroom and remain in the shadows until they perceive a financial opportunity. The Marschallin is gracious and polite to all of her guests until Valzacchi appears, only to be curtly dismissed. Their exchange is very short, and the Italian receives no musical theme or motive (musical example 3-2). Instead, Valzacchi's entrance is rather abrupt as he pushes himself forward. The music jumps from the smooth legato of the Marschallin's vocal line accompanied by the strings to staccato strings punctuated with dissonant winds. The Italian's vocal line can almost be described as recitative although, instead of engaging in conversation or moving the plot forward, he tries to speak as fast as possible in order to sell his product.



Musical Example 3-2: *Der Rosenkavalier* Act I, Dover Score pg. 105, rehearsal 225



Musical Example 3-3: *Der Rosenkavalier* Act I, Dover Score pg. 119, rehearsal 253

In their second, somewhat longer interaction with the Baron, the Italians sneak around the back of the stage until they reach the Baron and again attempt to sell their services (musical example

3-3). Their vocal line can again be described as recitative with staccato lower strings which add to the frantic nature of their speech.

Instead of a distinct musical theme, what distinguishes the Italians from the other characters is their use of language and the speed with which they speak. Hofmannsthal took pains to use his knowledge of the Italian language "in order to bring to life the poetic caricature of the Italian characters by giving them the typical defects of Italians who mispronounce German." For example, "aspirated sounds are transformed into guttural ones ('ik' in lieu of 'Ich,' 'maken' instead of 'machen,' 'inter' in place of 'hinter') and Italian words continually fill their speech."[49] Although Hofmannsthal strove to create the dialogue of lower class foreigners intermingling in higher class German society, the mixing of languages in their speech is reminiscent of Jewish *mauscheln*[50] —a dialect easily recognized by contemporary German audiences. Furthermore, Strauss's decision to set their speech in an entirely fast tempo, rendering them almost incomprehensible, harkens back to the unintelligible Jewish quintet in *Salome*. As with the quintet, highlighting the difference of the Italians is more important than understanding the words. Between the language and musical setting contemporary this researcher contend that audiences would recognize the Italians as did Strauss and Hofmannsthal, an Other either by nationality, class, and/or race.

Valzacchi and Annina appear again in the middle of the second act after Sophie asks Octavian to help her end the engagement and the two begin to embrace. The libretto indicates that the two noiselessly sneak away from secret doors in the back corner of the room. As Octavian draws Sophie into a kiss, the two Italians jump forward and grab them while shouting

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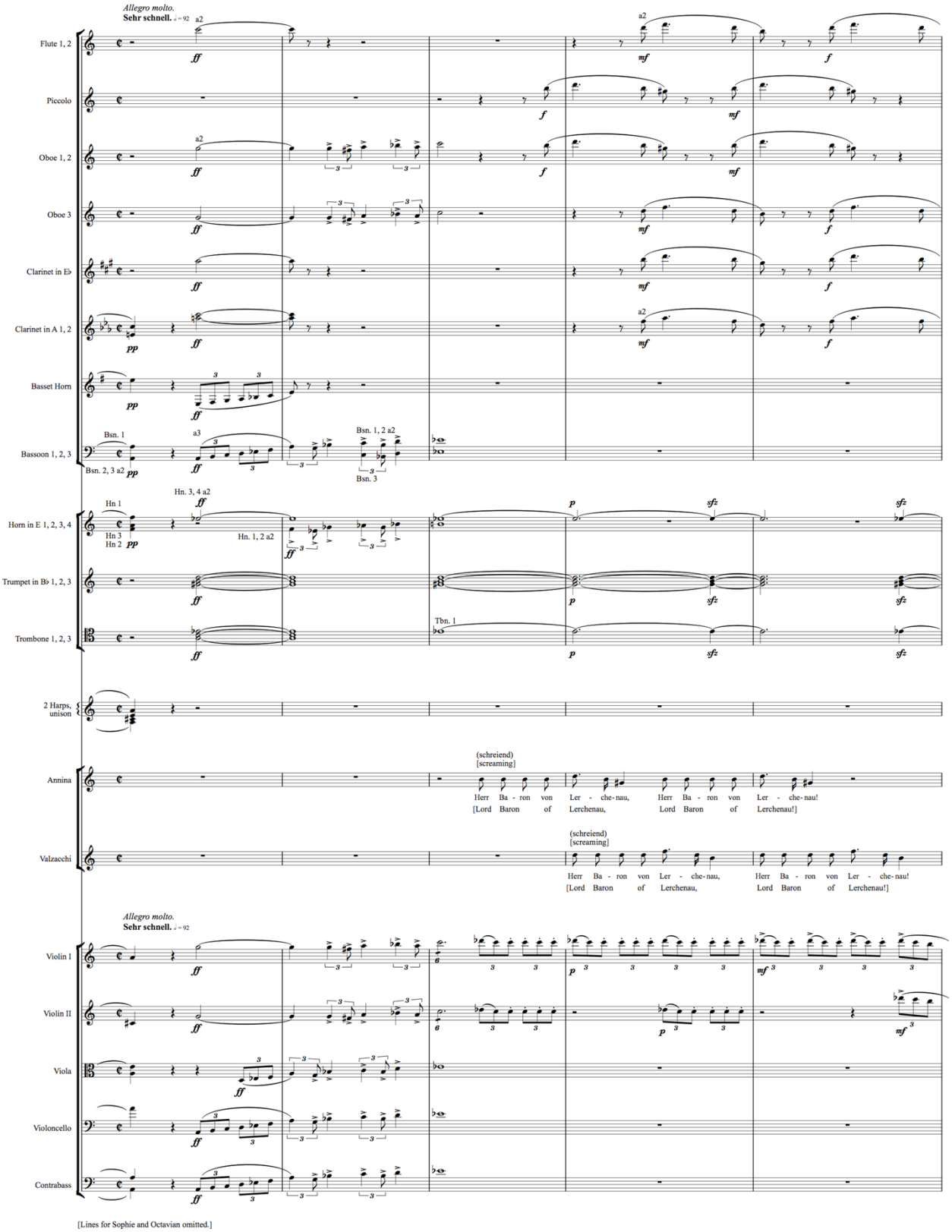
[49] Satragni, *Richard Strauss and Italy*, 196.
[50] A term applied to Jews speaking broken German with a Yiddish accent with or without bits of Hebrew thrown in. Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 140.

for the Baron.[51] The following photo illustrates the moment the Italians accost the two young lovers.[52] They come from behind, wearing dark clothes that allow them to move in the shadows.

Figure 3-7: Act II: Annina and Valzacchi sneak up behind Octavian and Sophie

Again, their music and speech mimic their initial appearances in the first act (musical example: 3-4). The tempo increases and they are accompanied with high staccato strings and fluttering winds. This accompaniment highlights their urgency and screams for the Baron. The Italians continue to share the same unintelligible speech patterns as *Salome*'s Jews.

[51] Strauss, *Der Rosenkavalier*, 249–253. "Aus den geheimen Türen in den rückwärtigen Ecken gleiten links Valzacchi, rechts Annina lautlos spähend heraus. Lautlos schleichen sie, langsam auf den Zehen näher. Octavian zieht Sophie an sich, küßt sie auf den Mund; in diesem Augenblick sind die Italiener dicht hinter ihnen, drucken sich hinter den Lehnsesseln; jetzt springen sie vor, Annina packt Sophie, Valzacchi faßt Octavian."
[52] Photo credits: Cast photo provided by the Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Archiv Hanns Holdt, Munch.



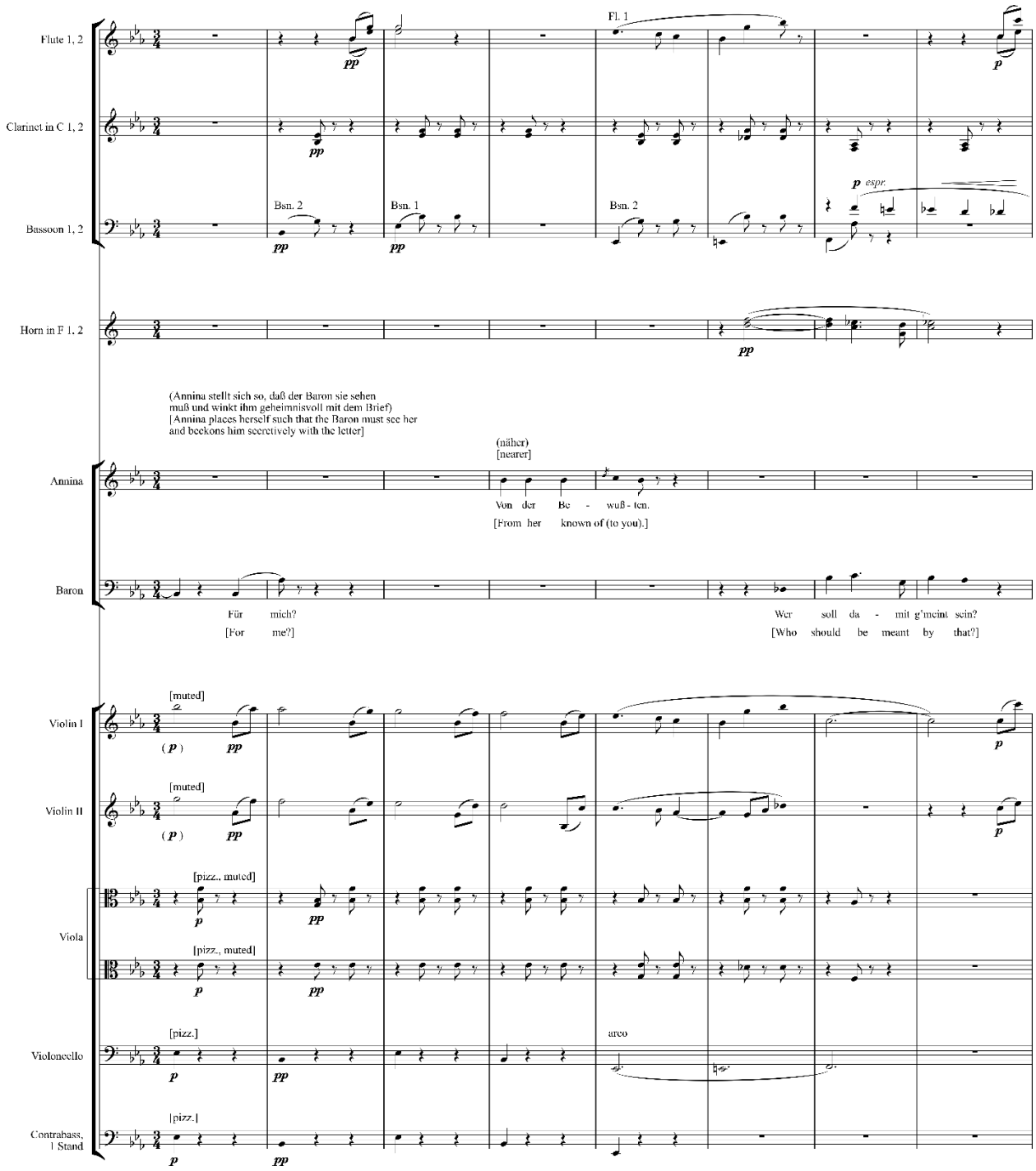
[Lines for Sophie and Octavian omitted.]

Musical Example 3-4: *Der Rosenkavalier* Act II, Dover Score pg. 253, rehearsal 129

After the Baron is wounded, the Italians stir up trouble by telling everyone that Octavian and Sophie were known to each other before this initial meeting. Eventually Sophie's father, Faninal, calms the situation and everyone departs leaving the Baron with Annina. She reads him a letter from the chambermaid that asks for a rendezvous the following evening. Here Annina drops the typical German language defects heard in earlier appearances and suddenly mimics precisely the country dialect of the "maid." Additionally, in past appearances there is an increase in tempo when the Italians speak that obscures their speech. When Annina introduces the letter to the Baron and reads its contents she not only mimics the speech of the maid but also her music aligns with the Baron's slower, waltz tempo and melodic, lyric lines (musical example: 3-5). There is also no change in the accompaniment when Annina begins to sing.

Here, in this moment, the Italian character shows that they are able to assume a different character when needed to further their own agenda. The ability of the Italians to mimic the Baron's music and the maid's speech can also be interpreted as an example of Wagner's view of Jews in his infamous essay, *Judaism in Music*. Wagner wrote that "the Jew speaks the language of the nation in whose midst he dwells" and "in [his] speech, [his] art, the Jew can only mimic and mock."[53] This researcher finds that while in the earlier appearances, the Italians made no attempt to hide their difference from the Baron, here they demonstrate another stereotype of Jews, the ability to use mimicry to ingratiate themselves into the community of the Austrian court.

[53] Richard Wagner, *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, translated by W. Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 84–85.



Musical Example 3-5: *Der Rosenkavalier* Act II, Dover Score pg. 319, rehearsal 238

The Baron is excited and immediately asks that Annina return later in the evening to retrieve his reply. In this exchange Annina again gestures for money and several times reminds the Baron not

to forget the messenger. The Baron ignores her, and the second act closes with Annina "making a threatening gesture behind the Baron's back to show she will soon have revenge on his avarice."[54] This revenge comes swiftly in the final act, as the Italians are the architects behind the scheme to expose the Baron's lecherous ways.

For his part, Hofmannsthal was concerned with the action in the last scene of the second Act. The writer wanted to avoid "three quiet curtains because it might endanger the whole effect" of the opera.[55] He suggested adding a confrontation between the Baron and both Valzacchi and Annina. After the Baron refuses to give Annina money Valzacchi tries to support her, only for both of them to be beaten up and thrown out by the Baron and his retinue. Strauss agreed that the second act needed revision although he disagreed with Hofmannsthal's suggestions. Instead he wrote the following instructions which represent the opera as it is performed today:

> The Italians creep in and hand him [the maid's] invitation to a *tête-à- tête*. This can be left as an effective surprise for the audience. No leading up to it. The end of the act remains as before, except that one might work in the point that the Baron does not tip them. The later scene, which you have sent me, is not necessary. The arrangement between Octavian and Italians can be brought up briefly at the beginning of Act III, just before Valzacchi hands the lady's maid over to the Baron…What do you think of it? Don't be too anxious about motivating the Italians' change of sides…The audience *does not need it*. They'll tumble to it all right.[56]

Both Strauss and Hofmannsthal view the exchange of money to be an important motivator for the Italians. However, Hofmannsthal wanted the Baron's refusal to be more public, an outright dismissal of the lower class who deserve no respect or even consideration. If the Italians were

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[54] Strauss, *Der Rosenkavalier*, 326–327. "Annina geht ab, nicht ohne mit einer drohenden Gebärde hinter des Barons Rücken angezeigt zu haben, daß sie sich bald für seinen Geiz rächen werde."
[55] Ewald Oseras and Hammelmann, Hanns, trans. *A Working Friendship: The Correspondence between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (New York: Random House, 1952), 34–35. Hofmannsthal to Strauss, Starnberg, 12.6.1909 Villa Cantacuzene.
[56] Ibid, 38. Mürren, 9th July 1909. Strauss to Hofmannsthal, Italics are in the text.

violently thrown out, they may have gained the sympathy of the audience and that would violate their role as sneaky intriguers. Strauss rejected this idea completely, rather keeping the Italians in the shadow, their motivation and loyalty bound only by financial gain. Strauss was evidently confident the audience would know, without being explicitly told, that money would inspire the actions of the Italians. Furthermore, this materialistic desire could also be interpreted as a stereotypical trait of the Jews. "The materialistic Jew", writes Uffa Jensen, "is incapable of producing anything of lasting value."[57] The language of materialism is the language of the Jews, a language based in persuasion, fortitude, and commerce. [58] The Italians represent two related images of difference, foreign caricatures and stereotypical Jews, and as such they are the embodiment of what their creators, Hofmannsthal and Strauss, viewed as the Other in German society.

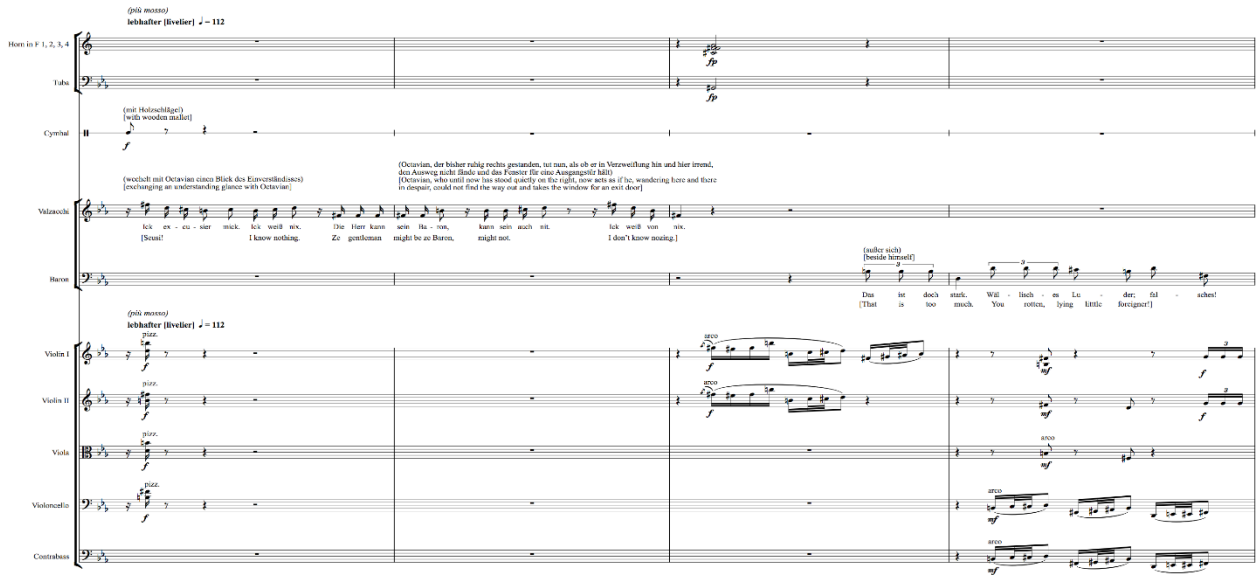
At the start of the third act, the libretto begins with detailed instructions for the staging of the ruse to expose the Baron. Valzacchi and Annina have invited some of their acquaintances to assist with the set-up. These acquaintances are described in the libretto as being "a little dubious" ("nicht ganz unbedenklich") and "suspicious-looking" ("verdächtige").[59] Other extras who come in and out of the scene, such as waiters, musicians, and footmen, are not given any descriptive qualities. The acquaintances of the Italians are deliberately labeled as Others, different and separate from the main cast and as such they serve to reinforce the negative stereotypes that have also been ascribed to Valzacchi and Annina. During the set-up there is also clear instruction in

[57] Uffa Jensen, "Into the Spiral of Problematic Perceptions: Modern Anti-Semitism and *gebildetes Bürgertum* in Nineteenth-Century German." *German History*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2007): 367.
[58] Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, 236.
[59] Strauss, *Der Rosenkavalier*, 342–349.

the libretto for the exchange of money between Octavian and the Italians.[60] With this transaction, Octavian has secured the service and loyalty of the Italians.

After the stage is set, Valzacchi and Annina do not return again until Annina reappears disguised as the Baron's estranged wife. As part of the disguise she speaks without accent or dialect. Valzacchi seemingly tries to restrain Annina and move her out of the room. He speaks with the flawed German that they both used in the first act as he mimes the role of the Baron's employee. At the climax of the ruse, the Baron asks Valzacchi to support his cover story in front of the authorities who have come to investigate the claims of Annina, as his abandoned wife. Valzacchi, firmly on the side of Octavian, denies knowing the Baron at all, "Scusi! I know nozing. Ze gentleman might be ze Baron, might not. I don't know nozing."[61] Valzacchi sings unaccompanied in this moment, further emphasizing the climactic moment. He also resumes the increased tempo and mispronounced German seen in previous appearances. In response to this betrayal the Baron calls the Italian a "rotten, lying little foreigner," accompanied by descending chromatic strings (musical example: 3-6).[62] The mask of pretense is removed and the Baron's true feelings towards the Italians are revealed.

[60] Ibid, 344–45. "Octavian greift in die Tasche und wirft Valzacchi eine Börse zu. Valzacchi and Annina küssen ihm die Hände."
[61] Ibid, 411."Ik exkusier' mik. Ik weiß nix. Die Herr kann sein Baron, kann sein auch nit. Ik weiß von nix."
[62] Ibid. "Das ist doch stark, wällisches Luder, falsches!" Translated verbatim would be "That is bold, Italian bitch, false!"



Musical Example 3-6: *Der Rosenkavalier* Act III, Dover Score pg. 411, rehearsal 147

As a member of the high-class, a true-born Austrian, and a relative of the Marschallin, the Baron felt he was always in a superior position. Unlike the Marschallin who could barely bring herself to speak to the Italians, the Baron thought he could secure their loyalty and assistance based solely on his position. When the Italians defy him, the Baron reveals that he has little respect for lower-class foreigners. With the ruse ended and the Baron's lecherous ways uncovered, the Italians leave the stage with the disgraced Baron, having fulfilled their purpose. In contemporary productions of *Rosenkavalier,* the Baron has been played as an unsympathetic, comedic character which made him appear more like an outsider to the court, just as the Italians. The lines of difference are blurred in those productions. However, in his recollections and reflections, Strauss admonishes those productions, writing that Ochs "is after all a member of the gentry, if somewhat countryfied, and who is capable of behaving properly in the salon of the Marschallin without running the risk of being thrown out by her servants after five minutes. He is at heard a cad, but outwardly still so presentable that Faninal does not refuse him at first

sight."[63] It would seem that the composer wished to definitively differentiate the Baron from the Italians. The Baron should be viewed as a member of the court while the Italians are the Other.

The negative caricature of the Italians was so convincing that for the Italian premiere the characters of Valzacchi and Annina were turned into two Levantines out of sensitivity to the audience.[64] Interestingly, contemporary reviews from the Dresden, Berlin, Munich, and Nuremberg premieres, as well as reviews gathered in the Lesnig collection, barely refer to the Italian characters at all. Occasionally they are mentioned in synopses of the opera but usually only in the capacity that they move the plot along. Only one reviewer from Berlin provides commentary on the characters themselves, independent of a plot summary. Erich Urban writes, "The pair of intriguers stands out from the abundance of secondary characters thanks to their vivid performance, which greatly helped in understanding the plot."[65] The lack of commentary is indicative of the disregard for the outer Other in Germany. The Italians are easily forgotten, even though they hold a larger and more important role in the course of the opera.

Although they are minor characters within the context of the opera as a whole, the African servants and Italian intriguers serve to illuminate the low social position afforded to outside Others in Germany. Both sets of characters propagate the negative stereotypes associated with their racial and ethnic groups. Stereotypes play a fundamental role in the way racial attitudes are structured and transmitted among both the semi-literate or illiterate public and educated elites. Macmaster writes that, "racial stereotypes, like so many other forms of prejudice (gender, class), have an extraordinary capacity to convey perceptions (and feelings) of the Other

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[63] Richard Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, edited by Willi Schuh (Zurich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1949, 1953), 161.
[64] Satragni, *Richard Strauss and Italy*, 196.
[65] Erich Urban, "'Der Rosenkavalier' in Berlin," *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*, Berlin, 1911, Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, *Der Rosenkavalier* review folder. "Aus der Fülle der Nebenfiguren ragt das Intrigantenpaar durch plastisches, das Verstäandis sehr gördendes Spiel hervor."

which bear little, if any, relationship to external reality."[66] Strauss and Hofmannsthal paid homage to the "centuries old courtly tradition that retained blacks as favored 'pets' and exotic trophies," while also reinforcing the spectacle of the human zoo by placing black bodies in front of an audience to be observed as the most extreme racial Other.[67] As highlighted in this chapter, Strauss and Hofmannsthal also imbued the Italians with stereotypes associated with both Jews and lower-class foreigners. Their movements around the stage and interactions with the main characters mark them as distinctly different from the rest of the cast. *Der Rosenkavalier* further normalizes common stereotypes associated with Africans and foreigners, the outer Other, in Germany.

[66] Macmaster, *Racism in Europe*, 58–59.
[67] Ibid, 73.

Chapter 4

Demons and Gender Politics: The Role of the Female Other in *Die Frau ohne Schatten*

Die Frau ohne Schatten is, in the simplest of terms, an opera about marriage and the proper role of a wife. This chapter will show that, in this opera, all the women are negatively portrayed, yet, it is only the character of the nurse who is eventually differentiated from the other women and banished for her demonic Otherness. The remaining two women are eventually redeemed for their errors and brought back into their respective societies. Both Strauss and Hofmannsthal described the opera as a magic Chinese fairy tale with the action set in the South Eastern Islands.[1] Instead of the sensual Orient of *Salome*, or the familiar Viennese setting of *Rosenkavalier*, the location of *Die Frau ohne Schatten* is exotic but not exact. This allowed the creators to focus their efforts on the symbolic message of the ideal family and its proper function in early twentieth century German society.

Both *Salome* and *Rosenkavalier* explored racial stereotypes of difference which we continue to pinpoint in this chapter with the Othering of the Nurse character. Additionally, this chapter also examines gender stereotypes through the themes of marital bliss presented by Hofmannsthal and Strauss within the context of a society coming to terms with the women's liberation movement in Germany. In combination, all three operas demonstrate that Strauss was

[1] Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *A Working Friendship: The Correspondence between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, Hanns Hammelmann and Ewald Osers, translators (New York: Random House, 1952), 76, 322.

aware of German societal views towards foreigners, blacks, Jews, and, as will be discussed in this chapter, women. This further supports the argument that the composer readily used those stereotypes of difference in his early operas.

The first act of *Die Frau ohne Schatten* introduces all the main characters. The Emperor of the South Eastern Isles is an avid hunter who chased and wounded a beautiful gazelle, who is then magically transformed into a fairy when captured. The fairy is the daughter of Keikobad, the Spirit-King; she is beautiful, and the Emperor instantly takes her as his wife. From the time of their marriage the fairy-princess turned Empress no longer possesses the ability to transform into animal shape, yet she has also not fully integrated into the human world because she does not cast a shadow and therefore is incapable of motherhood. The Empress is attended by her Nurse who hates all humans including the Emperor. The Nurse wishes to return to the spirit world and have no more dealings with the human world. She is soon to get her chance as the Emperor's favorite falcon returns to deliver a prophecy: the Emperor will turn to stone in three days unless the Empress can produce a shadow. Unaware of the danger to his life, the Emperor goes on a three-day hunting trip. Once he is gone and the Empress learns of the prophecy, she begs the Nurse to help her to get a shadow from the human world to which the Nurse reluctantly agrees.

In the second act, the Nurse and Empress descend to the human world and the scene changes to the house of Barak the dyer and his wife. The Dyer's Wife has a shadow but chooses not to have children, to the dismay of her husband. The Nurse and Empress arrive at the Dyer's home in disguise, offering themselves as maidservants to the Dyer's Wife. The Nurse immediately recognizes that the Wife is dissatisfied with married life and, with the right enticements, she may willingly relinquish her shadow. Although complicit, the Empress is

ambivalent and uncertain about the Nurse's deception and tricks. The Dyer's Wife confesses to her husband that she has given away her shadow and therefore any chance for them to have children. The Empress can now take the shadow for herself. Furious, Barak summons inner strength and for the first time in his life he speaks harshly to his Wife. At this moment the Earth opens and swallows the Dyer, his Wife, and their home. Out of the darkness a stream appears along with a boat. The Nurse and the Empress enter the boat as the curtain closes. Act three opens in the spirit world with the Nurse and Empress ending their boat journey before a temple gateway which leads into the heart of a mountain. The Empress begins to climb the temple steps while Barak and his wife are separated from each other. Inside the temple, the Empress finds a stream of golden water which a voice from above urges her to drink. With one drink the shadow will be hers. Hearing the cries of the couple outside, the Empress is filled with a terrible inner struggle. She chooses not to drink the water and this decision untethers her from the spirit world. A clear shadow falls across the floor of the temple and the Emperor is free. The couples are now able to join each other as the temple dissolves into a golden landscape leading to the human world.[2]

Before discussing the opera directly, it is useful to review the historical context in which the opera was conceived, developed, and premiered. The creation of *Die Frau ohne Schatten* took place while Germany was in the midst of political and social change. These changes included the entirety of the First World War and the subsequent modifications to the social position of women and the laws governing marriage. In May 1914, shortly before the beginning of the war, Strauss was in Paris preparing for the premiere of his new ballet *Josephslegende*. June found the composer in London as a guest conductor followed by a holiday in Italy. The

[2] This summary is provided by my own reading of the *Die Frau ohne Schatten* score and libretto. Richard Strauss, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, in Full Score (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2005).

declaration of war surprised him, and he quickly returned to Garmisch. Strauss also turned fifty in 1914, leading to many birthday honors such as the naming of a Munich street after him and the conferral of an honorary degree by Oxford University. During the course of the war a part of his fortune was confiscated by the British government. Although this was a terrible loss for the Strauss family, they did not suffer greatly. Strauss was still rich enough to afford food and other necessities of life. He continued to work, maintaining his positions with the Berlin Court Opera and Philharmonic Orchestra until 1918 and he was able to complete the *Alpensinfonie* (1915). However, work on *Die Frau ohne Schatten* stalled due to the war.[3]

As with the previous operas, there is a multitude of scholarly research on *Die Frau ohne Schatten*. However, this research does not focus on or acknowledge stereotypes of difference in discussions of the main characters. Scholars such as Barry Millington, Bryan Gilliam, and Norman Del Mar have focused their studies primarily on comparisons between the main characters in the opera and Mozart's *Magic Flute* as well as the symbolism that pervades each work.[4] In broad terms, the analogous characters are: Sarastro/Keikobad, Pamina/Empress, Tamino/Emperor, Queen of the Night/Nurse, Papageno/Barak and Papagena/Barak's wife. The symbolism discussed included the nature of humanity, images of light and dark, and the temple.[5] Each of the authors acknowledge the themes of marriage and motherhood, and Millington goes so far as to mention that the opera is a celebration of motherhood at a time when women in Germany were beginning to gain more legal rights. However, these themes were not the primary subject of their respective research. In contrast to previous scholarship, this chapter will

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[3] George Marek, Richard Strauss The Life of a Non-hero (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 228–232.
[4] See Barry Millington, "Searching for the Shadow," liner Notes, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, Wiener Philharmoniker, Sir Georg Solti, conductor (Vienna: Boosy & Hawkes Music Publishers LtD, 1991), Bryan Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain: Richard Strauss and Modern German Opera*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), and Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, vol. 2 (London: Barrie and Jenkins, LTD., 1972).
[5] Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain*, 157, 165.

concentrate on the role of married women in Germany's changing social and political atmosphere. The purpose is to show that *Die Frau ohne Schatten* is a post-war work that glorifies Wilhelmine traditions of marriage and family, where all the female characters are considered Other until they are redeemed and allowed to re-enter society as proper wives and mothers. Only the Nurse carries the burden of being unredeemable, an Other that must be cast out to allow the remaining characters to fulfil their societal roles.

Hofmannsthal first proposed the idea of *Die Frau ohne Schatten* to Strauss in March 1911, though it would take another six years for the opera to come to fruition. The long gestation period was caused by several factors. Hofmannsthal and Strauss worked simultaneously on *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912,1916)[6], a project that Hofmannsthal also proposed to Strauss in the same March 1911 letter. Hofmannsthal viewed *Ariadne* as an Intermezzo between *Rosenkavalier* and *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, a way for him to become better acquainted with Strauss's music in order to achieve a more complete collaboration with the composer.[7] Additionally, the start of the First World War in 1914 halted work for Hofmannsthal personally because in July of that year he was recalled to the army in his capacity as a reserve officer. For the next two years Hofmannsthal served in the war ministry, traveling extensively on secret political missions. The war made Hofmannsthal pensive about the end of the old Austria and the lifestyle to which he was accustomed.[8] For Strauss, the beginning of the war was a moment to show patriotism. The composer commemorated the event by writing in his daily calendar on August 2, 1914: "War and Victory! Hail Germany! They will not bring us down!"[9] As the war progressed, news of

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[6] After a rocky first premiere in 1912, Hofmannsthal and Strauss revised *Ariadne* for a second premiere in 1916. William Mann, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Study of the Operas* (London: Cassell and Company, LTD, 1964), 150–151.
[7] Ibid, 147.
[8] Lowell A. Bangerter, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1977), 14.
[9] Franz Trenner, *Richard Strauss, Chronik zu Leben und Werk* (Wien: Dr. Richard Strauss GmbH & Co. KG, 2003), 358. "Krieg und Sieg! Heil Deutschland! Noch werden sie uns nicht unterkriegen!"

Germany's impending military defeat spread throughout the German armed forces. At the end of October 1918, units of the German Navy refused to set sail for a last, large-scale operation initiating the German Revolution of 1918–1919. Within days the sailors' revolt spread across the whole country and led to the widespread loss of confidence in Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Germany became a republic in November 1918 when the Kaiser abdicated the German and Prussian thrones with no agreement made on a succession proclamation. Hofmannsthal viewed the end of the Hapsburg monarchy as the loss of an important part of his life. According to Hofmannsthal's biographer, Lowell Bangerter, "As the war approached, in a sense, much of his effort from 1912 on, both political and artistic, was a grand endeavor to preserve as much as possible of that dying culture."[10] Strauss, on the other hand, merely took note of the end of the war with an abbreviated summary: "The events decide different, abdication of the Kaiser, republic and revolution."[11] Between 1914 and 1918, Strauss made no other reference to the war in his daily calendar, continuing on with his normal routine of traveling, conducting, and composing. Shortly after the abdication, Germany surrendered and a new constitution was written and adopted in August 1919, thus creating the Weimar Republic.[12]

In addition to the political turmoil, Germany was also facing social changes with the growing women's liberation movement. In Imperial Germany, married women lacked the most fundamental civil liberties. Both Strauss and Hofmannsthal married under monarchial rule, Strauss in 1894 and Hofmannsthal in 1901 and both experienced firsthand the changes in women's rights. In some ways *Die Frau ohne Schatten* was a way for the collaborators to

[10] Bangerter, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, 14.
[11] Trenner, *Richard Strauss*, 402. November 9, 1918. "die Ereignisse entscheiden anders,…, Abdankung des Kaisers, Republik, Revolution."
[12] David Stevenson, *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 343–408, passim.

reaffirm traditional values of family that were previously rooted in the law, called the Prussian Civil Code. The Prussian Civil Code (*Preussisches Allgemeines Landrecht*, 1794–1900) firmly declared that the husband was the legal guardian of his wife and head of the family. Without his permission she could not sign a contract, engage in litigation, or take a job; she was not a 'legal person' in Civil Law.[13] In 1900 a new Civil Code, called the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch,* replaced the old. Under the new Code, a husband was no longer regarded as the legal guardian of his wife and women were now recognized as legal persons. However, under the new Code, the husband still made the decisions in all matters affecting married life. The only exception was that earnings the wife made from any job she took remained legally hers and she no longer required the consent of her husband before taking on employment. This was an important dispensation to the changing place of women. For the first time in many parts of Germany, this concession gave working married women a certain amount of financial independence from their husbands.[14] Even with this significant change the reality for the majority of married women was subservience and reliance on their husbands.

Although the situation for married women did not change significantly with the new Civil Code, there were other social changes that were positive. For example, women were admitted to study at the university level in the first years of the new century. In 1908 the first woman was appointed a university lecturer, and by 1910 a quarter of a million German women were receiving a secondary education. According to Barry Millington, "many men felt threatened by these advances, and the common responses included ridicule on the one hand and strong affirmations of the desirability of marriage and motherhood on the other."[15] Kaiser Wilhelm II

[13] Richard J. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894–1933* (London: Sage Publication Ltd., 1976), 9–12.
[14] Ibid, 13–14.
[15] Barry Millington, "Searching for the Shadow," in Liner notes, Richard Strauss, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, Wiener Philharmoniker, Sir Georg Solti, conductor (Vienna: Grosser Saal, 1989), 19.

also pushed back against these social changes by reaffirming the sanctity of marriage and family, when he declared in a 1910 speech delivered at Königsberg that: "Our women…should learn that the principal task of the German woman lies not in the field of assemblies and associations, nor in the achievement of supposed rights, with which they can do the same things as men, but in quiet work in the house and in the family."[16] As the most eminent of all spokesmen for the official ideology of the German ruling class, the Kaiser clearly outlined the place that women should occupy in society.

During the First World War, however, both soldiers and civilians were needed to assist in the war effort. Despite the Kaiser's disapproval, women's organizations such as the Federation of German Women's Associations (*Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*, or BDF) and the National Women's Service (*Nationaler Frauendienst*, or NFD) aimed to mobilize women for "patriotic work on the home front."[17] Those who participated in the NFD sought to do more than just support the war, they also "hoped that, in recognition of the common patriotic efforts of female communal work on the home front, women would finally be granted universal suffrage—a demand for which the Social Democratic Party had been fighting since the second half of the nineteenth century."[18] The immense loss of life in the war forced the government to free up more men of military age to increase arms production and for service on the front. It soon became apparent that success could not be achieved without the help of women. With this in mind, the War Office intensively promoted female war aid, thereby allowing women to replace drafted men in various positions outside of the home. Women were increasingly given jobs in the

[16] *Die Gleichheit*, issue 20/25, 12 September 1910, 386. Quoted in Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany*, 22–23.
[17] Karen Hagemann, "Mobilizing Women for War: The History, Historiography, and Memory of German Women's War Service in the Two World Wars," *The Journal of Military History* 75 (October 2011): 1066.
[18] Ibid, 1067.

military administration, replacing both staff sergeants and company clerks. By the summer of 1917, in an effort to free up soldiers for service on the front, women were also being deployed in the rear area of the army directly behind the front.[19] Although the war ended with defeat, women were essential to the war effort. German women were finally granted suffrage in November 1919, during the newly formed Weimar Republic. The Constitution of the Weimar Republic declared that marriage be based on the equality of both men and women, opened all offices in the Civil Service to women, and affirmed that both sexes have essentially the same rights and duties.[20]

When Hofmannsthal first proposed the idea of *Die Frau ohne Schatten* to Strauss in the March 1911 letter cited above, he described the plot as "a magic fairy tale with two men confronting two women."[21] The root of the conflict would lay in the Empress's inability to produce children and the outright resistance on the part of the Dyer's wife to motherhood. In a sense, at the outset of the opera, neither woman was able to fulfil her traditional role in a marriage. Nina Berman argues that Hofmannsthal's female characters were ultimately about social conflict, conveying anxieties that surrounded gender transformation in the early twentieth century.[22] Even with his duties to the military, Hofmannsthal was able to complete the libretto in April 1915. Strauss finished the score in September 1916. The completed work was so large and scenically demanding that the two collaborators agreed it would be impossible to produce during the war. In September 1918 Strauss signed a contract to become the new artistic director of the

[19] Ibid, 1068–1069.
[20] Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany*, 246.
[21] Strauss and Hofmannsthal, *A Working Friendship*, 76.
[22] Nina Berman, "Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Political Vision," in *A Companion to the Works of Hugo von Hoffmannsthal*, Thomas A. Kovach, ed. (New York: Camden House, 2002), 207.

Vienna Opera and the premiere was set to take place there the following year, on October 10, 1919.[23]

In *Die Frau ohne Schatten* the success and burden of the marriage is placed on the women, the men being either completely immobilized or powerless to change their own circumstances. Each of the married women begin their journey as an Other: the Empress was not fully human and therefore unable to have children while the Dyer's Wife patently refused to adapt to her role as a wife and was eager to give away her ability to have children. The women of this opera must disavow any other passions and desires that are outside the duties of marriage, those duties first and foremost being a humble wife and mother. For Hofmannsthal marriage was one of the most important aspects of life. In a 1926 letter to Swiss historian and friend, Carl J. Burckhardt, Hofmannsthal describes marriage as "something noble, truly sacrament—I would not like to think of life without marriage."[24] The author was equally passionate about children, asserting that "through children, marriage reaches a palingenesis and thus eternity."[25] Strauss too thought highly of marriage and family, writing "what could be more serious than married life, marriage is the most profound event in life and the spiritual joy is heightened by the arrival of a child of such a union."[26] Despite Strauss's strong feelings about marriage, he had a hard time convincing Pauline, his wife, to marry him.

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[23] For more information on *Die Frau ohne Schatten*'s inception and performance history, please see William Mann, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Study of the Operas* (London: Cassell and Company, LTD, 1964) and Charles Osborne, *The Complete Operas of Richard Strauss* (Vermont: Trafalgar Square Publishing, 1988).
[24] Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Carl J. Burckhardt, *Briefwechsel*, Carl J. Burckhardt, ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1956), 226.
[25] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Gesammelte Werke: Reden und Aufsätze III, Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Bernd Schoeller and Ingebirg Beyer-Ahlert (Frankfurt: Fisher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980), 235. Translated in Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain*, 152.
[26] Quoted in Hermann Unger, *Lebendige Musik in zwei Jahrtausanden: Musikgeschichte in Selbstzeugnissen* (Cologne: Staufen-Verlag Edmund Bercker, 1940), 305. Translated in Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain*, 152.

Pauline realized how marriage would change her life and she feared becoming a housewife. Furthermore, she also knew that her opera singing career, which was starting to blossom, would have to be abandoned. In March 1894, Pauline expressed her ambivalence to the engagement by writing to Strauss, that "[he] should not overestimate [her], and [his] parents know [her] moods too; and now I am suddenly supposed to turn into a model housewife, so that you do not feel disappointed. I am afraid that it will fail, and the more everyone else rejoices the more oppressed I feel." She continues by suggesting that, "[they] really don't need to marry so soon; if each of us could first get accustomed to finding all the happiness we can in our careers; you in Munich and I in Hamburg."[27] Pauline resisted marrying Strauss until her parent's intervention and Strauss's assurances that she would not have to give up her independence and career for him. Although she eventually settled into married life and embraced her role as housewife and mother, Pauline was still renowned for her fiery temperament, quick wit, and silver tongue.[28]

It was Pauline's fiery temperament that inspired Hofmannsthal's creation of the Dyer's Wife. Writing in March 1911, the poet states that Strauss's "wife might well, in all discretion, be taken as a model."[29] Further, he describes the Dyer's Wife as "a bizarre woman with a beautiful soul; strange, moody, domineering and yet at the same time likable."[30] Strauss was happy with the comparison although he broke the news to Pauline cautiously, "As for you being portrayed, you need not have any anxiety: [Hofmannsthal] successfully took up a few very general, fleeting suggestions from me."[31] When first introduced the Dyer's Wife is domineering and unkind to her

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[27] Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss: Jugend und Frühe Meisterjahre Lebenschronik 1864–1898* (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1976), 353.
[28] Ibid, 348–357, passim.
[29] Strauss and Hofmannsthal, *A Working Friendship*, 76.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Franz Grasberger, ed., *Die Welt um Richard Strauss in Briefen* (Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1967), 190–191. Translated in Gilliam, *Rounding Wagner's Mountain*, 159.

husband. She complains about her role as a wife and is utterly dissatisfied with her life. For example, in her opening scenes she curtly tells Barak her feelings about the institution of marriage: "my husband, I know what that means! I am bought and paid to know it, and kept in the house, … I abjure the word and the thing!"[32] The Nurse instantly recognizes the Wife's discontent, using her magic to entice the Wife with all she feels is owed to her, that which she abandoned when she married. When the Dyer's Wife realizes her mistake, as the Dyer threatens her life, she prostrates herself in front of her husband. Here, the stage direction indicates that "an astonishing change comes over [the Wife]" and that she "looks at Barak with an expression she has never previously shown."[33] She finally sees her husband as "mighty, stern, and noble figure."[34] At this point she accepts her role as a wife and mother, exclaiming, "wedded to you, to care for you, serving, loving, to bow to you: to give you, dear husband, children!"[35] With this acceptance she is no longer an Other but rather a normal member of the human world.

The Empress, on the other hand, is conflicted precisely because she is torn between her home on the spirit world and the human world which appeals to her because of her husband. Unlike the Dyer's Wife, she longs to be a model wife, but her inability to cast a shadow prevents her from wholly becoming a part of the human world. Her Otherness is the cause of her husband's prophesied demise. In order to save the Emperor's life, she journeys to the human world to steal a shadow but instead finds compassion for the Dyers. The Empress must

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[32] "mein Mann, ich weiß, was das heißt! Bin bezahlt und gekauft, es zu wissen, und gehalten im Haus, verschwöre das Wort und das Ding! " Strauss, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, in Full Score, 105–106. This translation and all subsequent libretto translations by G. M Holland from the liner notes of Die Frau one Schatten, (Compact Disc) ©1919, Boosey & Hawkes Music Publishers, London and Adolph Fürstner, Mainz.

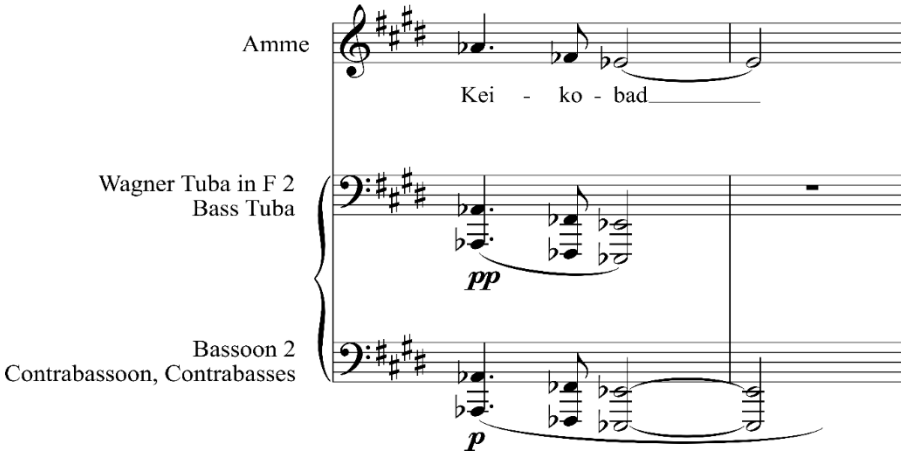
[33] "allmählich geht in ihr eine ungeheure Veränderung vor," "aber verklärt, mit einem Ausdruck, wie sie ihn nie zuvor gehabt hat." Strauss, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, in Full Score, 417–418.

[34] "o du, den zuvor ich niemals sah, mächtiger Barak, strenger Richter, hoher Gatte." Strauss, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, in Full Score, 422–425.

[35] "Dir angetraut, dein zu pflegen, dienend, liebend dir mich bücken: Kinder, Guter, dir zu geben!" Strauss, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, in Full Score, 445–448.

completely reject the Nurse and the spirit world in order to fully integrate into the human world. In the end she "attains humanity, not by persuading a woman to part with the shadow that she in her willful discontent does not require, but by realizing that human consideration for other people (i.e. the community) is more important than selfish happiness.[36] By willingly letting the Dyer's Wife keep her shadow, the Empress frees both couples and gains her own place in the human world, therefore shedding the Otherness of the spirit world.

Unlike the married women of the opera, the Nurse begins and ends her journey as an Other. She is completely of the spirit world, sent to watch over the Empress. Her Master is Keikobad, the Spirit-King. Although not a physical presence, Keikobad's influence on the action in the opera and relationship to the Nurse is represented musically by a theme that presents itself throughout the opera (musical example 4-1). It is first heard when the Nurse invokes his name during her conversation with the Spirit-Messenger at the moment she learns the Emperor will be turned to stone. In this moment she rejoices in Keikobad's power over the Emperor's demise, realizing that once the Emperor is gone, she will have the ability to return to the spirit world.



Musical Example 4-1: *Die Frau ohne Schatten* Act I, Dover score pg. 16, rehearsal 20

[36] Mann, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Study of the Operas*, 174.

This theme appears whenever the Nurse deceives the Dyer's Wife either with magic or with flattery. It is also heard when Barak returns to find his bed separated from his wife. For each iteration, the theme is heard in either the bass, tuba, or timpani. Hearing this theme in the lowest registers gives the impression of foreboding and ill intention. Additionally, Keikobad's theme is heard when the Empress has visions of the Emperor encased in stone, when she feels he is in danger. Although not physically present, the audience can hear that Keikobad still holds influence over the actions of both the Nurse and the Empress. The last iteration of Keikobad's theme comes when the Nurse is banished from the spirit world. It is at this point that his power over the two women is broken. The Nurse is forever separated from her master while the Empress enters the temple to confront her father and accept her fate.

In describing the character of the Nurse, Hofmannsthal writes that she "vacillates between the demonic and the grotesque."[37] She despises the human world and feels no compassion for its inhabitants. In her book, *The Disguises of the Demon*, philosopher and theologian Gail Sutherland provides a "functional definition of evil" as is embodied in demons. Her definition includes eight dimensions of evil: a demon will be the opposite of good, perform illusions and rely on delusion, abuse power, impede rituals, disturb social hierarchies and relationships, suffer and frustrate life and death, and stand as an obstacle to a union with the Gods. A demon's Otherness is conceived of as an enemy or threat.[38] As a demon the Nurse embodies evil, fitting almost exactly Sutherland's description. For example, throughout the opera the Nurse does not display any redeeming qualities; she uses illusion and delusion to manipulate the Wife, she disturbs the relationships of the human couple, and eventually her Otherness is

[37] Strauss and Hofmannsthal, *A Working Friendship*, 184.
[38] Gail Hinich Sutherland, *The Disguises of the Demon: The Development of the Yaksa in Hinduism and Buddhism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), 157–158.

viewed as a threat.[39] Demons such as the Nurse serve as a morality test for humans.[40] By resisting the demonic temptations of the Nurse, the couples eventually manage to strengthen their moral fiber and prove their fortitude.

At the beginning of the opera, when the Emperor approaches the Nurse and she grovels at his feet, her vocal line is almost stagnant, hovering in the lowest register, indicating her low position in the household. The Nurse's vocal line has very sparse accompaniment, only pizzicato strings and a four-note descending glissando in the clarinet and bass. On the other hand, the nurse prostrates herself in order to remain inconspicuous to the Emperor, carefully disguising her own disgust of his humanity. Soon after his departure, the Nurse expresses to the Empress her true feelings about humans as she tries in vain to convince the Empress not to seek a shadow in the human world:

Bei den Menschen! Graust's dich nicht?
Menschendunst ist uns Todesluft.
Uns riecht ihre Reinheit nach rostigem
Eisen und gestocktem Blut und nach
alten Leichen! Dies Haus, getürmt den
Sternen entgegen, emporgetrieben
spielende Wasser buhlend um Reinheit
der himmlischen Reiche! Und nun von hier
noch tiefer hinab! Dich ihnen vermischen,
hausen mit ihnen, handeln mit ihnen, Rede
um Rede, Atem um Atem, erspähn ihr
Belieben, ihrer Bosheit dich schmiegen
ihrer Dummheit dich bücken, ihnen dienen!
Graust's dich nicht?[41]

From the world of men! Does it not make you
shudder? The smell of mankind for us
breathes death. Its purity smells to us of rusty
iron and stagnant blood, and of long-dead
corpses! This house, towering towards the
stars, with gushing fountains vies in purity
with the realms of heaven! And now from
here we must go still farther down! To
mingle with them, lodge with them, have
dealings with them, word for word, breath
for breath, to wait on their pleasure, to cringe
at their spite, to bow to their stupidity, to
serve them! Does it not fill you with horror?

[39] Ibid, 158–159.
[40] Harumi Befu, "Demonizing the 'Other'," in *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism and Xenophobia,* Robert S Wistrich, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999), 23.
[41] Strauss, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, in Full Score, 52–60.

Unlike with the Emperor, the Nurse's vocal line increases in movement, illustrating her level of comfort with the Empress who is not yet a complete human and therefore not subject to her scorn and malice. For the nurse, the human world represents difference and should be avoided at all costs. The Empress, however, is not swayed and remains committed to finding a shadow in the human world. As the two descend into the mortal world, the theme of Keikobad can be heard interwoven in the orchestration. The Spirit-King's musical presence reminds the audience of the ominous prophecy against the Emperor and the different perspectives and goals of the Nurse and the Empress.

When the Empress and Nurse reach the Dyer's house, the Nurse immediately sets to work on the Dyer's Wife, whom she correctly identifies as being dissatisfied and restless in her married life. The Nurse uses flattery, the promise of material wealth, and the attention of a younger man to deceive the Dyer's Wife into giving away her shadow. Each time the Nurse uses her magic to entice the Dyer's Wife, Keikobad's theme is heard. As much as the nurse takes perverse pleasure from deceiving the Dyer's Wife and catering to her baser instincts, the Empress struggles with her decision to rob the Wife of her shadow. The Empress finally stands her ground with the Nurse at the foot of the temple when she refuses to leave her judgement and trial.

When the Nurse and Empress reach the temple, the Nurse is suddenly terrified of the Empress entering the temple and facing Keikobad's judgement. For the past two acts the Nurse has expressed her desire to return to the spirit world and her master, Keikobad. However, at the temple, there is no explanation given for her change of heart. Perhaps it is because she disobeyed the will of Keikobad when she took the Empress to the human world in order to obtain a shadow or she knows, in facing Keikobad, the Empress will prevail and gain her shadow, forever

abandoning the Nurse and the spirit world. It is likely her overwhelming desire to assist the Empress and the opportunity to cause pain and problems in a human household that influenced her decision. Nevertheless, by the time the two reach the temple the Nurse is struck with fear and tries desperately to convince the Empress to turn away with her. The Empress is unmoved by the Nurse's impassioned plea, instead casting her aside, stating:

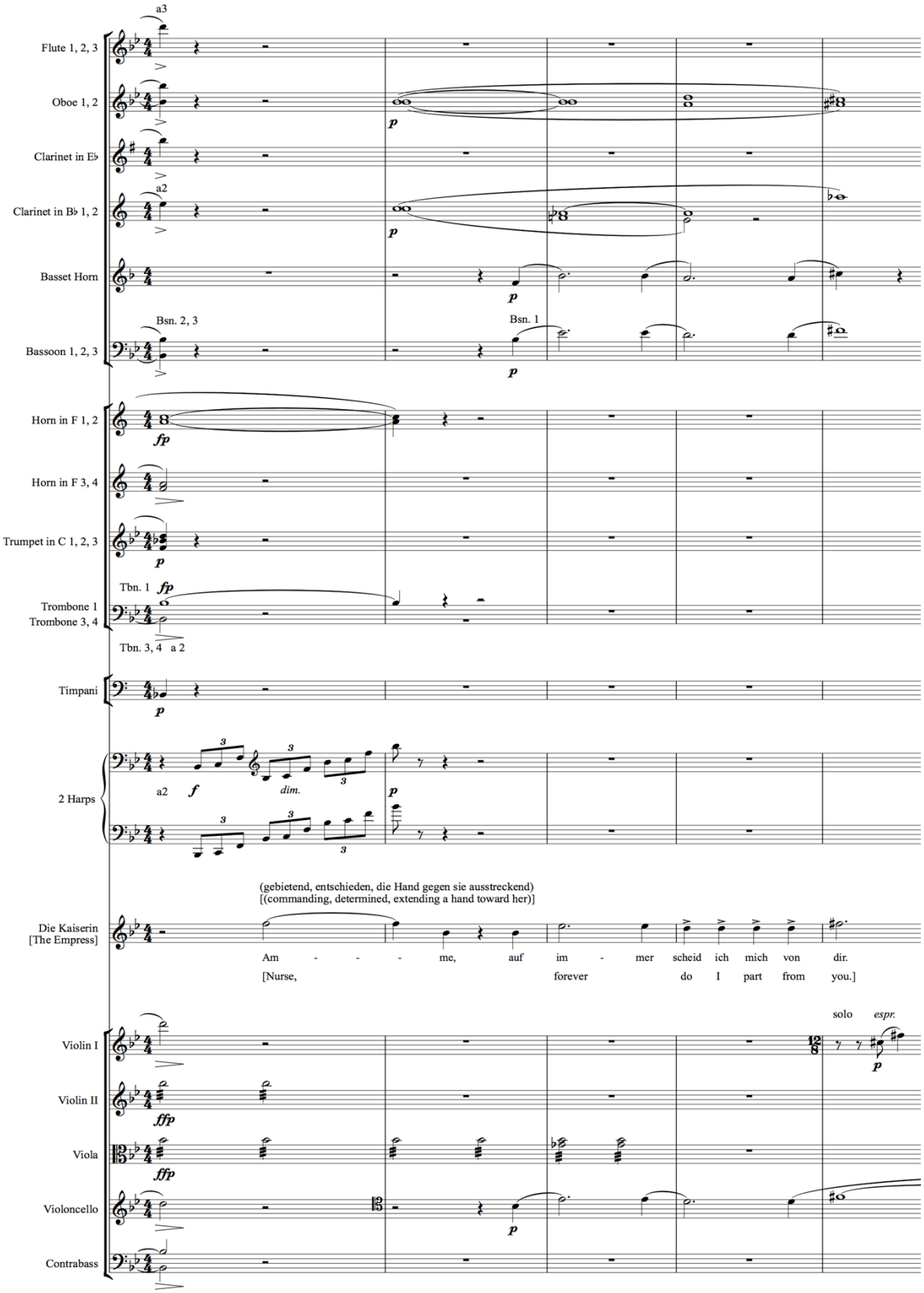
Amme, auf immer schied' ich mich von dir. Was Menschen bedürfen, du weißt es zu wenig, worauf ihrer Herzen Geheimnis zielet, dir ist es verborgen. Mit welchem Preis sie alles zahlen, aus schwerer Schuld sich wieder erneuen, dem Phönix gleich, aus ewigem Tode zu ewigem Tode zu ewigem Leben sich immer erhöhen – kaum ahnen sie's selber – dir kommt es nicht nah. Ich gehöre zu ihnen, du taugst nicht zu mir!	Nurse, forever do I part from you. You know too little of what men need; that on which their secret hearts are set is hidden from you. At what a cost they pay for everything out of grievous guilt, renew themselves like the phoenix, out of eternal death into eternal life raise themselves perpetually – they themselves hardly suspect. It is beyond you. I belong to them, you are not my kind![42]

The Nurse has presumably been with the Empress for a large portion of her life, and she has exerted a large amount of influence on her thus far in her dealings with the humans. To part from her forever is to step out of the shadow of her former life, the spirit world, and her father. When the Empress states that she will forever part from the Nurse (musical example 4-2), Strauss emphasizes the moment musically with very sparse, sustained, accompaniment and when she recognizes that the Nurse is no longer her kind, her vocal phrase is completely unaccompanied. Whereas the Empress has gained compassion for the humans and willingly goes to face the trials of her father, the Nurse can not see past her own hatred of humans. For this the Empress abandons her and for disobeying Keikobad the Nurse's fate is reiterated by the Spirit-Messenger when it says she is "cast out forever, to wander amongst humankind… to dwell amongst those

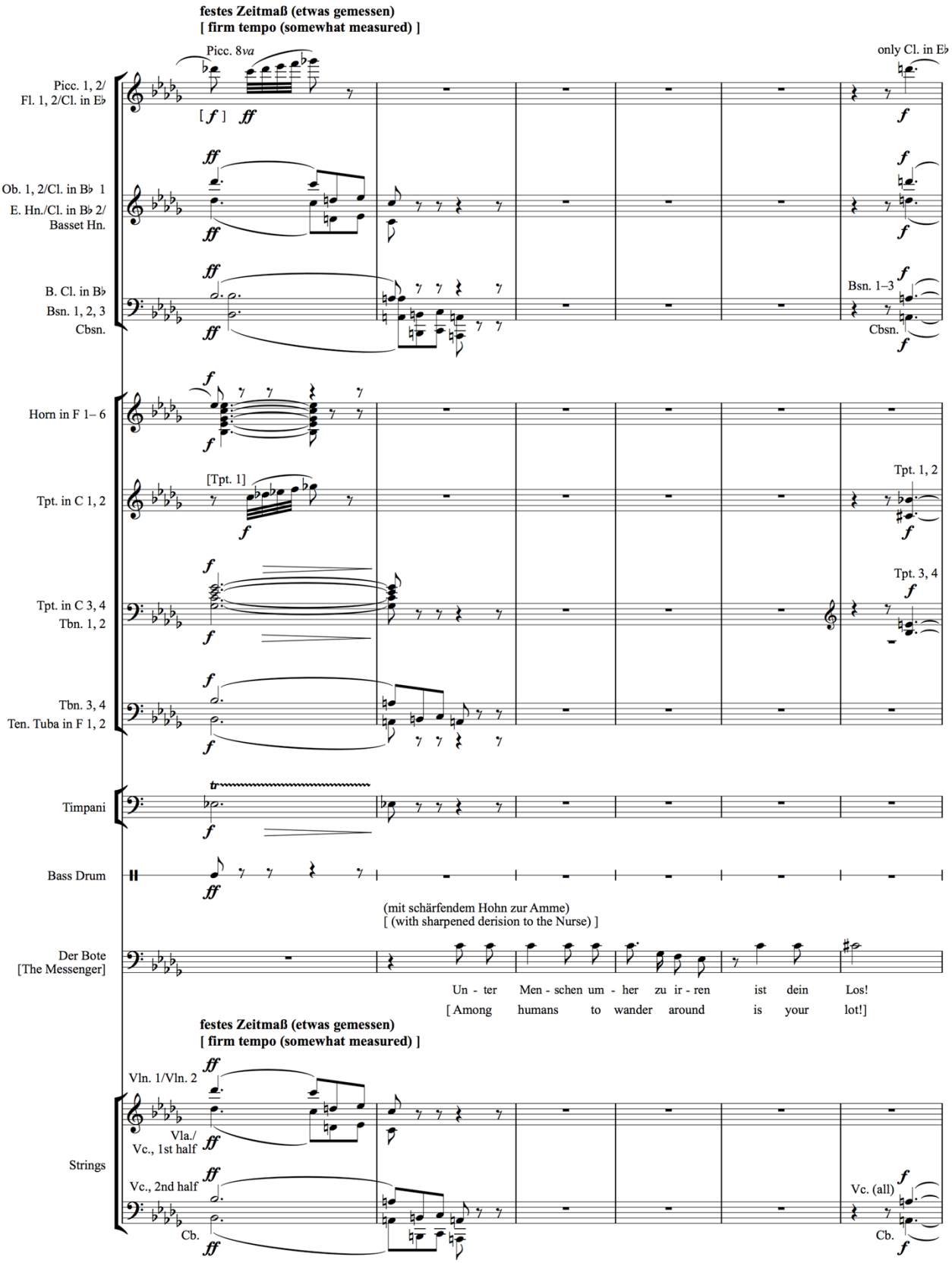
[42] Ibid, 506–511.

whom [she] loathes, for their breathe to ever mingle with [hers]!"[43] (musical example 4-3) Again, as the words are the most important part, the vocal line is presented unaccompanied with quick chromatic orchestral interjections. To be cast out and made to wander endlessly among humans is the ultimate punishment for the Nurse and emblematic of the Wandering Jew myth.

[43] Ibid, 536–540. "Und trotzdem ewig dich verwirft. Unter Menschen umherzuirren ist dein Los! Die du hassest, mit ihnen zu hausen, ihrem Atem dich zu vermischen immer aufs neu'!"



Musical Example 4-2: *Die Frau Ohne Schatten* Act III, Dover Score pg. 506, rehearsal 90



Musical Example 4-3: *Die Frau Ohne Schatten* Act III, Dover Score pg. 539, rehearsal 125

Research has found that the legend of the Wandering Jew, or in German "der ewige [eternal] Jude," has been in existence in one version or another since the Middle Ages. In the original legend a Jew taunts Jesus on the way to the Crucifixion and is then cursed to wander the earth until the Second Coming. A German pamphlet in 1602 made the character more popular among the illiterate common people and within a few decades, the story had spread all over Europe.[44] In Germany, the sufferings of the Wandering Jew were seen as just punishment for his moral corruption. He is an unrepentant Jew who does not convert to Christianity, imbued with evil magic power from his long existence and association with the devil. This negative version gave rise to the nineteenth century anti-Semitic stereotype of the Jew as a "rootless cosmopolitan."[45] German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) wrote that, "the Wandering Jew is nothing but the personification of the whole Jewish race. Since he has sinned grievously against the Savior and World-Redeemer, he shall never be delivered from earthly existence and its burden and moreover shall wander homeless in foreign lands."[46] In the last part of the nineteenth century the mythical figure of the Wandering Jew became a fad in German literature, a way to contrast the dark, sinister Jewish villains with the glorified, shining, and idealized German hero-types.[47]

As the dark and sinister villain, the Nurse clearly embodies several characteristics of the Wandering Jew. She uses her magic for evil against the Dyer's, deceiving the Wife into giving up her shadow. Since she is unrepentant, the Nurse is cast out and cursed to wander the Earth,

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[44] R. Edelmann, "Ahasuerus, The Wandering Jew," in *The Wandering Jew, Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend,* Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 8.
[45] Hyam Maccoby, "The Wandering Jew as Sacred Executioner," in *The Wandering Jew*, Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes, eds., 238–245.
[46] Arthur Schopenhauer, *Parerga and Paralipomena: Short Philosophical Essays*, vol. 2, Sabine Roehr and Christopher Janaway, eds. and trans., first printed 1851 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 261.
[47] Leschnitzer, Adolf L. "The Wandering Jew: The Alienation of the Jewish Image in Christian Consciousness," in *The Wandering Jew, Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend,* Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes, eds., 234.

homeless in a foreign land. Her banishment allows the Dyers to find each other and rekindle their relationship, with the Dyer's Wife fully accepting her role as wife and mother. With the Nurse gone, the Empress is also able to fully feel empathy for the Dyers, thus embracing her own humanity. Strauss and Hofmannsthal only had to look to Wagner for earlier archetypes of the Wandering Jew character. The *Flying Dutchman* (*Der fliegende Holländer*, 1843) has clear echoes of the Wandering Jew. The plot is adapted from a story by Heinrich Heine where the Dutchman is referred to as "the Wandering Jew of the ocean."[48] Another example can be found in Wagner's final opera, *Parsifal* (1882), which features Kundry, a female version of the Wandering Jew. In the opera she explains that she has been cursed to wander for centuries because she laughed at the pain of Christ on the cross. Kundry is compelled to use dark magic by her Master, Klingsor, just as the Nurse is compelled by Keikobad to keep the Empress from obtaining a shadow. Ultimately, both women fail in their tasks but Kundry, like the Dutchman, is able to demonstrate remorse for her actions and is therefore granted redemption before death. The Nurse, in her blind hatred for humanity, is unable to exhibit any sign of remorse and therefore she remains an Other, cast away from the spirit world never to fully integrate into the human one.

That the Nurse can be equated to the Wandering Jew myth is symptomatic of the nineteenth century cultural and social atmosphere. Connections between the devil and Jew have long standing precedence in European culture. Demons are likened to the eternal enemy of the

[48] Heinrich Heine, *Aus den Memoiren des Herren von Schnabelewopski* (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1834) quoted in Barry Millington, ed., *The Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagner's Life and Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 277.

Nordic race, the Jew.[49] French historian Léon Poliakov summarizes the significance of this widespread association:

> If we examine the stories that circulate about the Jews in legends that cropped up sporadically during the preceding centuries but which now are accepted throughout Europe, we observe that the Jews are believed to unite in their person the entire gamut of the attributes of evil, the Jews lose their humanity in the eyes of Christians and are relegated to the realm of the occult. Even when they are not assigned strictly diabolical attributes, they are associated with the devils that are often pictured in the background of engravings and paintings representing Jews (thus the devils appear to be of Jewish essence).[50]

As Poliakov makes clear, the stereotypical associations of Jews with demons and other negative connotations was so prevalent that neither Wagner nor Strauss needed to include the word Jew in their stage works. We can conclude that the descriptions, mannerisms, and actions of certain characters such as the Nurse and Kundry would have been obvious signs of the unredeemable demonic Jewish Other.

Contemporary critics took note of the demonic qualities of the Nurse, the theme of fertility and marriage, and the oriental aspects of the spirit world. The Nurse is always portrayed as a villainous character, whose purpose is to cause harm to the humans. Writing for the *Blätter des Operntheaters*, Richard Specht describes the Nurse as a "demonic, haunting hybrid creature."[51] A critic reporting on the Munich premiere likened the Nurse to a "demonic,

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[49] Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 271.
[50] Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. 1, Richard Howard and Natalie Gerardi, trans. (London: Routledge, 1974), 142, 144.
[51] Richard Specht, "Die Frau ohne Schatten, Eine Einführung," in *Blätter des Operntheaters*, Dr. Richard Strauss and Franz Schalk, eds. (Wien: Paul Knepler, 1919). Located in the Lesnig Collection, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, Wein Operntheater Uraufführung, 10/10–12/26/1919, Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch, Germany. "ein dämonisch im Bösen geschäftiges Zwittergeschöpf "

imperious character"[52] The *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag* characterizes her as "spooky, a representative of the spirit world, she is a despiser of human aspirations, a master of pretense, of incitement, of playing with people."[53] Richard Specht rightly surmises that at the end of the opera, "the Empress must first voluntarily free herself from the Nurse, whose animal, dull nature, despite all her doglike loyalty, suddenly becomes quite clear and suddenly quite foreign to [the Empress]…By her renunciation she finds true humanity."[54] While acknowledging the Nurse's role in the opera, other critics chose to focus on the themes of marriage and family in the work. Many critics acknowledged that the shadow of a human being was an Eastern symbol of fertility and motherhood. Furthermore, the shadow also symbolized the ability to have compassion for the sufferings of humanity.[55] In the opera, this compassion allows the Empress to resist the temptation of robbing the Dyer's Wife of her shadow. Thus, she is granted her own humanity and her husband's freedom. Conversely, the Nurse shows no compassion for the Dyers and is therefore cast out and left to wander endlessly.

In the *Neue Freie Presse Morgenblatt*, critic Julius Korngold observed that the opera extolled, "redemption through compassion, true marriage and becoming human through children. [In addition, the opera] supports motherhood, procreation, and guardianship for the unborn, a

[52] "München Nationaltheater 'Die Frau ohne Schatten'," *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, 13 Oktober 1919. Located in the Lesnig Collection, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, München Nationaltheater, Erstaufführung, 11/9–8/12/1919, Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch, Germany. "die dämonisch herrische Gestalt"
[53] "Die Frau ohne Schatten," *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*, Berlin, 17.01.1916. Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch, Germany. "Sie ist als Vertreterin einer heroischen Geisterwelt Verächterin des Menschenstrebens, eine Meisterin der Verstellung, im Verhetzen, Spielen mit den Menschen"
[54] Specht, "Die Frau ohne Schatten, Eine Einführung." "Die Kaiserin muss sich zuerst freiwillig von der Amme lösen, deren tierisch dumpfes Wesen ihr trotz aller hündischen Treue plötzlich ganz klar und plötzlich ganz fremd wird…denn durch ihren Verzicht ist sie zu wahrer Menschlichkeit gelangt"
[55] "Die Frau ohne Schatten," *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*. "Der 'Schatten' ist im Osten bekanntlich nichts anderes als ein Symbol für Fruchtbarkeit. Im weiteren Sinn des Märchens scheint sich der Begriff auch auszudehnen auf das Menschenschicksal im allgemeinen, auf das Mitgefühl mit den Leiden der Menschheit und die Gewinnung der Werte des menschlichen Edelsinns."

gynecological tendency which our time does not want to see anymore."[56] Here Korngold alludes to the historical background of the opera, the women's liberation movement and the turn away from motherhood being the highest aspiration of a woman. Other critics were not as explicit, but they did praise the work for its glorification of spousal love and motherhood. Finally, the creator of the costumes and scenery, Alfred Roller, provided more insight into the visual aspects of the opera. The images of the spirit world were to be "oriental-looking style motifs flowing around in a dreamlike manner" while the Dyer's house which belonged to the human world is to be realized realistically. "A precise localization of the action was to be avoided and it was merely the vague impression of a fairy-tale Orient that was created here. The same applies to the costumes."[57] The spirit world is intentionally vague and hazy, while the human world is realistic and clear. The suggestion of the Orient connects the opera with *Salome* and Strauss's desire to create a work with "true oriental color."[58] As in *Salome*, the Orient represents something foreign and Other. These visual clues further demonstrate that the spiritual world embodies difference while the human world is desirable and true, all the characters save the Nurse eventually find peace and happiness there.

Die Frau ohne Schatten is an opera that can be viewed as a direct response to the changing social landscape of women in early twentieth century Germany. The work glorifies the older Imperial standards of gender roles by highlighting the preferred place of women as wives

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[56] Julius Korngold, *Neue Freie Presse Morgenblatt*, Nummer 19802 Wien, Samstag den 11. Oktober 1919. Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch, Germany. "Erlösung durch Mitleid, Erlösung zur wahren Ehe, Erlösung zur Menschlichkeit mittels des Kindes–man hat die Auswahl. Dazu eine Anwaltschaft für Mutterschaft und Fortpflanzung, eine Kuratel für die Ungeborenen, eine gynäkologische Tendenz sozusagen, die einer Zeit nicht mehr einleuchten will"

[57] Alfred Roller, "Bühnentechnische Bemerkungen zu der Oper 'Die Frau ohne Schatten'," in *Blätter des Operntheaters*, Dr. Richard Strauss and Franz Schalk, eds. "eine genaue Lokalisierung der Handlung war zu vermeiden und es sollte bloß der vage Eindruck eines märchenhaften Orients erzeugt werden. Ähnliches gilt von den Kostümen."

[58] Richard Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, Willi Schuh, ed. (Zurich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1949, 1953), 150.

and mothers. The Empress and Dyer's Wife began their respective journeys as Others but are eventually granted redemption as a result of their own acceptance of their spousal duties. The Nurse, however, remained an Other as she is unredeemable in her hatred and lack of compassion for humans. She is also marked as an Other because she is a demon, another negative stereotype associated with Jewishness. Contemporary critics were quick to pick up on her demonic qualities and they showed no remorse for her fate of wandering the earth endlessly. Although not as popular or successful as *Salome* and *Rosenkavalier*, *Die Frau ohne Schatten* provides yet another example of the Other in Strauss's early operatic works. In this study, *Friedenstag* is the final example of the bias in Strauss's operas. So far, this dissertation has explored examples of anti-Semitism, race, and the Othering of women that are prevalent in his work. In the final chapter, we turn to the political and racial stereotypes that are present in *Friedenstag*, an opera that originated and premiered during the dominance of the Third Reich.

Chapter 5

Between War, Peace, and Others: The Political and Social Ambiguity of *Friedenstag* in the Shadow of the Third Reich

Friedenstag was conceived, written, and performed during Germany's infamous Third Reich. The political implications of the work have been the subject of controversy since its premiere in 1938. Following the end of the Second World War, information surrounding Strauss's involvement with the Nazi government began to surface, causing many of the musical works composed during that time frame to be re-interpreted as vehicles of Nazi propaganda. When *Friedenstag* premiered it was hailed as the first opera that accurately embodied the ideals and characteristics of National Socialism.[1] Much of the research on the opera has been focused on whether the work was a piece of Nazi propaganda or a pacifist reaction to the time.[2] Rather than wading into previous scholarly debates that revolve around proving one of these two interpretations, this dissertation instead explores how the opera can be understood as representative of Nazi ideology *and* pacifism through the inclusion of both stereotypical Nazi and Jewish characters. While many of these stereotypes have been acknowledged by previous

[1] Alan Jefferson, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Dawlish: David and Charles (Holdings) Limited, 1973), 206.
[2] For information on the pacifist interpretation, please see Pamela M. Potter, "Strauss's "Friedenstag": A Pacifist Attempt at Political Resistance," *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 3 (Summer, 1983): 408–424 and Bryan Gilliam, "Strauss's 'Friedenstag' und die Politik: Antwort an Gerhard Splitt." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 56 (1999), 347–350. For information on the Nazi interpretation, please see Gerhard Splitt, "Oper als Politikum.'Friedenstag' (1938) von Richard Strauss." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 55. Jahrg (1998): 220–251, and George Richard Marek, *Richard Strauss: The Life of a Non-Hero* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967).

scholars, they have also been viewed as a product of the Third Reich, far removed from Strauss's earlier operas. However, the stereotypes of difference explored in *Salome*, *Rosenkavalier*, and *Die Frau ohne Schatten* demonstrate that Strauss was already accustomed to utilizing these stereotypes, and this chapter will present arguments why their inclusion in *Friedenstag* should be understood as a continuation of the trend.

When the opera premiered, critics outside of Germany viewed it as a call to pacifism because the work concludes with the end of war and a glorious hymn to peace. However, the German critics viewed the opera through the lens of Nazism. As the townspeople exhibit German stereotypes of Jews, the characters of the Commandant and his wife, Maria also embody standard Nazi stereotypes for the ideal soldier and his wife. If we are to view the opera within the time period it was created, the Commandant and his wife would not be Others, but rather normal German citizens in the world of National Socialism. That Strauss and his librettists, Stefan Zweig and Joseph Gregor, would create an opera full of stereotypes illustrates, as in the earlier operas discussed, how attuned they were to the cultural, social, and political atmosphere of Germany, so much so that they were able to create characters that did not need to be labeled as what they represented. In turn, these stereotypical characters would be seen and understood by contemporary German audiences as either Jews or Nazis because of the context of their time.

This chapter will first discuss the historical relationship between Germans and Jews following the end of the First World War. Returning to this earlier time will provide a more thorough historical context for the escalating tension between the two groups which, in part, led to the normalization of anti-Semitism that became commonplace with the rise of the Nazi party. Furthermore, this historical context will inform discussions of the relationship between Strauss and his Jewish librettist Stefan Zweig, especially with regard to the changing political landscape.

Analysis of the major and minor characters with respect to the stereotypes and ideals of National Socialism and pacifism will follow. Finally, contemporary critical reviews are examined in order to bolster the argument that the opera could be viewed as both Nazi and pacifist propaganda. Like Strauss's earlier operas, the stereotypes present in *Friedenstag* were not created in a vacuum. Instead, these stereotypes, as well as those in the earlier works, are characteristic of Strauss's and his collaborator's response to the social and political climate in which they were created.

With the outbreak of the First World War, many German Jews welcomed the opportunity to prove their loyalty and validate their Germanness. In total some one-hundred thousand Jews served in the armed forces between 1914 and 1918 with twelve thousand Jews losing their lives in the conflict. According to Klaus Fischer, "as the war turned against Germany, the ruling elite working hand in glove with anti-Jewish groups such as the Pan-German League and the Vaterland Party, deliberately stirred up Judeophobic feelings in order to deflect responsibility for the government's mismanagement of the war and to distract people's attention from the deprivations and inequalities suffered by ordinary Germans."[3] Many Germans rejected the Weimar Republic because its constitution was written by Hugo Preuss, a Jew, and its democratic features were thought to especially benefit Jews.[4] The astronomical reparations dictated by the Versailles treaty, shortages of essential goods, and the accelerating inflation were all attributed to Jewish capitalists.[5] Additionally, Jews were blamed for exploiting Germany's economic

[3] Klaus P. Fisher, *The History of an Obsession: German Judeophobia and the Holocaust* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1998), 120, 124.
[4] Ibid, 130.
[5] Donald L. Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 48.

resources for their own gain, for sabotaging the war effort by avoiding military duty, and mobilizing the press to undermine the war effort.[6]

Throughout the years of the Weimar Republic (1918–1933) there was a notable increase in anti-Semitic violence and propaganda. There were instances of injuries, damage to property, and sometimes even death. University students and school children of various ages were exposed to anti-Semitic abuse and were often the targets of vilification and vicious badgering. Anti-Semitic street riots were also common. Yet, when violence erupted against Jews, police inquiries generally produced no results.[7] A disturbing example of the increasing violence against Jews were the outrages committed by the Sturmabteilung (SA) who delighted in provoking anti-Jewish outrages throughout the 1920s.[8] As history shows, the Sturmabteilung was the Nazi Party's original paramilitary wing. It played a significant role in Adolf Hitler's rise to power in the 1920s and 1930s by providing protection for Nazi rallies and assemblies, disrupting the meetings of opposing parties, and intimidating Romani, trade unionists, and, especially, Jews. Their battle hymn illustrates the extent of the anti-Jewish sentiment that ran rampant through the SA:

Ihr Sturmkollonnen jung und alt;	You Stormtroopers, both young and old
Nehmt die Waffen in die Hand	Put weapons in your hand;
Denn die Juden hausen fürchterlich	For the Jews wreak havoc fearfully
Im deutschen Vaterland.	In the German Fatherland …
Denn wenn das Judenblut	For when the Jews' blood spurts
vom Messer spritzt	from the knife
Dann geht's noch mal so gut.	Good times are once more here.[9]

[6] Fisher, *The History of an Obsession*, 130.
[7] Avraham Barkai, "Jewish life in its German Milieu," in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, Michael Meyer and Michael Brenner, eds., vol. 4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 50–53.
[8] For more information on the SA, please see David Littlejohn, *The Sturmabteilung: Hitler's Stormtroopers 1921–1945* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1990) and Nicholas H. Hatch, translator and editor, *The Brown Battalions: Hitler's SA in Words and Pictures* (Nashville: Turner Publishing, 2000).
[9] Fisher, *The History of an Obsession*, 190.

As the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP, Nazi Party) rose in prominence at the polls, so did anti-Semitic disturbances. By 1930, the Nazi Party had, for the most part, consolidated all the various radical anti-Semitic political and social organizations. In the midst of the political, economic, and social turmoil of the Weimar Republic and growing anti-Semitic unrest, Strauss chose to initiate a working relationship with the Jewish writer, Stefan Zweig.[10]

Strauss began working with Zweig in 1931 after the sudden death of his first librettist, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, two years earlier.[11] In 1932, after a short exchange of ideas, Strauss agreed to a libretto by Zweig based on the Elizabethan comedy *Epicoene*, or *The Silent Woman* by Ben Jonson. The ongoing exchange of letters between Strauss and Zweig, as translated by Max Knight, provide a fascinating story about their relationship. The early correspondence between Strauss and Zweig indicates that the two men held a mutual respect for one another. Zweig was honored to work with Germany's greatest living musician, while Strauss felt fortunate to have found a worthy replacement for Hofmannsthal. During the course of their early collaboration, their correspondence illustrates Zweig's growing unease with the political climate in Germany and Strauss's attempts to mitigate the situation. On January 20, 1933, when Hitler was named Chancellor of Germany, neither Zweig nor Strauss acknowledged the event. Their correspondence continued as before, with discussions of their individual artistic endeavors as well as their joint effort on *Die schweigsame Frau*. Even before the completion of *Die*

[10] According to Edward Lowinsky, "Strauss asked a common friend to sound out Stefan Zweig whether he might be willing to write a libretto for him. Strauss was aware of Zweig's love for music and [he] knew the six songs of Max Reger set to texts from the first book of poems of the nineteen-year-old Zweig. Edward Lowinsky, "Forward," in Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig. *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, 1931–1935*, translated by Max Knight (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), xi.

[11] On July 13, 1929, Hofmannsthal's son, Franz, committed suicide. Two days later, after his son's funeral, Hofmannsthal died suddenly of a stroke. Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *A Working Friendship: The Correspondence between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, translated by Hanns Hammelmann and Ewald Osers (New York: Random House, 1952), 537.

schweigsame Frau, Strauss began asking Zweig for ideas on another libretto. Initially eager to continue the collaboration, Zweig's early enthusiasm was short-lived.

After April 3, 1933, almost all of Zweig's letters contain some remark concerning the German government. His correspondence conveyed his frustration and inability to work under the current administration. On September 3, Zweig even went so far as to comment that he was considering re-location, "to work and seal [himself] off entirely from the contemporary situation."[12] Strauss, on the other hand, made no mention of the National Socialist Party or any current affairs. His letters included discussions of upcoming artistic projects, ideas for further collaborations with Zweig, and the progress of *Die schweigsame Frau.* He did, however, allude to his appointment as Reichsmusikkammer president on January 21, 1934, commenting that the appointment produced "a lot of extra work."[13] He also wrote a half-hearted excuse as to why he accepted the position in the first place, "I believe I should not refuse this task because the goodwill of the new German government in promoting music and theatre can really produce a lot of good; and I have, in fact, been able to accomplish some fruitful things and prevent some misfortune."[14] Strauss then immediately changed the subject, writing at length concerning his *Arabella* and its reception as compared to *Rosenkavalier*. Strauss's extremely casual mention of his official Reich position and his weak excuse for accepting it almost reads as an insincere apology. Zweig may have felt the same because in subsequent letters he made no mention of Strauss's presidency.

The tone of Zweig's letters began to change further in 1934. On July 21 of that year, he nonchalantly related to Strauss that he would suggest further opera ideas "even if [he] were not

[12] Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig, 1931–1935*, Max Knight, trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 37–38.
[13] Ibid, 38.
[14] Ibid, 38–39.

to work on them [himself]."[15] The letters imply that Zweig was becoming very nervous about his involvement with *Die schweigsame Frau*. On July 26, 1935, he wrote to Strauss that, while in London, he was questioned by several reporters concerning problems surrounding the premier of *Die Schweigsame Frau*. Strauss assured Zweig that there had been no issues, writing on September 21 that Hitler had approved performances of the opera. In contrast to Zweig, Strauss continued to write in a casual tone, discussing future projects and adamantly refusing to consider another librettist. Although Strauss continued to request additional libretti from Zweig, from August 24, 1934 onward, he acknowledged that anything Zweig provided must be kept secret. As much as Strauss persistently asked Zweig for more libretti, Zweig in turn refused further collaboration. He did, however, write that he would be willing to assist whomever Strauss chose as his replacement, proposing his intimate friend and colleague Joseph Gregor, a notable theater expert, whom Strauss grudgingly accepted.

The first meeting between Gregor and Strauss was disastrous, leading the composer to vehemently reject the collaboration and further request that Zweig be his only librettist. Zweig's June 15, 1934 reply has been lost but Strauss's infamous June 17 letter indicates that Zweig may have definitively refused to work with the composer, citing his Reichsmusikkammer presidency and general association with the National Socialist government as reasons for ending their professional relationship.[16] The most disturbing remarks made by Strauss in his June 17 letter are as follows:

> Your letter of the 15th is driving me to distraction! This Jewish obstinacy! Enough to make an anti-Semite of a man! This pride of race, this feeling of solidarity!...Who told you that I have exposed myself politically? Because I ape the president of the Reichsmusikkammer? That I do only for good purposes and to prevent greater disasters!...So be a good boy, forget

[15] Ibid, 48.
[16] Ibid, xxii.

> Moses and the other apostles for a few weeks, and work on *your* two one-act plays.[17]

Unbeknownst to Strauss, Zweig never received this letter because it was intercepted by the Gestapo and later used as the official reason for his removal as Reichsmusikkammer president. After June 15, Zweig's communication with Strauss is no longer extant. However, Strauss's letters to Zweig continued until December 1935, after which time all correspondence went through Gregor, whom Strauss had finally accepted as his next librettist.[18]

Although Joseph Gregor was the opera's only credited librettist, the finalized libretto was actually the result of a collaboration between Strauss, Zweig, and Gregor. Scholars agree that the original concept of *Friedenstag* owed its existence to Stefan Zweig, although at the time of the opera's premier Zweig's participation was hidden.[19] In the midst of the spread of National Socialism, the opera stood as Zweig's final proclamation of brotherhood and peace. In his original idea for the opera, the characters were used for their symbolic power. When Zweig first wrote to Strauss of his plan in August 1934, he explained that he "would leave everything in anonymity, no names to be provided, neither for the town nor for the commander. They should all remain ideas—symbols rather than individual characters."[20] For the most part Zweig's request was honored except for the character of Maria, whose role owes much to Strauss's penchant for strong female characters. When Gregor was brought in to replace Zweig as Strauss's librettist, the partnership began on shaky ground. Strauss was reluctant to alter the status quo, even as

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[17] Ibid, 99–100.
[18] Zweig and his wife committed suicide in 1942. Strauss and Zweig, *A Confidential Matter*, xxv.
[19] For more detailed information on the libretto of *Friedenstag* and the debates which surround its authorship please see Bryan Gilliam and Kenneth Birkin, "The Authorship of the Text of Strauss's 'Friedenstag'," *Music & Letters*, vol. 76, no. 1 (Feb., 1995): 142–143, Kenneth Birkin, *Friedenstag and Daphne: An Interpretive Study of the Literary and Dramatic Sources of Two Operas by Richard Strauss* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), and Patricia Moss, *Richard Strauss's "Friedenstag": A Political Statement of Peace in Nazi Germany*, Master's Thesis, Chapter II (Victoria: University of Victoria, 2010).
[20] Richard Strauss, *Briefwechsel mit Stefan Zweig*, Willi Schuh, ed. (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1957), 76. Translated in Birkin, *Friedenstag and Daphne*, 106.

Zweig became adamant never to work directly with the composer again. Gregor, as one of Zweig's closest friends, was fully aware of Zweig's plans for the opera. After it was officially accepted by the composer, Gregor had no plans to change or divert attention from the basic shape or dramatic substance of Zweig's original idea. Gregor realized, in this project, that his function was that of an intermediary between Zweig and Strauss. His own role was basically limited to molding the poetic content of the work. Ideologically speaking, the completed work remained faithful to Zweig's initial plans.[21] Strauss, too, had a hand in shaping the text of the work. Through many revisions and edits, he also contributed to the poetic content. Unlike his collaboration with Zweig on *Die schweigsame Frau*, Strauss made his own corrections of Gregor's drafts, never forging in this project the true collaborative relationship he enjoyed with Zweig. Ultimately, the final draft of the *Friedenstag* libretto was the culmination of the work of all three men—Zweig, Gregor and Strauss—and in its finished form Zweig's intentions were realized, particularly through the final climatic hymn to peace.

The action of the opera takes place in the citadel of a besieged town on October 24, 1648. Even without specifying the name or whereabouts of the town, by specifying the year, Strauss could be sure that German audiences would have associated this date with the Peace of Westphalia, or the signing of the two treaties that ended the Thirty Years' War. The German public would have also been well aware of the fact that the Thirty Years' War was one of the most destructive and momentous wars in European history and the first to involve most of the Continent in one way or another, with the principal battle ground being in what is now modern

[21] Birkin, *Friedenstag and Daphne*, 95.

Germany. Millions lost their lives and millions more were displaced; when the war ended there was nothing left to do but pick up the pieces and start over.[22]

At the start of the opera, soldiers are performing their regular duties when an Italian messenger from Piedmont arrives with a letter from the Emperor. The Piedmontese sings a song from his homeland that describes peace, a concept the soldiers cannot comprehend as they have only known war for the previous thirty years. In the midst of their conversation the starving, desperate townspeople forcibly gain entrance into the citadel. The Bürgermeister, mayor of the besieged town, begs the Commandant to end their suffering by surrendering. Citing his duty to hold the citadel at all costs, the Commandant refuses to consider the townspeople's request. After the townspeople disperse, the Commandant reveals to the soldiers his plan to blow up the citadel rather than surrendering to the besieging army, killing himself and those troops who choose to remain. As the men gather supplies to carry out the Commandant's orders, his wife Maria enters and reminisces on an earlier time when there was no war. Just as the citadel is ready to be destroyed, bells ring throughout the town and the enemy approaches brandishing white flags. The Commandant initially refuses to embrace the Holsteiner, commander of the besieging army. The two men quarrel and eventually take up arms until Maria steps between them. She is able to calm her husband, leading to the embrace of the two Commanders and the long-anticipated arrival of peace. The opera concludes with Maria leading the townspeople in a jubilant hymn to peace.[23]

The character of the Commandant—introduced within the first few moments of the opera—represents the epitome of Nazi principles most upheld by the regime. The curtain opens

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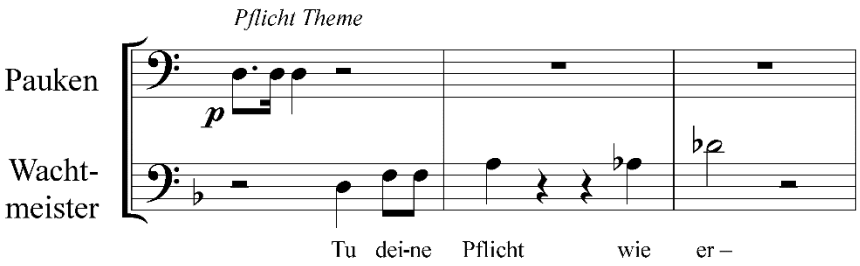
[22] "History of Europe," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica Online, 2010. http://search.eb.com/eb/article-58354.

[23] This summary is provided by my own reading of the Friedenstag score and libretto. Richard Strauss, *Friedenstag,* Study Score (New York: Boosey and Hawkes Music Publishers LTD, 1996).

to a Fortress filled with war-weary soldiers and officers overcome by an overwhelming sense of hopelessness and desperate fatigue. Slowly making his rounds, a Sergeant (Wachtmeister) encounters a Private (Schütze) who has squeezed himself into a small corner in an effort to peer outside the fortress. The Sergeant questions the Private on what he has observed and in reply, the Private summarizes what he has seen: burning farms, desolation, fleeing townspeople numb with misery, and a total lack of nourishment.[24] His summary concludes with a question, "How will it end?", to which the Sergeant quickly responds:

Auf Seine Gnaden acht, den Herrn und Kommandanten! In voller Rüstung blieb er heut die ganze Nacht an seinem Tisch. Die Kerzen sind längst herabgebrannt, ich sah's auf meiner Runde. Und regungslos blickt er auf Karte und Papier. Tu deine Pflicht wie er–so endet das.	Watch the Commandant. He sat at his table all night fully armed. The candles burnt out long ago, I saw it on my round. And he sits motionless, staring at the map and his papers. Do your duty as he does his—that's how it will end.[25]

The Commandant is described as completely dedicated to his duty, a fastidiousness which is musically represented by the timpani's march-like rhythmic figure (musical example 5-1).[26]



Musical Example 5-1: *Friedenstag*, Pflicht Theme in timpani, pg. 11.

Although this rhythmic figure, always played on the timpani, is first heard in the short musical prelude, it is only in the Sergeant's speech that it becomes associated with the Commandant and

[24] Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works*, vol.3 (London: Barrie and Jenkins, LTD., 1972), 63.
[25] This translation and all subsequent translations by Mary Whittall from the liner notes of *Friedenstag* (Compact Disc) ©2001, Deutsche Grammophon Gmbh, Hamburg.
[26] This score excerpt as well as other score excerpts taken from Richard Strauss, *Friedenstag* (Study Score) (New York: Boosey and Hawkes Music Publishers LTD), 1996.

his sense of duty to the Emperor. For this reason it will henceforth be referred to as the *Pflicht* (duty) theme. This martial theme, symbolic of war, is always associated with the character of the Commandant. According to Nazi ideology, a man could only be considered truly masculine if he were to join in heroic activities, such as fighting in a war. Further, a man's willingness to sacrifice himself for the state ultimately determined his masculinity.[27] Just as Hitler demanded unquestioning loyalty from the German people so does the Emperor from the Commandant who is more than willing to oblige, making him the quintessential example of the perfect Nazi soldier.

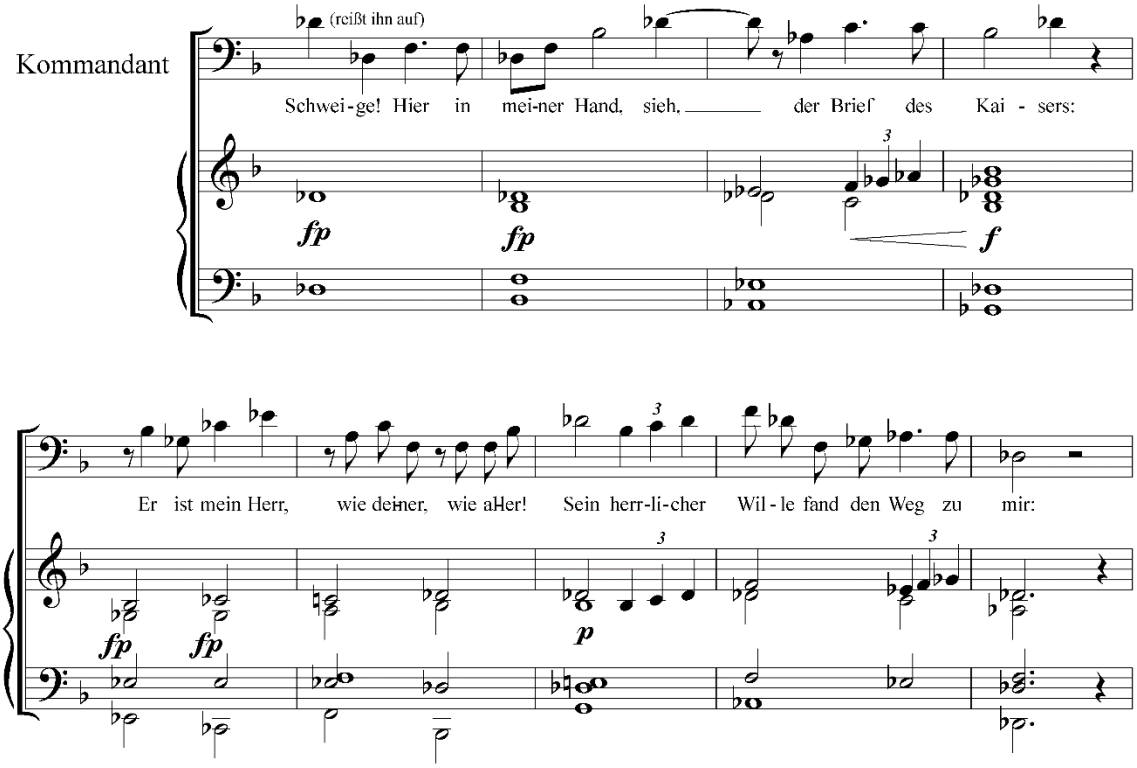
When the Commandant finally makes his appearance, his main goal is to uphold the position of the Emperor: there will be no surrender, no matter how desolate the situation. A dejected Soldier from the front unexpectedly appears, announcing to the Commandant that there remains no more ammunition. In the midst of the seemingly hopeless situation, the *Pflicht* theme is heard, signalling that the Commandant's sense of duty will prevail. The Soldier falls to his knees exclaiming that the men at the front face immanent death, since they are defenseless against any attack. Several other soldiers also fall to their knees in support of their comrades at the front. Though visibly shaken, the Commandant remains steadfast, pulling from his breast the letter from the Emperor that was delivered earlier by the Piedmontese.

Schweige! Hier in meiner Hand, sieh,	Silence! Here in my hand, look, the
Den Brief des Kaisers: Er ist mein Herr,	Emperor's letter: my sovereign,
Wie deiner, wie aller! Sein herrlicher	yours and all of yours! His imperial
Wille fand den Weg zu mir.	will reaches us here.

In this brief moment he displays the first signs of reverence and respect, musically represented by a plagal cadence on the word "Kaiser" (musical example 5-2). The association of the plagal cadence with the final "Amen" of a hymn further illustrates the Commandant's zealous fealty for

[27] George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man, The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 167.

the Emperor. The Emperor's letter commands the Commandant to hold the town at all costs for the sake of his honour.



Musical Example 5-2: *Friedenstag*, Plagal cadence closing the Commandant's speech, pg. 63

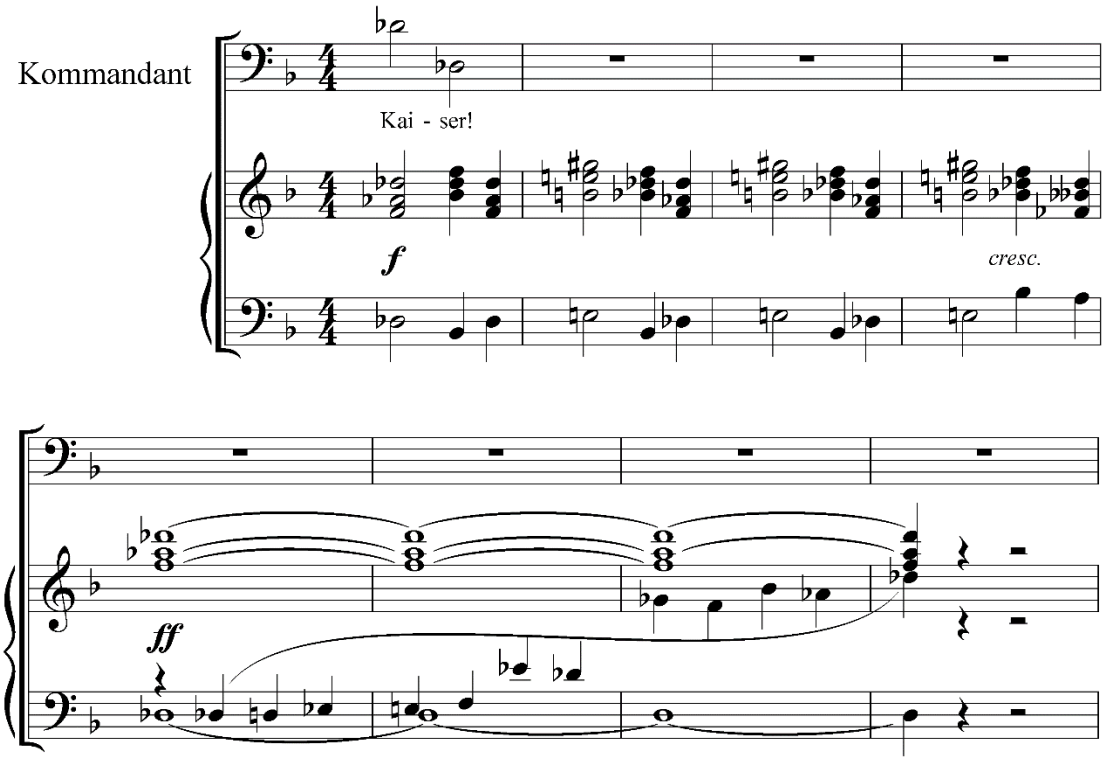
The Commandant reveals to his soldiers his intention to destroy the Citadel, killing himself and those soldiers who choose to remain with him. As he reveals his plan the *Pflicht* theme is heard, again in reference to the Commandant's unfailing devotion to fulfill his duty. Thus far, the Commandant has been depicted as militant, obstinate, and loyal to his Emperor. As Pamela Potter has noted, "in effect he represents the ideal Nazi—steadfast in his boundless loyalty to his Führer, intolerant of cowardice, enamored of heroic feats, nonhumanistic, and, as will be seen, rigid and mistrusting…it is because of his presence that the opera was acceptable to

the Nazis."[28] The soldiers are given a choice to either remain and die in the Citadel or to take their leave immediately. Following some shorter scenes of various soldiers making their decision, the Commandant makes a final inspirational speech to his remaining men:

Geht, geht alle! Du kühner Junge,	Go, go all of you! You, brave lad,
dir danke ich dies letze Wunder –	I thank you for this last miracle,
den Brief, von dem die Kraft	this letter from which new strength
mir durchs Blut strömt,	flows through my veins.
wo jeder Buchstab Feuerzeichen	Each penstroke is a flame,
mir ward für meinen Tod. Antwort	signaling my death.
wird diesem Brief, gewaltige	I shall send an answer–a mighty
Antwort, Herr und Kaiser!	answer–my lord and Emperor!

In this speech the Commandant thanks the Piedmontese for delivering the letter that has filled him with the fortitude to carry out the task of dying for the Emperor and his honor. On the final word (Kaiser) the full orchestra immediately begins a massive build-up to a cadence (musical example 5-3), the first unmistakably strong cadence in the opera. This cadence again emphasizes the Commandant's unyielding commitment to the Emperor. During the course of this cadence the soldiers stand in awe until, when it is completed, the Commandant yells for action. As the soldiers and the Commandant disappear to carry out the new orders the *Pflicht* theme is played in the strings, trombones, tuba and timpani. As the stage clears, the Commandant's wife, Maria, makes her entrance.

[28] Pamela M Potter, "Strauss's "Friedenstag": A Pacifist Attempt at Political Resistance," *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 3 (Summer, 1983): 417.



Musical Example 5-3: *Friedenstag*, Strong cadence before Maria's entrance, pg. 94.

As the sole female character in the opera, Maria fulfills the soprano role typical of Strauss's style. The Commandant's wife, who is described as being much younger than her husband, enters a deserted Fortress, and wonders where everyone has gone. Maria sings an aria about life in the Citadel since her wedding day, the last day she saw her husband smile. She realizes that she has not married a man, but war itself. Following this proclamation is a passage intensified by a continuous pattern of quintuplet runs as she gathers strength from the rising sun, and, a new sense of hope envelops her.[29] Her aria ends with a plea for the war's end and the return of her husband as he was when they were wed. The Commandant reappears and is shocked to see that his wife still remains in the Citadel. She senses something is amiss and begs

[29] Potter, "Strauss's "Friedenstag," 418.

her husband to tell her why the Fortress is empty. He resists at first but finally relents. A duet ensues full of contradictions in the lines of Maria and the Commandant:

Maria	**The Commandant**
War, dreadful reaper, War, are you not sated with all your victims? Must you yet borrow the Cloak of honour to kill the man who is everything to me? Hear me, War, I too have been a warrior! I made war on you yourself for the sake of my love! I curse you, War! Hear me, War! Mine is the last and everlasting Victory, the sun has called me by its light! Beloved, I follow the call of the light, Beloved, I come to die with you.	War, noble ideal, War, wherever your mighty head is raised obedience overpowers every baser life itself becomes the price of feeling and honour! Hear me, War! I was only ever a soldier! Loyalty is all I ever knew, my guide through life, loyalty to my sovereign! I bless you, War! Loyalty has called me by its light! Beloved, we follow the everlasting call, Beloved, I come to die with you.

While the Commandant praises the glory of war, Maria laments over its horrors, even if, ultimately, she makes the decision to remain in the Fortress and share her husband's fate. The conflicting text is also represented musically. Though the voices are in imitation of each other, the orchestra demonstrates the meaning of the text by combining the Commandant's march figure with Maria's quintuplet runs (musical example 5-4).[30] Although Maria's text portrays her as a proponent of peace, she also fits the Nazi ideal of a devoted German wife. According to Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, head of the women's movement under the Nazis, "[a wife's] mission in marriage is …. comrade, helper, and womanly complement of man—that is the right of woman in the new Germany."[31] Maria is both benevolent and consoling, yet she submits to her husband's "higher duties" becoming firm in her decision to face death.[32] The scene ends with the two lovers locked in a tight emotional embrace.

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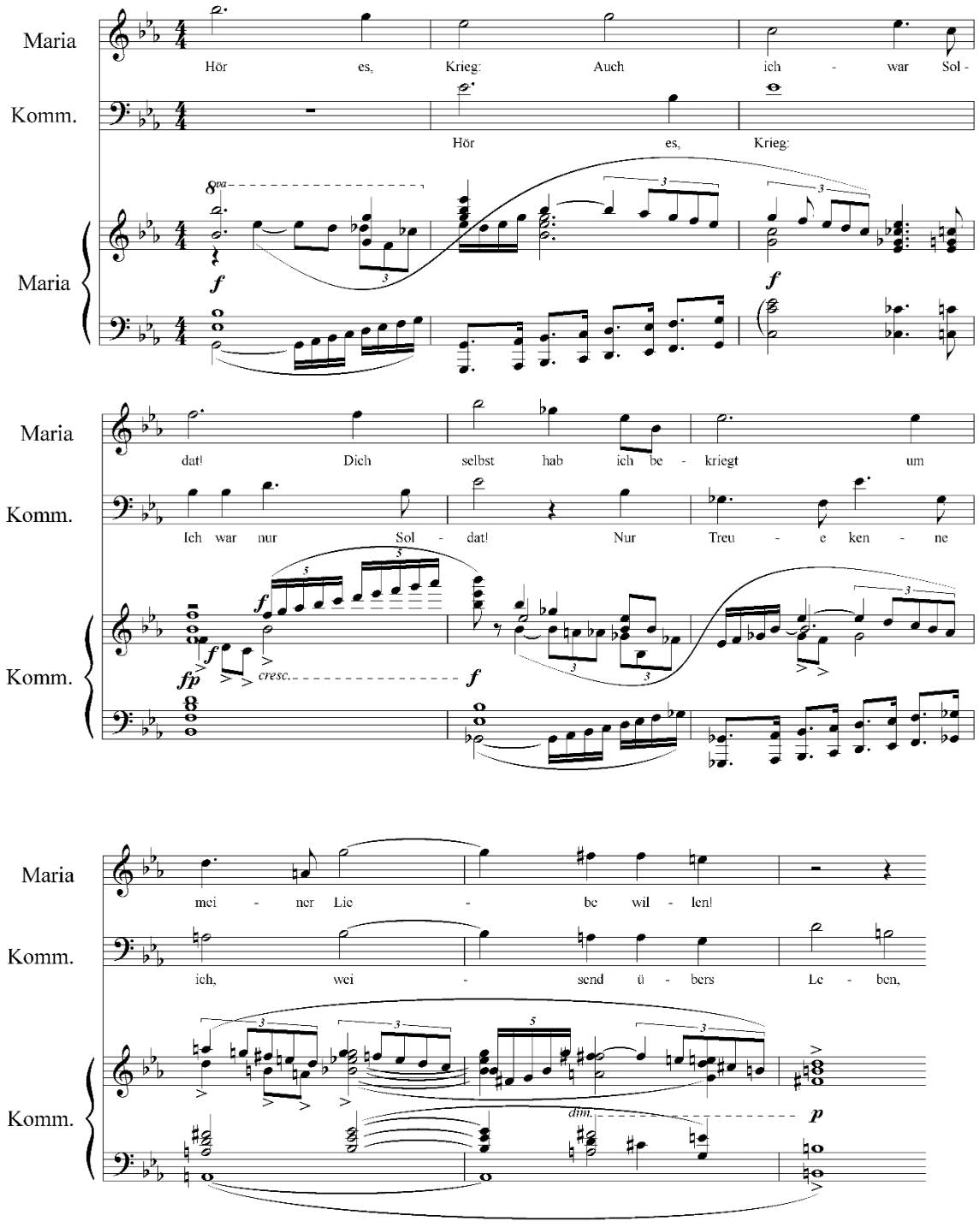
[30] Ibid.

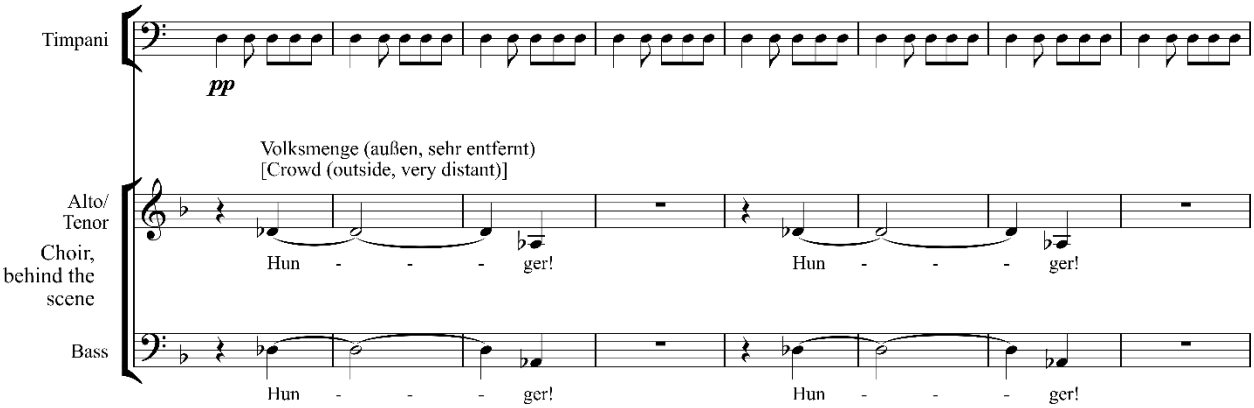
[31] Matthew Hughes and Chris Mann, *Inside Hitler's Germany* (New York: MJF Books, 2000), 67–68. Also quoted in Andrew Rawson, *Third Reich 1919-1939: The Nazis' Rise to Power*, Chapter 14 (Gloucestershire, England: The History Press, LTD, 2010). Found in the National Archives and Records Administration, Maryland, collection reference: 242-HB-23786, known as the Hoffmann Collection.

[32] Potter, "Strauss's "Friedenstag," 418.



Musical Example 5-4: *Friedenstag*, Excerpt from the duet between the Commandant and Maria, pg. 142–144.

In direct contrast to the Commandant and his wife are the townspeople who oppose the rule of the Emperor and represent the true horror and suffering of war. During the course of a conversation about war between the soldiers, the desperate cries of hunger from the townspeople are heard as they make their way up to the Citadel to beg the Commandant to surrender the Fortress (musical example 5-5). Their highly chromatic, ghostly cries of hunger grow louder and more eerie as they get closer to the Citadel. The quiet, but steady beat of the timpani accompanies their march, adding to the bleak atmosphere.



Musical Example 5-5: *Friedenstag*, The cries of the Townspeople, pg. 28.

Startlingly, the Soldiers' refer to the approaching crowd as "rats" and as the "enemy within":

Ich sehe ein paar graue Ratten wimmeln.	I see a few gray rats swarming.
Zweitausand, dreitausand stürmen das Festungstor! Her von der Stadt!	Two thousand, three thousand, storming the gate! From the town!
Der Feind?	The enemy?
Ärger. Der Feind im Land. An die Gewehre!	Trouble. The enemy within. Arm yourselves!
Wer schießt auf Ratten!	Who wastes powder on rats?

To an audience in Nazi Germany, these words would have been instantly recognizable as representing the kind of imagery that Nazi propagandists reserved for Jews. Comparisons

between Jews and vermin were regularly disseminated to German citizens, especially after 1933. National Socialists "held the Jews to be a parasitic people, seeking to destroy from within the peoples of 'the greatest value'."[33] Hitler referred to the Jews as, "only and always a parasite in the body of other peoples… his spreading is typical for all parasites who seek a new feeding ground for his race."[34] From 1923 to 1945 images of Jews depicted as rodents and pests could be seen on a regular basis in Julius Streicher's newspaper, *Der Stürmer.* Common images were of Jews likened to spiders, flies, rats and pigs (figure 5-1).[35]

These images also appeared in other forms of propaganda such as the film, *Der Ewige Jude* (1938). The film includes a montage that juxtaposes images of Jews with images of rats to draw an analogy between the migration of Jews from Eastern Europe with the migration of rats. As rats swarm across the screen a narrator states that, as rats are the vermin of the animal kingdom, Jews are the vermin of the human race and similarly spread disease and corruption.[36] Wagner also used similar imagery in his essay, "Artwork of the future": "As long as the conditions [for the domination of the *Volk* by its enemies] exist, as long as they [its enemies] suck their life's blood from the wasted strength of the *Volk*, as long as they—themselves unable to sire—devour to no end the fertility of the *Volk* in their egotistical existence—then for just as long all interpreting, creating changing, improving, and reforming of these conditions will be

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[33] Hans-Christian Täubrich, ed, *Fascination and Terror: Documentation Center Nazi Party Rally Grounds Nuremburg* (Nürnberg: Druckhaus Nürnberg, 2006), 72.
[34] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich: Verlag Franz Eher Nachfolger, 1925, published in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman, eds. (California: University of California Press, 2013), 189.
[35] Image and Permission to reproduce from Randall Bytwerk, *The German Propaganda Archive*, www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/sturm28.htm. "The caricature suggests the Jews are sucking the economic life from Gentiles. It is one of numerous *Stürmer* cartoons comparing Jews to inhuman and unpleasant creatures." (*Der Stürmer,* February 1930).
[36] From my own viewing of the film, *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew), Deutsche Filmherstellungs und Vertriebs, directed by Fritz Hippler.

arbitrary, pointless and fruitless."[37] The use of such references within *Friedenstag* connected the audience to the current struggle of 1938, which was directed against the Jew.

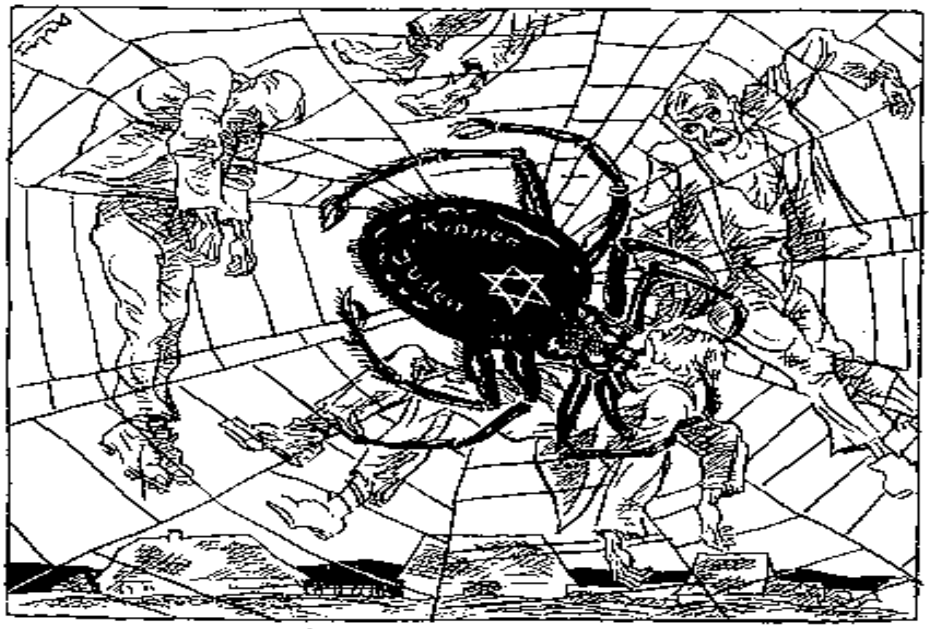

Figure 5-1: Caption: "Sucked dry." From *Der Stürmer*, February 1930

The scene continues with the townspeople moving forward with their march to the gates of the Citadel. When they reach the gate they are met by the Commandant; his address to the crowd is unyielding, as he announces that by order of the Emperor there will be no surrender. Unmoved by the crowd's pleas, the Commandant remains resolute, even going so far as to threaten the townspeople with violence if they persist in their endeavor to convince him to surrender the Fortress. The townspeople feel that the Commandant cannot protect them and that

[37] Richard Wagner, *Dichtungen und Schriften*. Dieter Borchmeyer, vol. 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983), 21. Also quoted in Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 181 and K. M. Knittel, "'Polemik im Concertsaal': Mahler, Beethoven, and the Viennese Critics." *19th-Century Music*, vol. 29, no. 3 (Spring 2006), 305.

death is certain. In the midst of the seemingly hopeless situation, the *Pflicht* theme is heard, signalling that the Commandant's sense of duty will prevail.

Just as the situation in the Citadel seems most bleak, a series of cannon shots are suddenly heard in the distance. The soldiers begin to emerge from the interior of the Citadel as the Commandant calls them to their posts. Accompanied by the *Pflicht* theme, the Commandant, believing that the long-awaited attack has finally arrived, rejoices for the opportunity to make the ultimate sacrifice in battle. As the entire Citadel is tensely awaiting the attack, the sound of distant bells reaches them. Maria is the first to recognize the bells as a sign of peace and gradually the other soldiers also realize the symbol. However, the Commandant doggedly continues to search for a sign of attack, his movements closely followed by the *Pflicht* theme.

Finally, the enemy troops are spotted walking toward the Citadel as if on parade, carrying white flags with streamers, their guns decked with flowers. Fearing a trick, the Commandant orders the gate to be closed, but it is too late; the townspeople have already begun to embrace the enemy. As the soldiers and townspeople rejoice at the prospect of peace, the Commandant doggedly holds fast to his duty:

Ich hab geschworen: kein feindlicher Fuß betritt diese Stadt! Und müßt ich Selber dem Feinde stehn, ein einziger Mann! Niemals Frieden!	I swore an oath: no enemy should set foot in this town! Though I myself must face the enemy alone In the field! Never peace!

In this tense moment Maria turns toward her husband, asking him to look beyond his duty to a force that is greater than both words and the Emperor himself. She asks him to see that peace has come at last. As Kenneth Birkin notes, "It is [Maria's] perception and womanly intuition which cuts through the hatred and distrust of the [Commander] and makes the ultimate reconciliation

possible."[38] The Commandant stares at her for a long time and finally throws down his sword. The opera concludes with a glorious C major chorus consisting of the entire ensemble, musically affirming that peace now reigns as the new sovereign of the land.

Although the Commandant spends the majority of his time glorifying war and blindly supporting the Emperor, there are moments throughout the opera that support a pacifist interpretation. For example, the sunny song of the Piedmontese contrasts starkly with the desperate reality of the fortress. The Piedmontese sings in Italian and is given a more lyrical melody which stands out considerably from the disjunct, chromatic speech-like singing of the soldiers. He sings about his home and the peace that reigns there, inspiring a palpable sense of confusion in the soldiers, many of whom had never experienced peaceful times because they enlisted in a war that has lasted their entire lifetime. The Italian's song represents the first sign of pacifism within the opera by diverting the attention of both the soldiers and the audience, as the men ponder the prospect of peace. Eventually, the soldiers dismiss the song of the Piedmontese, as they speak of the enemy and coming military operations. Even Maria promotes a pacifist message, as she lambasts the toils of war, though she remains loyal to her husband and his will. Finally, pacificism ends the opera when the Commandant embraces his sworn enemy. The opera concludes with the entire cast participating in a jubilant hymn to peace. Since the opera ends on a peaceful note, it is easy to understand why scholars have promoted this interpretation. However, this chapter presents arguments why the Nazi elements in the work should not be denied but rather understood as indicative of the collaborators ability to perceive and project the realities of their cultural and political environment.

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[38] Kenneth Birkin, *Friedenstag and Daphne: An Interpretive Study of the Literary and Dramatic Sources of Two Operas by Richard Strauss* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 115.

On July 24, 1938, at the height of National Socialism, *Friedenstag*, received its Munich premiere. Two years earlier, Adolf Hitler had not only begun the re-armament of Germany but had also resumed control over the Rhineland and was actively seeking allies in preparation for war. March 1938 brought the Austrian Anschluss, and in September, United States President Theodore Roosevelt appealed directly to Hitler for peace. Hitler responded by occupying the Sudetenland in October and orchestrating Kristallnacht in November. The rest of Europe was reluctant to go to war and managed to convince themselves that by conceding the Sudetenland to Hitler, they would succeed in appeasing him. At the time there was a growing consensus in Europe that Hitler, once a few of his demands were met, would retreat into peaceful coexistence.[39] The peaceful message of *Friedenstag* may have played a part in persuading foreign powers of the false notion that Hitler also wanted to avoid combat. These reasons may well account for the fact that the opera was permitted over ninety performances during a time when Germany was preparing for war. *Friedenstag* was quietly removed from the German stage in the latter part of 1939.

Months before the world premiere, Stefan Zweig had relocated to England in self-imposed exile while both Strauss and Joseph Gregor were occupied with their next collaboration, *Daphne*. In 1938, there was no way to connect Zweig to the opera as Gregor was the only credited librettist. This was an intentional omission by the collaborators because any mention of the Jewish librettist's involvement would have certainly caused the opera to be immediately censored by the German government, as evidenced by *Die Schweigsame Frau*.[40] Additionally,

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[39] "Adolf Hitler," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica Online, 2010. http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9106283.

[40] Prior to the premiere of *Die schweigsame Frau* the Nazis were anxiously attempting to discover some way to legally prevent any performances, or at the very least suppress the fact that a Jew wrote the libretto. Following the interception of Strauss's June 17 letter, the Nazis had all the evidence they needed to put an end to Strauss's political career as well as the entire *Die schweigsame Frau* affair. The general consensus is that there were between two and

the relatively simple appropriation of the opera to reflect the ideals of Nazism would not have been possible had Hitler's government known that the original idea came from Zweig. Therefore, in the absence of commentary from the collaborators on the opera or its message, prior to or after its debut, there were only two interpretations attached to the piece. The first was the interpretation presented by the National Socialist government, one most relevant to German audiences. The second was the pacifist interpretation, one that has endured and gained momentum since the end of the Second World War.

For the most part, German reviewers found a way to connect this work with ideals of the Nazi party. In his review of the opera, Adolf Rettich writes that, "honor, truth, and belief are the ideals on which the German National Socialist party are built. When the entire Volk are inspired by these ideals, it is plausible that the best artists are also inspired. So with *Friedenstag*, Richard Strauss created the first opera born from the ethos of the National Socialist spirit."[41] The principal characters of the Commandant and his wife were initially praised as the ideal model for Nazi men and women. After attending a performance of the opera in Vienna in 1939, Hitler was reportedly particularly impressed by the speeches of the Commandant, an unsurprising fact given his call for unquestioning devotion.[42] Additionally, in another review espousing the ideal of National Socialism, Strauss was praised for choosing to set an opera based on "the history of his

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four performances of *Die schweigsame Frau* before it was removed from the stage. Unfortunately, the Dresden opera house as well as the records held within were destroyed in 1945.

[41] Adolf Rettich, "'Friedenstag' ein Kunstwerk unserer Zeit," in *Die Münchener Uraufführung der Richard Strauss oper „Friedenstag*," pg. 10. Günther Lesnig Collection, Friedenstag München Nationaltheater Uraufführung, 7/24–8/27 1938, Located in the Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch, Germany. "Ehre, Treue und Glauben sind die drei Grundpfeiler, auf denen das nationalsozialistische Deutschland aufgebaut ist. Wenn ein ganzes Volk sich nach diesen Idealen ausrichtet, ist es nicht verwunderlich, wenn auch seine schöpferischen Meister von ihrer Kraft inspiriert werden. So schuf Richard Strauss mit ‚Friedenstag' die erste Oper, die aus dem Geist des nationalsozialistischen Ethos geboren ist."

[42] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: Macmillan Press, 1994), 188.

own people," finally turning from "his private, bourgeois world to the nation and community, from a whimsical-moody concept of the world to a heroic one."[43]

A few German reviewers were quick to credit Gregor as both the originator of the idea for the opera and the librettist.[44] This would have been an important point to make for both the government and audiences. Completely separating Strauss from Zweig would further ensure that the opera was a proper German production, untainted by Jewish influence. Moreover, many reviews also highly praise the text of the opera and comment on how the pairing of Strauss and Gregor was extremely wise and successful. For example, Dr. Karl Laux writes that, "Strauss finding a new lyricist is an event because they seem to be a good couple. *Friedenstag* is an excellent textbook, one like it has rarely been seen. Gregor has an eye for effective scenes, for creating characters, and he works with the musician, managing the whole event."[45] Interestingly, in the past, when reviewers criticized Strauss's earlier works, they were quick to lambast the quality of the text and/or Hofmannsthal's inability to create a good libretto. For the Dresden premiere of *Rosenkavalier*, reviewer J.C. Lusztig writes that, "wherever there is displeasure in

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[43] Dr. Karl Laux, "‚Friedenstag', Die neue Strauss-Oper in München," *Berliner Tageblatt*, 25.07.1938. Located in the Richard Strauss Institute, Garmisch, Germany. "Eine neue Atmosphäre umgibt ihn. Was ihm, der mit einem alttestamentarischen Stoff begann, und sich mit Vorliebe ins griechische Altertum zurückzog, bisher ferner-war, die Geschichte seines eigenen Volkes, zieht ihn nunmehr an. Dies bedeutet einen Aufstieg aus der bürgerlichen Welt in die nationale, aus der privaten in die Welt der Gemeinschaft; zugleich aus der launig-launenhaften Weltauffassung in die heroische."

[44] "Der neue Richard Strauss, Zur Münchner Weltaufführung der Oper ‚Friedenstag'," *Hannoverscher Anzeiger*, 20. Juli 1938. Lesnig Collection, Friedenstag München Nationaltheater Uraufführung, 7/24–8/27 1938. "Richard Strauss—wir geben im Folgenden seine Ausführungen sinngemäß wieder, — trug sich schon lange mit dem Gedanken, den mittelalterlichen Landfrieden zum Hintergrund einer Opernkomposition zu machen. Da sich aber kein geeigneter Text dafür fand, kam Josef Gregor in Wien auf die Idee, den Friedenskongress von Münster (1644) zur Basis eines Textbuches zu machen."

[45] See the *Hannoverscher Anzeiger* and the *Berliner Tageblatt,* "Strauss hat einen neuen Textdichter gefunden. Auch das ist ein Stück Ereignis. Denn—wenn nicht alle Zeichen trügen—daraus scheint eine gute Ehe zu werden. Joseph Gregor, der Direktor der Theaterabteilung der Wiener Nationalbibliothek, ist Opernfachmann, ist Theaterfachmann, Historiker des Theaters und seiner Dichter und außerdem selbst dichterisch und schauspielerisch mit Erfolg hervorgetreten. Übersieht man den ‚Friedenstag,' so springt sofort in die Augen: das ist ein ganz ausgezeichnetes Textbuch; eines, wie es selten geschrieben wird. Gregor hat den sicheren Blick für die wirksame Szenenzuspitzung, die sichere Hand für die Zeichnung von Charakteren. Dabei arbeitet es in der ganzen Direktion dem Musiker verständnisvoll in die Hand."

the work, the libretto is likely the culprit. This wretched libretto, this book of words in the worst possible sense! The textual foundation in its entirety is a complete failure."[46] These comments illustrate the significance of linking Germany's most famous living opera composer with a racially approved collaborator.

Although reviewers from Germany towed the party line, news sources from outside of Germany held a different opinion, choosing to focus on the peaceful end of the opera and what it represented for the world stage. Richard Capell, music critic of *The London Morning Post and Daily Telegraph*, wrote in 1938 that, "though the time of the story is back in the seventeenth century, there are notes struck which cannot but chime in with present-day preoccupations."[47] Another correspondent writing for *The Times* in 1938 observed that, "the opera is, in fact, a protest against the futility of war…for a religious or ideological cause, and ends with a great hymn in praise of peace…amid so many signs of warlike preparation it is good to hear so influential an appeal to sanity."[48] Either oblivious to this pacifistic message noted by foreign journalists and music critics or capitalizing on the distraction, the Nazi government authorized over ninety performances of the opera before quietly removing it from the German stage in the latter part of 1939, when it became evident that the country would engage in war.

Friedenstag was chosen by Strauss at a time of political, professional, and social upheaval in the composer's life. As he transitioned from Stefan Zweig to Joseph Gregor, the three men worked together to realize Zweig's vision and create the text of the opera. Following the opera's premiere, the German press was quick to coopt the work as a showpiece for the Nazi

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[46] J.C. Lusztig, "Die 'Rosenkavalier' Premiere, Das große Ereignis im Königlichen Opernhause," Dresden, 15.11.1911. "Wo Übel aus dem Werke aufkeimt, da drängt das Buch die Schuld daran. Dieses unglückliche Buch, dieses Wortbuch im schlimmen Sinne der Bedeutung! Die textliche Grundlage in ihrer Gesamtheit ist nun einmal verfehlt."
[47] Review of *Friedenstag*, *The New York Times,* New York, 24 July 1938.
[48] Review of *Friedenstag*, *The Times*, London,25 July 1938.

regime while the foreign press found the work to be a cry for peace. The dual interpretations of *Friedenstag* have clouded much of the scholarly work on the opera and managed to keep the majority of discussion focused on Strauss's political activities. However, this chapter seeks to show that both interpretations are valid. Furthermore, this researcher argues that whether or not Strauss and his colleagues intended to create an opera that expressed a Nazi or pacifist message, *Friedenstag* shows that they understood and incorporated general stereotypes that adhered to the cultural standards of the time. The inclusion of the townspeople is not only politically relevant but also representative of negative Jewish stereotypes. Although the townspeople are not main characters, for a brief time their position in the opera represents an example of the inner Other. This racial Othering should not be thought of as a singular event, bound inextricably to the Third Reich. Instead, it indicates a pattern of the inclusion of Others in Strauss's earlier operas. In each of the earlier works, the Others represented must be seen within the context of Strauss and his collaborators lives as well as the political and social atmosphere in Germany at the time of their creation.

Conclusion

In May 1911, Jewish composer Gustav Mahler died, prompting Strauss to write a small eulogy in his personal diary, "the death of this aspiring, idealistic, energetic artist [is] a grave loss … Mahler, the Jew, could achieve elevation in Christianity." [1] Although encased in praise, Strauss's labeling of Mahler as a Jew harkens back to his correspondence with childhood friend, Ludwig Thuille. By marking Mahler as Jewish, Strauss identifies him as different, an Other who it seems could only achieve "elevation" with a conversion to Christianity. Further, by identifying the younger composer as such in his private diary, Strauss demonstrates that he was not simply catering publicly to the prejudices of his German colleagues and friends but rather that he too agreed that the designation and the stereotypes that come with that label were necessary and right. Additionally, Strauss's use of the Jewish tag in his personal writings demonstrates that the usage of these markers of racial difference had achieved a high level of normalcy in German society.

At the outset of this dissertation, several questions were raised about late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German societal norms and their influence on Strauss's attitude toward the racial Other. The aim throughout this dissertation is to demonstrate that these societal norms impacted Strauss's life and his compositions. Strauss's June 17, 1935 letter to his Jewish

[1] Bryan Gilliam and Charles Youmans, "Richard Strauss, Instrumental Music," *Grove Music Online.* 2001. https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.

librettist, Stefan Zweig, in which the composer attempted to belittle his collaborator in an effort to persuade him to continue their working relationship, was the catalyst for investigating the prejudices that pervaded the composer's personal and professional environment. Because Strauss specifically disparaged Zweig's Jewishness, he aligned himself with the cultural, social, and political milieu which surrounded Jews during Germany's Third Reich. Further complicating matters, *Friedenstag*, the opera whose genesis began with Zweig, became inextricably linked to Strauss's relationship with the Nazis. In an effort to dispute previous scholarly arguments that the opera and Strauss's actions during the Third Reich should be considered separate from his earlier life and compositions, this study examined three of his operas that premiered prior to the Third Reich. In discussions of these operas, historical context is included as it related to Strauss and his collaborator's life, and world events which may have impacted the creation of certain characters in the operas. This dissertation argues that these characters, considered Others, portrayed the negative racial, national, and gender stereotypes that rose to prominence in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany, and that this broad view of the Other developed throughout Strauss's compositional career, including before and during his association with the Third Reich.

Traditionally, Strauss's life and oeuvre has been conceptualized as two distinct periods, pre-World War II, on the one hand, and during and after the Second World War, on the other. As the first focused and sustained study on Strauss and difference that challenges long-held assessments of the composer and his music, this dissertation instead argues that there is a thread of continuity traceable between Strauss's actions and operas during the Third Reich with his earlier works. Additionally, for the first time, *Salome*, *Der Rosenkavalier*, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, and *Friedenstag* are analyzed according to the principles of musical exoticism, looking

beyond the score to find elements of difference in the words and visual elements of the operas. Furthermore, the lives and relationships of Strauss and his collaborators as they relate to racial Others are examined in historical context according to the tenants of critical race theory, where race is understood as a social construct and the racial stereotypes found in the operas are indicative of the societal hierarchy of Others in Germany. With Strauss and his collaborator's inclusion of characters that exhibit stereotypes of racial difference, each opera discussed in this dissertation contains elements of racialization while the historical context that surrounded the genesis and creation of the opera exemplify the basic tenants of critical race theory. By reading these operas through the lens of the Other with a focus provided by critical race theory, contemporary audiences are able to fully understand the confluence of forces that influence the creative process of composition.

Given the traditional division of Strauss' oeuvre, the treatment of the Jewish characters within these works requires special consideration. Every opera discussed here has some character that exhibits negative Jewish stereotypes, whether overtly (*Salome*, *Friedenstag*) or in a capacity with another type of Other including women and foreigners (*Rosenkavalier*, *Die Frau ohne Schatten*). Although the term anti-Semitism has come to be associated with extreme hatred, revulsion, or even genocide, Germans and Austrians in the nineteenth century truly believed that the Jews were different—in speech, body, mannerisms, and race. During the time period that these operas were written, anti-Semitism did not necessarily indicate a hatred of Jews, rather, Germans and Austrians like Strauss and his collaborators viewed Jews as a fundamentally different outsider, someone for whom true assimilation was forever an impossibility.[2] As a German reared in an atmosphere of anti-Semitism, Strauss showed that he recognized and

[2] K.M. Knittel, *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Virginia: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 6.

utilized this difference in his operas and his life. His collaborators, Hofmannsthal and Zweig also felt this difference, as a Catholic with a Jewish grandparent and an Austrian Jew respectively. However, during their time, such depictions went virtually unnoticed because they were so routine and enculturated. By applying the lens of difference and critical race theory to the treatment of the Jewish characters in Strauss' operas, both before and during the Third Reich, it is possible to realize how the handling of the characters' traits is the product of the composer and his collaborators' time, place, and personal backgrounds.

Although Jews were the Other that most concerned German society, women, blacks, and foreigners also found themselves represented with stereotypes of difference in Strauss's operas. Within late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Germany there existed a structure in which non-Jewish German and Austrian white males asserted dominance over anyone considered Other. This, in turn, created a series of binary dualisms which had a strong and implicit subliminal influence on how groups of peoples were interpreted and represented. These pairs are not only oppositional in quality but also imply a power relationship.[3] The reality is that any type of power structure is multiple and differentiated, and perceived difference is given meaning in subtle ways within social relationships and as part of the fabric of everyday life and activities.[4] The use of any negative stereotypes of difference is just another way of realizing power, whether racial, gendered, or nationalistic. During Strauss's time, these dualities and power structures controlled how people of a different nationality, race or gender were perceived. Each can be observed in the operas discussed in this dissertation. The characters of Salome and the Nurse must be killed or banished respectively because they could not confirm to the social and cultural

[3] Ruth Solie, ed., *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 11.
[4] Jo Haynes, *Music, Difference and the Residue of Race* (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2013), 10–11.

norms that governed their societies. The black servants in *Rosenkavalier* are silenced and placed in the margins while the Italians are used as farcical parodies that are discarded as soon as the main characters achieve their purpose. Finally, the characters of the Dyer's Wife and Empress are only integrated into the dominant society after they conform to the will of their husbands and accept their duty to become mothers.

When characteristics of Otherness are constructed in the margins, by largely peripheral characters, the dominant members of society are normalized, and the effects of gendered stereotypes, racism, and nationalism are harder to perceive and understand. What is presented as normal is actually socially constructed. According to Mary Ellen Iatropoulos and Lowery A. Woodall, "representations of race do not just reflect the real world, but also help to shape and construct the world. Studying representations of race in media sheds light onto how systemic inequality manifests itself in seemingly mundane ways."[5] The examination of Strauss and his collaborators' operas and lives demonstrate how easily prejudices present in society can be transmitted and disseminated in popular culture. Media and identity scholar Srividya Ramasubramanian notes that habitual continual exposure to stereotypes in media and print allow these perceptions to become part of the dominant landscape, which in turn play a crucial role in the formation, maintenance, and dissemination of those negative social stereotypes within the larger cultural atmosphere. Images matter, and seeing certain images repeatedly encourages acceptance of those images as self-evident.[6] By problematizing these socially constructed images of difference present in Strauss's operas, this dissertation provides a sample framework for future study of the Other in twentieth century operatic repertoire.

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[5] Mary Ellen Iatropoulos and Lowery A. Woodall III, "The Individual, the Institutional and the Unintentional: Exploring the Whendonverses Through Critical Race Theory," in *Joss Whedon and Race*, Mary Ellen Iatropoulos and Lowery A. Woodall III, eds. (North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2017), 12–13.
[6] Ibid, 12–14.

Within the larger conversation on music and difference, it has become increasingly critical for music researchers to interrogate the inclusion of difference in all forms of composition. This dissertation argues that using this type of interrogation reveals the extent to which ideas about Others impact our artistic traditions, and in turn influences the perception of those considered Other in the society that experiences those artistic works. It is important to realize that composers represent more than their artistic achievements; they and their work reflect the cultural system in which they lived. Their subjectivity becomes inseparable from culturally and socially constructed categories of race, gender, ethnicity, class, and nationality.

Any discussion of the -isms—racism, sexism, nationalism—requires both subtlety and depth, recognizing that the intensity of these -isms ebbs and flows with regard to historical context, identity, and social class. This dissertation has sought to show that Strauss was a product of his time, no better or worse than the majority of late nineteenth century German men. Furthermore, he and his collaborators, read, heard, and saw examples of the -isms throughout their life and in turn perpetuated stereotypes of difference and spread those same -isms throughout German society. In this way, Strauss and his collaborators showed an unconscious bias[7], proving that the way they interacted with those considered Other was influenced by learned stereotypes present in German society. These stereotypes were so normalized that their usage in the operas can be considered automatic, unintentional, deeply ingrained, and universal. Their unconscious bias in no way diminishes the operas discussed or any of their other work, it merely helps us to understand when and how German cultural norms shaped the lives and works of Strauss and his collaborators. The fresh insights presented in this dissertation, gained from

[7] "Unconscious (or implicit) biases are learned stereotypes that are automatic, unintentional, deeply ingrained, universal, and able to influence behavior." A. G. Greenwald and M. R. Banaji, "Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes," *Psychological Review,* no. 102 (1995): 4–27.

reading these familiar musical works of Strauss through the lens of difference, allow future researches to better understand how a multitude of societal and cultural influences converge to shape works of art.

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