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Chapter I suggests that, despite its obscurity, *Guntram* (1893) remains the central source for understanding the emergence of Strauss as a mature artist. The work, whose text was written by the composer, documents his early philosophical struggles with the issue of music and metaphysics. Earlier scholars of Strauss's operatic oeuvre have explained its failure in terms of its miscarried Wagnerism, demonstrating that they themselves have failed to understand that *Guntram* ultimately rejects Wagnerian metaphysics. In 1949, at the end of his life, Strauss regretted that his biographers tended to downplay *Guntram*'s rejection of a Wagnerian *Erlösung*, thereby ignoring the breach between individual (subject) and the world (object), as the Minnesänger breaks his lyre and walks away from his brotherhood and his beloved Freihild.¹ In this single gesture, Strauss, who served as his own librettist on this work, suggests that if one systematically follows Schopenhauer to the end of his four-book *World as Will and Representation*, the final denial of the will must include a rejection of music.

Feuersnot (1901), the co-subject, along with *Salome*, of Chapter 2, marked the end of a seven-year operatic hiatus in the wake of *Guntram*'s failure. During those years Strauss composed his mature tone poems, all of which exemplify a shift toward ego assertion foreshadowed by that breach between individual and collective treated in *Guntram*. Informed by Nietzsche and Stirner, these orchestral works feature an individual (whether the visionary hero of *Ein Heldenleben* or the delusional antihero of *Don Quixote*) at odds with a complacent society. The Till Eulenspiegel-like main character of *Feuersnot*, Kunrad, is such a one. This lampoon of Wagnerian metaphysics and a world of indolence celebrates *Erlösung* not through a woman's love but through purely physical, sexual passion, thereby mocking the whole concept altogether. *Feuersnot* fared only slightly better than *Guntram*: the intricacy of the libretto's satire and fragile puns obscured the narrative, and Strauss's score lacked the thematic precision that he had attained in the tone poems.

That all changed with the sudden success of *Salome*, which Strauss intended as a pendant to the one-act *Feuersnot*. The cinematic exactitude of the orchestra, the motivic clarity, the taut pacing of events, and the themes of lust, incest, and necrophilia created as much fascination as revulsion. Once again Strauss exploits graphic sexuality as a sharp response to loftier Wagnerism. This is Straussian "musical atheism" in high profile – it

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¹ In no way can Guntram be understood as an autobiographical extension of Strauss.

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mocks both Christianity and Judaism.² It also marked the end of his relationship with the Wagner family, which had been strained since the mid-1890s. Strauss had found his voice as an opera composer, and that genre would remain his chief preoccupation for the rest of his life.

Chapter 3 shows that, despite Strauss's initial desire to compose a contrasting comedy to *Salome*, he followed it with the tragic *Elektra* (1908). He recognized in Hofmannsthal's play the ingredients that had served him well in *Salome*: a strong female protagonist, a rapid chain of events, and a focus on physical gesture. Elektra, another narcissistic heroine, shares Salome's contempt for the world around her and is ultimately undone by her neurotic fixations. Ego assertion had reached a disturbing level of pathology, and at this stage in his career, Strauss, drained by solipsistic tragedy, pulled away from the defiantly Dionysian and began moving toward the realm of the social.

Curiously, as Chapter 3 asserts, even though Hofmannsthal was not a collaborator on Strauss's libretto, it was he who showed Strauss the way out of his predicament, a way to the modern, to the social, and to "one's higher self." Hofmannsthal had simultaneously grown weary of such social inwardness, and he and Strauss could not have found one another at a better time, both achieving renewal and rejuvenation in social comedy. *Der Rosenkavalier* (1910) is about the transitory nature of living, and the chapter challenges the outdated notion of *Rosenkavalier* as some sort of regression. If it is a volte-face, it is a rejection of Nietzschean (as Strauss perceived it) *fin-de-siècle* decadence. Prefiguring the neoclassicists of a decade later, Strauss offers a critical layering of seemingly incompatible styles with remarkable ease. Through the lens of *Der Rosenkavalier*, with its ahistorical anachronisms, we see a composer who keenly recognized and even embraced the incongruities of modern life.

Both *Elektra* and *Der Rosenkavalier*, as originally written by Hofmannsthal, are plays, the first for the spoken stage and the second for an operatic one.³ *Rosenkavalier* was intended to be the *Meistersinger* of the twentieth century: the former centered on Vienna and the spirit of Maria Theresa, the latter on Nuremberg and the spirit of Hans Sachs. Many of the most famous lyrical moments were added by Hofmannsthal at the composer's urging. Hofmannsthal was keenly aware that he had not yet become a real operatic

² Strauss once recalled: "In *Salome* I tried to compose the good old Jochanaan more or less as a clown. A preacher in the desert, especially one who feeds on locusts, seems infinitely ridiculous to me. Only because I had already caricatured the five Jews and also poked fun at Father Herod did I feel that I had to follow the law of contrast and write a pedantic-Philistine motif for four horns to characterize Jochanaan." See Strauss to Zweig (5 May 1935), in *A Confidential Matter: The Letters of Richard Strauss and Stefan Zweig*, 1931–1935, ed. Roland Tenschert, trans. Max Knight (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 90.

³ Indeed, Hofmannsthal published his play separately, with his own publisher, without the additions and changes suggested by Strauss. See "Der Rosenkavalier": Komödie für Musik von Hugo von Hofmannsthal (Berlin: Fischer Verlag, 1911).

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librettist and decided that he would need to undertake an experimental work in which musical numbers, along with dance, would serve as the backbone of the text. In creating a work that combined so many aspects of the other arts, all of which retained their integrity and were not synthesized but treated severally, Strauss and especially Hofmannsthal offered a twentieth-century response to Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Ariadne was that pivotal moment in Hofmannsthal's career, for thereafter, in such works as *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, *Die ägyptische Helena*, and *Arabella*, Hofmannsthal creates compelling musical moments in the libretto itself, whether solos, duets, ensembles, choruses, symphonic interludes, or dance. *Ariadne* was also the first opera to feature a theme to be found in the rest of the Hofmannsthal operas (as well as Joseph Gregor's *Daphne* libretto), namely the concept of transformation (*Verwandlung*). According to Hofmannsthal, the way to one's higher self, from preexistence to existence, is through transformation, from becoming to being, from *werden* to *sein*. The title character makes this journey in both operas (1912/16 and 1919, *Ariadne* and *Die Frau*, respectively), yet in different ways. Ariadne, resigned to solipsistic grieving, takes a risk: by offering herself to a stranger (the disguised Bacchus), she is transformed and attains a life of meaning.

Chapter 4 explores *Verwandlung* in detail, a theme that concerned Strauss as early as *Death and Transfiguration* (1890) and as late as the *Metamorphosen* (1945). What separates *Ariadne* from the preceding operas is Hofmannsthal's conscious desire to create a real musical text. Strauss had already set the plays *Salome* and *Elektra* to music and thus had no trouble with *Rosenkavalier*'s playlike text, save for the ending, where he required more text to round out the musical ensembles. But Hofmannsthal was dissatisfied and desired more from their artistic relationship, wanting to learn how to craft lyrical phrases and shape texts meant for music. Their *Ariadne* "experiment," which encompassed several years and two versions, served them well for the operas that followed.

Chapter 5 covers the three "marriage operas," *Die Frau ohne Schatten, Intermezzo*, and *Die ägyptische Helena*. The shadowless, immortal empress lives in constant bliss, but without human desire. In order for her to feel the fire of passion, she must accept life's shadow, born of light. By sacrificing her chance to attain humanity (by refusing to take another's), she is thus transformed and gains it. Ariadne and the empress learn something Elektra could never know: in order to become human, one must realize a responsibility to one's past, present, and future. The quest for humanity, especially the centrality of modern marriage in the human experience, formed a vital theme in Strauss and Hofmannsthal's postwar collaborations. The autobiographical *Intermezzo* (1924), Strauss's *opera domestica*, presents issues of marital fidelity and trust as comedy, and although Hofmannsthal was sympathetic to the overall idea, he had no interest in writing such a libretto. This intentionally cinematic opera, with its quickly shifting scenes and blackouts, was a compelling response to the new Weimar era, a work that served as a model for the *Zeitopern* (the topical operas of Paul Hindemith, Ernst Krenek, and Kurt Weill) that soon followed. *Die ägyptische Helena* (1928) presents the

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other aspect of the issue of marriage and a return to the composer's collaboration with Hofmannsthal.

Not only did Strauss and Hofmannsthal share a passion for Greek drama, but they also both interpreted it in an idiosyncratic, modern way. They rejected the Teutonic mythology of Wagner, who believed that the Greek myths had become corrupted beyond repair. To the contrary, Strauss and Hofmannsthal saw in the twentieth century the opportunity to modernize classical themes. Beneath the surface of myth, Greek drama was a way for them to explore purely human qualities, the nature of human relationships, and the union of marriage - a union that seems always to be presented by Wagner as one of bad faith. By the end of Helena, the themes of memory, marital fidelity, and the restoration of trust are brought into sharp focus in what Hofmannsthal considered his finest libretto. On a broader level, the libretto, whose context is the Trojan War, is very much a conscious reflection of post-First World War society and economics, as Hofmannsthal made clear when he suggested that his modern mythology was unthinkable without "the events since 1914."⁴ Marriage symbolized a return to equilibrium and the continuity of civilization. A discussion of these marriage operas offers the opportunity to get beyond the old binary discourse - expressionism (Expressionismus, as exemplified by, for instance, Schoenberg and Alban Berg) versus the New Objectivity (Neue Sachlichkeit, represented by Weill and Hindemith, among others) – as it relates to modern opera in Weimar Germany.

The events surrounding the two operas discussed in Chapter 6 were devastating, though for different reasons, and in each instance Strauss believed his operatic career to be over. The first blow was the sudden death, in June 1929, of Hofmannsthal during their work on *Arabella* (1932). Just when Strauss came out of his depression with the discovery of Stefan Zweig, who wrote the libretto for Strauss's only *opera buffa*, *Die schweigsame Frau* (1934), the National Socialists assumed control of the government. Any further official work with the Jewish Zweig would be out of the question. This chapter examines two works of revival. The first marked a revisit to Vienna, not in the time of Maria Theresa but during the 1860s. The second marked a return to *opera buffa* (his favorite aspect of *Ariadne auf Naxos*, though it was upstaged by *opera seria* in the end). One might argue that *Arabella* was a pursuit of the operetta Strauss never got in *Helena*, which was conceived, in part, as a work referencing the lighter world of *la belle Hélène*.

Arabella certainly has an aura of Viennese operetta: a mysterious Croatian count, a lavish ball, coloratura, and sexual intrigue. The gains of the 1860s, with the rise of an Austrian liberal bourgeoisie and an *Ausgleich* with Hungary, had their dark side: increasing financial speculation and ultimate economic breakdown in 1873, which is mirrored in the opera and was repeating itself when Hofmannsthal began writing the

⁴ The work immediately preceding *Helena*, the *Ruins of Athens* project, is likewise a view of Greece as a model for renewal at a time when Germany lay in postwar ruins.

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libretto in late 1928. As Strauss struggled with the Nazi government over the premiere of *Arabella*, he was also in the midst of composing with Zweig the comic work *Die schweigsame Frau* – one that echoed, among other operas, *Don Pasquale*, complete with textual and musical-historical allusions, among other things, to Italian opera. Strauss's delusion that he could continue working with Zweig, thinking his shameful service to the Nazi government could earn him special privileges, displays the narcissism and opportunism that were an undeniable part of his personality. In 1935 it all collapsed; Zweig was gone, Strauss was fired from his governmental post, and the Nazi shadow loomed large over all his operas to follow.

But, as Chapter 7 shows, before he left the collaboration Zweig provided Strauss with a plan for an opera about the 1648 Peace of Westphalia – just as the Nazis were preparing for war. Joseph Gregor, a brilliant theater historian, though less brilliant a poet, wrote the libretto for his friend Zweig. Titled *Friedenstag*, it contains some of Strauss's finest choral music, yet by the time this one-act "scenic cantata" premiered in July 1938, Austria had already been annexed. With the outbreak of war the next year, performances of this opera of reconciliation ended.

Daphne was conceived as a companion piece for *Friedenstag*, but it soon went its own way and became, in Strauss's final years, his favorite opera. As with *Ariadne* and *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, transformation (the path to the human community) is a key element. But now, without Hofmannsthal – and with Strauss, having recently reread *The Birth of Tragedy*, acting on his Nietzschean roots – transformation is expressed in Daphne's inward act of leaving a corrupt social environment and joining nature. As Germany was gearing up for war, the social took on a disturbing outlook, and musical sketches reflect Strauss's state of mind at this time. Not unlike Guntram, Daphne, in the end, abandons her community; indeed, her transformation music (F^{\ddagger} major) recalls enharmonically the music of Guntram (G^{\flat} major) as he abandons his collective.

The eighth and final chapter addresses, among other issues, that of art during a time of war. Personal and political worries had taken their toll on a composer determined to compose a three-act "light mythology." Strauss's diaries show that, with the invasion of Poland in September 1939, he foresaw the end of the cultural institutions he had known so intimately all his life. He recognized *Die Liebe der Danae* (1940), based on a sketch by Hofmannsthal and realized by Gregor, as the culmination of his life's work. *Danae*'s ties to Hofmannsthal's *Helena* are tightly intertwined, and for a time after the First World War Strauss was conceptualizing them simultaneously. Thus, *Danae* was conceived in the very wake of a war that created the next one, during which Strauss finally got round to composing it. It became a casualty of the Second World War with the closing of all German theaters in August 1944 and the cancellation of the premiere, which did not take place until eight years later. Although fleshed out by Gregor, the fundamental themes – particularly Danae's attainment of humanity through marriage – bear the imprint of Hofmannsthal. Yet there are strong elements of Wagner as well, especially

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the relationship between love and the corruptive power of gold. Strauss was quite open about Jupiter as a Wotan-like character, and it is safe to say that the composer saw a bit of himself in this role.

Strauss originally requested that this complex opera be performed two years after an armistice. Curiously, Strauss put no such stipulation on *Capriccio* (1941), his final opera, for he simply did not put it in the same category as *Danae. Capriccio* is a conversational work (Strauss subtitled it *A Conversation Piece for Music in One Act*) of nuance, stylization, and restraint, one that literally creates a discussion about the fragile balance between words and music. Strauss never meant it to equal the full-throttled complexities of the *Danae* score, which officially premiered three years after the composer's death. Like *Danae*, *Capriccio* is a summation, but of a different type, more personal and without the philosophical weight. Strauss, who was sensitive about being his own librettist since the days of *Guntram*, overly credited Clemens Krauss as "co-librettist." Indeed, one should recall that a year before *Capriccio*, Strauss revised *Guntram*, cutting the score and thinning out his thick, youthful orchestral score in order better to balance words and music. He hoped that it might finally find a place on the German operatic stage. But there are two other obvious references in this "conversation piece": *Intermezzo*, the comic "play-opera" (*Spieloper*), and *Ariadne auf Naxos*, his only other opera about opera.

Capriccio's premiere took place in the same year as the infamous Wannsee Conference, which created the blueprint for Hitler's final solution. Is there a moral issue to be raised about an old composer preoccupied with the eighteenth-century War of the Bouffons at the same time that his country was launching a military campaign against Russia? Or was Edward Said correct when he observed that, without approaching the issue of politics and art on a more contextual level, we are left with little more than "hortatory testimonials to the horror of German fascism, raised eyebrows and finger-pointing"?⁵ Throughout his life, Strauss believed his music to be separate from politics, despite the fact that art had been so politicized by the Nazis and the fact that, paradoxically, he had chosen to work with them early on in the regime. But this regime, where *Gleichschaltung* was the new rule, was like no other he had ever seen. For the first time in his life, Strauss, who had Jewish colleagues, friends, and family, was simply unable to keep these two worlds apart, as I discuss in Chapters 7 and 8.

This complex of Jupiter–Wotan–Strauss is not to be taken lightly. One detects in Strauss's old age a certain "metaphysical longing" in *Danae*,⁶ which is a story of love, gold, redemption, and renunciation, specifically a renunciation by Jupiter, the king of the gods. In a passage that Strauss likened to "Wotan's Farewell," Jupiter returns to Olympus, high above mortal earth. Strauss, no longer in an ironic, circumventing

⁵ Edward W. Said, "Gay and Pepusch: The Beggar's Opera," *The Nation* 256, 3 (25 January 1993), p. 101.

⁶ Youmans discusses this concept in terms of the character Zarathustra, but I believe it applies to Strauss as well, especially toward the end of his life. See Youmans, *Richard Strauss's Orchestral Music*, p. 101.

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mode of thought, admitted that "the lofty spirits of Olympus" should have called him up as well. 7

For an atheist whose religion was German humanism and whose gods were Mozart (for drama), Wagner (for music), and Goethe (for literature), the perceived demise of German culture at the time of *Danae*'s 1944 premiere in Salzburg placed much at stake. Strauss's solution was the solution he employed for every crisis in his life: daily creative work. Hence the various postwar concerti for woodwinds, the so-called wrist exercises, and the more weighty *Metamorphosen* (1945) and *Four Last Songs* (1948). At the end of *Faust* II, the angels sing, "Through our deeds we are redeemed." I am fully convinced that for Strauss the act of creation approached the divine, and for him that meant pure happiness. Despite the undeniable, dominant musical influence of Wagner, his spiritual guide was Goethe.

In a late memoir, Strauss wrote down, from memory, a quote from one of Goethe's conversations with Johann Peter Eckermann, a passage that he surely believed summed up his own life:

In the life of a person, a turning point often occurs. Where in his youth everything favored him and brought him happiness, now one misfortune piles upon another. I believe a person must be ruined again. Each person has a particular mission that he is called to carry out. When he has accomplished it he is no longer needed on the face of the earth in his present form [*Gestalt*], and Providence turns him again toward another purpose. But, since everything here on earth happens according to the natural course of things, the spirits force him to go on, one foot after the other, until, at last, he succumbs.⁸

With little ahead of him, Strauss went on, one foot after the other, creating music, whether wrist exercises or more lofty works, until the very end.

A MUSICAL-ANALYTICAL POSTSCRIPT

This book takes into account two others, readily available, that serve as musical guides to the operas of Strauss: Norman Del Mar's three-volume *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on His Life and Works* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962–72) and William Mann's *Richard Strauss: A Critical Study of the Operas* (London: Cassell, 1964). I cannot overstate their importance to me when I was a young Strauss scholar. Del Mar's achievement is more far-reaching in that he includes all genres of Strauss's music, but the highlights are his discussions of the operas. Their chapters acquaint the reader with the basic plot and provide a short background, a musical-motivic outline of the plot in chronological order, and some paragraphs on reception.

⁷ Personal communication with Gertrud Wagner (Munich, 2 September 1995).

⁸ Strauss's memory was remarkably accurate. The passage is quoted in Kurt Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss persönlich: Eine Bildbiographie* (Munich: Kindler, 1984), p. 409.

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For the Strauss neophyte, the main benefit of Mann's opera discussions is the unlocking and explication of the associative themes or leitmotives that make up the linear fabric of the work. What frustrated me as a student was that they never delved into Strauss's larger tonal structures, especially the harmonic constructions, which are central to his expressive aims. The composer's tonal symbolism and the way tonalities interrelated were fairly consistent throughout his life: they could be banal, even humorous, such as in the autobiographical Symphonia domestica, where he separates his wife from himself by a tritone (B and F, respectively, with a D - the son - in between); or, in a more serious setting, in Also sprach Zarathustra, where the irreconcilable clash between world and humanity (immortality and mortality) is symbolized by the half-step relationship between C and B. The first author to present in-depth discussions of the tonal relationships in the operas was Reinhard Gerlach in his Don Juan und Rosenkavalier: Studien zu Idee und Gestalt einer tonalen Evolution im Werk Richard Strauss (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1966). In the chapter on Rosenkavalier, he analyzes in great detail the structural ramifications of Strauss's musical journey from the libidinal E major, Octavian-dominated opening of the opera to the serene close in E^{\flat} , which is controlled by the Marschallin.

Many decades ago, Edmund Wachten proposed an ambitious typology of Straussian tonalities and their meanings in "Das Formproblem in den sinfonischen Dichtungen von Richard Strauss (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Bühnenwerke)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Berlin, 1933). Although his system is fraught with omissions and inconsistencies and betrays the dangers of a mechanistic application of programmatic tags to particular keys, he was not altogether incorrect in his assumptions. Kenneth Birkin, in *Friedenstag and Daphne: An Interpretive Study of the Literary and Dramatic Sources of Two Operas by Richard Strauss* (New York: Garland, 1989), updated and improved Wachten's table (p. 258), and more recently a host of articles and monographs (including some by this author) have discussed this important musical phenomenon. Strauss's tonal fields of expression – which Christopher Wintle, in "Elektra and the 'Electra-Complex,'" in *Salome/Elektra*, ed. Paul Banks, English National Opera Guides (London: J. Calder, 1988), calls "motivic tonality" (p. 77) – serve various purposes.

Most important, these tonal areas serve as the structural building blocks for his stage works: certain keys generate specific types of themes, textures, and orchestrations. But even more, they help the analyst understand psychological strata and motivations in the operas. By now it should be clear that Strauss could never operate outside the tonal system, be it in tone poem, opera, lied, or ballet. The tonal ambiguity in the central scene of *Elektra* (the confrontation between Elektra and Klytämnestra) only confirms the tonal clarity of the work, as we shall see in Chapter 3. Strauss had perfect pitch, and tonalities held a central place in his creative mind. Whether or not the audience was aware of these relationships is immaterial; what is germane is that expressive tonalities were central to Strauss's musical-dramaturgical strategies. (One might add that it is

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equally doubtful that audiences could perceive the often fast-paced, motivically thick passages in such works as *Die Frau ohne Schatten*.)

No book-length survey of Strauss's operas thus far has taken the composer's tonal strategies into account. This study makes no attempt to lay out a systematic analysis of the motives, which would have doubled the size of the book. Rather, it takes into account the thorough analysis of Del Mar and Mann as its companion works.

I Guntram and the crisis of German musical metaphysics

Not many reading this book will ever see a production of Strauss's *Guntram* (1893). Despite its moments of great musical beauty, few who know the work would hesitate to point out the opera's inherent unstageworthiness, slow pace, and paucity of action in a sometimes laborious libretto written by the composer. That said, if we wish to comprehend how Strauss understood himself as a creative artist, his complex relationship with Wagner's legacy, and the reasons that Strauss would become the most successful modern German opera composer of the twentieth century, we must first come to terms with this misunderstood, problematical work, its magnificent failure, and the deep philosophical and aesthetic foundation upon which the opera was built.

Strauss's fifteen operas remain the greatest German operatic legacy since Wagner, after whose final *Parsifal* (1882) German opera entered a state of serious decline. *Guntram*, understood or not, was one of many casualties during this period of operatic composition following Wagner's death.

The post-Wagnerian slump – indeed, an operatic collapse – between *Parsifal* and *Salome* (1904) was surely not one of quantity. Paul Bekker writes of "a genuine creative fever," listing, among others, operatic works by Hugo Wolf, Engelbert Humperdinck, Eugen d'Albert, Hans Pfiztner, and Ferruccio Busoni;¹ one could add Karl Goldmark, Felix Weingartner, and Alexander Ritter to his list. Though some of these composers may still have their advocates, the fact remains that, beyond Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel* (championed and premiered by Strauss in 1893), none of these composers' works remains in any standard operatic repertoire. Indeed, what had begun with Wagner as compelling aesthetic conviction had deteriorated, in lesser hands, to aesthetic pretense.

Hänsel und Gretel demonstrates that not all post-Wagnerian composers were writing only redemption operas (*Erlösungsopern*); some turned to the fairy-tale opera (*Märchenoper*), with its antecedents in the *Zauberoper* tradition of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The problem here is the incongruity between the Wagnerian musical language and the childlike subject matter. Humperdinck was the best-known exponent of this tradition, but there were others, such as Ludwig Thuille, Ritter, Wilhelm Kienzl, Siegfried Wagner, Leo Blech, and Friedrich Klose. D'Albert's *Tiefland* (1903) brought to the stage a short-lived German-style work in the *verismo* style popularized by Pietro Mascagni and Ruggero Leoncavallo, but its fame was relatively brief.

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¹ Paul Bekker, *The Changing Opera*, trans. Arthur Mendel (New York: Norton, 1935), p. 256.