A PERSPECTIVE OF THE LITERATURE ON CONDUCTING.

BY BENJAMIN GROSBAyne.

Orchestral conducting, of all branches in the realm of musical interpretation, calls for the most profundity, versatility and musicianship. It is puzzling, therefore, why so little has been done to list and to codify the literature about it. That practically nothing has been done in this regard may come somewhat as a surprise to many, as it did to me a few years ago, when I first began to make a bibliography of works in this and related fields. It is difficult to hazard an explanation why this is so when one considers the tremendous interest and almost overpowering fascination the orchestral conductor exerts upon the minds of most concert-goers.

When I first began to gather notes about conductors and conducting during my undergraduate days, I was in the midst of certain studies in English literature. The amount and quality of scholarship which specialists in this study expended upon their favourite subdivisions of interest awed me. No point seemed to them too microscopic for their labours of love. I have never ceased to admire the exactness and the brilliance of their results. When I wanted to know something about composers or compositions or instrumental virtuosi, I found a wealth of embarrassing riches spread before my eager gaze. But when I started in to find out, some twenty years ago, just what had been written about the history, the art, the criticism, the technique and the personalities of conducting, I received a rude shock. What irritated me above all was the lack of even a remotely approximate bibliography. To make an exhaustive list of works in any field is never easy even though the star-gazer is aided by many predecessors; to make one in a field where no sort of attempt had been made to gather in one place the important works on a subject like conducting meant zig-zagging and retracing one's steps discouragingly again and again. It meant going through the usual sources
and reading through carefully all the works one encountered in name only. Perhaps this whole business of starting from scratch was the best thing that could have happened to an eager student, for he was forced to do his own hard work and to go to original sources instead of accepting pre-digested résumés, thus perpetuating errors which creep into reference works inevitably and regardless of the most conscientious of researchers.

What first struck me at the time I began this self-imposed task which has brought many pleasant hours to me, was the comparative wealth of works in German in my favourite field and the paucity of such works in other languages, especially in the English language. The comparative poverty of considerations of the art and practice of conducting at the time I write of, the few years following the First Great War, was made all the more stark by the simple fact that many of the works in English, to which most students in America and Great Britain are naturally limited, were mostly translations from German originals. When I came to considerations of the conductor’s technique the works I found which had any practical basis and were at all helpful could have been counted on one’s fingers. At that time there was nothing of any consequence originally in English. Nothing analogous greeted me like Sevcik or Czerny, for baton technique. And so it went on into almost every subdivision of this subject.

Once more I repeat that this was about two decades ago. Since that time much has happened in the point of view and interests of writers, readers and teachers. Conductors, it has been realised since then, may first be born but must then be made. Realisation has dawned upon writers on musical subjects that histories of orchestras and opera-houses, however valuable they may be in their own right, are certainly not histories of conductors. Histories of incunabula and provenience and ancient methods of time beating and other methods of holding performing ensembles and large groups together, however intriguing they may be psychologically and archeologically, from the point of view of comparative musicology, or of instrumentation and of orchestration, did not much help the reader who wanted to know what conductors had done since the modern concept of the word conducting came into general use, and that was not much farther back than about the time—1820—when Spohr introduced the baton into England.

It has been only in the last quarter of a century that writers in general and those using the English language in
particular have detailed this highly specialised field for serious consideration. It is a happy privilege to record that some of the best stylists and musical brains since that time have given readers works which would grace any period. This, of late, has been particularly the case in England which has taken the lead away from continental Europe. From the tremendous interest being evinced both by the readers and writers in the last decade, there is every reason to look forward to continued contributions of the utmost value in the field which occupies our interest at this moment. One of the best signs of the whole business is that many of the treatises have lately been written and are being written by men who have proved their competence and in some cases their great gifts in actual conducting. As we shall soon see, only a start has been made, however, and many yawning gaps will need filling in for a long time before the literature about conducting will compare favourably in quantity and quality with writings in other general and musical fields.

Now exactly what does a student in this field want to know? First of all, every student wants to know something about the history of the art. He wants to know who its greatest virtuosi were. He wants to know how they were educated. What did they have to bring to their art? What did they have to learn? What were they like personally and as artists? What did the public expect of them and how did these fashions change? What were their instruments like, i.e., their orchestras and choirs, at various periods? What were the changing tastes in programmes, in platform demeanour, in rehearsing, in technique, and so on? The eager student goes deeper. He wants to know something about the development in the minds of leaders of musical organisations, of hearers and of critics (scholars if you will) of the very modern concept of the word conducting. He wants to know critical bases for evaluation; what makes for great conducting. And if he is a concert-goer, and especially a feminine one, he probably wants to know whether any works of fiction have used the conductor in the way that composers and instrumentalists and singers have been written about so well, as for example, in Rolland’s Jean-Christophe or in Moore’s Evelyn Innes. And there are some people who might even want to read biographies and autobiographies and memoirs and reminiscences and recollections, and above all, anecdotes of this most temperamental of figures in the whole mysterious interpretative domain of the world of sound. Even this humblest of
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interests is justified and might lead souls to higher matters in the art. I have, indeed, known of such cases.

HISTORY.

Let us see what scholarship has to offer us in the history of the art. Avoiding the extreme of microscopy or telescopy, and without straining our eyes for first offenders, I think that the first work of any consequence concerned with the history of the art of conducting which gives a reasonable orientation to the student is Georg Schünemann's Geschicchte des Dirigierens, published by Breitkopf and Härtel in 1913. Much has happened since that time in the art but no one single work has taken serious cognisance of the fact. The work, though it came late, and sadly needs to be brought up to date, is the first which is a genuine and thorough attempt to treat the history of the art of conducting as a matter apart from orchestras, musical composition, interpretation in general, and of instrumentation and of orchestration. Invaluable as a reference work, especially for ancient matters, it still remains the most authoritative and scholarly work in the field. Its ponderous seriousness and academic pose are a bit irking occasionally and the author's jejune and desiccate style has the effect of making some readers feel that he, the author, would accuse him, the reader, of lèse majesté, if he, the reader, were to extract any aesthetic reactions from a perusal of its forbiddingly presented contents. To add to the non-German readers' difficulties, numbers of references and footnotes are given in the original Greek, Latin and other languages, which, it must be whispered, many scholars to-day either do not read at all or do not read well enough to get the substance of with reasonable speed. Herr Schünemann is not interested in the personalities of the interpreters or in the reactions of the hearers of the time, but in the facts and the theories and the ideas of the various epochs under his steely gaze. The work is dry, but it is the best we have, and certainly preferable to the other extreme, the anecdotal and hero-worship kind which have lately flooded bookstalls.

The thing to do now is to bring the Schünemann work up to date and we should at least have a good factual, if somewhat catalogy reference work which may serve as a starting point. Let us hope that someone will soon come along with a history of the art which, from its inclusion of all schools, gives no clue to the author's nationality which
The Literature on Conducting is usually very easy to spot from his chauvinistically detailed attention to his own country and his correspondingly cavalier summarisation of other schools. Let us hope that this long-awaited history will go to original sources, especially for the seventeenth century, and will tell us something about the audiences and their habits and their likes and dislikes, something about the development of the criticism of conducting, and above all, something about the personalities and lives and conducting methods and platform manners of the virtuosi of the baton of different periods. Let us have, in short, a living history, not an agate list after the manner of ship and mail announcements filled in with connectives or three ems.

Other discussions in a meagre list include Emil Vogel's Zur Geschichte des Taktschlagens (Peters Jahrbuch, 1898); Hugo Löbmann's Zur Geschichte des Taktierens und Dirigierens (Schwann, Düsseldorf, 1913), Rudolph Schwartz's Zur Geschichte des Taktschlagens (Peters Jahrbuch, 1907) and Adolf Chybynski's Beiträge zur Geschichte des Taktschlagens (Breitkopf and Härtel, 1921). For historical complementary reading I should recommend Dom Gregory Sufiol's excellent Gregorian Chant, English by Durnford (Desclée, Tournai, Belgium, 1930). The study of beating Gregorian Chant in the traditional manner, aside from its historical interest, serves practically to make for fluidity in pulses. I may add that while I feel that modern baton technique can encompass any difficulty in beating out any music of any period, this does not lessen the value of the study of traditional methods of indicating the pulses of Gregorian Chant to performers as a conductor's corollary study nor lessen its interest to scholars in understanding what our predecessors did.

In English, mention should be made of Wanda Landowska's "How the Orchestra was Directed in Former Days" (The Musician, 1910, Vol. 15, p. 233); Adam Carse's "A Short History of Conducting" (The Sackbut, January, 1922 and later reprinted in Mr. Carse's Orchestral Conducting, Augener, London, 1929, pp. 87-96); William Wallace's "The Conductor and His Forerunners" (The Musical Times, Sept., 1923 to March, 1924, inclusive) as well as the same writer's "Conductors and Conducting" (The Musical Times, July to Dec., 1924). It is a meagre list certainly, and strangely enough, in only two languages: German and English. Much indeed remains to be done in recording the facts and spirit in the history of the art of conducting. As we shall see, the same yawning gaps meet us later when we list the works on the technique of the
baton. In some of the other branches of the art under discussion, there is happily more to go on.

I suppose the rarer a work is, the more precious (in both senses of the word) it is likely to become in the eyes of a certain genus of musicologist. While I do not wish to appear wholly unmindful of the fascination of rare and early works in the field we are considering, I want to take this occasion to deprecate the worship of a work simply because it is rare and little known, qualities which are extraneous to its intrinsic worth. It is therefore a double pleasure to start a special subdivision of our excursion at this time with the citation of Battuta della Musica Diacharata da Agostina Pisa, dottore di legge canonica e civile, e musico speculativo e pratico. Opera nova utile e necessaria alli professori della musica. Ristampato di nuovo, E Ampliata in Roma. Par Bartolomeo Zanetti. MDCXI.

The historic importance of this 1611 treatise lies in its point of view. Its importance intrinsically and historically raises the question why examples have not been reproduced in the comparatively inexpensive offset process so that students and scholars all over the world may have the privilege and pleasure of reading it, a pleasure now limited to those who can get to certain large music centres often distantly situated. Way back in 1611, the author realises that there is such a thing as technique in conducting and he theorises about this in surprisingly clear fashion and language. There are two known editions; the first, not extant, and the second, noted above.

In tracing the development of the historically significant works on the theory of conducting, it is amazing how small is the number of works which stand out over an expanse of three centuries. The list makes a very light handful indeed. To be remembered for honourable mention are Einige der vornehmsten Pflichten des Ripien-Violinisten by Carl Ludwig Junkers (Steiner, Wintherthur, 1721); Der Angehende Musikdirektor, oder die Kunst ein Orchester zu Bilden, in Ordnung zu halten, und überhaupt alle Forderungen eines gutes Musikdirektors Genüge zu listen by F. K. Arnold (Hennings, Erfuhr, 1806); and Ueber die Pflichten des Ripien-Violinisten by Johann Freidrich Reichardt (Decker, Berlin und Leipzig, 1776). E. M. E. Deldevez, a versatile teacher, composer and conductor, brought out in 1878 his De l'art du chef d'orchestre (Firmin-Didot, Paris); and in 1888, De l'exécution d'ensemble. The Spanish monks were busy at this time also, but since they concerned themselves with liturgical and ecclesiastical matters, their works are somewhat afield here.
In the early eighteenth century there appeared on the horizon the compelling figure of Johann Mattheson, whose force, originality and versatility were far beyond his time and contemporaries. His theoretical works covered almost every phase of the musical life of his age and he wielded a mighty pen on behalf of those causes he espoused as just. The single work most interesting to us here among his sixty odd is Der Volkommene Kapellmeister published in 1739 at Hamburg. The earnest student should also read his Critica Musica (two vols., Hamburg, 1722–5); Das beschützete Orchester (Dom Schwillerischen Buchhandlung, Hamburg, 1717); Das forschende Orchester (1721); Das neu-eröffnete Orchester, oder gründliche Anleitung, wie ein galant homme einen vollenommenen Begriff von der Hoheit und Würde der Eden Musik erlangen mülde (1713); Der Volkommene Kapellmeister. Das ist Gründliche Anzeige aller derjenigen Sachen, die einer wissen, können und vollenommen inne haben musz, der einer Kappele mit Ehren und Nutzen vorstehen will; zum Versuch entworfen von J. M. (Verlegts Christian Herold, Hamburg, 1739); Exemplarische Organisten Probe (Schiller und Kissnerischen Buchladen, Hamburg, 1719); Grundlagen einen Ehrenpforte, worin der tüchtigsten Kapellmeister, Komponisten, etc., Leben, Werke, etc. erscheinen sollen (1740). (A modern edition appeared in 1910 under the editorship of Max Schneider, exactly copying the original with occasional bibliographical notes, references and Mattheson’s own addenda.) Bewährte Panacea (Hamburg, 1750); and finally, his Mithradat, wider den Gift einer welschen Satyre des Salvator Rosa, gennant: La Musica, Uebersetzt, und mit Anmerkungen, etc. (Hamburg, 1749).

The very titles and scope of his works show the size of the man. And they show what was expected of a music director in those days. Awaiting a just appraisal of this great landmark in the history of conducting literature, something about the man may be found in Johann Mattheson, ein Förderer der deutschen Tonkunst, im Lichte seiner Werke, Musikgeschichte Skizze (Heinrich Schmidt, Erlangen, 1897); Mattheson und seine Verdienst um die deutsche Tonkunst by Ludwig Meinardus in Waldersee’s „Samml. Mus. Verträge“ (Leipzig, 1897); in Fr. X. Haberl’s Johann Mattheson (in Kirchenmusikal (Jahrb. 1885) and, of course, in Eitner. For something about Agostina Pisa see the article by R. Schwartz Zur Geschichte des Taktschlagens in Peters Jahrbuch, 1907 and Schünemann’s History. For Reichardt, there are Johann Friedrich Reichardt by C. Lange (Halle,
1902); Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Sein Leben und seine musikalische Tätigkeit, dargestellt von H.M. Schletterer (Augsburg, 1865, only volume one published); and Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Sein Leben und seine Stellung (Studien Wissenschaftlichen) W. Paulli (Berlin, 1902) and Eitner. To be consulted also are his own Briefe eines aufmerksam en Reisenden, die Musik betreffend (two parts, 1774–6); Schreiben über die Berlinische Musik (1775); Vertraute Briefe aus Paris (three parts, 1804–5); Vertraute Breife, geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien (two vols., 1810) and his autobiography in the Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung (1805, Nos. 55–89).

Many people, and this is quite understandable, find the early stages and development of an art of special interest. It is for these that the following representative list is added. In addition to the material cited above, it should give most students enough to go on and aid them in exploring the field pretty well. Anweisung zum musikalischrichtigen Gesang, etc., Johann Adam Hiller (bei Johann Friedrich Junius, Leipzig, 1774); Canto und Schulcollege zu Quedlinburg, Directorium Musicum oder Erörterung derjenigen Strifragen welche zwischen den Schul. Preatorius und Cantoribus über dem Directio Musico Moviret worden (Johann Phillips Bendeler, 1704); Der Praktische Musikdirektor oder Wegweiser für Musik-Dirigenten (F. L. Schubert, Merserburger, Leipzig, 1873 and 1894); Dialogo di Vincentio, Vincentio Galilei (Florence, 1591); Dirigent und Ripienist für angehende Musik-Dirigenten, Musiker und Musikfreunde. Zugleich als Fortsetzung seiner Partiturkentnis, F. S. Gassner (Verlag Ch. Th. Groos, Karlsruhe, 1844) (diagrams and seatings of important musical occasions of the epoch); Fromino Dialogo in Vinegia apperso Girolamo Scotto (Vincentio Galilei, 1568); Musica Practica, Bartolomei Rami de Pareia (modern ed. by Johannes Wolf, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig, 1901); Saggio sopra i doveri di un primo violino direttore d’orchestra di Giuseppe Scaramelli Weiss, Trieste, 1811); Specchio primo di musica, Silverio Picerli (Ottavio Beltrano, Napoli, 1630); Schreiben an einem Tonmeister über die Anfrage ob ein Kappelmeister die Musiktheore schlechterdings nötig sei, Mizler’s autobiography, Bd. 4 (Lorenz Christoph Mizler—ennobled as Mizler von Kolof, 1711–78); Ueber die beste Einrichtung öffentliche Konzerte: ein Einladungsschrift, Johann Nicol Forkel, Musikdirektor in Göttingen, 1779; Zufällige Gedanken über verschiedene Musikalische Materien, Ernst Gottlieb Baron. Preusz. Kamermusicus. in Marpurg. Histor. Kritisch.
Beytrag. Band 2. I think it safe to say that what will most surprise the reader about these almost forgotten landmarks in our field, once he has become accustomed to the quaintness of the language, will be the surprising modernity of the questions and problems and judgments found in them.

**Biography.**

The list of biographies is much more cheerful though some of them defeat their own purposes by erring on the side of enthusiasm. Further, designed as they are in almost every case for the general reader instead of for the specialist, their pages are filled with such weighty matters as anecdotes, personal habits, honours and plaudits received, travelling records and the like. Arturo Toscanini has received much attention. In a list made by this writer for *The New York Times* (The Music Section, Nov. 9th, 1930), almost fifty listings in the usual European languages appeared, and since that time more and more detailed analyses of this great interpreter’s art have continued to appear. Thus, the late Lawrence Gilman, in his *Toscanini, The Man and His Music* (Farrar and Rhinehart, New York, 1938) translates into the printed word what this Italian’s art meant to him. Designed, as are most other works in this category, for the general music lover, there yet remains many a good point for the student to take hold of and to learn from technically.

Of the Toscanini material, I should like to cite also Dino Bonardi’s *Toscanini—il creatore-l'uomo, la sua arte—le sue interpretazioni famose* (Libreria Editrice Milanese, Milan, 1929); the entire issue of *Il Pianoforte* (June, 1924, Turin); Ettore Cozzani’s *Arturo Toscanini—L'Eroica* (Milan, 1928); Tobia Nicotra’s *Arturo Toscanini* (Knopf, New York and London, 1929); Paul Stefan’s *Arturo Toscanini* (Viking Press, New York, 1936); and Adolf Weissmann’s chapter on this conductor in his *Der Dirigent im XX Jahrhundert* (pp. 124–134, Propyläen Verlag, Berlin, 1924).

Willem Mengelberg has no complaint to make in the matter of biographical treatment. Martinius Nijhoff, of Amsterdam, brought out the *Gedenboek Mengelberg* 1895–1920, a magnificent volume which celebrates the exploits on the orchestral podium of the stocky Dutchman in rhyme, in prose and with the pen, the pencil and the brush. Many of the most distinguished names in the arts in recent years all over the world contributed their specialities to this unique volume. Other considerations of this highly individual interpreter include those by Edna Nicholson Sollitt (English version, Ives Washburn, New York, 1930);
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Dutch version, H. D. Tjeenk Willink-Zoon, Haarlem, 1931). There are also shorter works by Rudolf Mengelberg, A. van den Boer, H. Noltenius and at least two de luxe descriptions of the festivals given in Mynheer Mengelberg’s honour to mark epochs in his career.

It is a curious paradox, considering this conductor’s public career, that Leopold Stokowski’s life and achievements have as yet caused no book to appear about him. Except for anecdotal material in certain popular periodicals, I do not know of anything scholarly which has been written about this highly interesting figure. Much might be said about him.

Felix Weingartner, between his own writings on music and about himself, and the writings about him, need have no fears about the length of treatment accorded to him by his contemporaries. Here we have Emil Krauss’s Felix Weingartner als Schaffender Künstler (Gose und Tetzlaff, Berlin, 1904); Paul Riesenfeld’s Felix Weingartner—ein Kritischer Versuch (Schlesische Verlags Anstalt, Breslau, 1906); Carl Spitteler’s Ein kunstlerisches Erlebnis von Felix Weingartner (George Müller, Munich und Leipzig, 1904); Wouter Hutschenruyter’s Levensschets en portret van Felix Weingartner (Tjeenk Willink und Zoon, Haarlem, 1906); Felix Günther’s Felix Weingartner, eine Studie zur Psychologie der Moderne Musik (Jatho Verlag, Berlin, 1906); Felix Weingartner Persönlichkeiten by J. C. Lusztig (Virgil Verlag, Charlottenburg, 1908); and Vol. III of Monographien moderne Musiker (Leipzig, 1909). A conductor who enters the field of musical polemics with his pen is apt to get into some interesting tournaments. Dr. Weingartner early decided to meet his critics on their own ground when he wrote Bayreuth. One of those who ranged themselves against some of his artistic credos has been Paul Stefan, whose Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Geschichte der deutschen Bühne und des Herrn Felix von Weingartner (Hans von Webern, Munich, 1908) may be cited as showing a battle about music in words with no quarter given or asked. It recalls the continental tradition which has produced such musical logomachies as those staged by warriors like Hanslick, Wagner, Richard Strauss, the elder Korngold and Hugo Wolf, among others. Dr. Weingartner, who conducts a staggering schedule of concerts every season and is also a prolific composer, always finds time to give his own side of the story, as we shall see when we come to consider the writings by conductors in the first person. Like Mengelberg, Weingartner has also had de luxe citations of his anniversaries,
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as for example, in the Festschrift für Dr. Felix Weingartner zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag (Oppermann, Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft, Basel, 1933).

Biographies of other living conductors which may be cited as of general interest include Jacob Walter's Leo Blech (Prismav Verlag, Leipzig, 1931) and Ernst Rychnovsky's work of the same title (Dürrer Verlag, Prague, 1905); Lillian Littlehale's Pablo Casals (Norton, New York, 1929); Paul Bekker's Oskar Fried, sein Werken and Schaffen (Harmonie, Berlin, 1907); Richard Speck's Wilhelm Furtwängler—eine Studie über den Dirigenten (Wiener Literarische Anstalt, 1922); Propert's lines on Goossen's and Beecham in The Russian Ballet in Western Europe, 1909–20 (Lane, 1921); Anton Berger's Clemens Krauss (Leuschner und Lubensky, Graz, 1929); Paul Stefan's Bruno Walter, whose English edition avoids diplomatically questions of this conductor's racial ancestry which worried original German readers; Rosa Newmarch's Sir Henry Wood (Lane, London, 1904) and W. Lyle's Sir Henry Wood and His Work (Bookman, London, Sept. 1923); Arthur Lourie's Sergei Koussevitzky (Knopf, New York, 1931); and Bruno Walter's Gustav Mahler, a remarkable example of a conductor writing about another conductor who was his teacher.

Of all conductors of the past, Arthur Nikisch has had the most attention from writers. With this Hungarian we come to the writer's best conductorial subject of the past to treat. The sheer amount of publicity showered upon this great virtuoso of a past generation in periodicals and daily newspapers, would be startling even for to-day. We must limit our references to Heinrich Chevalley's Arthur Nikisch Leben und Wirken (Bote und Bock, Berlin, 1922–5); Ferd. Pohle's Arthur Nikisch als Mensch und Künstler (Seehman, 1900 and 1925); Beldi Izor's Intimiasok (Close-Ups), pp. 17–27 (Budapest); Julius Korngold’s Arthur Nikisch 1929 (in Neue österreichische Biographien); the Nikisch issue by Weissensee, Berlin, 1920, No. 3, and Eugen Segnitz's Arthur Nikisch (Rabinowitz, Leipzig, 1920).

Hans von Bülow and Gustav Mahler, though the number of works about them count to as many as those about the Hungarian conductor, are frequently treated as pianist and composers, respectively. Bülow's list would include the works by Constance Bache, Bernard Bockleman, Marie von Bülow, La Mara, Th. W. Werner, Richard Graf, Georg Fischer, Th. Pfeiffer, Alfred Einstein, J. Vianna da Motta, Heinrich Reimann, A. Steiner, Richard Sternfeldt,
Bernhard Vogel, Eugen Zabel and Ferd. Rosch. When we compare this list with the writings about composers like Palestrina, Gluck and Berlioz, we must agree that conductors have not fared so badly.

Gustav Mahler also has no cause for complaint in regard to literary attention, though as has been noted, much which has been written about him concerns itself with his compositions. An exhaustive bibliography of writings about him is said to exist in the memorial library dedicated to him in Brno (Brünn), formerly Czecho-Slovakia. Though I have written three times to the directors of the library I have never been able to get a reply. I passed through the town just before the German occupation and was rightly diffident about staying over for even a single day. Subsequent events showed me that my decision was wise. I still hope to get a copy of the catalogue of the library some time or other. One can go on with the study of this conductor in the works of Guido Adler, Paul Stefan (at least two works), Richard Specht (at least two works), Gabriel Engel, Rudolf Mengelberg, Anna Bähr-Mildenburg, Ludwig Schiedermann, Ernest Descey, Paul Bekker, Alfred Roller, Natalie Bauer-Lechner and the Mahler number of *Das Anbruch*.

For completeness, the following biographies and lives should be added about other important conductorial figures of the past. Séré’s *Camille Chevillard* (Musiciens français d’aujourd’hui, Paris, 1911 and 1921) and Rolland’s chapter of the same title in *Musiciens d’aujourd’hui* (1908); Possart’s *Hermann Levi* (Munich, 1901); Colquhoun’s *August Manns and His Work at the Crystal Palace* (Temple Magazine, May 1900, p. 679, London) and Henry S. Wyndham’s *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts* (Walter Scott Publishing Company, London, 1909). Felix Mottl has been remembered by E. Kloss in Vol. III of the *Monographien Moderne Musiker* (Leipzig, 1909) and Siegfried Ochs by Kurt Singer (Werk Verlag, Berlin, 1909). Hans Pfitzner has left us his own *Gesammelte Schriften, Werke und Wiedergabe* (Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, Augsburg, 1929). Biographies about him have been done by Lütge (Breitkopf and Härtel), by Arthur Seidle (Kistner und Siegel, 1920) and by Louis Rudolf (Kahnt, Leipzig, 1909). Other considerations of this composer-conductor include the works by Paul Nik Coszmann (Munich, 1904), Walter Rieszler (Munich, 1917), E. Kroll and C. Wandrey. Felix Mottl was remembered in E. Kloss’s *Monographien moderne Musiker* (Vol. III, Leipzig, 1909) and in Weingartner’s *Felix Mottl*. Hans Richter has not been so fortunate. I
find only the following references: F. Klickman's "A Chat with Dr. Hans Richter" (Windsor Magazine, 1896, p. 339); "Dr. Hans Richter and Richard Wagner" (Musical Times, April 1893); and a study by Wilhelm Kienzl. The London Musical Chronicle considered Sir Landon Ronald in a series of famous conductors. Sofanoff appears in The Musical Times, Jan. 1916 and in The Saturday Review, Nov. 18th, 1916 and on April, 1918. Ernst von Schuch is pictured in Moderne Musiker by Paul Sokaloscki (Seehmann, Leipzig, 1900–1) and by Ludwig Hartmann in Ernst von Schuch und das moderne Capellmeisterthum (May 1896, Nord und Süd Heft, Schottländer, Breslau). Anton Seidl, aside from periodical references, has had dedicated to him Anton Seidl—A Memorial by His Friends (Scribner's Sons, New York, Feb., March 1899). Theodore Thomas would have found a sympathetic account of his life and aims in the two-volume work by G. P. Upton (McClurg, Chicago, 1905), in Russel's The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas (Doubleday, Page and Co., New York, 1927) and in Memories of Theodore Thomas, by Rose Fay Thomas (Mrs. T. Thomas (Moffat Yard and Co., New York, 1911).

Certain works consider, from various points of view, conductors as a class. Such are Arthur Seidl's Moderne Dirigenten (1902), Cuthbert Hadden's Modern Musicians (Le Roy Phillips, Boston, 1914), Sidney Grew's Favourite Musical Performers (Foulis, Edinburgh), Stanford's Interludes, Records, Reflections (Dutton, 1922), H. T. Parker's Eight Notes and Figures in Music and Dance (Dodd Mead, New York, 1922), H. E. Wortham's A Musical Odyssey (Methuen, London), Ewen's The Man with the Baton (Crowell, New York, 1936), Domique Sordet's Douze Chefs d'Orchestre (Fischbacher, Paris, 1924), Gdal Saleski's Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race (Bloch Publishing Co., New York, 1927), C. Engel's From Handel to Halé (Sonnenchein and Co., London, 1890), "Three French Conductors" (International Review, Jan. 1884) which considers Pasdeloup, Lamoureux and Colon. All these present their material for the average concert-goer and music lover. For the musician there are few references in this subdivision which stand out: Karl Kreb's Meister des Taktstocks (Schuster und Loeffler, Berlin, 1919) and Adolf Weissmann's Der Dirigent in XX Jahrhundert (Propylaen Verlag, Berlin, 1925).

The accepted belief that musicians do not express themselves well in words is not borne out by facts. Conductors, who may be classed as musicians, have not been chary
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about writing their recollections. This list would compare favourably, I should imagine, with one made up of recollections by medical men who are well known for their autobiographical proclivities. And we shall also see that conductors have known how to write about their art well and fully. The palm for the most irresistible and prolific writer of the lot seems to be due to Felix Weingartner. One has to go back to men like the doughty Mattheson or the redoubtable Wagner to find his peer in this regard among musicians. His first person works include Erlebnisse eines Königlichen Kapellmeisters in Berlin (Breitkopf and Härtel, 1912), Lebenserinnerungen (Vol. I, 1923, Wiener Literarische Anstalt, Vienna, Leipzig, and Vol. II, 1929, Orell Füssli, Zürich, Leipzig). His South American tour is noted in Eine Künstlersfahrt nach Süd-Amerika (Rhein Verlag, Basel, 1923). An English version of the high points of his life, taken from these volumes, appears serially in The Musical Times and later under the title of Buffets and Rewards (Hutchinson, London, 1937). Dr. Weingartner is now working on the third and final volume of his recollections which is to be published posthumously for obvious reasons.

Other interesting reminiscences by conductors include the following: Enrique Fernandez Arbos's recollections of half a century, which I have been told appeared a few years ago in Spain, but which I have not succeeded in getting hold of yet; Luigi Arditi's Reminiscences (Skewfington and Son, London, 1896), Sir Frederick Cowen's My Art and My Friends (Edward Arnold, London, 1913), Walter Damrosch's My Musical Life (Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926), Deldevez's Mes Mémoires (Le Puy Marchessori, Paris, 1890), Sir Dan Godfrey's Memories and Music (Hutchinson and Co., London, 1924), Life and Letters of Charles Hallé . . . being Autobiography, with Correspondence (Smith, Elder, London, 1896), George Henschel's Musings and Memories of a Musician (Macmillan, London, 1918), Max Maretzek's Crotchets and Quavers (S. French, New York City, 1855), and Sharps and Flats (American Publishing Co., New York City, 1890), Siegfried Ochs's Geschehene, Gesehenes (Grothlein, Leipzig, 1922-5), Johann Friedrich Reichardt's Autobiography (in Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung, 1805), Martin Roeder's Dal taccuino di un direttore d'orchestra (Milan, 1881) (German version, Tagesbuch eines Wandernder Kapellmeisters (Leipzig, 1884), Sir Landon Ronald's Myself and Others, written lest I forget and Variations on a Personal Theme (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1922), Sousa's Marching Along (Hale, Bushman,
Flint, Boston, 1928) and Through the Year with Sousa (Crowell, New York, 1910), Louis Spohr’s Autobiography (English version, 1865) and Theodore Thomas’s Autobiography (two vols., Chicago, 1905). Another source of much information about conductors may be found in almost any composer’s recollections, e.g., those by Spohr, Korsakoff, Ippolitow-Ivanov, Auer, Rachmaninoff, etc., and the critical writings of Debussy, Saint-Saëns, Gounod, Tchaikovsky, Hugo Wolf, etc.

A subject which interests all of us is the composer-conductor. Like many side paths in our discussion, there are a few works dealing with this special aspect which will repay getting and reading. They include Konrad Huschke’s Beethoven als Pianist und Dirigent (Schuster und Loeffler, Berlin), the various items cited above on Mahler and Pfitzner, Great Composers as Conductors by Daniel Gregory Mason in Arts and Decoration (New York, Feb. 1921); Maria Komorn’s Brahms as Choral Conductor (Musical Quarterly, New York, 1911); and Richard Strauss als Dirigent by Jan C. Manifarges (Maas und Suchtelen, Amsterdam, 1927).

A source of information which yields much data concerning conductors is the list of volumes about the history and programmes of the principal orchestras and opera houses of the world. I know of some fifty works about orchestras alone and the number of works devoted to the varying vicissitudes of our planet’s chief lyric theatres is no doubt far greater. The Leipzig Gewandhaus, The Vienna Philharmonic, The Philharmonic Society of London, The Berlin Philharmonic, The Orchestra of the National Institute at Rio di Janiero, The New York Philharmonic, the orchestras in Dresden, Madrid, Paris, etc., are some of the world’s symphonic bodies which have received sympathetic treatment at the hands of book makers and chroniclers.

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When orchestra men write about their experiences with conductors the result is bound to be illuminating and unusual. Bernard Shore’s The Orchestra Speaks (Longmans, Green, London, 1938) is by a man who has played viola under a number of great conductors for many years, who speaks technically to an audience he expects to meet him on his own ground, and yet who gives animated portraits of the men about whom he is writing. Mr. Shore’s descriptions of the various orchestra-masters’ rehearsals and his detailed treatment of some of the works cited (as
Toscanini in Beethoven and Mengelberg in Strauss) ushers in a precedent in the invaluable analysis of tradition, methods of handling and training orchestras, tone-balance, baton technique, correction in rehearsal, bowings in the strings, breathings, fingering and other facets of the conductor's art. It is easy to see why so few books like this have been and will be written: it takes too many years in the pit, an observant and analytical brain, a warmth and ability to write which do not often come together in the same person, and are rarely part of an orchestral player's equipment. The Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia, U.S.A.) from time to time has published entertaining gossipy articles about conductors by their subordinates in the orchestra. Other accounts in this category include: Orchester Musiker im Urteil berühmter Dirigenten (Deutschen Musiker Verband, Berlin, 1927); Nikolas Lambinon's Der Orchester-Musiker-Betrachtungen und Lehren (G. Haas, Berlin, 1932); Werdegang und Erlebnisse eines Orchester-Musikers von ihm selbst erzählt (Kahnt, Leipzig); and Habs Dieste's Ein Orchestermusiker über des Dirigieren mit einem Vorwort von Richard Strauss (Adler, Berlin Edition, 1921). In this subdivision may also be cited Marsop's Die soziale Lage deutschen Orchestermusiker (Harold Reeves, London). Few conductors, it will be found, are known to their instrumentalists as heroes.

EDUCATION AND TECHNIQUE.

In the field of conductorial education we find the greatest lack of treatises. Perhaps this is because, as one musical wag once pointed out, there are great texts in every field except the one a writer specialises in. Conservatories, almost invariably, train all the students in the fundamental branches of musical theory in the same way for some years until the study of baton technique is reached. Would-be composers, pedagogues, critics and conductors are lumped together and approach harmony, counterpoint and orchestration from the same point of view. This is all wrong: each—composer, critic, conductor and pedagogue—should be trained differently and the diverging point is reached very quickly indeed in the stage of the student's development. Tests can easily be given to determine the student's aptitudes and their training thereafter should be adjusted accordingly. This does not mean that each student should be limited to a rigorous and exclusive course which would make him one-sided. The general musical training may be as broad as is to be desired and every student should be
given a generous musical-cultural background which should be the possession of every musician. But, and this is important, a composer, a conductor, teacher, critic, instrumentalist has not time to learn everything nor has he the ability or innate gifts except in instances so rare as to be negligible. The failure of most instrumental virtuosi and composers to become even decently competent conductors makes it unnecessary to labour the point involved.

The thin list of discussions and serious considerations devoted to the theory of conductorial training is surprising in view of the lack of first class conductors in any one place at any given time, and in view of the modern demand for competent scholastic and choral conductors. Master classes by famous conductors are, it is true, given in musical centres, and these conductors usually find that most of the students come to them for baton technique and practical training when they have not had even a part of the necessary training in certain other theoretical branches of music from the point of view of the conductor.

In Hermann von Walterhausen’s Dirigenten-Erziehung (Quelle und Meyer, Leipzig, 1929) and in Franz Mikorey’s Grundzüge einer Dirigierlehre (Kahnt, Leipzig, 1917) we have two serious attempts by two experienced teachers to establish a course of orientation for apprentice conductors. Helpful contributions to the question include Adam Carse’s Orchestral Conducting (Augener, London, 1928), and the same author’s The School Orchestra: Organisation, Training and Repertoire (Augener, London, 1925). A few dozen small volumes by various authors, mostly pedagogues with little or no practical experience and which tell the student searching for technique about such breath-taking matters as by-laws, punctuality, courtesy and humour in rehearsal, a little about arranging, and which vouchsafe a few nebulous baton diagrams—these about complete the list. When we consider the wealth of material available to students in almost every other branch of musical theory: history, biography, appreciation and instrumental mastery, the gap in works on conductorial training is impossible to explain away.

There are many branches of musical theory which the apprentice-conductor must learn well, and there are also many supplementary fields of interest with which he should become intimate. These studies obviously include instrumentation (the capabilities of the instruments) and orchestration (the art of combining instruments), the organisation and history of orchestras, bands, choirs, opera,
score-reading and playing, intimacy with a large repertory and related fields.

Bibliographies are strangely like amoebic life; they keep on splitting up and growing into independently new beings. Thus, when I started innocently on this diversion of bringing together a list of books and articles about conductors and conducting and related subjects in the chief European languages from the time of Agostina Pisa until the present. I kept finding the phrase "related fields" the danger point. These "related fields" kept obtruding more and more and continually subdividing and splitting up into separate entities, leaping into independent existences. I soon realised that one article would have to limit itself heroically to conductors and conducting in the strictest interpretation of these words. Then I found that a decent consideration of works about instrumentation and orchestration, bands, choirs and orchestras would consume another sizable discussion. And now I see that still another paper may be necessary to consider books dealing with the various instruments of musical organisations of to-day and of yesterday. I fear that this serpentine search will continue even after I have finished the third discussion in a series originally intended to be single in its treatment and that the tails and heads of the monster, "related fields," will keep growing and growing. Some day I hope I shall indeed complete exhaustive lists and discussions of these "related subjects."

It is in the domain of technique that the student of conducting finds the greatest lack of aid in works with which to help him find himself. The first thing, naturally, the student wants to build up, is a good baton technique. He finds, very soon, that nothing exists in his field comparable to the number of excellent works for the voice, for solo instruments, for orchestration and for the various branches of musical theory. In these, the question is what to choose from an embarrassment of riches. In the field of conducting, the list of books on the technique of the baton may easily be counted on one's fingers. Each is helpful in its own way though none approaches either in illumination or completeness of treatment the many works covering the other technical branches of the study of music we have cited above. Helpful works on baton technique are Sir Adrian Boult's *A Handbook on the Technique of Conducting* (Hall, London, various editions), *De Dirigent* by Wouter Hutschenruyter (Lispet, Hilversum, 1931), Alfred Thiennemann's *Die Kunst des Dirigierens* (Bonnesz und Hachfeld,
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Leipzig, third ed., 1930), Karl Schroeder's *Handbook of Conducting* (Augener, London, various editions), Herman Scherchen's *Handbook of Conducting* (English edition, Oxford Press, London), with a second volume promised. Adolf Schmidt's *The Language of the Baton* (Schirmer, New York, 1937) with a second volume promised, Hector Berlioz's *Art of the Conductor* and Albert Stoessel's *The Technique of the Baton*. These are about all that the student will find which will tell him without involved circumlocution how to acquire a technique of the baton. There are others, but these, for one reason or another, will not meet a student's wishes in technique *per se*. Many are obsolete, many talk about everything but baton technique. Some list diagrams of such geometric rigidity that the student is soon hopelessly puzzled, regardless of the logic and mathematical justification of the method pursued. This geometric rigidity is the main trouble in Berlioz's work from the point of view of the student. The Frenchman has, however, done so great a service in other ways to the student in this little work that it needs no justification for its continued existence as a classic. Some of the modern works in this field go to the other extreme and present diagrams which might mean much to the practiced conductor but which are too free in design for the apprentice. All of the works in the field have one common fault: they read clearly for the conductor who has had his practice behind him. They present each branch of the study in neatly arranged chapters logically, but unfortunately the student's mind doesn't work that way. He must go step by step learning a bit of various chapters simultaneously, co-ordinate, return, repeat this process, and above all, have a tremendous amount of exercises which most of the texts cited do not even refer to in a supplement progressively arranged. A discussion of this single point alone, and the one I myself consider the most important in the whole field, would take many times the limits of this whole present discussion.

There are certain valuable works which discuss technical aspects other than those having to do with the baton. At their head stand Wagner's and Weingartner's brochures *On Conducting*. The student who reads these should already have a workable technique and then, and then only, and when he knows intimately the works discussed, will he get what these contributions mean in the history of the art of conducting. This business of *tempo*, which Wagner and Weingartner discuss with such insight, is for musicians
who have a long background behind them, and the frequent sight of undergraduates reading these comparatively small but concentrated brochures through like romances has always irritated me. Their teachers are far more to blame than they, of course. Students in general ought to be prepared by reading such introductory considerations of the problems involved as those by Julius Harrison in *The Musical Companion*, in W. J. Henderson's *What is Good Music?*, in Carse's and Scholes's remarks on conducting and in various encyclopaedic articles. Then they may be ready for Wagner and Weingartner.

In the highways and byways of our subject one of the topics which has not been given the attention one might consider it deserves is the humble baton itself. Introduced into England as late as 1820 by Spohr, when it became the object of much resentment, derision and misunderstanding, it is now often noted for its absence with the present baton-less conductors whose vogue was started into fashion by Vassili Safonoff in 1904 in New York City when, paradoxically, his empty hands aroused the same astonishment as Spohr's use of the baton long before. The few references I have to it as a central figure are: W. J. Henderson's *Conductors and their Batons* (London, Musical Standard, March 17th, 1906, pp. 167-86); Felix Goodwin's *Romantic History of the Conductor's Baton* (Music and Youth and Panpipes, May 1929, Vol. IX, No. V); Dunne's *Some Batons I have known* (New York, Bookman, Jan. 1918, No. 46, pp. 385-91); E.F.G.'s *The Baton in England* (*The Musical Times*, June 1st, 1896, p. 372); various references in George Schuenemann's *Geschichte des Dirigierens* (Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig, 1908) and also in *Allgemeine Musik Zeitung*.

On the border line between criticism and actual conducting, there are certain reflections which I should like to note here as valuable. Among them are Frank Choisey's article in *La Revue Musicale*, Jan. 1st, 1906, pp. 1-5, titled "Faut-il diriger par coeur ? Lettres de MM. Chevillard, Wood, Weingartner, Strauss." Reading it might stop a lot of periodic bunk by writers. Paul Taffanel's "*L'Art de Diriger*" in the *Encyclopédie de la Musique et du Conservatoire*; Lazare Saminsky's "*L'Art du Chef d'Orchestre*" in *La Revue Musicale* for Nov. 1st, 1922; Croger's *Notes on Conductors and Conducting* (William Reeves, London); Anton Seidl's *On Conducting* (in *Music of the Modern World*, Vol. I and in *The Seidl Memorial Volume*); Parry's *Style in Musical Art* (Macmillan); Cowen's various articles in...
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periodicals; Corder's lecture at The Royal College of Organists, March 20th, 1912 on "The Training of an Orchestra"; Adolf Prümer's "Schule und Praxis des Operndirigenten" (Mus. Woche Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, Oct. 24th, 1907); Richard Schulzweida's Vade mecum für Opernkapellmeister (Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1901) which has traditional transpositions and cuts of classical operas; Paul Kleb's Von Rhythmus und von der Technic des Dirigierens (J. G. Oncken, Cassel, 1924); and Cahn-Speyer's Handbuch des Dirigierens und Taktierens (Breitkopf and Härtel, 1919) are also to be recommended.

One of the most difficult tasks confronting any musician, and especially the conductor, is to correct scores and to determine what is and what is not authentic. Why there have not been variorum editions at least of Bach's and Beethoven's works, just as there are for Shakespeare's, is something for which I cannot begin to hazard an explanation. Such editions, having the original or the oldest extant score photographed for all to see and to judge for themselves without benefit of hierarchic mediation, and with interpretations by leading authorities is what we should have. Did not Lamb suggest this very procedure long ago? Many editions of the classics bristle with errors; some publishers use one version, some another, and the result in the young conductor's mind is chaos.

Talking about mistakes, it is not to be thought that these and variations of text are limited to composers of the past. In the printed editions of Stravinsky's work, in some of which the composer himself has produced variants, errors abound. Debussy had a habit of changing spots in the orchestration of some of his works (La Mer, for example) from time to time, until just before his death. Some orchestras play one way, some another. Few conductors know all the variants. Many try their hand at reorchestrating composers like Schumann, and we all know the result. Pierre Monteux is one of the few who has a thorough knowledge of the misprints and variants in text of the whole French repertory and modern ballet works. He is eminently qualified by experience and friendship with so many composers to do for these works what Weingartner has done for many of the German classics. Thus far he has replied to urgings to set his great knowledge down for posterity by modest deprecations. If he does not leave students the substance of his hardly gained knowledge they will be great losers indeed.

Felix Weingartner and Sir Donald Tovey have begun
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the great work of illuminating our orchestral masterpieces: the former in his Akkorde, (Collected Essays); The Symphony Since Beethoven and his three part Ratschläge für Aufführungen klassischer Symphonien (Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mozart); the latter, in his six brilliant and profound volumes of analyses. Both men, in addition to imagination and scholarship, can write stylishly. Their works in this field set a difficult mark for successors to reach.

For data concerning orchestral music certain works like the following can be of tremendous help to conductors: Theodore Müller-Reuter's Lexikon der deutschen Konzertliteratur (two vols., Kahnt, Leipzig, 1909 and 1921); York's How long does it play (Oxford Press, London); the Chamber Music and Small Score Catalogues of The Chester Library and of The Novello Library, the Full Score Catalogue of Altmann's Catalogue of (1) Chamber and (2) Orchestral Works; the Catalogue of the Fleisher Free Music Library of Philadelphia, Tom Wotton's Dictionary of Orchestral Terms (Breitkopf and Härtel, 1907); and René Vanne's Essai de Terminologie Musicale (1925, probably Brussels). These will usually tell a conductor what he wants to know about a work; something about its history, the instruments and time required to play it, when it was first played and where and under whose direction and so on. The usual reference works rarely give such detailed and invaluable data for the conductor's purposes.

Criticism as directed against conductors does not find much treatment outside of periodicals and newspapers, which however, offer much in suggestive and challenging judgments. Writers like Ernest Newman, Julius Korngold, Olin Downes, the late Lawrence Gilman, and the late William James Henderson and their colleagues, present reactions worth close study. A careful consideration of this field cannot ignore their contributions. Of special interest are the fairly frequent remarks about conductors and conducting in George Bernard Shaw's three volumes consisting of reprints of early writings: Music in London 1890-94 (Constable, London, 1932) and a supplementary volume London Music in 1888-1889 as heard by Corno di Bassetto (Dodd Mead, New York City, 1937). A forgotten source of much possible material in this field is Pult und Taktstock (Universal Edition, Vienna), a periodical formerly dedicated to the conductor and merged with Das Anbruch a few years ago. Saint-Saëns's Outspoken Essays (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1922) and Gounod's
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brochure on Mozart’s Don Giovanni should also be included under this heading. Not enough by much has been written in this field, though many interesting articles in periodicals do exist. I should be pleased to supply a list of these to specialists interested. In leaving this subdivision of our discussion, I should like to call attention to a few intensely interesting and acrimonious critical battles which should prove fascinating reading: Willem Hutschenrumer’s Het Concertgebouw-Conflict (Amsterdam), which almost upset the old Dutch capital, Weingartner’s Bayreuth which made this irrepressible conductor-writer a decided persona non grata within the sacred Festival precincts; Paul Stefan’s Gustav Mahler’s Erbe (Munich, 1908), and Hughes Imbert’s L’Incident Weingartner (Le Guide Musicale, Bruxelles, 1901) and his reply to Weingartner’s The Symphony Since Beethoven (Ditson, Boston, 1909) in La Symphonie après Beethoven and in his Réponse à M. Felix Weingartner (Durant et Fils, Paris, 1900). Another good historical fracas can be found in August Mann’s Dr. Hans von Bülow’s Prescriptions for the cure of Anti-Bülowism (London, 1877). Confer also the Internationale Musikzeitung (Breitkopf) concerning Mann’s opposition to Bülow’s “misreading” of the trio (Scherzo) of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, adopted by Richter and later conductors.

Fiction.

It has always been a mystery to me why the orchestral conductor, easily the most fascinating figure before the footlights, should long ago not have inspired writers to make him the central figure in a fictive work. The careers of many singers have been limned by distinguished novelists. Composers have received detailed attention. Virtuoso violinists and pianists and even the humbler orchestral men including swing and jazz players have been made the heroes of romances and have graced the pages of well-known writers. Only the conductor has been neglected.

I asked George Bernard Shaw some months ago if he could explain this paradox. He replied at that time that he could only hazard the guess that perhaps writers would not tackle such a complicated subject because they felt they did not know enough. As I wrote then about this Shavian reply, I still do not feel this explanation to explain away my puzzlement for this unaccountable chasm in the usually fertile imagination of romancers. I repeat, as I did then,
that I am surprised at Mr. Shaw's unusually diffident opinion of the usual writer's diffidence.

At various times I have come across about two dozen characters in supposititious fiction which used orchestral conductors as minor figures. We are well acquainted with a recent film wherein a certain well-known conductor initiates the laymen into the mysteries of his art. Mr. Adolphe Menjou also essayed such a role a few years ago. Others will follow we may be quite sure. Similarly, in the works I have read, the conductors adumbrated are funny enough in their theatricality and sheer ignorance to reward the hammock reader with much diversion. This type of reader, who is undoubtedly in the great majority, may become interested enough in music to go to a symphony concert and that would be all to the good. I can refer only to a few works which treat the baton virtuosi at all. For the ambitious writer who wishes to read what his predecessors have done I refer him to the following: Chapelmaster Kreisler: A Study in Musical Romantics, by Lee Vernon (Mosher, Maine); Genée's Der Kapellmeister, Reinhard Kaiser's Der Tolle Kapellmeister-Heitere Oper in 3 Akten (Reco-Verlag, Berlin); Er und seine Schwester, a one act operetta popular in Vienna around the first decade of this century; Leo Morberg's Fraulein Kapellmeister (Deutsche Verlag, Berlin, 1905-6); Richard Schaukel's imaginary portrait: Kapellmeister Kreisler (G. Müller, Munich, 1906); Päer's Maestro di Capella; Mozart's Kapellmeister and Pergolesi's Maestro di Musica. The Composer, by Agnes and Egerton Castle (1911); Charles Klein's The Music Master (1909); du Maurier's Trilby and Hall Caine's The Prodigal Son. Margaret Kennedy's The Constant Nymph, G. B. Shaw's Love Among the Artists, Paul Horgan's The Fault of Angels and Rolland's Jean-Christophe speak of conductors from time to time and with varying degrees of expertness, inspiration and knowledge. Finally, I must not omit Ernst Decsey's Du liebes Wien, a "roman" about a Viennese "schrammelgeiger" who attains the height of a "Bruckner-Dirigent." I have tried to finish the story at various times but never succeeded, though this may, of course, be my fault and not the author's. Some day someone may come along and give us a story worthy of the great possibilities inherent in the theme.

Pictures.

Pictures of conductors in repose and in action are fairly easy to get, much easier than stories about them. A few
striking sources which stand out in my mind are Stefan's Toscanini; the hands in Weissman's Der Virtuoso (Berlin) and Der Dirigent im XX Jahrhundert; the Gedenkboek Mengelberg and Georges Augsbourg's Mengelberg (Blitz, Amsterdam, 1936). There are splendid silhouettes in Hans Schliessman's Dirigenten von Gestern und Heute (Gerlach und Wiedling, Vienna, 1928). Collections worthy of reprint include Karl Stork's Musik und Musiker in Karikatur und Satire (Gerhard Stalling, Oldenburg in Grosherzogtum, 1910); Paul Marsop's Musikalische Satiren und Grotesken (Bosse, Regensburg, 1924); Curwen's (London) Caricatures of Musicians and Conductors (the distinction is the publisher's); Camille Bellaige's Impressions musicales et littéraires (Delagrave, Paris, 1900); Im Konzert, text by Oscar Bie, pictures by Eugen Spiro (Bard, Berlin); Cornelius Vet's Muziek en Musici in de Caricatur (Kruseman, 'S Gravenhage, 1927); J. Grand Carteret's Wagner en Caricatures (Larousse, Paris, 1922) and Richard Wagner in der Karikatur, text by Kreoski, illustrations by Fuchs (Behr, Berlin, 1907). Some artists who have done some striking work in this field include Caruso, Tappert, Bithorn, Sterl, Böhler, Fabiano, Kapp, Dorn. Vanity Fair (London), Querschnitt (Berlin) and most music periodicals have published good pictures and caricatures of conductors. Some publisher with an artistic conscience has a great opportunity to assemble a unique volume from this list.

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There has always been one exceedingly depressing aspect concerned with bibliographies which must weigh heavily upon any collector who possesses any feeling of kindness, and most of them do notwithstanding the supposititiously dry pursuits with which they sometimes busy themselves. It is one which has struck this writer repeatedly and does so now once more as he considers that his bibliography of works and articles on conductors, conducting and related subjects counts within itself some twelve hundred items or a bit more. It is this: that certainly most of the articles and books have had an alarmingly small number of readers, and that of these, most were merely casual readers. Of peers in enthusiasm, the writers have had perhaps a pitiful handful. The names of the authors themselves, with not more than a comparatively few exceptions at the very most, mean nothing to-day. Some of these men (no more than one or two women emerge in the approximately thousand
writers) spent many years or a whole lifetime on their works.

This is not kind; nor, what is more important, is it just or wise historically. For consider the modern import of a discussion which was initiated in 1785 by the Neapolitan, Saverio Mattei, in his provocative Se i maestri di Capella son compresi fra gli artigiani. (Whether Conductors are to be Classed as Artisans.) Some of his contemporary fellow-writers kept the discussion in the air for some time afterwards. Consider what labour problems are implied and implicated and what questions of social and professional precedence. Certainly a fruitful comparison might be drawn between that historic debate and such manifestations of to-day as the conductorless orchestra, music unions, vaudeville and radio "maestros."

Or consider Mattheson’s Das neu-eröffnete Orchester, published in 1713, wherein he adds the qualifications to the title that his work is intended to give a thorough grounding to the reader that he may become a “galant homme” (sic) and attain to a complete grasp of the heights and worth of the noble art of music. Surely here is a picture, in the very title alone, of all sorts of intriguing peekholes into the society and customs of the period which may be compared to the social lionising of certain conductors to-day in certain quarters. And we might go on but for fear of spoiling the reader’s fun.

Some figures concerning the output of authors, periods of time and languages offer other interesting reflections. Of the total number of items in my lists, just over twelve hundred, almost four hundred were originally published in German, whereas about five hundred and fifty appeared in English. Any just comparison drawn from these figures is difficult because Germany and Austria and an occasional contribution from a country nearby is being balanced by England, which offered approximately three hundred and sixty items, as well as the United States with its almost two hundred which were swelled by additions by British colonial writers. It must be confessed that listing merely by numbers is not at all indicative of the authority or length of a contribution. A chatty and entertaining article in a periodical, for example, has here the numerical weight of an important work. Further, the fact that this compiler’s native language happens to be English, may have steered him to ferret out comparatively more titles in that language.

French, in which category have been included listings from England and even from Switzerland (which has also
contributed German items), totals approximately ninety items. As in other languages, it was sometimes a question in the compiler’s mind when to call a voluminous treatise in parts one or more items. Occasionally a translation revised with notes by the editor has constituted almost a new work. Italian yielded about fifty works, Spain only half a dozen of which one was in Catalan, while Brazil added to the Latin quota with a single volume.

Holland with a dozen, mostly about its favourite son, Willem Mengelberg; Hungary with a trifle more, again concerning a favourite son, Arthur Nikisch; Denmark with a couple of items, and Poland with one, offer comments outside the usual territory. The Slavic yield has been found comparatively limited. Russia presents about three dozen listings of which a large number are translations from German or French or are articles in periodicals. Perhaps a thorough search by a fanatic would result in slight additions to this section.

Casting our eyes over hurdles of half-centuries as convenient lines of demarcation and comparison, it will be found that only two or three works appearing between 1550 and 1600 hold any modern connotation. Nor are the half-dozen or less in the ensuing half-century (except of course, Pisa’s historic work in 1611) of thrilling import. During the second half of the seventeenth century the number of items included amounts to no less than eight to be followed in the next fifty years by almost a dozen. From 1750 to 1800, as during the succeeding equal period of time, slightly more than two dozen works appeared which have proved of sufficient interest to warrant inclusion in a list of this sort. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the lean years prove to be over and almost three hundred writers comment in one form or another on conducting. Since 1900, at least eight hundred contributions are to be found.

Any comparison of worth or strength of the output of the various centuries is again out of the question. For one thing, many records of past centuries are often difficult if not practically impossible to secure. The appearance of the periodical has made a tremendous difference in later periods as has the fact that it would take a few lifetimes to secure the same thoroughness of results from the early epochs as were secured from recent ones.

It is interesting to note that in the early days the Italians did much of the theory. The tide then veered to Germany, somewhat later to France, and to-day England seems to be leading.
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Of the various sections, that of biography leads with some three hundred and fourteen items, to which may, perhaps, be added some fifty volumes of memoirs. There were two hundred and twenty-one essays in criticism while one hundred and thirty writers considered various aspects of choir singing. About forty volumes of letters were encountered, our most faithful correspondents having been Bülow and Mahler. Orchestral history brought thirty-eight items to the count while histories of orchestration and works in related fields brought only seventeen. Articles and volumes on the historical side of conducting brought more or less than might have been expected, according to the enthusiasm of the reader, that is to say, sixty-six. There were in addition, some three dozen titles concerned with technique per se which were important historically, eighty modern works dealing with this neglected field, with fifty-seven considerations of the conductor's gradus ad parnassum, score-reading. To any one who has tried to assemble a list of works in this last field, this number ought to be encouraging though it must be admitted that some of the items listed are very difficult to obtain or even to secure for reference. Concerning the education of a conductor, still remaining and very likely to remain an exceedingly moot question as long as its teachers are usually men who have never conducted anything but provincial or academic functions, some thirty-one works were traced. In this connection, Lorenz Christoph Mizler's (1711-78) "Schreiben an einem Tonmeister über die Anträge, ob einem Kapellmeister die Musik theorie schlechterdings nötig sei" ought to serve as an extraordinarily interesting starting point for contemporary discussion. A few items of interest remain to be tabulated. About twenty caricaturists were listed and some seventeen unusually good pictures concerned with conducting and conductors. The baton, as a fetish, aside from its master, found only half a dozen sympathetic souls. The band did somewhat better with almost two dozen.

From the point of view of output it is of interest to note that Johann Mattheson and Felix Weingartner have been the most prolific writers in our subject. That they were both composers and practical performers cannot be stressed too often or too strongly when one sees the works emanating from the pens of the paper musicians who produce works which simply clutter up and obfuscate a subject which is involved at best. From the point of view of publicity, those most often written about were Toscanini, Nikisch,
Bülow, Mahler, Beecham, Mengelberg, Richter, Seidl, Wood, Thomas, Manns, Pfitzner, Hallé and Weingartner.

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And so we find ourselves at the end of our excursion covering a perspective of the literature of conductors and conducting of about the last three hundred and fifty years. Our perspective has been based upon an exhaustive bibliography begun years ago. It is, I fear, far from definitive, and I am sure keen eyes will discover omissions, additions and errors. To such I should be grateful for calling my attention to need of correction. I have attempted only to fill in an inexplicable gap to assist students interested in the field which no one else has heretofore tried to fill.

To the layman a bibliography is at best a literary quirk, a kind of bookish crazy quilt, a sort of game; to the enthusiast it is a mosaic, each part of which is as carefully wrought as possible into a definite design. The present colligation has justified itself to its compiler for a number of reasons, among them, the many pleasant hours it has given him in libraries in various parts of the world from Russia to South America and Europe. Through its fashioning he has also learned to observe other interesting matters, such as the diversified psychologies of different nationals' readers, atmospheres and mental odours which pervade reading rooms in great musical centres, divers manners of cataloguing and even such small matters as filling out reader's call slips and ways of arranging books on shelves in sequestered spots dedicated to research. I close with the wish that the reader will extract at least some of the pleasure in scanning this list that the compiler got from making it.