

## Notes

### 1 Wagner lives: issues in autobiography

1. For a summary of Wagner in film, see Ulrich Müller, "Wagner in Literature and Film," in *Wagner Handbook*, ed. Müller and Peter Wapnewski, translation ed. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1992), 373–93.
2. See *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* in ten volumes (*GS*), posthumously expanded as *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen* (*SSD*) in sixteen. The notorious, though not entirely misleading, English translation in *PW* is based on *GS* and has been modified throughout.
3. First published privately in four volumes in 1870, 1872, 1874, and 1880; and publicly, with minor cuts, in 1911. All references are to the English translation by Andrew Gray, edited by Mary Whittall and published without an index in 1983 (*ML*), based on the complete, fully annotated 1976 German edition by Martin Gregor-Dellin. The detailed index of the first (anonymous) English translation, incidentally, first published in two volumes in London in 1911 by Constable and Company Ltd., is superior to any in the various German editions.
4. The most interesting are the so-called Red Pocket-Book (*Die rote Brieftasche*, reproduced in *SB* I:81–92), the *Brown Book* (*Das braune Buch*, ed. Joachim Bergfeld [Zurich, 1975; trans. George Bird, London, 1980]), and the diary written for the eyes of King Ludwig II in 1865 (in Otto Strobel, ed., *König Ludwig II. und Richard Wagner: Briefwechsel*, 5 vols. [Karlsruhe, 1936, 1939], IV:5–34, hereafter *Ludwig–Wagner*).
5. See Martin Geck, *Die Bildnisse Richard Wagners* (Munich, 1970).
6. See *SB* and *Wagner Brief-Verzeichnis*, ed. Werner Breig, Martin Dürer, and Andreas Melke (Wiesbaden, 1998).
7. See Stewart Spencer, *Wagner Remembered* (London, 2000).
8. John Deathridge, "A Brief History of Wagner Research," in *Wagner Handbook*, 202–23. The only major biography to be published since is Joachim Köhler's, *Der letzte der Titanen: Richard Wagners Leben und Werk* (Munich, 2001), trans. Stewart Spencer as *Richard Wagner: The Last of the Titans* (New Haven and London, 2004). Despite some welcome critical moments, its wearying length and naïve fusion of art and life ("Like the composer, the young hero [Siegfried] grows up

in straitened circumstances," p. 363) turn it ultimately into yet another low-grade *biographie romanesque*, of which, as I suggest in my earlier essay, there are already more than enough. Despite all attempts at critical distance, its journalistic hyperbole is a crude mirror image of Wagner's own methods, and does scant justice to his importance as a formidable bellwether of German ideology.

9. The definitive account is Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford, 1970). An abridged and updated edition was published in 1991. A notable and actually well-grounded attempt is Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York and London, 2004), which derives many suppositional details from reading the dramatic texts against the record of politics and daily life in London during the years Shakespeare was active there.
10. Unfortunately none of the key texts concerning this important issue has been translated. See Winfried Schüler, *Der Bayreuther Kreis von seiner Entstehung bis zum Ausgang der wilhelminischen Ära: Wagnerkultur und Kulturreform im Geiste völkischer Weltanschauung* (Münster, 1971); Michael Karbaum, *Studien zur Geschichte der Bayreuther Festspiele (1876–1976)* (Regensburg, 1976); Hartmut Zelinsky, *Richard Wagner: Ein deutsches Thema – Eine Dokumentation zur Wirkungsgeschichte Richard Wagners, 1876–1976* (Frankfurt, 1976).
11. Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1974; first published 1918), 7.
12. Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, *Richard Wagners Leben und Wirken*, 2 vols. (Cassel and Leipzig, 1876–77); *Das Leben Richard Wagners in sechs Büchern dargestellt*, 6 vols., 3rd–5th edns. (Leipzig, 1908–23).
13. *CWD*. I use the published translation (by Geoffrey Skelton), modified where noted. Extracts are cited by the date of the relevant entry and hence easily located in either the English or the German edition.
14. Theodor W. Adorno, "Wagner, Nietzsche, Hitler," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. XIX, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Klaus Schultz (Frankfurt, 1984), 405.
15. From a letter dated 25 January 1880 in *Ludwig–Wagner*, III, 169.

16. From the Neuchâtel preface to Rousseau's *Confessions* cited in Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses: Theory, Criticism, Practice* (Manchester, 1994), 23.
17. See, for example, Trev Lynn Broughton, *Men of Letters, Writing Lives: Masculinity and Literary Auto/Biography in the Late Victorian Period* (London and New York, 1999), in particular chap. 3 on the famous Froude–Carlyle debate and “Married Life as a Literary Problem” (83–112).
18. Cited in Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses*, 46.
19. From a letter of 12 November 1864, in *Ludwig-Wagner*, I, 36–37.
20. First published complete in *Das braune Buch*, 111–47.
21. Otto Strobel, “Foreword” to *Ludwig-Wagner*, I, ix. In this and all subsequent chapters, all emphasis in quoted texts is original unless otherwise noted.
22. Georges Gusdorf, “Conditions and Limits of Autobiography,” in James Olney, ed., *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton, 1980), 38. See also the discussion of Gusdorf's seminal essay in Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses*, 154–62.
23. Gusdorf, “Autobiography,” 43.
24. John Deathridge and Carl Dahlhaus, *The New Grove Wagner* (London, 1984), 7. See also Klaus Kropfing, *Wagner and Beethoven: Richard Wagner's Reception of Beethoven*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, 1991), 32–33. After coming up empty-handed, Kropfing, whose innate conservatism in any case makes it difficult for him to challenge Wagner's authority, asks a bit desperately: “was there ... ever any need for such a falsification? Does Wagner's extraordinary – and well-documented – early commitment to Beethoven's Ninth not speak for itself?” Well, yes and no: from a psychoanalytical perspective alone, not to mention its ideological ramifications, Wagner clearly needed to invent an autobiographical myth in which a powerful female (mother) figure is fused with a dominant (paternal) male authority. That would have been much harder to do with the Ninth Symphony, given the absence in it of famous solo arias, and hence the lack of an iconic woman singer with whom it could be unmistakably identified.
25. See the brilliant re-reading of it in Tamara S. Evans, “‘Am Mythenstein’: Richard Wagner and Swiss Society,” in Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand, eds., *Re-Reading Wagner* (Madison, 1993), 3–22.
26. See Egon Voss, “Die Wesendoncks und Richard Wagner,” in Axel Langer and Chris Walton, eds., *Minne, Muse und Mäzen: Otto und Mathilde Wesendonck und ihr Zürcher Künstlerzirkel* (Zurich, 2002), 117.
27. Cited in Evans, “‘Am Mythenstein,’” 17.
28. Max Fehr, *Richard Wagners Schweizer Zeit*, 2 vols. (Aarau and Leipzig, 1934, 1954), II, 21.
29. Richard Wagner, *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde*, GS IV:239, 244; PW I:278–79, 283.
30. GS IV:240; PW I:280.
31. Laura Marcus, “The Newness of the ‘New Biography,’” in Peter France and William St. Clair, eds., *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography* (Oxford, 2002), 194.
32. Wagner was an admirer of Thomas Carlyle's biography of Frederick the Great, but as one example among many chastised the author for the “completely unphilosophical cultivation of his mind” (CWD: 21 March 1873; trans. modified).
33. At the end of the score of *Die Meistersinger*, for instance, is the entry: “Thursday, 24 October 1867/ Evening 8 o' clock.” See WWV, 478.
34. Compare the original text of the passage in the *Autobiographical Sketch* (SB I:100) with the “official” 1871 version (GS I:9).
35. Compare the text in GS and SSD with the French original, titled *De la musique allemande*, in *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, Paris, 12 July 1840, in Robert Jacobs and Geoffrey Skelton, trans. and eds., *Wagner Writes from Paris ...: Stories, Essays, and Articles by the Young Composer* (London, 1973), 45, 50. The passage cut from the collected writings begins here on p. 50 – “Handel and Gluck abundantly proved this, and in our time another German, Meyerbeer, has provided a fresh example” – and continues until the end of the paragraph.
36. For evidence that Wagner was still working on the essay during 1849, see WWV, 329–30. In a letter of 16 September 1849 to Theodor Uhlig, he states explicitly that he is expanding and re-editing the piece “in a whole variety of new ways [mannigfach neu]” (SB III:122).
37. Richard Wagner, *Mein Leben*, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich, 1976), 786. The phrase is not in the English edition, which excludes the “Annals.”
38. See, for example, Ernest Newman's entirely convincing exposure of Wagner's and Cosima's ruthless behavior toward Malvina Schnorr von Carolsfeld (the first Isolde), who threatened to expose their illicit relationship to King Ludwig II. The official Bayreuth legend had it that Wagner was human kindness itself in his treatment of the singer. See Ernest Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, 4 vols., (repr. Cambridge, 1976), IV, 3–37.
39. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale,

ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York and London, 1968), 272.

40. Roger Hollinrake, "The Title-Page of Wagner's 'Mein Leben,'" *Music and Letters* 54 (1970), 416.

41. Letter of 15 August 1888 from Köselitz to Nietzsche, *Nietzsche Briefwechsel*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, III/6 (Berlin and New York, 1984), 270.

42. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and The Case of Wagner*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1967), 182.

43. Letter of November 1872 to Rohde, *Nietzsche Briefwechsel*, II/3 (Berlin and New York, 1978), 86.

44. Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and The Case of Wagner*, 166.

45. Cited in Broughton, *Masculinity and Literary Auto/Biography*, 141.

46. Isolde Vetter, "Wagner in the History of Psychology," in *Wagner Handbook*, 118–55. On the critical tradition of such Wagnerian pathologies, neuroses, and deviant conditions, see also Thomas Grey, "Wagner the Degenerate: Fin-de-Siècle Cultural 'Pathology' and the Anxiety of Modernism," *19th-Century Studies* 16 (2002), 73–92; Mitchell Morris, "Tristan's Wounds: On Homosexual Wagnerians at the Fin-de-Siècle," in Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell, eds., *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity* (Urbana, IL, 2002), 271–91.

47. Letter of 5 December 1866 in Cosima Wagner and Ludwig II of Bavaria, *Briefe*, ed. Martha Schad (Bergisch Gladbach, 1996), 301.

48. Cited in Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, I, 80.

49. Cited in Gregor-Dellin's afterword to *Mein Leben* (ML 751–52). Sulzer was among a small group to receive this early printed excerpt at Christmas 1870. "But a few days later," he recalls to Mathilde Wesendonck, "I received a note – which I attributed at the time to his wife's intervention – asking me to send the *mysterium* back" (ML 750).

50. Gusdorf, "Autobiography," 39.

51. Cited in Vetter, "Wagner in the History of Psychology," 125.

## 2 *Meister Richard's* apprenticeship: the early operas (1833–1840)

1. Many details of Wagner's earliest musical, literary, and dramatic impressions as recounted in *My Life* (for example, ML 22–37) are corroborated in his "Autobiographical Sketch" published in 1843; allowing for a certain degree of deliberate self-fashioning (even at that date) in the context of his first rise to public visibility, these correspondences

probably vouch for a basic level of accuracy. The earlier (1843) résumé of his encounter with Logier's harmony treatise is suggestive regarding the psychology of this crucial if somewhat random turn in his artistic education: "[T]his study did not bear such rapid fruit as I had expected: its difficulties both provoked and fascinated me; I resolved to become a musician" (PW I:5). Regarding the role of music imagined for *Leubald*, he remarked in the later memoirs that "the various categories of ghosts belonging to my spirit world would first receive their distinctive coloring from the corresponding musical accompaniment" (ML 31).

2. In a set of "Observations on the Italian Opera in Comparison with the German" written around 1837, the Italian-trained north German composer Otto Nicolai noted the problem of stylistic choices – high and low, native and foreign – that plagued German composers, especially of opera, at this juncture; "When a nation's taste is so dispersed as this, the artist does not know in which direction to turn." Nicolai's essay is excerpted and translated by Ernest Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, 4 vols. (New York, 1937–46; reprint, Cambridge, 1976), I, 117.

3. The most comprehensive study of Wagner's early musical training remains Otto Daube's "*Ich schreibe keine Symphonien mehr*": *Richard Wagners Lehrjahre nach den erhaltenen Dokumenten* (Cologne, 1960).

4. That is not to say he took the rejection of *Die Feen* by the Leipzig theater administration sitting down, or in silent resignation – which would have been most uncharacteristic. An impassioned apologia for his first operatic effort, emphasizing the soundness of his musical education (in contrast to the tenor of his later accounts) and his practical experience with opera, was sent to the singer and stage director in Leipzig Franz Hauser, in March 1834 (SB I:149–55).

5. The same views are elaborated in an essay on Meyerbeer and *Les Huguenots* unpublished during Wagner's lifetime but apparently written sometime between 1837 and 1840 (SSD XII:22–30); similar views about the genre of French grand opera as an ideal synthesis of modern styles figure in discussions of Fromental Halévy from Wagner's time in Paris (1840–42), particularly a series on Halévy and *La reine de Chypre* published in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale* between February and May 1842 (SSD XII:131–48, 406–13; see PW VIII:175–200).

6. On the turn from grand opera "back" toward a new conception of German Romantic opera, as well as the biographical context of this turn,

see Thomas Grey, ed., *Richard Wagner: Der fliegende Holländer* (Cambridge, 2000), chaps. 1 and 4.

7. Interestingly, the only such union that is explicitly consummated – the union of Alberich and the Gibichung woman Grimhild, behind the scenes of the *Ring*, so to speak – issues in villainy (Hagen).

8. Most commentaries on *Die Feen* claim that Wagner reversed the fate of Gozzi's pair, Cherestani and Farruscad, by conferring immortality on Arindal rather than making Ada a mortal. The epilogue to *La donna serpente*, however, as spoken by Cherestani, announces the happy couple's intent to "dwell in Eldorado," that is, the immortal realm from whence she hails.

9. Looking over copies of some of his early writings ("Bellini: Ein Wort zu seiner Zeit," 1837, and "Die deutsche Oper," 1834), in which he had criticized Weber's style, Wagner remarked to Cosima that he knew *Euryanthe* at that time "only from one bad performance" (CWD: 27 May 1878). However, a vocal score had been published in 1824, and it seems unlikely Wagner would not have made some attempt to familiarize himself with the most ambitious opera of the master he so revered.

10. "Young Germany" was not an organized literary or political movement, but more a perceived nexus of affinities among a disparate group of liberally inclined (mainly Prussian) writers inspired by the events of 1830 in France and united against the political oppressions of the Metternich era. Romanticism, Hegelian metaphysics, and the broader hegemony of philosophical idealism in German intellectual life were all targets of Young German opposition. The name derives from the dedication ("to thee, young Germany") of a collection of lectures by Ludolf Wienbarg (*Ästhetische Feldzüge*, 1834) and from the novel by Wagner's youthful associate Heinrich Laube entitled *Das junge Europa* (5 vols., 1833–37), although Heinrich Heine was in a sense the spiritual mentor. Among many studies see, for example, the documentary collection by Jost Hermand, ed., *Das junge Deutschland: Texte und Dokumente* (Stuttgart, 1998).

11. Katharine Eisaman Maus, introduction to *Measure for Measure*, in Stephen Greenblatt et al., eds., *The Norton Shakespeare* (New York, 1997), 2023.

12. Luzio in fact proposes to her already in Act 1, rather suddenly, in between strophes of the cabaletta of their duet, otherwise given over to expressing their mutual resolve to rescue Claudio. The various marriages proposed at

the end of *Measure for Measure* are all highly problematic, unlikely ones, as if deliberately undermining this convention of comic closure. Wagner's pairing off of Isabella and Luzio trumps any of Shakespeare's couplings for sheer absurdity, though he mitigates this in reforming Shakespeare's Lucio as best as he can.

13. Whatever the influence of modern French–Italian opera and "Young German" literary enthusiasms on Wagner's revision of *Measure for Measure*, the theme of carnivalesque subversion in *Das Liebesverbot* externalizes elements already present in Shakespeare. On the relevance of "carnival" as ritualized subversion (in the Rabelaisian sense theorized by Mikhail Bakhtin), see Anthony Gash, "Shakespeare, Carnival and the Sacred: *The Winter's Tale* and *Measure for Measure*," in Ronald Knowles, ed., *Shakespeare and Carnival: After Bakhtin* (New York and London, 1998), 177–210. "In fact no play could illustrate Bakhtin's serio-comic conception of carnival more fully than *Measure for Measure*," Gash suggests, where the "festive topic of the world upside down provides a unifying motif" (*ibid.*, 202). Shakespeare's Duke explicitly invokes the topic in describing the libertine condition of his realm that he sets out to correct at the beginning of the play: "And liberty plucks justice by the nose; / The baby beats the nurse and quite athwart / Goes all decorum" (*Measure for Measure*, Act 1, scene 3, lines 29–31).

14. Friedrich Lippmann offers a systematic analysis of Italian influences on structures of melody, phrase, and "number" in early Wagner, in "*Die Feen* und *Das Liebesverbot*, oder die Wagnerisierung diverser Vorbilder," in Carl Dahlhaus and Egon Voss, eds., *Wagnerliteratur-Wagnerforschung* (Mainz, 1985), 14–46. See also the contributions of Egon Voss and Klaus Hortschansky to the conference proceedings, *Richard Wagner und seine "Lehrmeister"*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Kristina Pfarr (Mainz, 1999).

15. The sadomasochistic overtones of Friedrich's aria, especially in this cabaletta phase, do have some point of reference in Shakespeare's Angelo, whose desire appears to be enflamed by Isabella's psychic torment. Angelo feeds both sides of this psychological equation with threats of drawn-out punishment for her brother Claudio (*Measure for Measure*, Act 2, scene 4).

16. Wagner does manage, at any rate, a rather close simulacrum of the "market chorus" from Act 3 of Auber's *La muette* ("Au marché qui vient de s'ouvrir, venez, hâtez-vous

d'accourir") in the carnival scene that opens his Act 2 finale ("So jubelt in das Fest hinein, zur Lust begeist're uns der Wein"), likewise in D major.

17. Without the mediating (or meddling) role of Shakespeare's Duke, it falls to Wagner's Isabella to devise this tactic on her own. However out of keeping this might be for the original Isabella, it fits perfectly well with Wagner's more modern, free-thinking version of the character. On the other hand, Isabella's scheme in *Das Liebesverbot* requires only that Friedrich be caught in a masked assignation, and thus skirts the actual "bed trick" altogether.

18. *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) actually postdates Giovanni Pacini's successful proto-grand opera, *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei* (1825, with famously spectacular sets by Alessandro Sanquirico), but resonates distinctly with the newly popular musical-theatrical genre, as it does with the "sublime" catastrophic panoramas of John Martin – noted, for example, in the *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. Margaret Drabble (Oxford, 1985), 144.

19. For a more detailed account of the impact of Spontini and *Fernand Cortez* on Wagner, see Anno Mungen, "Wagner, Spontini und die Grand Opéra," in *Wagner und seine Lehrmeister*, 129–43. For the next few years, as Mungen notes, Berlin was kept in mind as a perhaps more likely alternative to Paris for the staging of the German grand opera Wagner was intent on producing. Wagner gives a detailed account of the aging Spontini's visit to direct *La vestale* in Dresden (while Wagner was Royal Kapellmeister there in the mid-1840s) in *My Life* (ML 278–90), derived in part from his "memoirs" of Spontini (GS V:86–104; PW III:123–52); these, in turn, started from a short obituary Wagner published in the Zurich *Eidgenössische Zeitung* on 25 January 1851.

20. On the historical figure of Cola di Rienzo in relation to Wagner's operatic hero, see Dieter Borchmeyer, *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner*, trans. Daphne Ellis (Princeton, 2003), chap. 2, esp. 46–64.

21. There seems to be no firm evidence as to when Wagner encountered *Les Huguenots*, whether as text, as score, or in performance. Helmuth Weinland proposes a number of dramaturgical and compositional parallels between *Les Huguenots* and *Rienzi*, but does not address the biographical question of when or in what manner Wagner may have become acquainted with the work: "Wagner und Meyerbeer," in Helmuth Weinland, *Richard Wagner zwischen Beethoven und Schönberg* (*Musik-Konzepte* 59; Munich, 1988), 31–72.

22. Rosalie died suddenly in 1837, a year after her marriage to Oswald Marbach, just as Wagner was beginning *Rienzi*. Wagner's passionate attachment to Rosalie is a central psychobiographical thread in Joachim Köhler's *Richard Wagner: The Last of the Titans*, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven and London, 2004).

23. August Kubizek, *Adolf Hitler, mein Jugendfreund* (Graz, 1966), 135.

24. "Die Stunde naht, mich ruft mein hohes Amt . . . Bald seht ihr mich, das Werk naht der Vollendung!" The historical Rienzi, Irene Erfen notes, styled himself in explicitly Christ-like terms, although politically he was closer to a dictator than an elected representative of the people: Erfen, "Volk! Volk! Tod dem Tribunen!" in Peter Csobádi et al., eds., *"Weine, weine, du armes Volk": Das verführte und betrogene Volk auf der Bühne*, 2 vols. (Anif-Salzburg, 1995), II, 610.

25. And, in fact, the same tendency applied to the imitation of poetic pathos even earlier in *Leubald und Adelaïde*, where, as Wagner himself admitted, he "had taken the most extravagant forms of speech to be found in *King Lear* and *Götz von Berlichingen* and used them with the most incredible exaggeration" (ML 27).

26. Wagner did not expect that this "divertissement" would be performed in its entirety, despite his efforts to integrate it thematically with the drama. Somewhat grudgingly, he allowed the elaborate pantomime to be omitted from later versions of the score.

27. He related these Hoffmannesque impressions to other spectral and visionary tendencies of his childhood, for example, that of fixing on inanimate objects – such as pictures or furniture – until "bursting into a loud shriek, because they seemed . . . to come alive" (ML 13). His early enthusiasm for Beethoven's Ninth Symphony is likewise connected to this audio-visionary temperament, if with perhaps more than a touch of retrospective stylization.

28. On the role of leitmotif in *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, see also chap. 6.

29. One wonders, too, if Wagner noticed, at least in retrospect, the Duke/Friar's sermon to Claudio, "Be absolute for death" (Act 3, scene 1) – a veritably Schopenhauerian lecture on the nature of the "Will" to life and the reasons to renounce it.

30. Speaking to the poet Ferdinand about what worlds are appropriate to operatic representation, Hoffmann's composer, Ludwig, explains how it is the poet's job to invent a realm unlike our own where music

and singing seem to be naturally at home. “Then, dazzled by [its] brilliant colors, we willingly believe ourselves as in a blissful dream to be transported from our meager everyday existence to the flowery avenues of that romantic land, and to comprehend only its language, words sounding forth in music”: Hoffmann, “The Poet and the Composer,” in E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Musical Writings*, trans. Martyn Clarke, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge, 1989), 196.

31. Friedrich Schiller, *Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Rebellionen und Verschwörungen aus den mittlern und neuern Zeiten* (Leipzig, 1788), 107.

### 3 To the Dresden barricades: the genesis of Wagner’s political ideas

My thanks to the Nationalarchiv der Richard-Wagner-Stiftung Bayreuth and the Bibliothèque de l’Opéra Paris, where research was done to prepare this article. My thanks also to PSC-CUNY for a grant facilitating my research.

1. For more on the Young Germans, see chap. 2, n.10.
2. Richard Wagner, “The Revolution,” in *Jesus of Nazareth and Other Writings*, PW VIII:232–38. The relation between Ellis’s translations and English is famously vague, and I have modified them on occasion.
3. Wagner to Minna Wagner, 14 May 1849: SL 145.
4. Wagner to Minna Wagner, 14 May 1849: SL 146.
5. Wagner to Theodor Uhlig, 27 December 1849: SL 184.
6. Richard Wagner, *Opera and Drama*, PW II:157; see GS IV:34.
7. Richard Wagner, “What Is the Relation Between Republican Aims and the Monarchy?” (the “Vaterlandsverein” speech): PW IV:137–39 (SSD XII:220–29).
8. Joachim Bergfeld, ed., *The Diary of Richard Wagner, 1865–1882: The Brown Book*, trans. George Bird (London, 1980), 96.
9. Mikhail Bakunin, “The Reaction in Germany,” in J. M. Edie, J. P. Scanlan, and M. B. Zeldin, eds., *Russian Philosophy*, vol. I (Knoxville, TN, 1976), 406.
10. Barry Millington, *Wagner* (Princeton, 1992), 26.
11. Ludwig Feuerbach, “Principles of the Philosophy of the Future,” in *The Fiery Brook: Selected Writings of Ludwig Feuerbach* (Garden City and New York, 1972), 175.
12. Wagner to Samuel Lehrs, 7 April 1843: SL 107, 108.
13. “Wonders from Abroad,” in Robert L. Jacobs and Geoffrey Skelton, trans. and

eds., *Wagner Writes from Paris* (London, 1973), 156.

14. On the Rhine as a national symbol in German Romantic musical culture generally, see Cecelia Hopkins Porter, *The Rhine as Musical Metaphor: Cultural Identity in German Romantic Music* (Boston, 1996).
15. Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution* (Boston, 1960), 179–80.
16. G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford, 1973), 5–6.
17. “What Is German?” in Charles Osborne, ed. and trans., *Richard Wagner: Stories and Essays* (La Salle, IL, 1973), 53.
18. As Jacob Katz has noted, there is evidence that Wagner had drafted some form of “Judaism in Music” during his later years in Dresden. Minna Wagner referred in 1850 to “that essay in which you defame an entire race,” which, she says, Richard had had her read two years earlier. See Jacob Katz, *The Darker Side of Genius: Richard Wagner’s Anti-Semitism* (Hanover, NH, and London, 1986), 52.
19. For some of the arguments, see Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner* (London, 2nd edn., 2005), 12–17; Barry Millington, “Nuremberg Trial: Is There Anti-Semitism in *Die Meistersinger*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991), 247–60; Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (New Haven and London, 1992); Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1995); Michael Tanner, *Wagner* (Princeton, 1996), 26–30. For an evaluation of some of their implications, see Mitchell Cohen, “Wagner as a Problem,” *German Politics and Society* 16:2 (Summer 1998), 94–130.
20. Wagner to Franz Liszt, 18 April 1851: SL 222.
21. Wagner to Robert Schumann, 5 [February] 1842: SL 88.
22. See Simone Lässig, “Emancipation and Embourgeoisement: The Jews, the State, and the Middle Classes in Saxony and Anhalt-Dessau,” in James Retallack, ed., *Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830–1933* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2000), 99–118. My account of Saxon Jewry draws from this article.
23. K. Freigedank (Richard Wagner), “Das Judentum in der Musik,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 33 (3, 6 September 1850), 112; reproduced in facsimile in Manfred Eger, *Wagner und die Juden* (Bayreuth, 1985), 19. “Untergang” is translated by Charles Osborne as “decline and fall” in Osborne, *Richard Wagner: Stories and Essays*, 39. My references are to this translation with modifications based on the original.

24. See the appendix, Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity*, trans. George Eliot (New York and Evanston, 1957), 298. On Feuerbach's anti-Jewish views, see Marx W. Wartofsky, *Feuerbach* (Cambridge, 1982), 319–21.
25. Arthur Schopenhauer, *Essays and Aphorisms*, ed. and trans. R. J. Hollingdale (London, 1970), 155.
26. Bruno Bauer, "The Jewish Question," in L. S. Stepelevich, ed., *The Young Hegelians: An Anthology* (Cambridge, 1983), 197.
27. Karl Marx, "Bruno Bauer, *Die Judenfrage*," in Marx, *Early Writings*, ed. and trans. T. B. Bottomore (New York, 1964), 21.
28. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Holy Family or Critique of Critical Criticism: Against Bruno Bauer and Company," in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. IV trans. Richard Dixon et al. (New York, 1975), 110.
29. Marx, "Bruno Bauer, *Die Judenfrage*," 11.
30. See Karl Marx, "Bruno Bauer, 'Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen frei zu werden,'" in Marx, *Early Writings*, 32–40.
31. Wagner, "Judaism in Music," in Osborne, *Richard Wagner: Stories and Essays*, 25.
32. *Ibid.*, 27.
33. *Ibid.*, 28.
34. *Ibid.*, 29.
35. *Ibid.*, 32–33.
36. *Ibid.*, 34.
37. Karl Kautsky, *Are the Jews a Race?* (originally *Rasse und Judentum* [Stuttgart, 1914]; English trans. of 2nd [1921] edn. [New York, 1926]), 105–06.
38. Richard Wagner, "Artishood of the Future" ("Künstlertum der Zukunft"): *PW* VIII:348–49 (translation emended).
39. See Richard Wagner, "Know Thyself" ("Erkenne dich selbst"): *GS* X:268; see *PW* VI:268.
40. "Evidence against the sometime Kapellmeister Wagner concerning his participation here in the May insurrection in the year 1849," in *Wagner: A Documentary History*, ed. H. Barth, D. Mack, and E. Voss (New York, 1975), 174.
41. Wagner to August Röckel, 2 May 1849: *SL* 145.
42. Hans von Bülow to his mother, May 1849, in *Wagner: A Documentary History*, 174.
43. *The Confession of Mikhail Bakunin: With the Marginal Notes of Tsar Nicolas II*, trans. Robert C. Howes (Ithaca and London, 1977), 147–48.
44. Wagner to Liszt, [16? December 1854]: *SL* 323.
45. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, vol. I, trans. E. F. J. Payne (New York, 1969), 411.
46. Richard Wagner, "On the Name 'Musikdrama':" *PW* V:304.

#### 4 The "Romantic operas" and the turn to myth

1. *Der fliegende Holländer* was designated a "Romantische Oper in 3 Aufzügen" (*WWV* 63, Drucke XV), *Tannhäuser* initially a "große romantische Oper in 3 Acten" (*WWV* 70, Drucke XX), and *Lohengrin* a "Romantische Oper in drei Akten" (*WWV* 75, Drucke XII). In 1859–60, Wagner's attempts to Tristanize *Tannhäuser* persuaded him to rename it a "Handlung in 3 Aufzügen" (*WWV* 70, Drucke XXIV).
2. August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*, ed. Eduard Böcking, 3rd edn., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1846), I, 16.
3. Adolf Wagner's influence on the young Wagner is well charted by Joachim Köhler, *Richard Wagner: The Last of the Titans*, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven and London, 2004).
4. See "The Poet and the Composer," in David Charlton, ed., *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge, 1989), 169–209.
5. Heinrich Heine, *Werke* IV, ed. Helmut Schanze (Frankfurt, 1968) 290. As Egon Voss has demonstrated, Wagner's work on *Die Feen* was probably motivated by a misguided and untimely attempt to curry favor with his family; see "Die Feen: Eine Oper für Wagners Familie," in "Wagner und kein Ende": *Betrachtungen und Studien* (Zurich, 1996), 15–30.
6. For more on the Young Germans, see chap. 2, n. 10.
7. Novalis, *Hymnen an die Nacht / Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, ed. Paul Kluckhohn and Richard Samuel (Munich, 1985), 131 and 55.
8. Their common identity was suggested to Wagner by C. T. L. Lucas, *Ueber den Krieg von Wartburg* (Königsberg, 1838), 271–73.
9. It is significant that in discussing the genesis of *Das Liebesverbot*, Wagner specifically refers to Heine as a member of the anti-Romantic, Young German movement (*GS* IV:253).
10. The narrative had appeared in the first volume of *Der Salon* in December 1833; see Heinrich Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Manfred Windfuhr (Berlin, 1973–), vol. V, 769–77 and 806; see also Barry Millington, "The Sources and Genesis of the Text," in Thomas Grey, ed., *Richard Wagner: Der fliegende Holländer* (Cambridge, 2000), 25–35. The relevant passage in his "Autobiographical Sketch" of early 1843 (*SB* I:109) seems to imply that Wagner did not read the text until after his sea

journey from Riga to London in 1839 and that it was Heine himself who added it to his reading list following their acquaintance in Paris in the autumn of 1839. By contrast, Wagner's letter to Ferdinand Heine of August 1843 (SB II:314–15) and *A Communication to My Friends* (GS IV:258) both state that the composer was already familiar with Heine's account of the legend when he left Riga.

11. At this point it is customary for writers to mention Edward Fitzball's "nautical burletta" *The Flying Dutchman; or, The Phantom Ship*, which opened at the Adelphi Theatre, London, on 4 December 1826. This play, it is claimed, was Heine's model. In the latest contribution to this vexed question, Barry Millington ("Sources and Genesis of the Text") argues that Heine arrived in London in time to see the final performance of the 1826–27 season, on Saturday, 7 April. Unfortunately, this date is ruled out by the fact that Heine was still in Hamburg on the 12th; see Heinrich Heine, *Briefe*, ed. Friedrich Hirth (Mainz, 1950), vol. I, 307. Enquiries made of the Rothschild Archive in London have failed to find any evidence to support the claim that Heine was in London by the 6th. In any case, the literary conceit of the play-within-a-play is so widespread in Romantic literature that Heine had no need to attend the theater in order to find the inspiration there: among well-known examples of the device are three works by Ludwig Tieck, *Der gestiefelte Kater* (1797), *Die verkehrte Welt* (1798), and *Prinz Zerbino* (1799), to say nothing of Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde* (1799), and Clemens Brentano's *Godwi* (1801).

12. A translation of the complete text may be found in Grey, *Richard Wagner: Der fliegende Holländer*, 166–69.

13. For fuller coverage of this topic, see George G. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence, RI, 1965); Mona Körte and Robert Stockhammer, eds., *Ahasvers Spur: Dichtungen und Dokumente vom "Ewigen Juden"* (Leipzig, 1995); and Dieter Borchmeyer, "The Transformations of Ahasuerus: *Der fliegende Holländer* and His Metamorphoses," in his *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Oxford and New York, 1991), 190–215.

14. See Friedrich Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit* (Stuttgart, 1971), and Borchmeyer, "The Transformations of Ahasuerus," 194–200.

15. In Act 2, immediately before Erik recounts his dream, Senta "sinks into a magnetic sleep so that it seems as though she, too, is dreaming the dream that he relates" (GS I:276).

16. Other examples of such a love-death may be found in Tieck's *Franz Sternbalds*

*Wanderungen* (1798) and *Der getreue Eckart und der Tannenhäuser* (1799), Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht* (1799), Zacharias Werner's *Wanda, Königin der Sarmaten* (1810), and E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Die Elixiere des Teufels* (1815–16) and his opera *Undine* (1816).

17. Novalis, *Hymnen an die Nacht*, 17: "Ich fühle des Todes / Verjüngende Flut, / Zu Balsam und Aether / Verwandelt mein Blut – / Ich lebe bey Tage / Voll Glauben und Muth / Und sterbe die Nächte / In heiliger Glut" ("I feel in my veins / Death's youth-giving flood: / To ether and balm / It changes my blood – / By day I am filled / With faith and desire, / And nightly I die / In heaven's hallowed fire").

18. In his "Autobiographical Sketch" of 1843, Wagner had spoken of "the genuinely dramatic treatment of the redemption of this Ahasuerus of the oceans, which Heine himself had invented" (SB I:109), but when he included this text in his collected writings in 1871, he changed this to "the treatment of the redemption of this Ahasuerus of the oceans, which Heine had taken over from a Dutch play of the same name" (GS I:17). In much the same spirit, Wagner had already downplayed Heine's originality both in 1851 in *A Communication to My Friends* (GS IV:258), and *My Life* (ML 162), where Heine is not mentioned at all. (This passage was dictated during the winter of 1866–67.)

19. For a more detailed account of Wagner's debt to Heine, see Hans-Jürgen Schrader, "Schnabelewopskis und Wagners 'Fliegender Holländer,'" in Markus Winkler, ed., *Heinrich Heine und die Romantik / Heinrich Heine and Romanticism: Erträge eines Symposiums an der Pennsylvania State University* (21.–23. September 1995) (Tübingen, 1997), 191–224.

20. Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Alte deutsche Lieder*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1806–08), I, 86–90.

21. Ludwig Bechstein, *Der Sagenschatz und die Sagenkreise des Thüringerlandes* (Hildburghausen, 1835), 13.

22. For a discussion of the importance of the role of the Wartburg in German nationalist thinking, see Timothy McFarland, "Wagner's Most Medieval Opera," in *Richard Wagner: Tannhäuser* (English National Opera Guide no. 39), ed. Nicholas John (London, 1988), 25–32.

23. "Fraüw venus vnd das wil ich nit / Ich mag nit lenger bleyben / Maria mutter reyne magdt / Nun hilf mir von den weyben / Herr danheüser jr solt vrläub han / Meyn lob das solt jr preysen / Wo jr do in dem landt vmbfart / Nempt vrläub von dem greysen" (143). It may



also be significant that Bechstein, unlike Hoffmann, spells the Landgrave's name Herrmann, an unusual form taken over by Wagner.

24. Bechstein (*Der Sagenschatz*, 137) had already associated Tannhäuser (*sic*) with the early thirteenth-century Wartburg court of Herrmann of Thuringia and thus with the song contest of 1206–07. For a speculative life of the shadowy figure of Tannhäuser, see Stewart Spencer, "Tannhäuser und der Tanhusaere," in Ursula and Ulrich Müller, eds., *Opern und Opernfiguren: Festschrift für Joachim Herz* (Anif-Salzburg, 1989), 241–47; J. W. Thomas, *Tannhäuser: Poet and Legend* (Chapel Hill, 1974); and Mary A. Cicora, *From History to Myth: Wagner's Tannhäuser and Its Literary Sources* (Bern, 1992).

25. In spite of Wagner's claims to the contrary (*ML* 213), Lucas's volume does not contain the *Wartburgkrieg* but only a detailed commentary on Docen's incomplete 1807 edition. As with his letter to Franz Müller of 9 January 1856, listing the sources of the *Ring* (*SB* VII:334–37), Wagner sought to plume himself with academic feathers. Alfred Meissner commented on Wagner's "professorial air" in the mid-1840s; see Meissner, *Geschichte meines Lebens*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1884), I, 169.

26. Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Minnesinger: Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, aus allen bekannten Handschriften und früheren Drucken gesammelt und berichtet*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1838), IV, 160–90 (Walther von der Vogelweide), 192–230 (Wolfram von Eschenbach), 421–34 (Der Tannhuser), 463–68 (Der tugendhafte Schreiber), 487–510 (Reinmar von Zweter), and 745–53 (Der Krieg auf Wartburg). (None of Biterolf's works has survived.)

27. From von der Hagen's edition (*Minnesinger*, vol. II, 3–19), Wagner appears to have taken over the motifs of the Landgrave's hostility to the Welfs (strophe 6) and Biterolf's belligerence (strophes 12–14).

28. For a fuller treatment of this subject, see Stewart Spencer, "Tannhäuser: mediävistische Handlung in drei Aufzügen," in Spencer, ed., *Wagner 1976* (London, 1976), 40–53.

29. The contents of Wagner's library in Dresden are listed by Curt von Westernhagen, *Richard Wagners Dresdener Bibliothek 1842–1849* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 84–113. Among the medieval themes picked up and developed by Wagner are the ineluctability of fate, the perversity of women, and the destructive nature of love.

30. The seven-year truce referred to by Heinrich – the historical Henry the Fowler (c. 876–936) – occurred between 926 and 933.

31. Wagner continued to insist on this specific historical setting long after he claims to have abandoned history as a basis for opera: see his letter to Ferdinand Heine of 31 October 1853 (*SB* V:457–58). Perhaps the very historicity of *Lohengrin* was one of the reasons why he felt a repeated need to distance himself from it: see his letters to Adolf Stahr of 31 May 1851 (*SB* IV:57), Franz Liszt of 8 September 1852 and 8 May 1857 (*SB* IV:458 and VIII:320), Robert Franz of 28 October 1852 (*SB* V:87), and Julie Ritter of 29 December 1852 (*SB* V:143).

32. Friedrich Schlegel, *Gespräch über die Poesie*, ed. Hans Eichner (Stuttgart, 1968), 312.

33. Anton Wilhelm Florentin von Zuccalmaglio, "Die deutsche Oper," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (hereafter *NZfM*) 6 (1837), 191; Louise Otto, "Die Nibelungen als Oper," *NZfM* 23 (1845), 49–52, 129–30, 171–72, 175–76, and 181–83; and Franz Brendel, "Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft der Oper," *NZfM* 23 (1845), 33–35, 37–39, 41–43, 105–08, 109–12, 121–24, 149–52, and *NZfM* 24 (1846), 57–60 and 61–64.

Elsewhere, Friedrich Theodor Vischer struck a similarly nationalistic note in his *Kritische Gänge*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1844), I, 399–410, where he promotes the idea of using the *Nibelungenlied* as the source of a "national" epic opera.

34. See, for example, K. W. Götting, *Ueber das Geschichtliche im Nibelungenliede* (Rudolstadt, 1814); and Franz Joseph Mone, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Heldensage* (Quedlinburg, 1836).

35. For a note on the dating of *The Wibelungs*, see Barry Millington's chapter (5) in this volume.

36. Richard Wagner, *Das braune Buch*, ed. Joachim Bergfeld (Zurich, 1975), 112 and 113; trans. George Bird as *The Diary of Richard Wagner: The Brown Book 1865–1882* (London, 1980), 95 (translation emended).

37. Particularly important were Franz Joseph Mone, *Einleitung in das Nibelungen-Lied* (Heidelberg, 1818); Karl Lachmann, *Zu den Nibelungen und zur Klage* (Berlin, 1836), 333–49; and Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 2nd edn. (Göttingen, 1844), esp.

345. (Here the verbal parallel with *GS* II:131 is too obvious to be overlooked: like Grimm, Wagner draws an analogy between Siegfried and Faun on the one hand and Apollo and Python on the other.) Joachim Köhler (*Richard Wagner*, 293–99) argues that Wagner may also have been familiar with Schelling's

speculations on myth in *The Essence of Human Freedom* (1809).

38. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York, 1956), 231–32 and 250–74. Wagner owned the second edition of 1840 and read it in 1847.

39. *Des Aischylos Werke*, trans. Johann Gustav Droysen, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1832), I, 161. In his “Annals,” Wagner writes of the “awesome impression” left by his reading of Droysen’s translation in 1847; see Wagner, *Das braune Buch*, 111.

40. See Theodore M. Andersson, “The Doctrine of Oral Tradition in the Chanson de Geste and Saga,” *Scandinavian Studies* 34 (1962), 219–36; and Petra-Hildegard Wilberg, *Richard Wagners mythische Welt: Versuche wider den Historismus* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1996).

41. See George L. Mosse, *Germans and Jews* (Detroit, 1987), 34–115.

#### 5 *Der Ring des Nibelungen*: conception and interpretation

1. The *Entwurf* (sketch) was originally headed “Die Nibelungensage (Mythus).” Wagner renamed it when including it in his collected writings in 1871.

2. For discussion of significant parallels between the *Ring* and the *Prometheus* trilogy of Aeschylus, as reconstructed by its German translator, J. G. Droysen, see Hugh Lloyd-Jones, “Wagner and the Greeks,” in *The Wagner Compendium*, ed. Barry Millington (London and New York, 1992), 158–61.

3. The only works composed during these years were the Polka, WWV 84, and *Eine Sonate für das Album von Frau M[athilde] W[esendonck]*, WWV 85, both written for Mathilde Wesendonck.

4. See WWV, 328–30. See also Wagner 4 (1983), 87–89, for English translation.

5. The dating is from Petra-Hildegard Wilberg, *Richard Wagners mythische Welt: Versuche wider den Historismus* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1996), 79–85. WWV gives February 1849.

6. This peroration was suppressed by Wagner when he prepared the text for his collected writings in 1871. For the centrality of *The Wibelungs* and the Barbarossa legend to Wagner’s creative impulse, see Joachim Köhler, *Richard Wagner: The Last of the Titans*, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven and London, 2004), 245–55. See the published ending of the essay in GS II:155; PW VII:298.

7. The project was taken up again, with a view to completing it, by Adolf Hitler, no less. He

designed sets and costumes, but his compositional skills fell short of the task. See Joachim Köhler, *Wagner’s Hitler: The Prophet and His Disciple*, trans. Ronald Taylor (Cambridge, 2000), 91–92.

8. What eventually became the fourth *Ring* drama, *Götterdämmerung*, and at this point all that existed of the *Ring* project.

9. Fifty copies of the *Ring* poem had been printed privately by Wagner in 1853.

10. It is probably no coincidence that the Stadttheater in Riga, where Wagner had been music director from 1837 to 1839, boasted an amphitheater-like auditorium and a sunken pit. For a plan of the theater, see Oswald Bauer, *Richard Wagner geht ins Theater* (Bayreuth, 1996), 77.

11. First published in 1899, the *Grundlagen* achieved bestseller status: by 1915 over 100,000 copies had been sold; by 1938 a quarter of a million.

12. See Köhler, *Wagner’s Hitler*, 120–32, for Chamberlain’s own role as spiritual mentor to first Wilhelm II and later Hitler.

13. Richard Voss, *Aus einem phantastischen Leben* (Stuttgart, 1923), 366–67.

14. See Udo Bernbach, “Richard Wagner as Prophet of the World War,” *Wagner* 21/2 (July 2000), 87–109.

15. See *ibid.*, 105–09.

16. See Köhler, *Richard Wagner: The Last of the Titans*, 162–77.

17. Walter Benjamin, *Reflections* (New York, 1978), 158.

18. Theodor Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner* (Frankfurt, 1952; trans. Rodney Livingstone, *In Search of Wagner*, London, 1981; 2nd edn. 2005). The essay was written, however, in the years immediately prior to World War II (1937/38).

19. Adorno, *In Search of Wagner* (2005), 4–5, 143.

20. *Ibid.*, 122.

21. Geoffrey Skelton, *Wieland Wagner: The Positive Sceptic* (London, 1971), 178.

22. Robert Donington, *Wagner’s Ring and Its Symbols: The Music and the Myth* (London, 1963).

23. Deryck Cooke, *I Saw the World End: A Study of Wagner’s Ring* (Oxford, 1979).

24. *Ibid.*, 27. Cooke is also critical of Shaw’s interpretation, which he dismisses as “brilliant Shavian invective” rather than a fully rounded exegesis.

25. Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Wagner Androgyne: A Study in Interpretation*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Princeton, 1993).

26. *Ibid.*, xiv.

27. *Ibid.*, 76.

28. See chap. 15; Barry Millington, “What Shall We Do for a Ring,” in Stewart Spencer and

Barry Millington, eds., *Wagner's Ring of the Nibelung: A Companion* (London, 1993), 25–28; Mike Ashman, "Producing Wagner," in Barry Millington and Stewart Spencer, eds., *Wagner in Performance* (New Haven and London, 1992), 29–47; Patrick Carnegy, "Designing Wagner: Deeds of Music made Visible?," *ibid.*, 48–74; Patrick Carnegy, *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre: The Operas in Stage Performance* (New Haven and London, 2006).

29. See Roger Hutton, "The 1988 Bayreuth *Ring* as Theory and as Theatre," *Wagner* 10/2 (1989), 66–80.

30. See Simon Williams, *Wagner and the Romantic Hero* (Cambridge, 2004), 142–69.

31. See in particular Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1995).

### 6 Leitmotif, temporality, and musical design in the *Ring*

1. In the 1871 "Report in the Form of an Epilogue" to the publication of the *Ring* poem (GS VI:266; PW III:266). See also n. 8 below.

2. The idea of using the *Nibelungenlied* as the source of a distinctively German grand opera had been in the air for some time (see chap. 4). Wagner's quondam colleague and nemesis from the Riga years, Heinrich Dorn, anticipated him with a "grand Romantic opera" in five acts, *Die Nibelungen*, produced by Franz Liszt (no less) in Weimar, 1854. See Adelyn Peck Leverett, "Liszt, Wagner, and Heinrich Dorn's *Die Nibelungen*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990), 121–44. On the revolutionary context of Wagner's first ideas for his *Ring of the Nibelung* cycle, see also chaps. 3 and 4.

3. The original verse drafts of the first two dramas (the last two of the cycle) were slightly revised before Wagner had the whole text privately printed the next year; only with the first public printing of the texts (Leipzig, 1863) did they acquire their definitive titles of *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung*.

4. We should keep in mind, though, that at least since the decline of old-style *opera seria*, opera had offered a freer scope for modulation, abrupt contrasts, and loosely concatenated approaches to form than had traditional instrumental genres.

5. Wolzogen's guides were the model for many more published across the later nineteenth century and beyond. Christian Thorau examines the larger critical context of leitmotif before and after Wolzogen, as well as related hermeneutic and analytical issues, in his monograph *Semantisierte Sinnlichkeit: Studien zur Rezeption und Zeichenstruktur des*

*Leitmotivtechnik Richard Wagners* (Stuttgart, 2003). On the origins of the term itself ("leitmotif," German *Leitmotiv*) in relation to the metaphor of the *Leitfaden*, see also Thomas Grey, "... wie ein rother Faden: On the Origins of 'Leitmotif' as Critical Concept and Musical Practice," in Ian Bent, ed., *Music Theory in the Age of Romanticism* (Cambridge, 1996), 187–210.

6. The theory of associative motives or leitmotifs is developed, very gradually, across sections 5 and 6 of part 3 of *Opera and Drama* (GS IV:173–204; PW II:316–50), starting from an analysis of the expressive or "linguistic" capacities of modern instrumental music and the complementary relationship between musical (emotional) and verbal (rational) modes of "speech." The more specific ideas about how musical themes or motives will establish a network of "anticipations" and "recollections" of concrete dramatic utterances or gestures is developed in section 6, and especially toward the end of it. Wagner is most consistent in speaking of leitmotifs as *melodische Momente* (melodic moments or elements) while reserving the term "motive" (*Motiv, Grundmotiv, Hauptmotiv*) for the dramatic motifs, the elements with which the musical ideas are to be associated, or which inspire them. See also Thomas Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts* (Cambridge, 1995), 319–26.

7. Wolzogen's original *Leitfaden* for the *Ring* gave ninety leitmotifs. Ernest Newman's commentaries on the *Ring* dramas (*The Wagner Operas* [New York, 1949; repr. 1981], vol. II) supply nearly 200 examples, a figure that includes transformations and combinations of leitmotifs, as well as some musical figures or gestures for which he does not claim leitmotivic status. J. K. Holman's more recent guide to the *Ring* gives as many as 145: *Wagner's Ring: A Listener's Companion and Concordance* (Portland, OR, 1996).

8. Cooke's most comprehensive presentation of this "genealogical" approach to leitmotif in the *Ring* is the audio commentary he provided to accompany the first high-fidelity recording of the cycle under Georg Solti (London Records), still available as a supplement to the CD reissue of that groundbreaking recording. Cooke took his cue from Wagner's own reference to the "malleable nature-motives" (*plastischen Naturmotive*) that were his starting point for the "new path" of *Das Rheingold*, "which I had then to evolve in ever more individualized forms to undergird the emotional tendencies of the broadly ramified action and its characters" (GS VI:266; see PW III:266); see also n. 1 in this chapter.

9. On this concept from part 3 of *Opera and Drama*, see Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose*, 181–211; see 375–77 for the translation of the relevant portion of *Opera and Drama* (GS IV:152–55).

10. Carolyn Abbate (following Adorno) suggests the same with regard to Kundry, whose soul has “transmigrated” between different bodies over many centuries, and who returns as the same “person,” but inwardly and outwardly transformed, in each act of *Parsifal*: “Metempsychotic Wagner,” in her *In Search of Opera* (Princeton, 2001), 108.

11. Skepticism toward the omniscience of leitmotivic orchestral discourse in the *Ring* is a leitmotif of Carolyn Abbate's writing on Wagner. See for example *Unsung Voices: Music and Narrative in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Princeton, 1991), and “Wagner, ‘On Modulation,’ and *Tristan*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989), 33–58.

12. On the “Annunciation of Death” scene as musical dialogue, and an evolving series of “poetic-musical periods,” see Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose*, 228–41.

13. The only obstacle facing Sigurd in the *Volsunga Saga* at this juncture is that he has so overloaded his horse with treasure from the newly won dragon's horde that it refuses to move. See *The Saga of the Volsungs*, trans. Jesse L. Byock (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990), 66 (episode 20).

14. Wagner himself, in his famous explanatory gloss on the *Ring of the Nibelung* dramas written to August Röckel early in 1854, provides a more immediate psychological explanation of Wotan's behavior: “Faced with the prospect of his own annihilation, he finally becomes so instinctively human that – in spite of his supreme resolve – his ancient pride is once more stirred, provoked moreover (mark this well!) by his jealousy of Brünnhilde. . . . He refuses . . . to be thrust aside, but prefers to fall – to be conquered” (letter of 25/26 January 1854: *SL* 308). As Wagner further notes, Wotan's anger at the climax of the confrontation is genuine, and unpremeditated. That is, if he begins by putting Siegfried to a ritualistic test, he ends by taking Siegfried's resistance personally, however much it may be necessary and expected.

15. While the C-major horn-call, a motive associated with the previous wedding scene, is afterwards identified explicitly with the Gibichung hunting party (as they call for Siegfried), Hagen's steer-horn has no clear dramatic justification as an offstage effect here. Its presence is rather an uncanny echo from the past, and conceivably related to whatever has

just led Siegfried astray: “Some elf” (*Albe*; cf. Alberich), he says, as he wanders on to the scene where he will encounter the Rhine maidens. The C-major horn-call, incidentally, relates by virtue of its initial, accented descending leap (here a fifth) to a whole complex and cannily developed family of motives associated with the Gibichung clan throughout the opera: Hagen (involving a tritone), Gunter (with dignified dotted march-rhythms), and Gutrune (a legato variant of the “wedding” call, including the rising steps that follow here the initial fifth descent).

16. Thus, Siegfried's narrative revisits the “double-tonic complex” of E and C that figured prominently throughout the final act of *Siegfried*. On Robert Bailey's concept of such “double-tonic complexes” in Wagner (especially typical of *Tristan*, *Meistersinger*, and this last act of *Siegfried*, all composed across the extended decade 1857–69), see Robert Bailey, ed., *Wagner: Prelude and Transfiguration from Tristan und Isolde* (New York, 1985), 121–22. The idea has been taken up since then in many studies of Wagner's music, above all of *Tristan und Isolde*.

17. John Deathridge has called attention to Wagner's own private identification of this motive (in a letter of 6 September 1875) as the “Glorification of Brünnhilde” in several contexts, originally in a review of Wagner literature in *19th-Century Music* 5 (1981), 84. Earlier, when completing his first draft of the score, Wagner referred to it as “Sieglinde's praise for Brünnhilde” and noted “I am glad I kept [it] back . . . to become as it were a hymn to heroes” (CWD: 23 July 1872). See also Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose*, 367–73.

## 7 *Tristan und Isolde*: essence and appearance

1. Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks: The Decline of a Family*, trans. T. J. Reed (New York, 1993), 448, 720–21.

2. [Editor's note:] These polarities in the drama, music, and experience of *Tristan und Isolde* are explored at length in the recent monograph by Roger Scruton, *Death-Devoted Heart: Sex and the Sacred in Wagner's Tristan and Isolde* (New York, 2004). On the association of Wagner, and above all *Tristan*, with illness and decay at the end of the century, see also Thomas Grey, “Wagner the Degenerate: Fin-de-Siècle Cultural ‘Pathology’ and the Anxiety of Modernism,” *19th-Century Studies* 16 (2002), 73–92.

3. Thomas Mann, “Wagner and the Present Age” (1931), in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, trans. Allan Blunden (Chicago and London, 1985), 88–89. Nietzsche speaks, for example, of

- “the dangerous fascination and the gruesome sweet infinity of *Tristan*” in *Ecce Homo* (1888), ed. and trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1969), 250.
4. Frank Kermode, foreword to Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, trans. Angus Davidson, 2nd edn. (Cleveland and New York, 1968), v.
  5. See Raymond Furness, *Wagner and Literature* (Manchester, UK, 1982), 44; and Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, 296, 413 (n. 60). Peter Gay catalogues responses to *Tristan* by more ordinary audience members that nonetheless resemble those of the literary decadents in *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*, vol. II, *The Tender Passions* (Oxford and New York, 1986), 264–66.
  6. Quoted in Robert Bailey, ed., *Richard Wagner: Prelude and Transfiguration from Tristan und Isolde* (New York, 1985), 19.
  7. Friedrich Nietzsche, “Richard Wagner in Bayreuth,” from *Unfashionable Observations (Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen)*, trans. Richard T. Gray, *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Ernst Behler, vol. II (Stanford, 1995), 303.
  8. [Ed.] The last of these is a “love scene” only in a paradoxical, if dramatically apt, sense, considering that it consists of two solo “visions” experienced by the characters in isolation, and linked only by the briefest (and yet overwhelmingly intense) moment of reunion just before Tristan’s death. The first “love scene” is rather an extended standoff that ends, fatefully, in a rapturous declaration of love.
  9. On the concept (and Wagner’s practice) of tonal pairing, see Bailey, *Richard Wagner: Prelude and Transfiguration from Tristan und Isolde*, 121–39. Bailey’s ideas have served as a point of departure for numerous other analytical studies. See for example William Kinderman, “Dramatic Recapitulation and Tonal Pairing in Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*,” in Kinderman and Harold Krebs, eds., *The Second Practice of Nineteenth-Century Tonality* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1996), 180–95. Lawrence Kramer relates the role of these stepwise and half-stepwise tonal shifts to ideas about the Freudian construction of desire (the libido) as possibly embodied in the music of *Tristan*; see Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice 1800–1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990), 154–56.
  10. Hölderlin developed this argument in the essay “Über die Verfahrungsweise des poetischen Geistes” (“On the Operations of the Poetic Spirit,” 1800) and “Über den Unterschied der Dichtarten” (“On the Difference of Poetic Modes,” also 1800). Both essays are translated in Friedrich Hölderlin, *Essays and Letters on Theory*, ed. and trans. Thomas Pfau (Albany, NY, 1988), 62–82, 83–88.
  11. The relevant passage from this letter is translated (and discussed), along with a transcription of the December 1856 sketches, by Robert Bailey in “The Method of Composition,” in *The Wagner Companion*, ed. Peter Burbidge and Richard Sutton (New York, 1979), 308–15.
  12. [Ed.] And, for that matter, Wagner sketched the famous Prelude in its entirety before setting any of the libretto, as such. Bailey’s detailed studies of the musical genesis of Act 1 of *Tristan* have been supplemented in the meantime by Ulrich Bartels: *Studien zu Wagners Tristan und Isolde anhand der Kompositionsskizze des zweiten und dritten Aktes*, 3 vols. (Cologne, 1995).
  13. Carolyn Abbate, “Wagner, ‘On Modulation,’ and *Tristan*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989), 33–58.
  14. Thomas Grey has taken this approach to Tristan’s “Delirium” scene, where the dense leitmotivic texture answers to a poetic theme (the return of Tristan’s memory), while the monologue also exhibits a more fundamentally musical design of intensification, climax, and dissolution: *Wagner’s Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts* (Cambridge, 1995), 342–47.
  15. Nattiez mounts a similar argument regarding the figures of Siegfried and Brünnhilde in *Wagner Androgyne: A Study in Interpretation*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Princeton, 1993), 76–84, an idea further developed by Grey with regard to details of the prose writings and the music (as well as text) of *Siegfried*, Act 3, scene 3, in *Wagner’s Musical Prose*, 153–72.
  16. Abbate, “On Modulation,” 48–49; Nattiez, *Wagner Androgyne*, 153–54. James McGlathery also sees Tristan as the “leading” figure in that he introduces Isolde to the “mysterious connection between erotic desire and mystical longing for death.” See McGlathery, *Wagner’s Operas and Desire* (New York, 1998), 178. Lawrence Kramer argues more or less the reverse, finding Tristan to be the passive role (and tendentially masochistic), with Isolde as the more active, dominant one (Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, 165).
  17. Charles Baudelaire, “Richard Wagner and *Tannhäuser* in Paris,” in Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, ed. and trans. Jonathan Mayne (London, 1964), 120.
  18. Nietzsche, “Richard Wagner in Bayreuth,” 303.
  19. A cadence effected, notably, through the definitive, long-deferred resolution of the

*Tristan* chord introduced in the first measures of the Prelude. [Ed.] For an extended discussion of Schopenhauer's significance for Wagner (*Tristan* and beyond), see Bryan Magee, *The Tristan Chord: Wagner and Philosophy* (London and New York, 2000).

20. Mann, "Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner," in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, 124–25.

21. Schlegel, *Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde and the Fragments*, ed. and trans. Peter Firchow (Minneapolis, 1971), 127 (trans. emended).

22. Tristan becomes "night-sighted" (*nachtsichtig*) in the course of the Act 2 love scene. See Novalis, *Hymns to the Night*, trans. Dick Higgins, 3rd edn. (Kingston, 1988), 13; see also Schlegel's description of Lucinde as "consecrated to the night" ("der Nacht geweiht") in *Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde*, 126. Novalis's reference to "Night's initiates" ("Nacht Geweihte") also occurs in *Hymns to the Night* (nos. 14–15), echoed verbatim in Act 2 of *Tristan* (Tristan: "O nun waren wir Nacht-Geweihte!"), beginning Tristan's speech immediately prior to the central lyrical episode, "O sink hernieder, Nacht der Liebe."

23. Carl Dahlhaus, *Richard Wagner's Music Dramas*, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge, 1979), 51. For similar views, see Ernst Bloch, *Essays on the Philosophy of Music*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, 1985), 53; Dieter Borchmeyer, *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Oxford and New York, 1991), 338; and, even more emphatically expressed, McGlathery, *Wagner's Operas and Desire*, 177, 185, 187.

24. [Ed.] On these various deployments of the opening "motive complex," see also Joseph Kerman, "Tristan und Isolde: The Prelude and the Play," in Kerman, *Write All These Down* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994), 335–50.

25. The term "endless melody" was coined in response to his critical detractors in the essay "Music of the Future" ("Zukunftsmusik") of 1860, with an emphasis on the continuous presence of motivically significant material, continuously developed and continuously eloquent in expressive effect or "meaning." The broader identification of "endless melody" with seamless continuity is also relevant: see Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose*, 252–55.

26. The theorist Ernst Kurth singled out harmonic disturbances of this sort for their "sensuous" or "absolute" harmonic effect, i.e., their tendency to detach themselves from their immediate (functional) tonal surroundings. As an example of such an "absolute" harmonic effect or progressions (*absolute Fortschrittwirkung*) he cited the

juxtaposition of A<sup>b</sup> and A<sup>h</sup> triads in the "Death-Devoted Head" motive ("Todgeweihtes Haupt"). His primary example of this category was, not surprisingly, the *Tristan* chord itself. See Kurth, *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners Tristan*, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1923), 262–67; and Lee A. Rothfarb, *Ernst Kurth as Theorist and Analyst* (Philadelphia, 1988), 158–60.

27. CWD: 16 January 1871. On the relationship of Wagner's libretto to Gottfried, see Arthur Groos, "Appropriation in Wagner's *Tristan* Libretto," in Groos and Roger Parker, eds., *Reading Opera* (Princeton, 1989), 13–25.

28. Borchmeyer, *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, 146.

29. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and The Case of Wagner*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1967), 175.

30. Mann, "An Essay on the Theater" (1908), in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, 25. Mann reiterated this theme time and again. See also, for example, "Coming to Terms with Richard Wagner" (1911), *Reflections of a Non-Political Man* (1915–18), "Ibsen and Wagner" (1928), "Sufferings and Grandeur of Richard Wagner" (1933), and "Richard Wagner and *Der Ring des Nibelungen*" (1937) as translated in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, 46, 55, 84, 102, 187–92.

31. See also the discussion of leitmotif technique as it emerged in the *Ring* cycle, chapter 6 in this book.

32. Kerman, "Opera as Symphonic Poem," in Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, 2nd edn. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988), 165.

33. Wagner's account of the deaths of Tristan's parents departs radically from the medieval sources. In Gottfried's poem, Tristan's mother Blanchefleur dies of grief after her husband, Riwalin, falls in battle.

34. Around the time he was setting to work on *Tristan und Isolde* Wagner planned to address this same theme in a project entitled *Die Sieger* (*The Victors*), a dramatization of a Buddhist legend. As he explained in his autobiography, the significance of this tale of a Tschantala girl and her love for Ananda, chief disciple of the Buddha, lay in its showing how "the past life of the suffering principal characters was entwined with the new phases of their lives" (ML 528).

## 8 Performing Germany in Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*

1. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* (part 8: Peoples and Fatherlands), §240, trans. Walter Kaufmann, *Basic Writings of Nietzsche* (New York, 1968), 364.
2. Karl Storck, *Das Opernbuch* (Stuttgart, 1899), cited in Gerhard Bott, ed., *Die*

Meistersinger und Richard Wagner: Die Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Oper von 1868 bis heute. Eine Ausstellung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums in Nürnberg, 10. Juli bis 11. Oktober 1981 (Nuremberg, 1981), 155. This and all other translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

3. Joseph Goebbels, "Richard Wagner und das Kunstempfinden unserer Zeit," in *Signale der neuen Zeit: 25 ausgewählte Reden* (Munich, 1934), 191–96 (first published at the time as "Richard Wagner und das Kunstempfinden unserer Zeit: Rundfunkrede von Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels," *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 August 1933; "Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels huldigt Richard Wagner," *Der Angriff*, 7 August 1933).

4. Hofmannsthal to Richard Strauss, 1 July 1927, quoted in Hans Rudolf Veget, "The 'Metapolitics' of *Die Meistersinger*: Wagner's Nuremberg as Imagined Community," in Veget, ed., *Searching for Common Ground: Diskurse zur deutschen Identität 1750–1871* (Cologne, 2000), 275.

5. Theodor Adorno, "Bilderwelt des Freischütz," in *Gesammelte Schriften XVII* (Frankfurt, 1982), 36.

6. Theodor W. Adorno, "Wagner's Relevance for Today," in Adorno, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), 585.

7. Thomas Mann to Richard Braungart, 14 April 1950, in Hans Rudolf Veget, ed., *Im Schatten Wagners. Thomas Mann über Richard Wagner: Texte und Zeugnisse, 1895–1955* (Frankfurt, 1999), 206. It was *Die Meistersinger* that provoked Mann's well-known comment that "certainly, there is a lot of 'Hitler' in Wagner," in "Richard Wagner und kein Ende" (1950): *Im Schatten Wagners*, 203–04.

8. Thomas Mann, "The Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner" ("Leiden und Größe Richard Wagners," 1933), in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, trans. Allan Blunden (Chicago, 1985), 145.

9. Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill and London, 1998), 151. Goebbels defined *Leistung* in the cultural realm in his speech at the opening of the Reichskulturkammer on 15 November 1933; see *ibid.*, 153–54. The "Wach auf!" chorus from *Meistersinger* was also performed at this event.

10. This latter type of nation Meinecke termed a *Staatsnation*.

11. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991; orig. edn. 1983).

12. The discussion of nation and nationalism in this paragraph is taken largely from the introduction to Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001); see also Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction" to Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 1–14; George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (Ithaca, 1991); and Konrad H. Jarausch and Michael Geyer, *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories* (Princeton, 2003), in particular chap. 8, "A Struggle for Unity: Redefining National Identities," 221–44.

13. Green, *Fatherlands*, 6–7, and Alon Confino, *The Nation as Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871–1918* (Chapel Hill and London, 1997), 4.

14. John Gillis, "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," introduction to Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), 3, 5. See also Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*; Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, eds., *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover, NH, and London, 1999); and Confino, *Nation as Local Metaphor*.

15. Bal, introduction to Bal, Crewe, and Spitzer, *Acts of Memory*, vii.

16. Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 10.

17. *Ibid.*, 9.

18. Gillis, "Memory and Identity," 4.

19. Confino, *Nation as Local Metaphor*, 8.

20. The three examples in the parenthesis are as follows: Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990); Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*; and Green, *Fatherlands*.

21. Historian Wolfgang J. Mommsen has argued that the development of a rich cultural life was a means for the bourgeoisie to create its political ideal: "Kultur als Instrument der Legitimation bürgerlicher Hegemonie im Nationalstaat," in Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler, eds., *Deutsche Meister – böse Geister? Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik* (Schliengen, 2001), 61–74.

22. See Manfred Hettling and Paul Nolte, "Bürgerliche Feste als symbolische Politik im 19. Jahrhundert," in Hettling and Nolte, eds., *Bürgerliche Feste: Symbolische Formen politischen Handelns im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1993), 7–36; and the very useful review essay by Michael Maurer, "Feste

- und Feiern als historischer Forschungsgegenstand," *Historische Zeitschrift* 253 (1991), 101–30. For a very general overview, in English, see Max L. Baeumer, "Imperial Germany as Reflected in Its Mass Festivals," in Volker Dürr, Kathy Harms, and Peter Hayes, eds., *Imperial Germany* (Madison, WI, 1985), 62–74.
23. Hettling and Nolte, "Bürgerliche Feste als symbolische Politik," 18.
24. *Ibid.*, 30.
25. Gillis, "Memory and Identity," 9. Prussia expended considerable effort to establish a national festival after 1870–71, but its attempts to institutionalize its 1870 defeat of France at the battle of Sedan, the Kaiser's birthday, or anniversary of the founding of the Reich all came to naught. Instead, it was the Nazis' pantheon of events and celebrations that finally succeeded in establishing a national festival culture.
26. Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London, 1981), 120–21.
27. Hannu Salmi, *Imagined Germany: Richard Wagner's National Utopia* (New York, 1999). This work is a condensed and rewritten version of his dissertation, "Die Herrlichkeit des deutschen Namens . . .': die schriftstellerische und politische Tätigkeit Richard Wagners als Gestalter nationaler Identität während der staatlichen Vereinigung Deutschlands" (Turku, 1993).
28. Letter of 19 March 1866, SL 345. He also once commented "I am the most German being. I am the German spirit" (from Joachim Bergfeld, ed., *The Diary of Richard Wagner, 1865–1882: The Brown Book* [London, 1980], cited in Salmi, *Imagined Germany*, 55).
29. In *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde* (1851) he called Sachs the "final manifestation of the artistically creative spirit of the Volk" and contrasted him with petty bourgeois Meistersingers and their pedantry (GS IV: 284–85).
30. Salmi cites a letter from Wagner to Gabriel Monod, 25 October 1876, that seems to imply that Wagner's strategy was a conscious one, that his polemics against the French were a "means to make the Germans themselves create authentic culture" (*Imagined Germany*, 14).
31. *Ibid.*, 33.
32. *Ibid.*, 50.
33. *Ibid.*, 41.
34. *Ibid.*, 79. "Was ist Deutsch?," a shortened and revised version of the 1865 diary entries, was first published in the *Bayreuther Blätter* in 1878. The diary entries themselves were not published in their original form until 1936: see volume IV of Otto Strobel, ed., *König Ludwig II. und Richard Wagner: Briefwechsel*, 5 vols. (Karlsruhe, 1936, 1939).
35. Salmi, *Imagined Germany*, 49; see also 124–25, and, for an assessment of Wagner's relationship with Bismarck vis-à-vis Ludwig II, 159–65.
36. *Deutsche Kunst und deutsche Politik* (GS VIII:49); trans. in Salmi, *Imagined Germany*, 56.
37. Letter of 27 March 1866, cited in Reinhold Brinkmann, "Lohengrin, Sachs und Mime oder Nationales Pathos und die Pervertierung der Kunst bei Richard Wagner," in Danuser and Münkler, *Deutsche Meister – böse Geister? Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik*, 213.
38. This idea, of course, is not new; see Salmi, *Imagined Germany*, 134–38. Vaegert describes *Meistersinger* as "Wagner's most complete and resounding answer to the question of 'Was ist deutsch?'; "the most complete articulation of his aesthetic and political beliefs" ("Metapolitics," 273). But Thomas S. Grey has argued that "Wagner's cultural chauvinism – his antagonism toward the French and the Jews, grounded in a paranoid persecution complex – leaves only a faint imprint on the work, though it can easily be traced to [his] contemporaneous essays" ("Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* as National Opera [1868–1945]," in Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, eds., *Music and German National Identity* [Chicago and London, 2002], 100).
39. "Nachgelassene Fragmente," in Friedrich Nietzsche, *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe in 15 Bänden*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin, 1980), VIII, 266. This aphorism was often cited by Thomas Mann.
40. See Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "Reworking History: Wagner's German Myth of Nuremberg," in Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand, eds., *Re-Reading Wagner* (Madison, WI, 1993), 43. In writing the text of *Die Meistersinger*, Wagner drew on Gervinus's chapter on Hans Sachs.
41. SL 749. On the nexus of *Die Meistersinger*, Hanslick, Beckmesser, and the Jews, see Thomas Grey, "Masters and Their Critics: Wagner, Hanslick, Beckmesser, and *Die Meistersinger*," in Nicholas Vazsonyi, ed., *Wagner's Meistersinger: Performance, History, Representation* (Rochester, NY, 2003), 165–89.
42. "Richard Wagner und das Judentum: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte unserer Zeit, von einem Unparteiischen" (Elberfeld, 1869); reprinted in Jens Malte Fischer, *Richard Wagners "Das Judentum in der Musik": Eine*



*kritische Dokumentation als Beitrag zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus* (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, 2000), 314.

43. Wagner himself noted this phenomenon in “Wollen wir hoffen?” (1879): “[*Meistersinger*] was difficult to perform, rarely met with even a tolerable degree of success and was lumped together with ordinary ‘operas,’ shouted down by the Jews and treated by German audiences as a curiosity to be greeted with a shake of the head” (GS X:120; translation from Stewart Spencer, “Wagner’s Nuremberg,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4 [1992], 39).
44. Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, 21.
45. For an excellent summary, see Hans Rudolf Vaget, “Du warst mein Feind von je’: The Beckmesser Controversy Revisited,” in Vazsonyi, *Wagner’s Meistersinger*, 190–208.
46. Marc A. Weiner, “Reading the Ideal,” *New German Critique* 69 (1996), 69.
47. David J. Levin, *Richard Wagner, Fritz Lang, and the Nibelungen: The Dramaturgy of Disavowal* (Princeton, 1998), 149–50.
48. David J. Levin, “Reading Beckmesser Reading: Antisemitism and Aesthetic Practice in *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*,” *New German Critique* 69 (Fall 1996), 129; see also Levin, “Reading a Staging/Staging a Reading,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9 (1997), 47–71.
49. David Dennis, “The Most German of All German Operas’: *Die Meistersinger* Through the Lens of the Third Reich,” in Vazsonyi, *Wagner’s Meistersinger*, 98–119.
50. The use of the bar form was later elevated to a “secret” of Wagnerian form by Alfred Lorenz, who regarded the entirety of *Die Meistersinger* as a gigantic bar form. See Alfred Lorenz, *Das Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner*, vol. III, *Der Musikalische Aufbau von Richard Wagners “Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg”* (Berlin, 1930; repr., Tutzing, 1966), 9–14.
51. Arthur Groos seems to have been the first to point out the connections between *Meistersinger* and nineteenth-century festival culture, but notes that it would be overstating the case to see the *Festwiese* as the same thing as “increasingly nationalized mass celebrations of the 1860s”: Groos, “Constructing Nuremberg: Typological and Proleptic Communities in *Die Meistersinger*,” *19th-Century Music* 16 (1992), 18–34.
52. Although a version of this speech is found in all extant drafts of the text, when composing the music in 1867, Wagner considered ending the opera with the Prize Song. He was dissuaded from this, however, by Cosima and ultimately replaced twenty-three lines with eight chauvinistic new lines – precisely those quoted above. For a discussion of the evolution

- of Sachs’s final speech, see Grey, “Wagner’s *Die Meistersinger* as National Opera.” In this article, Grey explores the question of whether *Meistersinger* was a national opera by design and demonstrates that many aspects of the 1845 sketch are in fact more overtly nationalistic than the final version. Cosima’s role in preserving these lines is oddly anticipatory of her later role as the center of the Bayreuth Circle; see Winfried Schüler, *Der Bayreuther Kreis von seiner Entstehung bis zum Ausgang der wilhelminischen Ära: Wagnerkult und Kulturreform im Geiste völkischer Weltanschauung* (Münster, 1971).
53. Spencer, “Wagner’s Nuremberg,” 33. See also Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*.
54. Letter to Ludwig II, 24 July 1866: SL 701. See also SL 708, where Wagner calls Nuremberg “the abode of the ‘artwork of the future’” and argues that the nation would also be such an art work – an aesthetic state. In “Wollen wir hoffen?” Wagner recalls his initial desire to have the premiere of the work in Nuremberg (GS X:119).
55. Hohendahl, “Wagner’s German Myth of Nuremberg”; Groos, “Constructing Nuremberg”; Spencer, “Wagner’s Nuremberg.” Spencer’s article also discusses the eight visits to Nuremberg made by Wagner during his lifetime. See also Dieter Borchmeyer, “Nuremberg as an Aesthetic State,” in Borchmeyer, *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner*, trans. Daphne Ellis (Princeton, 2003), 180–211, and Nicholas Vazsonyi’s introduction to *Wagner’s Meistersinger*, 1–20. Nineteenth-century constructions of the myth of Nuremberg largely stem from Ludwig Tieck and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder: *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (c. 1796).
56. Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music* (Princeton, 2004), 169. In this regard, Hohendahl (“Wagner’s German Myth of Nuremberg,” 57) refers to *Die Meistersinger* as a “phantasmagoria” and points out contradictions in the work.
57. Salmi, *Imagined Germany*, 181.
58. Bott, *Die Meistersinger und Richard Wagner*. This source also surveys images (largely from the nineteenth century) of Nuremberg, Sachs, and folk festivals. See also Hohendahl, “Wagner’s German Myth of Nuremberg”; Grey, “*Die Meistersinger* as National Opera”; and Grey, “Selbstbehauptung oder Fremdmißbrauch? Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der *Meistersinger*,” in Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler, *Deutsche Meister – Böse Geister: Nationale*

- Selbstfindung in der Musik* (Argus, 2001), 305–20.
59. Grey, “Die Meistersinger as National Opera,” 87–91.
60. See, for example, Frederic Spotts, *Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival* (New Haven, 1994); Brigitte Hamann, *Winifred Wagner oder Hitlers Bayreuth* (Munich, 2002; also published as *Winifred Wagner: A Life at the Heart of Hitler's Bayreuth*, trans. Alan Bance [London, 2005]); Berndt W. Wessling, ed., *Bayreuth im Dritten Reich. Richard Wagners politische Erben: Eine Dokumentation* (Weinheim and Basel, 1983).
61. Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 130. The quoted words, “Hier gilt's der Kunst” come from Eva's dialogue with Sachs in Act 2 of *Die Meistersinger*.
62. Thomas Mann, *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man*, trans. Walter D. Morris (New York, 1983), 18. Nietzsche's aphorism is also used as the epigram to Mann's fifth chapter, “Burgherly Nature,” 71.
63. *Ibid.*, 71.
64. *Ibid.*, 311. In *Palestrina, Meistersinger's* “Ehrt eure deutschen Meister!” is given theatrical form in the vision of the nine historical composers in the final tableau of Act 1; see Stephen McClatchie, “Hans Pfitzner's *Palestrina* and the Impotence of Early Lateness,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 67 (1998), 812–27.
65. For a discussion, see Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto, 1989), 325.
66. Peter Raabe, “Wagners Meistersinger in unserer Zeit,” in Raabe, *Die Musik im Dritten Reich: Kulturpolitische Reden und Aufsätze* (Regensburg, 1935), 71–72; translation from Dennis, “Die Meistersinger Through the Lens of the Third Reich,” 113.
67. Michael Karbaum, *Studien zur Geschichte der Bayreuther Festspiele (1876–1976)* (Regensburg, 1976), 86. After the performance of *Meistersinger* that concluded the Day of Potsdam, Goebbels wrote contentedly in his diary (22 March 1933) that “the Wacht-Auf [sic] chorus finally acquired again its true meaning [Sinn]” (*ibid.*).
68. Goebbels, “Richard Wagner und das Kunstempfinden unserer Zeit,” 191; translation from Dennis, “Die Meistersinger Through the Lens of the Third Reich,” 109.
69. David Dennis offers a comprehensive survey and analysis of *Meistersinger* productions under the Nazis in “Die Meistersinger Through the Lens of the Third Reich.”
70. Vaeg, “Beckmesser Controversy,” 207. According to her biographer, Winifred Wagner was among the honorary guests for the entire day (Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 236).
71. The card is reproduced in Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 256. Vazsonyi has pointed that Hitler forbade singing of *Deutschlandlied* after *Meistersinger*, “almost as if the *Deutschlandlied* were no longer necessary since the opera *in toto* had itself become part of Germany's national music” (Vazsonyi, “Introduction. *Die Meistersinger*: Performance, History, Representation,” in *Wagner's Meistersinger*, 14).
72. Spotts, *Bayreuth Festival*, 193.
73. For a discussion of the location, program, and structure of the *Reichsparteitage*, see Peter Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus* (Munich and Vienna, 1991); Hans-Ulrich Thamer, “Faszination und Manipulation: Die Nürnberger Reichsparteitage der NSDAP,” in Uwe Schultz, ed., *Das Fest: Eine Kulturgeschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1988), 352–68. The rally continues the instrumentalization of Nuremberg discussed in Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 140–41, 180–81. Many commentators have noted the lack of enthusiasm toward Wagner felt by many party members. For example, Heinz Tietjen, “Die Wahrheit über Bayreuth” (1945), states that the Nuremberg performances played to half-empty houses and that most leaders in the party disliked Wagner and were “ordered” to Bayreuth: document XX-3 in Karbaum, *Studien zur Geschichte der Bayreuther Festspiele*, 112–13.
74. Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 305.
75. Of course, the choice may actually have been that of composer Herbert Windt, who was responsible for scoring the film.
76. According to Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 667, n. 75.
77. Richard Wilhelm Stock, *Richard Wagner und die Stadt der Meistersinger: Den Großen von Bayreuth Richard und Cosima Wagner zum Gedächtnis in ihrem 125. und 100. Geburtsjahr* (Nuremberg, 1938), 28; see also 7, 8, 9, 23, 38, and 126.
78. Shelley Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2004), 214. Baranowski notes that in 1942 the KdF became the seventh office of the Reichskulturkammer; as the “purveyor of culture to the masses” (*ibid.*, 213), the KdF organized performances of Goethe, Lessing, Kleist, Schilling, Bach, Brahms, Schubert, Beethoven, Mozart, and Wagner (as well as of popular culture). Verena Wagner's husband, Bodo Lafferentz, was the leader of the

- KdF Office for Travel, Hiking, and Vacation and was also involved in cultural programming for the KdF.
79. Richard Wilhelm Stock, *Richard Wagner und seine Meistersinger: Eine Erinnerungsgabe zu den Bayreuther Kriegsfestspielen 1943* (Nuremberg, 1943).
80. Vaget, "Metapolitics," 272. *Kolberg* was a 1945 film by Veit Harlan, sponsored by Goebbels, which depicted Prussia's perseverance against Napoleon.
81. Dennis, "Die Meistersinger Through the Lens of the Third Reich," 103. See also Dina Porat, "'Zum Raum wird hier die Zeit': Richard Wagners Bedeutung für Adolf Hitler und die nationalsozialistische Führung," in *Richard Wagner und die Juden*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer, Ami Maayani, and Susanne Vill (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2000), 207–20.
82. Hubert Kolland, "Wagner-Rezeption im deutschen Faschismus," in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Sigrid Wiesmann, eds., *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bayreuth* (Kassel, 1981), 494–503; Vaget, "Hitler's Wagner"; and Vaget, "Beckmesser Controversy."
83. Stock, *Richard Wagner und die Stadt der Meistersinger*, 8–9.
84. Dennis cautions against overstating parallels between Nazi views of Sachs and *Führerprinzip*, but notes they are "undeniable" ("Die Meistersinger Through the Lens of the Third Reich," 117). He also reminds us (112) that Alfred Rosenberg referred to Sachs as a model for the Nordic soul in *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit* (Munich, 1940).
85. There is a clear parallel here between *Meistersinger* and Goebbels's 1936 call for *Kunstabstrachtung* instead of cultural criticism (which he banned); see Vaget, "Hitler's Wagner," 23–24. Stock makes explicit identification between *Festwiese* and the public: "The people on the Nuremberg festival meadow, with their uneducated taste and true instinct for the true, noble, and beautiful, as well as their recognition of Walther von Stolzing's genuine artistry, are also Richard Wagner's public" (Stock, *Richard Wagner und die Stadt der Meistersinger*, 191).
86. See Dennis, "Die Meistersinger Through the Lens of the Third Reich," 119.
87. Wagner claimed that the Jews prevented it from being first performed in Nuremberg instead of Munich. See Stock, *Richard Wagner und die Stadt der Meistersinger*, 7.
88. Mann, "Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner," 140–41.
89. Vaget, "Metapolitics," 278. Vaget sees a number of elements comprising the metapolitical content of *Meistersinger*: Nuremberg presented as a *Volks-gemeinschaft*; Sachs's charismatic leadership; a celebration of the subordination of the will of the individual to that of the community; the thematization of precursorship; and the canonization of German art and artists (as well as the valorization of this canon).
90. 27 September 1943, in *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, XV, ed. Heinz Boberach (Herrsching, 1983), 5810–11.
91. Lorenz, *Geheimnis der Form*, III, 168–69. Lorenz analyzed the final speech as a potentiated bar form (for him, a particularly Germanic form), with "Habt acht!" marking the beginning of the *Abgesang* (which Lorenz understood as an intensification of feeling); see Stephen McClatchie, *Analyzing Wagner's Operas: Alfred Lorenz and German National Ideology* (Rochester, NY, 1998), 129–35.
92. Fritz Kempfler, "Lebenserinnerungen" (unpublished typescript), cited in Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 478. Kempfler misquotes the first word of the speech, writing "Zerfiel" instead of "Zerging."
93. Patrick Carnegie, "Stage History," in John Warrack, ed., *Richard Wagner: Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (Cambridge, 1994), 143. He notes that cuts were often made in "politically sensitive passages" after the war – one assumes that Sachs's final speech was one of these.
94. Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 574.
95. See Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge and London, 1997). The production, which, in its reminder of the vanished prewar Nuremberg, was seen as a political mortification by conservatives, is discussed in Spotts, *Bayreuth Festival*, 218–21. It was restaged in four subsequent years (1957, 1958, 1959, 1961) before being replaced by a slightly more traditional production.
96. Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 209.
97. Vaget, "Beckmesser Controversy," 204.
98. Grey, "Die Meistersinger as National Opera," 101. Grey is alluding to a chapter entitled "Der Meistersinger-Staat" in Joachim Köhler's *Wagners Hitler: Der Prophet und sein Vollstrecker* (Munich, 1997; also published as *Wagner's Hitler: The Prophet and His Disciple*, trans. Ronald Taylor [Cambridge, 2000]), 347–81.
99. Joseph Horowitz, "Wagner und der amerikanische Jude – eine persönliche Betrachtung," in *Richard Wagner und die Juden*, 248.

9 *Parsifal*: redemption and *Kunstreligion*

1. William Kinderman has written several essays on the compositional genesis of *Parsifal*; the most recent and most comprehensive is “The Genesis of the Music,” in William Kinderman and Katherine R. Syer, eds., *A Companion to Wagner’s Parsifal* (Rochester, NY, 2005), 133–77.

2. The phrase serves as the title of Dieter Borchmeyer’s important essay on *Parsifal* in *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Oxford and New York, 1991), 368–403. On the “lateness” of *Parsifal*, see Anthony E. Barone, “Richard Wagner’s *Parsifal* and the Theory of Late Style,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7 (1995), 37–54 (from his Ph.D. dissertation [Columbia, 1996]). I would like to thank Anthony Barone for his helpful commentary on portions of this text.

3. “*Parsifal* is my last card,” said Wagner to Cosima, in connection with a reference to the racial theories of Gobineau and his remark that “The Germans were the last card that nature played” (*CWD*: 28 March 1881).

4. Wagner retained Eschenbach’s spelling until the 1870s, when he mistakenly came to believe that the Arabic “fal Parsi” meant “reiner Tor” (“pure fool”), and thus changed the “z” to “s.”

5. See the letter of 24 April 1868 to the publisher Franz Schott, in *Dokumente zur Entstehung und ersten Aufführung des Bühnenweihfestspiels*, ed. Martin Geck and Egon Voss (Richard Wagner Gesamtausgabe 30) (Mainz, 1970), 20 (document 27). Two years earlier (5 September 1866) Wagner had told King Ludwig II of Bavaria that the “tone color” of “Parzifal” is present in *Lohengrin* and *Tristan und Isolde* (*ibid.*, document 26). In 1877 he clearly distinguished *Parsifal* from *Lohengrin*, “with which it has not the least to do” (*ibid.*, 23, document 49, from a letter to Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, 25 June 1877); but in Cosima’s diary for 12 March 1878, he says, “Certainly [*Parsifal*] should be like *Lohengrin*, but with the help of a few ‘swannishnesses,’ even more beautiful.” The volume of documents in the Gesamtausgabe is an invaluable collection that contains the two prose drafts, the first version of the libretto, documents pertaining to the first performance and its preparation as well as all of Wagner’s notes, drafts, comments about the opera in letters, and remarks by family and associates. Cosima’s diary entries are especially informative, as are Wagner’s letters to Mathilde Wesendonck in the 1850s and to King Ludwig II of Bavaria from the late 1860s up to the first performance.

6. Wagner did not need Schopenhauer to discover the themes of sexual longing, renunciation, and redemption, which already form the core of *Tannhäuser*; but he treats them with much more psychological depth and understanding in both the words and the music of *Tristan* and *Parsifal*.

7. See Lucy Beckett’s illuminating discussion of Wagner’s debts to and departures from Eschenbach in the first chapter of her handbook on the opera, *Richard Wagner: Parsifal* (Cambridge, 1981), 1–24; on text sources, see also Mary A. Cicora, “Medievalism and Metaphysics: The Literary Background of *Parsifal*,” in Kinderman and Syer, *A Companion to Wagner’s Parsifal*, 29–55.

8. Based on his reading of the opera and the regeneration essays of the late 1870s, Borchmeyer argues that Wagner hoped that “humanity might yet be regenerated” (*Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, 402); for Borchmeyer, this is seen as an inclusive vision.

9. See Glenn Stanley, “The Oratorio in Prussia and Protestant Germany: 1812–1848,” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1988 (chap. 2, “Nationalism, Religion, and Music in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany”), 16–42. See also Beckett, *Richard Wagner: Parsifal*, 103–49. With respect to *Parsifal*, the most extensive discussion of the slippery term – variously used to describe art in the service of religion, replacing religion as an outlet for devotion and contemplation, or simply appropriating religious themes – is that by Adolf Nowak, “Wagners *Parsifal* und die Idee der Kunstreligion,” in Carl Dahlhaus, ed., *Richard Wagner: Werk und Wirkung* (Regensburg, 1971), 161–75. On the earlier context of the idea in Germany, see also Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn’s Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 2005).

10. The invaluable although somewhat deterministic study by George Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (New York, 1975), discusses political aspects of the entire festival movement in nineteenth-century Germany.

11. Most of the oratorios are on biblical themes from both testaments; the smaller number of oratorios on historical national themes also often have strong religious overtones. See Stanley, “The Oratorio in Prussia and Protestant Germany” (chap. 3, “Music Festivals”), 43–79.

12. In the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau had advanced the idea of the festival

in antique Greece as the model for contemporary events (Mosse, *Nationalization*, 73–74), and many German admirers of classic Greek art embraced this idea, which became an important element in Wagner's concept of the Bayreuth festival (see also 78–80 in this book).

13. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1980), I, 896.

14. See Heinrich von Wolzogen, "Nibelungen und Christenthum," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 73 (1877), 505–08, 515–17, 525–28, 540–42.

15. Heinrich Porges, "Richard Wagner und das deutsche Volk," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 73 (1877), 187–89, 199–201, 207–09.

16. Edward Lippman writes that "the identification of music and religion which we have with equal clearness both in *Parsifal* and in the essay on 'Religion and Art' of 1880 is only a final transformation of early Romantic aesthetics": "The Aesthetic Theories of Richard Wagner," in Lippman, *The Philosophy and Aesthetics of Music* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1999), 190.

17. The musical style and the dramatic function of the Flower maidens is not easy to determine. The scene has analogs and precedents in the Venusberg scene in *Tannhäuser* and the Rhine maidens in the *Ring*. I find the scene superfluous; the only plausible dramaturgical argument in its favor is that it demonstrates how well Parsifal can resist ordinary feminine charms and just how dangerously seductive Kundry is. The women's chorus offers some relief from the predominating maleness of the opera; it also provides some warm-up "soft-core" titillation before the serious eroticism of the Kundry–Parsifal scene begins. Eduard Hanslick and Paul Bekker liked this scene more than anything else in *Parsifal*; this is understandable when we consider that neither admired Wagner's would-be weighty philosophical ideas, which here are noticeably lacking. Bekker even calls it "the most important scene in the work!" (*Richard Wagner: His Life in His Work*, trans. M. M. Bozman [New York, 1931; repr., Westport, CT, 1971], 501).

18. Leon Botstein finds the music of the Grail ritual "decidedly Mendelssohnian in both thematic material and orchestration." See his "The Aesthetics of Assimilation and Affirmation: Reconstructing the Career of Felix Mendelssohn," in R. Larry Todd, ed., *Mendelssohn and His World* (Princeton, 1991), 15.

19. In both *Parsifal* and *Lohengrin*, according to Borchmeyer, "The chorus plays a role influenced partly by Aeschylean tragedy, partly

by the Christian liturgy. In *Parsifal* it no longer has the character of a mass comprised of many individuals, who, as it were, enter together by chance and sing with a single voice . . . Once again it becomes the 'ideal collective.'" In the final scene of Act 3 the entreaties of the Grail are "emotionally the most powerful choral scene to be found in any piece of world theatre since the time of Aeschylus" (Borchmeyer, *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, 384).

20. Geck and Voss, *Dokumente*, 24, document no. 54. According to Glasenapp (*ibid.*, document 52), the Grail themes had been sketched during work on the poetic text.

21. One of the first to argue for progressive elements in *Parsifal* was Ernest Newman, *The Wagner Operas* (New York, 1949; repr. 1981), 706 (with reference to the Act 3 Prelude). For more recent literature, see Constantin Floros, "Studien zur *Parsifal*-Rezeption," in Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, eds., *Richard Wagner: Parsifal (Musik-Konzepte 25)* (Munich, 1982), 43, who writes that the Prelude to Act 3 "anticipates the style of Arnold Schoenberg by twenty years" in relation to the slow movement of Schoenberg's String Quartet op. 10 of 1908, and compares the music of the Flower maidens to the women's chorus of Debussy's *Sirènes*. It has often been suggested that the orchestral technique in *Parsifal* departs from Wagner's other late works, in part as a result of Wagner's experience of the acoustics in the theater in Bayreuth. I would argue that Wagner selected from a rich orchestral palette that he had been developing for decades. The refined colors and textures that permeate the music effectively render the quietude and sublimation of most of the dramatic action.

22. William Kinderman discusses this motive in "Wagner's *Parsifal*: Musical Form and the Drama of Redemption," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985), 432–33, 439–42.

23. See von Wolzogen, "*Parsifal*": *ein thematischer Leitfaden durch Dichtung und Musik* (Leipzig, 1882), trans. Ian Bent in Bent, ed., *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. II, *Hermeneutic Approaches* (Cambridge, 1994), 97.

24. This is the last statement of the motive in the act. An allusion to it, consisting of descending lines, chromaticism (in contrast to the diatonic ritual music), and occasional triplets, occurs when Amfortas is borne away on the litter after the Grail is unveiled (m. 1589). This is a wonderful passage in which this music of suffering begins as a subsidiary idea to the second theme of the Prelude, which is used for the ritual, but gains strength, finally

overcoming the ritual music, as the attention shifts back to Amfortas until he exits.

25. The best overview in English of the early reception of *Parsifal* is provided by Mary A. Cicora, *Parsifal Reception in the Bayreuther Blätter* (New York, 1987).

26. Floros notes that *Parsifal* is one of “the least criticized scores” in Wagner’s oeuvre: “Studien zur *Parsifal*-Rezeption,” 43.

27. Hans von Wolzogen, “Die Religion des Mitleidens,” *Bayreuther Blätter* 5 (1883), 96–146.

28. See Wolzogen, “*Parsifal*”: ein thematischer Leitfaden, 88–105.

29. Susanna Grossman-Vendrey, *Bayreuth in der deutschen Presse*, 3 vols., vol. II (Regensburg, 1977), 52–57.

30. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Nietzsche contra Wagner*, in *The Portable Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York and London, 1959), 676.

31. Lindau, who admired some elements of the score, wrote for the *Kölnische Zeitung*; his essays on *Parsifal* were reprinted in *Bayreuther Briefe vom reinen Thoren: Parsifal von Richard Wagner* (Breslau, 1886); Seidel’s “R. Wagner’s *Parsifal* und Schopenhauer’s Nirwana” appeared in the *Bayreuther Blätter* 11 (1888), 277–306. See Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (New Haven and London, 1992), 168–69.

32. Bekker, *Richard Wagner: His Life in His Work*, 467–77. Without pursuing a detailed analytical argument, he did offer some musical interpretation for his thesis: “the Jew . . . must stand for dissonance, for the element which breaks up harmony” (473–74).

33. Thomas Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, trans. Allan Blunden (Chicago, 1985), 120.

34. John Deathridge, “Strange Love, Or, How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Wagner’s *Parsifal*,” in Julie Brown, ed., *Western Music and Race* (Cambridge, 2007), 65–83. I thank Professor Deathridge for making his text available to me before publication. [Editor’s note:] On the question of a ban, official or unofficial, on performances of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth and throughout the Reich during the later years of the Nazi regime, see also Katherine R. Syer, “*Parsifal* on Stage,” in Kinderman and Syer, *A Companion to Wagner’s Parsifal*, 304–05.

35. See Syer’s illuminating study (with many wonderful images) of the production history, “*Parsifal* on Stage,” 277–338.

36. The essay, which originated as a lecture given in Bayreuth, is printed in Rolf Tiedemann and Klaus Schultz, eds., *Musikalische Schriften*, 6 vols., vol. III (Frankfurt, 1984), 210–25.

37. The phrase figures in the title of Zelinsky’s essay, “Die Feuerkur des Richard Wagner oder die neue Religion der Erlösung durch Vernichtung,” in Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, eds., *Richard Wagner: Wie antisemitisch darf ein Künstler sein? (Musik-Konzepte 5)* (Munich, 1978), 79–112.

38. To support his arguments Zelinsky drew profusely on Cosima’s diaries, which had then only recently been edited by Martin Gregor-Dellin. Zelinsky vigorously attacked Gregor-Dellin for supposed misreadings and falsifications of the diaries in the essay “Rettung ins Ungenaue: Zu Martin Gregor-Dellins Wagner-Biographie,” in Metzger and Riehn, *Richard Wagner: Parsifal*, 74–115. See also by Zelinsky “Der verschwiegene Gehalt des *Parsifal*,” published in the same volume and reprinted along with “Richard Wagners letzte Karte: Der verschwiegene Gehalt des *Parsifal*,” in Attila Csampai and Dietmar Holland, eds., *Richard Wagner, Parsifal: Texte, Materialien, Kommentare* (Reinbek, 1984), 244–56.

39. Zelinsky relates that Wagner (as reported by Cosima) called the entrance of the timpani in the original orchestration of the baptism scene in Act 3 “a sonority of destruction” (*Vernichtungsklang*): “Richard Wagners letzte Karte,” 27. Deathridge (in “Strange Love”) attacks this interpretation as a tendentious misreading of the term *Vernichtungsklang*, which Deathridge thinks Wagner meant in a strictly musical sense.

40. Robert W. Gutman, *Richard Wagner: The Man, His Mind, and His Music* (New York and London, 1968), chaps. 15 and 16. Gutman’s work became a primary source for those critics who agree that *Parsifal* presents an “optimistic” (i.e., non-Schopenhauerian) view of the human race as redeemable by Christ’s pure (i.e., Aryan, non-Jewish) blood.

41. The responses by Dahlhaus and Kaiser as well as Zelinsky’s reply are printed in Csampai and Holland, *Parsifal: Texte, Materialien, Kommentar*, 257–69. Dahlhaus published his methodological critique in an article, “Erlösung dem Erlöser,” in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 August 1982, 21–22.

42. Borchmeyer acknowledges Wagner’s explicit identification of Kundry with the Wandering Jew (in the prose draft of 1865), but argues that she really “embodies heathen nature, as yet unredeemed” rather than personifying specifically Jewish characteristics: *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, 368–403 (quote on 393); see also 391–95. (The translation appeared in 1991; the German original was published in 1982.)

43. Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1995), 228–30.
44. Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution*, 135–69. I find Rose’s discussion of Aryan Christianity in *Parsifal* very convincing.
45. Laurence Dreyfus, “Hermann Levi’s Shame and *Parsifal*’s Guilt: A Critique of Essentialism in Biography and Criticism,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6 (1992), 142.
46. See n. 34.
47. Dahlhaus repeatedly argues that Christianity provides at most a historical backdrop without confessional-dogmatic or ideological substance. See, for example, the chapter on *Parsifal* in his *Richard Wagner’s Music Dramas*, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge, 1979), 142–44. In this vein, compare also Edward Rothstein, “When Ritual Strangles *Parsifal*,” *New York Times*, 29 March 1992, 31.
48. Letter of 17 January 1880 to Hans von Wolzogen, from Wagner, *Richard Wagner: Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe* 2, ed. Alfred Lorenz (Berlin, 1938), 376–77.
49. Borchmeyer depicts Wagner as a true and highly informed Christian and provides significant biographical and documentary evidence to support this view (*Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, 368–403).
50. Nike Wagner views *Parsifal* as an “ideological crusade,” in which everything “is ultimately forced into the unequivocal unity of Christian redemption”: *The Wagners: The Dramas of a Musical Dynasty*, trans. Ewald Osers and Michael Downes (Princeton, 1998), 134. See also the final chapter in Beckett, *Richard Wagner: Parsifal*, 129–49.
51. Paul Robinson, *Opera, Sex, and Other Vital Matters* (Chicago, 2002), 136–37: “Wagner’s own contribution to asceticism in *Parsifal* is more genuinely Schopenhauerian [than *Tristan und Isolde*], not least in its misogyny, but *Parsifal*’s obsessive concern with redemption fits badly with Schopenhauer’s pessimism and hatred of Christianity.”
52. Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsey Wing (Minneapolis, 1988).
53. Peter Wapnewski, “The Operas as Literary Works,” in *Wagner Handbook*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, translation ed. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 91.
54. Borchmeyer, *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, 399.
55. In the chapter “God and Beggar” from his *Versuch über Wagner*, Adorno remarks in passing: “the glorified blood-brotherhood of

*Parsifal* is the prototype of the sworn confraternities of the secret societies and Führer-orders of later years” (Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone [New York, 1981, 140]). I thank Anthony Barone for calling my attention to this passage.

### 11 Critique as passion and polemic: Nietzsche and Wagner

Translation by Thomas S. Grey.

1. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin and New York, 1967–), IV/1, 311. Where this edition is cited (hereafter *Werke*), translations are by the editor; other published translations are cited individually. An English translation of the Colli/Montinari series is being published by Stanford University Press; published to date are *Unfashionable Observations* (1995), *Human, All Too Human I* (1997), and *Unpublished Writings from the Period of Unfashionable Observations* (1999).
2. Thomas Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, trans. Allan Blunden (Chicago and London, 1985), 101.
3. “Ich habe ihn geliebt und Niemanden sonst” (*Werke*, VII/3, 226).
4. Thomas Mann, “Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner,” in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, 101. Mann’s original speaks of “einen Panegyrikus mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen,” a phrase whose literal connotation is either the alteration (inversion) of mathematical signs or of a musical key signature.
5. Friedrich Nietzsche to Erwin Rohde (Hamburg), 27 October 1868, in Nietzsche, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin and New York, 1975), I/2, 332 (hereafter *Briefwechsel*).
6. *Briefwechsel*, I/2, 322; see also *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Christopher Middleton (Chicago and London, 1969), 33.
7. Friedrich Nietzsche, “Richard Wagner in Bayreuth,” in *Untimely Meditations*, ed. Daniel Breazeale and trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge, 1997), 200 (translation emended).
8. *Briefwechsel*, I/2, 322. [Ed.] Nietzsche’s original involves a faintly ironic sequence of rhymes: “die ethische Luft, der faustische Duft, Kreuz, Tod und Gruft etc.”
9. *Werke*, III/2, 22.
10. Nietzsche, “On Music and Words,” in Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge, 1980), 113.

11. *Ibid.*, 106–07 (quoting Schopenhauer, *Parerga and Paralipomena*, vol. II, section 224).
12. Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale (New York, 1969), 103.
13. *Werke*, III/4; see also Nietzsche, *Unpublished Writings from the Period of Unfashionable Observations*, trans. Richard T. Gray (Stanford, 1999), 328.
14. *Werke*, III/3, 195.
15. Letter from Friedrich Ritschl to Nietzsche, 2 July 1872 (*Briefwechsel*, II/4, 33). Ritschl had struck a similar note in defense of textual and empirical scholarship already upon his first acquaintance with *The Birth of Tragedy*, writing on 14 February 1872: “You can hardly presume that the ‘Alexandrian,’ scholarly person ought to reject rational cognition [Erkenntniss] and look to art alone for some transformative, redeeming, and liberating power” (*Briefwechsel*, II/2, 541).
16. *Werke*, III/4, 370, 373; translation from Nietzsche, *Unpublished Writings*, 346 (see also 318).
17. *Werke*, III/4, 379, 406; IV/1, 267; Nietzsche, *Unpublished Writings*, 323, 346.
18. See Nietzsche, “Richard Wagner in Bayreuth,” section 4, 209 (Hollingdale renders *Gegen-Alexander* as “counter-Alexander”). On the propensity of myth toward condensation (*Verdichten*) and simplification of plot, see, for example, *Opera and Drama*, part 2, section 2 (GS IV:30–34; *PW* II:152–56). [Ed.] The ideal of a maximally “condensed” dramatic material recurs throughout *Opera and Drama*.
19. Nietzsche, “Richard Wagner in Bayreuth,” section 4, 208–09.
20. Nietzsche, *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1968), 740.
21. *Briefwechsel*, II/5, 182.
22. Nietzsche, *Basic Writings*, 744.
23. *Briefwechsel*, II/5, 288.
24. *Ibid.*, 300; translation from Nietzsche, *Selected Letters*, 166.
25. See n. 16.
26. *Briefwechsel*, III/1, 224.
27. *Ibid.*, 330; see also Nietzsche, *Selected Letters*, 260.
28. *Briefwechsel*, III/1, 330.
29. *Ibid.*, III/3, 273.
30. *Ibid.*, III/1, 333–34; translation from Nietzsche, *Selected Letters*, 208.
31. Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, trans. Walter Kaufmann, in *The Portable Nietzsche* (New York and London, 1959), 203. Kaufmann renders the ambiguity of the opening line quoted here (“Es jammert mich dieser Priester”) by dividing it in two:

“I am moved by . . .” and “I find them repulsive.”

32. Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, 204.
33. Nietzsche, *The Case of Wagner*, trans. Walter Kaufmann, in *The Birth of Tragedy and the Case of Wagner* (New York, 1967), 171 (also in *Basic Writings*, 627).
34. Nietzsche, *Basic Writings*, 383.
35. *Ibid.*, 387.
36. *Ibid.*, 386.
37. Nietzsche, *The Case of Wagner*, 155 (*Basic Writings*, 611).
38. Paul Scherrer and Hans Wysling, *Quellenkritische Studien zum Werk Thomas Manns* (Bern and Munich, 1967), 144. See also the excerpts from these notes printed in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, 37–44.
39. *Briefwechsel*, III/5, 554.
40. *Ibid.*, 567; translation from Nietzsche, *Selected Letters*, 344.
41. *Ecce homo*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1969), 250–51 (also in *Basic Writings*, 706–07).
42. Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1974), 225–26.

## 12 The Jewish question

1. Michael Tanner may have a point that traditional harping on certain of Wagner’s personal failings is exaggerated, and disproportionate either to the facts of the case (his supposedly rampant adultery) or to the larger biographical and historical picture (his consumption of borrowed funds). But to include his anti-Semitism in this same category, as Tanner does, is hardly justified; the facts are of a different order from the one (adultery) and the consequences surely incommensurate with the other (borrowing). See Tanner, *Wagner* (Princeton, 1996), chap. 2, “Prejudices and Banalities,” 14–30.
2. Early exceptions were Leon Stein’s monograph on *The Racial Thinking of Richard Wagner* (New York, 1950), focusing on the biography and writings, and Adorno’s subsequently influential discussion of anti-Semitic psychology and caricature in Wagner’s creative oeuvre in *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London, 1981; 2nd edn. 2005). Adorno first drafted his “essay” (originally, *Versuch über Wagner*) in 1937–38 while in exile in London and New York, and it was first published in Germany (Frankfurt) in 1952. The most recent overview of the subject is Milton E. Brenner, *Richard Wagner and the Jews* (Jefferson, NC, and London, 2006), essentially a short biography highlighting the theme of Wagner’s relations with individual Jews.



3. There is scant evidence of Wagner's experiences of or reactions to Jews in the period of his childhood or youth in Germany, before the Parisian sojourn of 1839–42. Jacob Katz reviews such evidence as there is in chapter 3 ("Wagner's 'Philo-Semitism'") of *The Darker Side of Genius: Richard Wagner's Anti-Semitism* (Hanover, NH, and London, 1986), 20–32. Katz interprets the earlier record as suggesting that, whatever anti-Jewish prejudices Wagner might have been absorbing from childhood through his thirties, his attitude toward individual Jews of his acquaintance was not yet colored by a categorical antipathy to the group, or "race," which only began to coalesce during the year or two before the essay "Judaism in Music" (1850). The limited information we have in the case of Wagner's earliest documented Jewish friend, the impecunious student-scholar Samuel Lehrs whom he befriended in Paris, suggests a sincere and untroubled relationship.
4. Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (New Haven and London, 1992), especially chaps. 1–4. Rose cites above all J. G. Fichte (1762–1814) as the progenitor of a revolutionary discourse steeped in anti-Jewish rhetoric (in chap. 1, 6–22). The currency of "the Jewish question" as a locution derives in part from Karl Marx's 1844 essay of that title, responding to an earlier essay under the same title by Bruno Bauer (see Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution*, 20–22, as well as Mitchell Cohen's chapter [4] in this volume).
5. GS V:67; translation from Charles Osborne, *Richard Wagner: Stories and Essays* (New York and London, 1973), 24. Further references are to this translation, as well as the original in GS V, both of which incorporate the few changes and additions made to the text in 1869.
6. The most comprehensive presentation of this immediate journalistic context is by Jens Malte Fischer in his edition of the essay with commentary and documentation of its reception: *Richard Wagners "Das Judentum in der Musik": Eine kritische Dokumentation als Beitrag zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus* (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, 2000), 18–32, 208–13. Paul Lawrence Rose believes that the essay had already been drafted by 1848, based on a remark in a letter from Minna Wagner to Richard (8 May 1850) complaining bitterly about the turn to "miserable politics" resulting in his current exile. Minna also refers here to an "essay in which you slander whole races which have been fundamentally helpful to you," which he had pressed her to read "two years ago." She cites this incident as one principal source of their subsequent differences. See Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution*, 49–50. Whatever may have prompted this possible first draft (Mendelssohn's death or, as Rose argues, frustration with the Berlin production of *Rienzi* and a polemical anti-Jewish preface to Heinrich Laube's play *Struensee*, all in 1847), the Parisian experiences during the first year of his political exile (1849–50) seem to be the crucial factor in Wagner's decision to publish it.
7. Starting from the premise of Wagner's tendency to paranoia or persecution mania, Bryan Magee offers a convincing summary of three key factors in the psychology of his anti-Semitism, building on some of the texts and biographical details mentioned here. These are: (1) the troubled years in Paris, including his abasement before Meyerbeer, (2) his habitual need to borrow, in conjunction with the role (individual and institutional) of Jews as creditors, and (3) his revolutionary-political convictions (the whole nexus analyzed by Rose, that is), especially an abiding belief in the fundamental evils of property and the conventional, unjust mechanisms of its distribution. See the appendix, "Wagner's Anti-Semitism," to Magee, *The Tristan Chord: Wagner and Philosophy* (London and New York, 2000), 344–48.
8. On the example of Börne, see Katz, *The Darker Side of Genius*, 44–45, and Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution*, 80, 83–86 (also on Börne vs. Heine).
9. On this context of the 1869 reissue of the essay, see Thomas Grey, "Masters and Their Critics: Wagner, Hanslick, Beckmesser, and *Die Meistersinger*," in Nicholas Vazsonyi, ed., *Wagner's Meistersinger: Performance, History, Representation* (Rochester, NY, 2003), 165–89.
10. Such a view, of course, sidesteps the question of Wagner's relevance to the evolution of Nazi ideology and its historical consequences, touched on in chapter 14. This subject has also been newly addressed in a recent essay by Paul Lawrence Rose, "Anti-Semitism in Music: Wagner and the Origins of the Holocaust," in Matthew Bribitzer-Stull, Alex Lubet, and Gottfried Wagner, eds., *Richard Wagner for the New Millennium: Essays in Music and Culture* (New York and London, 2007).
11. Robert Gutman, *Richard Wagner: The Man, His Mind, and His Music* (New York, 1968), chap. 15 ("Parsifal and Polemics: Eroticism, Vegetarianism, Racism, and Redemption"), 389–420, and chap. 16 ("Moral Collapse: 'Heldentum' and Parsifal"), 421–40.
12. For Zelinsky, see especially his contributions to Attila Csampai and Dietmar

- Holland, eds., *Richard Wagner, Parsifal: Texte, Materialien, Kommentare* (Reinbek, 1984), and Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, eds., *Richard Wagner: Wie anti-semitisch darf ein Künstler sein? (Musik-Konzepte 5; Munich, 1978)*. Rose discusses *Parsifal* in light of the last phase of Wagner's prose writings in chapter 9 ("Regeneration and Redemption: 1876–1883") of *Wagner: Race and Revolution*. Marc Weiner analyzes the implications of Klingsor's self-castration and especially the figure of Kundry under the somewhat unlikely rubric of odor or smell (e.g., the notion of a *foetor judaicus* going back to Tacitus, though reinterpreted here in terms of perfumed Arabian *Düfte*); see Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1995), 183–93 and 228–59.
13. Laurence Dreyfus develops some of these objections in conjunction with a rereading of the Hermann Levi affair (the problems arising from the Jewish background of the conductor assigned to conduct the first performance at Bayreuth) in "Hermann Levi's Shame and *Parsifal*'s Guilt: A Critique of Essentialism in Biography and Criticism," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6 (1994), 125–45.
14. The rather wide repertoire of Jewish representations in nineteenth-century German drama (even before 1850) is the subject of a study by Hans-Joachim Neubauer, *Judenfiguren: Drama und Theater im frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt and New York, 1994). Neubauer discusses such topics relevant to the "Wagner question" as theatrical representations of Yiddish ("Jewish Jargon"), perceptions of Jewish voice types, accentual patterns, and perceptions of all these as distortions of standard German. On the novel, see Martin Gubser, *Literarischer Antisemitismus: Untersuchungen zu Gustav Freytag und anderen bürgerlichen Schriftstellern des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1998).
15. Thus the premise of Weiner's *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination*, Barry Millington's "Nuremberg Trial: Is There Anti-Semitism in *Die Meistersinger*?" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991), 247–60, and his response to critics of this line of reasoning ("Wagner Washes Whiter") in the *Musical Times* 137 (December 1996), 5–8. Millington's 1991 essay was especially influential as one of the first attempts to apply Adorno's insinuations about such subtexts in a more detailed critical analysis (beyond the more generalized assertions of Rose, for instance, in *Wagner: Race and Revolution*).
16. Adorno, *In Search of Wagner* (2005), 12–13. Adorno's account of anti-Semitic traces in the operas in the chapter "Social Character" is the earliest attempt to define these as broadly characteristic of the oeuvre, and remains the most influential.
17. David Dennis, for example, claims to have found "no evidence that Nazi cultural politicians, or their *völkisch* forebears and associates, referred in public discourse to the character of Sixtus Beckmesser as Jewish" in his extensive examination of productions and writings during the Third Reich ("*Die Meistersinger* Through the Lens of the Third Reich," in Vazsonyi, *Wagner's Meistersinger*, 103).
18. *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, ed. Knud Martner, rev. ed. Herbert Killian (Hamburg, 1984), 122.
19. Cosima (CWD: 3 May 1881) noted this interesting yet casual and non-committal reaction to a rehearsal of *Siegfried*, Act 1, for the *Ring* productions overseen by Angelo Neumann in Berlin: "Mime 'a Jewish dwarf,' R. says, but excellent." Milton E. Brener, who notes that the singer was Julius Lieban, the son of a Jewish cantor, interprets the qualification ("but") as proof that Wagner himself could not have intended Mime as a crypto-Jewish figure (*Richard Wagner and the Jews*, 290). It is not entirely clear whether Wagner was responding to the interpretation, or at any rate the effect, of the performance, or simply to the fact of Lieban's own Jewishness and his (possibly?) short stature. Either way, the remark is no smoking gun. But if indeed Lieban chose to bring out an aspect of the role as he understood it, as Spielmann did later for Mahler in Vienna, it is another small piece of evidence that certain people (in these cases, Jewish singers charged with studying the part of Mime) did in fact perceive such implications.
20. In "Judaism in Music" he complains of "that prickling unrest which is to be found in Jewish music from beginning to end, except where it is replaced by ... soulless, unfeeling inertia," presumably with the aim of hitting Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn in one swipe ("Judaism in Music," 34; GS V:78). Some weeks after the Russian-Jewish pianist Joseph Rubinstein presented himself to the Wagners as a volunteer amanuensis in Bayreuth, Cosima reported: "In the evening . . . R. comes to meet us, bringing with him J. Rubinstein, whom he had called for out of pity, though he finds his restless Jewish character very unsympathetic; during the recent reading he could not stay still for a moment, and R. says, 'Though the rustling of a beloved woman's dress might entrance one [. . .] this masculine department

is not exactly encouraging” (CWD: 31 August 1872).

21. Dieter Borchmeyer, “The Question of Anti-Semitism,” in *Wagner Handbook*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, translation ed. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1992), 183.

22. In the final chapter of *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (307–47), Weiner argues at some length that Hagen exhibits symptoms attributed in the nineteenth century to the effects of masturbation (enervation, eye trouble, social isolationism), but has some trouble establishing a clear connection with Hagen’s “mixed” racial identity as the offspring of a German mother (Grimhild) either raped or bought by a Jewish-identified Alberich. Wagner’s notorious concern for Friedrich Nietzsche on this count had nothing to do with Nietzsche’s genealogy, after all. Hagen, it is true, broods over his ignoble lineage and alienation in Acts 1 and 2 of *Götterdämmerung*, but then he is supposed to be singing in his (troubled) sleep at the opening of Act 2. Summoning the Gibich vassals later in the same act, he evinces as much musical-vocal stamina as anyone in the whole cycle. And whether brooding or brutal, Hagen’s musical persona could hardly be more different from Mime’s.

23. There is some evidence that Wagner did indeed maintain a personal code of silence on some meanings he himself understood in his works. For instance, discussing *Parsifal* with Cosima one day (CWD: 5 January 1882), he alluded to his own (private) understanding of the famous, enigmatic final words, “Erlösung dem Erlöser.” “I know what I know and what is in it [*Parsifal*],” he told her; “and the new school, Wolz[ogen] and others, can take their lead from it. He then hints at, rather than expresses, the content of this work, ‘salvation to the savior’ – and we are silent after he has added, ‘Good that we are alone.’” The closing lines of *Parsifal* have been interpreted as alluding to the redemption or cleansing of a true, Aryan Jesus from the Hebraic/Semitic version established by the gospels and St. Paul. Hartmut Zelinsky cites this passage from the diaries as “decisive proof” that the “redemption of an Aryan Jesus from Judaism” was the true if secret agenda of the opera, whose dissemination was left to the “Bayreuth school” of Wolzogen and later ideologues such as Houston Stewart Chamberlain (“Die ‘Feuerkur’ des Richard Wagner, oder die ‘neue Religion’ der ‘Erlösung’ durch ‘Vernichtung,’” in Metzger and Riehn, *Wie antisemitisch darf ein Künstler sein?*, 99; see also 103–12).

24. Hans R. Vaaget, “Du warst mein Feind von je’: The Beckmesser Controversy Revisited,” in Vazsonyi, *Wagner’s Meistersinger*, 203. Vaaget reconsiders here, among other issues relating to alleged anti-Semitic undertones in the opera, the often-cited idea that Beckmesser’s role involves textual and situational allusions to the Grimms’ fairy tale, “The Jew in the Thorn Bush.” Vaaget finds the allusions palpable, but he does hold out the possibility that they might not be fully conscious or intended on Wagner’s part. It is worth remembering, in any event, that *Die Meistersinger* in no way restages the action of the Grimms’ tale (unless we consider Beckmesser’s failure and public derision in the song contest as a symbolic form of public execution). When Theodor Adorno first cited the tale of the “Jew in the Thorn Bush” in connection with the “social character” of Wagner’s works, he only meant to highlight a characteristically malicious glee on Wagner’s part in the dramatic and musical manipulation of his “villains” generally (Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, 10–11), though he, too, may have been prompted by noticing traces of the tale in the text.

25. Vaaget, “Beckmesser Controversy,” 206.

26. Magee’s appendix on “Wagner’s Anti-Semitism” (see n. 7), following a largely clear-sighted analysis of the biographical and historical dimensions, concludes with a vehement, not a little petulant, denunciation of the trend to identify anti-Semitism in the operas (*Wagner and Philosophy*, 371–80), despite a rhetorical claim that he does “not regard the allegation as impossible” (371). The contentiousness of the subject presses many writers to adopt an absolute stance pro or con. One could, however, use some of Magee’s own observations in arguing that anti-Semitic traces in the operas are at once “real” but peripheral; or that their presence, however faint, might be legitimately, interestingly problematic in artistic and social terms, as in his own example of *The Merchant of Venice* (371–72). It is not clear that “Judaism in Music” (27; GS V:69–70) expressly refutes the very idea of “representing” Jews in the theater, as Magee claims (375) in arguing that Wagner would never have done so; Wagner’s original text and his later (1869) footnote cited here are explicitly concerned only with the (non-)viability of Jewish actors. Even so, Magee’s reading might simply serve to fuel the argument he so adamantly rejects: that Wagner was constrained to resorting to allegory or cryptograms in smuggling his anti-Jewish agenda onto the stage.

27. David J. Levin, “Reading Beckmesser Reading: Antisemitism and Aesthetic Practice in *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*,” *New German Critique* 69 (Fall 1996), 127–46; Levin, “Reading a Staging / Staging a Reading,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9 (1997), 47–71; Levin, *Richard Wagner, Fritz Lang, and the Nibelungen: The Dramaturgy of Disavowal* (Princeton, 1998), *passim*, but especially 3–12, 73–95, 123–29.

28. Mike Ashman (see chap. 15) notes some partial exceptions to this general rule of avoidance in productions of *Meistersinger* directed by Harry Kupfer, *Parsifal* by Ruth Berghaus, and Patrice Chéreau’s 1976–80 Bayreuth *Ring*, which changed the face of postwar Wagner productions in so many ways.

29. After proposing a reinscription of “the tradition of radical revolutionary parties” in place of “proto-Fascist elements” and a highlighting of “the conflict between Oedipal dynamics and the post-Oedipal universe,” Zizek asserts: “[I]t is only through such a betrayal of the explicit theses of Adorno’s Wagner study [i.e., his analysis of ‘Fascist’ and anti-Semitic tendencies] that, today, one can remain faithful to its emancipatory impulse.” See Slavoj Zizek, foreword to Adorno, *In Search of Wagner* (2005), xxvi–xxvii. Citing earlier three particularly egregious examples of Siegfried’s “unconstrained ‘innocent’ aggressivity” in his behavior toward Mime, Zizek’s response is to generalize (“the repulsion felt by the ego when confronted with the intruding foreign body”) and update (“One can easily imagine a neo-Nazi skinhead uttering just the same words in the face of a worn-out Turkish *Gastarbeiter*,” xvii). In view of the extreme consequences of post-Wagnerian anti-Semitism in Germany, this way of deflecting or redefining the “relevance” of the issue seems questionable, and recalls to some extent Daniel Mendelsohn’s recent objections to the promotion and reception of *Brokeback Mountain* as concerned primarily with “universal” themes of love, sorrow, loss, etc., rather than with the experience of homosexuality (*New York Review of Books*, 23 February 2006 and 6 April 2006).

30. From a letter of 6 December 1880 responding to a debate in the Reichstag over the Anti-Semitic Petition then circulating; quoted in Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution*, 127.

### 13 “Wagnerism”: responses to Wagner in music and the arts

I am grateful to the graduate students in my seminar on “Wagner and Wagnerism: Critical

and Compositional Reception” for their stimulating discussions and interesting questions, and to Tim Carter for critical comments on an earlier version of this text.

1. Interview with Howard Shore, in *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring*, Special Extended DVD Edition, disc 3, New Line Home Entertainment (N5559), 2002. I am grateful to Joseph Singleton for sharing this information with me.

2. On *Oklahoma!*, see Tim Carter, *Oklahoma! (1943): The Making of an “American” Musical* (New Haven and London, 2007).

3. See Friedrich Kittler, “Wagners wildes Heer,” in Wolfgang Storch, ed., *Les Symbolistes et Richard Wagner – Die Symbolisten und Richard Wagner* (Berlin, 1991), 37–43.

4. For the concept of *grand opéra* as the nation’s image, see Jane F. Fulcher, *The Nation’s Image: French Grand Opéra as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge, 1987).

5. For Fétis’s criticism in 1852 and its impact on Wagner reception, see Katharine Ellis, “Wagnerism and Anti-Wagnerism in the Paris Periodical Press,” in Annegret Fauser and Manuela Schwartz, eds., *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme: Musik, Literatur, Kunst, Politik* (Leipzig, 1999), 51–83.

6. On Massenet’s *Esclarmonde*, see Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World’s Fair* (Rochester, NY, 2005), 59–78; Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (Oxford, 1999), 82–101.

7. A selection of these reviews is published in Annegret Fauser, ed., *Dossier de presse parisienne: Jules Massenet, “Esclarmonde” (1889)* (Heilbronn, 2001).

8. “Mais vous songez à lui?” See Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle*, 90.

9. “Wagner, que je ne sens plus peser sur moi, quand j’écris de la musique symphonique, me hante maintenant terriblement. Je le fuis tant que je peux, mais j’ai beau fuir, il est toujours là, près de moi, me guettant très méchamment et me faisant écrire des tas de choses que j’efface. J’en suis sérieusement ennuyé. Il faut pourtant y échapper, à ce diable d’homme. C’est une question de vie ou de mort” (Ernest Chausson to Raymond Bonheur, 13 May 1893, cited in Chausson, *Ernest Chausson: Ecrits inédits*, ed. Jean Gallois [Paris, 1999], 341).

10. Claude Debussy, *Lettres: 1884–1918*, ed. François Lesure (Paris, 1980), 58. See also Carolyn Abbate, “*Tristan* in the Composition of *Pelléas*,” *19th-Century Music* 5 (1981), 117–41.

11. How thoroughly nationalist this quest for the new French masterwork has been shown in James Ross, “Crisis and

- Transformation: French Opera, Politics and the Press, 1897–1903” (D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1998).
12. See Florence Launay, “Les compositrices françaises de 1789 à 1914” (Ph.D. diss., Université Rennes 2, 2004), 599–600.
  13. See quotation in Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 133.
  14. Ute Jung, *Die Rezeption der Kunst Richard Wagners in Italien* (Regensburg, 1974). On the impact of *Lohengrin* in Bologna, which culminated in the conferral on Wagner of honorary citizenship in October 1872, see especially 15–33.
  15. On Puccini’s Wagnerism, see Jürgen Maehder, “Erscheinungsformen des Wagnérisme in der italienischen Musik des fin de siècle,” in Fauser and Schwartz, *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme*, 575–621.
  16. *Ibid.*, 604.
  17. Barry Millington, “The Nineteenth Century: Germany,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera*, ed. Roger Parker (Oxford, 1994), 231.
  18. Sieghart Döhring and Sabine Henze-Döhring, *Oper und Musikdrama im 19. Jahrhundert* (Laaber, 1997), 293.
  19. *Ibid.*, 296.
  20. See Siegfried Oechsle, “Nationalidee und große Symphonie: Mit einem Exkurs zum ‘Ton,’” in Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler, eds., *Deutsche Meister – Böse Geister: Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik* (Schliengen, 2001), 166–84.
  21. On Wagner’s aesthetics, see chap. 10 of the present volume. For an excellent introduction into the aesthetics of nineteenth-century symphony, see Mark Evan Bonds, “Symphony: The Nineteenth Century,” in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (London, 2001), XXIV, 833–41.
  22. The “artwork of ideas” is the rubric under which Carl Dahlhaus discusses the rapprochement of post-Wagnerian symphonic music (including the symphonic poem) with the Schopenhauerian tenets of Wagner’s later aesthetics. See Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989).
  23. Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler*, ed. Peter Franklin, trans. Dika Newlin (Cambridge, 1980), 40 (translation emended by the author).
  24. Mahler’s 1896 comment is given in Peter Franklin, *Mahler: Symphony No. 3* (Cambridge, 1991), 12.
  25. Edouard Lalo, *Correspondance*, ed. Joël-Marie Fauquet (Paris, 1989), 123–24.
  26. I owe this idea to a paper by Irina Iliescu, “Liquidating Parsifal: A Reading of *Verklärte Nacht*,” written for my graduate seminar “Wagner and Wagnerism: Critical and Compositional Reception” (University of North Carolina, Fall Semester 2004).
  27. *Parsifal* was still under copyright and would be free only on 1 January 1914, when musical stages around the globe vied to be the first to bring out the opera. For a different interpretation of *Verklärte Nacht* as reflecting the ending of *Tristan und Isolde*, see Camilla Bork, “‘Tod und Verklärung’: Isoldes Liebestod als Modell künstlerischer Schlußgestaltung,” in Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler, eds., *Richard Wagners Revolution und ihre Folgen in Kunst und Politik* (Schliengen, 2002), 161–78, esp. 171–74.
  28. See Jean Louis Jam and Gérard Loubinoux, “D’une Walkyrie à l’autre . . . Querelles de traductions,” in Fauser and Schwartz, *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme*, 401–30.
  29. “J’inventai la couleur des voyelles! – A noir, E blanc, I rouge, O bleu, U vert. – Je réglai la forme et le mouvement de chaque consonne, et, avec des rythmes instinctifs, je me flattai d’inventer un verbe poétique accessible, un jour ou l’autre, à tous les sens. Je réservais la traduction” (cited in Annegret Fauser, *Der Orchestergesang in Frankreich zwischen 1870 und 1920* [Laaber, 1994], 65).
  30. *Ibid.*, 66.
  31. Matthias Waschek, “Zum Wagnérisme in den bildenden Künsten,” in Fauser and Schwartz, *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme*, 535–46.
  32. For a richly illustrated introduction into these movements, see the exhibition catalogue *Vom Klang der Bilder: Die Musik in der Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1985), ed. Karin von Maur (Munich, 1985).
  33. Jens Malte Fischer, “Das ‘Kunstwerk der Zukunft’ und seine theatralischen Folgen,” in Danuser and Münkler, *Richard Wagners Revolution und ihre Folgen*, 217.
  34. See, for example, Bruno Taut, “Zum neuen Theaterbau,” *Das Hohe Ufer* 1/8 (1919), 204–08.
  35. Cited in Andrea Musk, “Regionalism, Latinité, and the French Musical Tradition: Déodat de Séverac’s *Héliogabale*,” in Jim Samson and Bennett Zon, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Music Studies* (London and Aldershot, 2002), 239.
  36. “[C]hanta la magnifique liturgie grecque sous un grand figuier . . . et, comme la voûte du ciel forme le seul plafond de ce théâtre, la belle prière païenne montait librement vers les

caressantes étoiles” (Santillanne, “Lucienne Bréval,” *Gil Blas*, 25 September 1895).

#### 14 Wagner and the Third Reich: myths and realities

1. Thomas Mann, “The Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner,” in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, trans. Allan Blunden (Chicago, 1985), 91–148.
2. Hubert Kolland, “Wagner und der deutsche Faschismus,” in Hanns-Werner Heister and Hans-Günter Klein, eds., *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland* (Frankfurt, 1984), 129–30; Kolland, “Wagner-Rezeption im deutschen Faschismus,” in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Sigrid Wiesmann, eds., *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bayreuth 1981* (Kassel, 1984), 495ff.; Reinhold Brinkmann, “Wagners Aktualität für den Nationalsozialismus: Fragmente einer Bestandaufnahme,” in Saul Friedländer and Jörn Rüsen, eds., *Richard Wagner im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 2000), 127–30.
3. Walter Engelsmann, “Kunstwerk und Führertum,” *Die Musik*, 1933, quoted in Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (1966; repr. Berlin, 1983), 313; Siegmund von Hausegger, “Richard Wagner als Führer in die Zukunft,” *Deutsches Wesen*, July 1933, 3, quoted in Hartmut Zelinsky, *Richard Wagner: Ein deutsches Thema – Eine Dokumentation zur Wirkungsgeschichte Richard Wagners 1876–1976* (Frankfurt, 1976), 279.
4. Franz Rühlmann, “Richard Wagners deutsche Sendung,” *Deutsche Musikkultur* 1941, quoted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 318; Kolland, “Wagner-Rezeption,” 497.
5. Alfred Lorenz, introduction to *Richard Wagner: Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe*, vol. I (Berlin, 1938), 3.
6. Karl Richard Ganzer, *Richard Wagner, der Revolutionär gegen das 19. Jahrhundert* (1934), quoted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 313–14.
7. Kurt Engelbrecht, *Deutsche Kunst in Italien* (1933), quoted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 312.
8. Alfred Lorenz, “Musikwissenschaft und Judenfrage,” *Die Musik* 31 (1938), 177–79. The most thorough attempt was that of Karl Blessinger, who wrote *Judentum und Musik* (note the similarity to Wagner’s title) in which he attacked the destructive influence of nineteenth-century Jews exclusively, focusing on Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Offenbach, and Mahler. His focus solely on Jewish composers of the nineteenth century takes its cue from Wagner’s dismay with his contemporaries, and his vindictive tone, far surpassing that of

- Wagner, exploits colorful biological metaphors in the spirit of current rhetoric in race studies. See Karl Blessinger, *Judentum und Musik* (Berlin, 1944), first published as *Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Mahler: Drei Kapitel Judentum in der Musik als Schlüssel zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1938).
9. Stephen McClatchie, “Wagner Research as ‘Service to the People’: The Richard-Wagner-Forschungsstätte, 1938–1945,” in Michael Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller, eds., *Musik and Nazism: Art Under Tyranny, 1933–1945* (Laaber, 2002), 150–69.
  10. Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London and New York, 1981), 114–29.
  11. Hans Rudolf Veget, “‘Du warst mein Feind von je’: The Beckmesser Controversy Revisited,” in Nicholas Vazsonyi, ed., *Wagner’s Meistersinger: Performance, History, Representation* (Rochester, NY, 2002), 190–91.
  12. Horst Weber, “Das Fremde im Eigenen: Zum Wandel des Wagnerbildes im Exil,” in Friedländer and Rüsen, *Wagner im Dritten Reich*, 215; Frederic Spotts, *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics* (London, 2002), 240–44.
  13. Na’ama Sheffi, *The Ring of Myths: The Israelis, Wagner, and the Nazis*, trans. Martha Grenzeback (Brighton, 2001), 46–49.
  14. Zelinsky, *Richard Wagner*, 278–80.
  15. Hans Jürgen Syberberg, dir., *Winifred Wagner und die Geschichte des Hauses Wahnfried 1914–1975* (1976).
  16. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, eds., *Richard Wagner: wie antisemitisch darf ein Künstler sein? (Musik-Konzepte 5)* (Munich, 1978).
  17. Hitler’s resolve in *Mein Kampf* to become a politician (“Ich aber beschloss, Politiker zu werden”) is purportedly based on Wagner’s similarly worded resolve to become a composer (“Ich beschloß, Musiker zu werden”); see Joachim Fest, “Richard Wagner – Das Werk neben dem Werk: Zur ausstehenden Wirkungsgeschichte eines Großideologen,” in Friedländer and Rüsen, *Wagner im Dritten Reich*, 33; and Joachim Köhler, *Wagner’s Hitler: The Prophet and His Disciple*, trans. Ronald Taylor (Cambridge, 2000), 206.
  18. Veget, “Beckmesser Controversy,” 191; Fest, “Richard Wagner – Das Werk neben dem Werk,” 32–35; Frederic Spotts, *Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival* (New Haven, 1994), 141.
  19. In *Richard Wagner im Dritten Reich* (edited by Friedländer and Rüsen), Joachim Fest asserts that Hitler carried out Wagner’s ideas but misunderstood and exaggerated them; Udo

- Bermbach proposes that Hitler appropriated but inverted Wagner's belief that artists should dictate politics; David Levin looks to Wagner's writings and music dramas to find similarities in Hitler's and Wagner's characterizations of enemies and villains; Reinhold Brinkmann sees a more indirect connection between a Nazi aesthetic of monumental art and Wagner's theatrical vision; and Saul Friedländer acknowledges the absence of direct evidence that Wagner inspired Hitler, though he nevertheless highlights more subtle connections between *Parsifal* and racial purity, *Rienzi* and fanaticism, and the anti-Semitic Bayreuth circle and Hitler.
20. Spotts, *Hitler*, 234–37.
  21. Dina Porat, "Zum Raum wird hier die Zeit": Richard Wagners Bedeutung für Adolf Hitler und die nationalsozialistische Führung," in *Richard Wagner und die Juden*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer, Ami Maayani, and Susanne Vill (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2000), 207–20. See also Dieter Borchmeyer, "Renaissance und Instrumentalisierung des Mythos: Richard Wagner und die Folgen," in Friedländer and Rösen, *Wagner im Dritten Reich*, 66–91.
  22. See David Clay Large, "Ein Spiegelbild des Meisters? Die Rassenlehre von Houston Stewart Chamberlain," in *Wagner und die Juden*, 150ff. Even Köhler must admit the absence of references to Wagner, both in Chamberlain's work and in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (Köhler, *Wagners Hitler*, 116).
  23. David Clay Large, "Wagners Bayreuth und Hitlers München," in Friedländer and Rösen, *Wagner im Dritten Reich*, 202–06.
  24. Brigitte Hamann, *Winifred Wagner: A Life at the Heart of Hitler's Bayreuth*, trans. Alan Bance (London, 2005), 122–32; Spotts, *Bayreuth*, 141–43, 164.
  25. Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt, 1982), 307.
  26. Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 229–30, 322–26.
  27. Michael Karbaum, *Studien zur Geschichte der Bayreuther Festspiele (1876–1976)* (Regensburg, 1976), 91–93.
  28. Brinkmann, "Wagners Aktualität," 125–26.
  29. Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 254–57.
  30. David C. Large, "Wagner's Bayreuth Disciples," in Large and William Weber, eds., *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics* (Ithaca, 1984), 131–32; Syberberg, *Winifred Wagner und die Geschichte des Hauses Wahnfried 1914–1975*.
  31. Friedelind Wagner and Page Cooper, *Heritage of Fire: The Story of Richard Wagner's Granddaughter* (New York, [1945]); also published as *The Royal Family of Bayreuth* (London, [1948]).
  32. Nike Wagner, *The Wagners: The Dramas of a Musical Dynasty*, trans. Ewald Osers and Michael Downes (Princeton, 1998); and Gottfried Wagner, *The Twilight of the Wagners: The Unveiling of a Family's Legacy*, trans. Della Couling (New York, 1997).
  33. Brinkmann, "Wagners Aktualität," 112–14, 121–22.
  34. Kolland, "Wagner-Rezeption," 501–02; Jens Malte Fischer, "Wagner-Interpretation im Dritten Reich: Musik und Szene zwischen Politisierung und Kunstanspruch," in Friedländer and Rösen, *Wagner im Dritten Reich*, 143–45.
  35. Richard Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse*, 2nd edn. (1937), quoted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 312.
  36. Kolland, "Wagner-Rezeption," 501.
  37. *Ibid.*, 498–99; Fischer, "Wagner-Interpretation," 146.
  38. David Dennis, "'The Most German of All Operas': *Die Meistersinger* through the Lens of the Third Reich," in Vazsonyi, *Wagner's Meistersinger*, 107.
  39. Joseph Goebbels, "Richard Wagner und das Kunstempfinden unserer Zeit," reprinted in Attila Csampai and Dietmar Holland, eds., *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg: Texte-Materialien-Kommentare* (Munich, 1981), 194–97. Kolland ("Wagner und der deutsche Faschismus," 132) analyzes the significance of Goebbels's specific alterations of Wagner's text, discussing as well the corruption of the meter and the change from "Drum sag ich Euch" to the more emphatic "Drum sag ich's Euch."
  40. Dennis, "'Most German of All Operas,'" 110.
  41. Richard Wilhelm Stock, Preface to *Richard Wagner und die Stadt der Meistersinger* (1938), quoted in Csampai and Holland, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, 200–01.
  42. In Richard Wilhelm Stock, *Richard Wagner und seine Meistersinger: Eine Erinnerungsgabe zu den Bayreuther Kriegsfestspielen 1943* (Nuremberg, 1938 [rev. 1943]); Dennis, "'Most German of All Operas,'" 107–12; Fischer, "Wagner-Interpretation," 146.
  43. Fischer, "Wagner-Interpretation," 145.
  44. Barry Millington, "Nuremberg Trial: Is There Anti-Semitism in *Die Meistersinger*?" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991), 247–60; Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1995).
  45. Dennis, "'Most German of All Operas,'" 100–06; Thomas Grey, "Bodies of Evidence," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8 (1996), 191n; Grey, "Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* as National Opera

- (1868–1945),” in Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, eds., *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, 2002), 97–99.
46. Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 251–54.
47. *Ibid.*, 212–19, 225–26; Spotts, *Bayreuth*, 184–85; on Hitler’s longstanding admiration for Roller, see Spotts, *Hitler*, 223–24, 236.
48. Hartmut Zelinsky, “Verfall, Vernichtung, Weltentrückung: Richard Wagners antisemitische Werk-Idee als Kunstreligion und Zivilisationskritik und ihre Verbreitung bis 1933,” in Friedländer and Rösen, *Wagner im Dritten Reich*, 309–41.
49. Spotts, *Hitler*, 235–36; Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 348–49.
50. Saul Friedländer, “Hitler und Wagner,” in Friedländer and Rösen, *Wagner im Dritten Reich*, 171–75.
51. Hamann, *Winifred Wagner*, 348–49; Kolland, “Wagner-Rezeption,” 502. [Editor’s note] On the question of a ban, official or unofficial, on performances of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth and throughout the *Reich* during the later years of the Nazi regime, see also Katherine R. Syer, “*Parsifal* on Stage,” in William Kinderman and Syer, eds., *A Companion to Wagner’s Parsifal* (Rochester, NY, 2005), 304–05.
52. Brinkmann, “Wagners Aktualität,” 130–32; Friedrich Baser, “Richard Wagner als Kündler der arischen Welt,” *Die Musik*, 1933, quoted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 311.
53. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1933), quoted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 318; Brinkmann, “Wagners Aktualität,” 123–24.
54. Rainer Schlösser, *Das Volk und die deutsche Bühne* (1935), quoted in Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 319.
55. Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, 114–29.
56. Weiner, *Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination*.
57. Gustav Mahler reacted to the *Ring* with the observation: “No doubt with Mime, Wagner intended to ridicule the Jews (with all their characteristic traits – petty intelligence and greed – the jargon is textually and musically so cleverly suggested)” (Henry-Louis de la Grange, *Mahler*, vol. I [New York, 1973], 482).
58. Fischer, “Wagner-Interpretation,” 148.
59. *Ibid.*, 148–56.
60. Bernd Sponheuer, “Musik auf einer ‘kulturellen und physischen Insel’: Musik als Überlebensmittel im Jüdischen Kulturbund 1933–1941,” in Horst Weber, ed., *Musik in der Emigration 1933–1945: Verfolgung – Vertreibung – Rückwirkung* (Stuttgart, 1994), 115–16.
61. Hans Severus Ziegler, *Entartete Musik: Eine Abrechnung*, 2nd edn. (Düsseldorf, 1939), 25.
62. Joza Karas, *Music in Terezín 1941–1945* (New York, 1985), 61; Sheffi, *Ring of Myths*, 51.
63. Sheffi, *Ring of Myths*, chaps. 7 and 8.

### 15 Wagner on stage: aesthetic, dramaturgical, and social considerations

1. The term used throughout this chapter for the person who conceives and rehearses the staging of an opera is “director” (German *Regisseur*); in the UK this role used to be known as the “producer.”
2. A “dramaturg,” in contemporary spoken and music theater, is responsible for literary and backup research to a production concept. This may include work in actual rehearsal and on program material. (Although many directors make use of such research, the post is only just beginning to establish itself outside the German-speaking countries.) In Wagner’s years as Kapellmeister at the Dresden court theater, there was a Literator (“the literary manager”) or Oberregisseur für Schauspiel und Oper (“chief director of plays and opera”) who participated in the actual staging of the operas performed. For an account of Wagner’s active role in the production process, see his description of a last-minute coaching session with Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld for a performance of *Tannhäuser* in Munich (1865) in his “Recollections of Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld” (GS VIII:180–82; PW IV:230–32).
3. The first of eight or nine production books issued in conjunction with the premieres of Verdi’s later operas, this one for *Les vêpres siciliennes* was thirty-eight pages long and fairly generalized, especially as regards chorus movement. This publication derived from a tradition some decades old of issuing such *livrets de mise-en-scène* for the more important operatic productions at the Paris Opéra and Opéra Comique. Verdi himself exported the practice to Italy in a series of *disposizioni sceniche* for his later works. By 1887 the *disposizione scenica* for *Otello* had 111 pages, including 270 blocking diagrams showing positions and moves for the cast. Since 1993 Ricordi has republished the original production books for *Simon Boccanegra*, *Otello*, and *Un ballo in maschera*.
4. His *Meistersinger* team, the Stuttgart stage manager Reinhard Hallwachs and the choreographer Lucile Grahm, were able to manage an effective staging of the complex riot scene at the conclusion of Act 2. On Wagner’s recommendation, both were engaged subsequently for the Munich *Rheingold*



premiere in 1869 (before the composer himself opposed this unofficial premiere of the opera before the completion of the cycle).

5. See Angelo Neumann's account of Wagner at the Vienna *Tannhäuser* production of 1875 in his *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1907), 9–10; see the English version, *Personal Recollections of Wagner*, trans. Edith Livermore (London, 1909), 9–10: “how he dominated, moved and inspired his company – assigning places, prescribing gestures, and arranging expressions.” Regrettably, Neumann has nothing to say in detail about what Wagner actually did to achieve all this.

6. Richard Fricke, *Bayreuth vor dreissig Jahren* (Dresden, 1906), 113 (entry of 1 July 1876). This diary was reissued in Germany only in 1983, with a foreword by Joachim Herz; trans. Stewart Spencer as “Bayreuth in 1876,” *Wagner* 11 (1990), 93–109, 134–50, and 12 (1991), 25–44. (A more recent translation by George R. Fricke, the composer's grandson, *Wagner in Rehearsal 1875–1876*, ed. James Deaville with Evan Baker, *Franz Liszt Studies* 7 [Stuyvesant, NY, 1998], is wholly inadequate.) This is the only realistic, close-quarters account of Wagner at work in staging rehearsals. Fricke described other “contemporary” accounts and notes by Wagner's disciple Heinrich Porges and by J. Zimmermann (editor of the *Bayreuther Tagblatt*) as “inaccurate and superficial.” Fricke's diary accounts of rehearsing *Parsifal* seem to have been lost or suppressed.

7. Although Wagner regularly attacked the Paris Opera and all its works and composers (especially Giacomo Meyerbeer), that did not stop him from secretly admiring – and not so secretly borrowing from – the technical achievements and effects of those stagings. The majority of the *Ring*'s transformations (both of stage and people) have clear antecedents in stage-works first created in that theater. Later, in his review of the Munich *Rheingold* premiere, Eduard Hanslick complained that the talk of the town after this production was all of “swimming nixies, colored steam, the castle of the gods, and the rainbow,” but “only rarely about the music”; quoted in Oswald Georg Bauer, *Richard Wagner: The Stage Designs and Productions from the Premieres to the Present*, trans. Stewart Spencer (New York, 1983), 222.

8. “Ground production” is the motivation and positioning of the actor-singers achieved through work with the director in a given production.

9. Cosima Wagner to Count Hermann Keyserling, quoted in Dietrich Mack, ed.,

*Cosima Wagner. Das zweite Leben: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, 1883–1930* (Munich and Zurich, 1980), 630.

10. *Tristan* and *Die Meistersinger* were first staged at Bayreuth in productions based on their Munich premieres. The first Bayreuth *Tannhäuser* was based on the famous Paris revival of 1861 and the first *Lohengrin* on the “model” production of Vienna in 1875 overseen by the composer. For *Holländer* in 1901 Cosima commissioned “original” on-site research (but in Sweden). Against Cosima's conservative staging policy must be set her establishment of the Bayreuth festival as a regular event and her opening up of the casts to international singers.

11. Bernard Shaw's rants against Bayreuth productions encouraged his writing of *The Perfect Wagnerite* (1898) whose parallels between the *Ring* and its contemporary social history would so interest later twentieth-century stage directors.

12. “Scenography” refers to the whole process of visualizing a production for the stage through set, costume, and lighting design.

13. Adolphe Appia, *La mise en scène du drame wagnérien* (Paris, 1895); trans. Peter Loeffler, *Staging Wagnerian Drama* (Basel and Boston, 1982), 48–50.

14. Contrary to what is often believed (and was actually stated by Wieland Wagner), Cosima Wagner did *not* fully shut the door on the possibility of Adolphe Appia working in Bayreuth. After looking at costume sketches that he submitted for *Tannhäuser* (which she did not like), she did suggest to Houston Stewart Chamberlain that Appia might become “costume designer and lighting consultant for Bayreuth” (letter of 23 October 1888, quoted from Mack, *Cosima Wagner: Das zweite Leben*, 14).

15. Henry-Louis de la Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. II, *Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion (1904–1907)* (London, 1999), 77–95.

16. The production team responsible for a staging is cited in the order director/set designer/costume designer. When only two names are listed, the same designer was responsible for both set and costumes. The designer in opera pre-dates the presence of the director by several centuries; the idea that the designer's contribution should go beyond providing appropriate but emotionally neutral backdrops to the action was new to the nineteenth century, encouraged in Germany by the work of Weber in Dresden and Goethe in Weimar. By the 1900s close collaboration of designer and director in a staging concept of a work was becoming the norm.

17. Film excerpts from rehearsals for the 1938 *Götterdämmerung* (Martha Fuchs and Max Lorenz in Heinz Tietjen's production) reveal stiff, hieratic minimal acting.
18. Although the term "music theater" has become virtually synonymous with the postwar productions of Walter Felsenstein, it was not a term that he himself used or approved. Felsenstein himself did not stage any Wagner in this post-1945 part of his career, whereas Joachim Herz directed all the mature works in Germany, the Soviet Union, and Britain.
19. As exemplified by the theater productions of Giorgio Strehler/Ezio Frigerio in Milan from the mid-1950s onward.
20. Wieland Wagner to Hans Knappertsbusch, letter of May 1951, quoted in Dietrich Mack, *Der Bayreuther Inszenierungsstil* (Munich, 1976), 104. For further explanation of Wieland's production, see his (and Kurt Overhoff's) psychological schema "Parsifal's Cross," first published in the 1951 Bayreuth festival program book.
21. *GS* III:270; *PW* II:63. Many sources think that Wieland's wife, the choreographer Gertrud Reissinger, made a huge contribution to such scenes.
22. See, for example, the 1958 *Rheingold* conducted by Hans Knappertsbusch (various labels, including Hunt 34041–53), Karl Boehm's *Walküre* (Philips 412 478-2PH4, recorded 1967) and any of the thirteen Knappertsbusch *Parsifal*s that have so far emerged on disc from his Bayreuth performances of 1951–64 (the best sound is on Philips 464 756-2PM4, recorded 1962).
23. For example, *Ring* productions of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, from 1961–64, directed by Hans Hotter and designed by Günther Schneider-Siemssen.
24. Known to exist are Bavarian Radio filmings of Act 1 of the first *Meistersinger* in 1959, and Act 3, scene 1, of the second *Meistersinger* in 1963 (this last is occasionally on offer from American pirate sources; both were rejected for public screening on technical and artistic grounds by Wieland); and brief excerpts from Act 2 of the *Götterdämmerung* performances from the second *Ring* cycle (Hagen's summoning of the vassals and the vengeance-oath trio sung by Gunther, Hagen, and Brünnhilde). In 1968 Japanese TV filmed the Osaka festival performances of the second *Tristan* and *Walküre* productions that toured there by a representative Bayreuth ensemble under Pierre Boulez (it has been issued unofficially on video, most recently by the Bel Canto Society 8998404623) and Thomas Schippers (on unofficial DVD from Premiere Opera).
25. In 1961 Wieland Wagner directed what was effectively a revival of his 1959 Bayreuth production for the Royal Danish Opera, Copenhagen. This production, revived by the original assistant director Peter Petersen, was still being performed in Copenhagen in 1999.
26. Personal communication with author, London, September 1976.
27. Staged in Berlin (Komische Oper), Leipzig, and Moscow (1963), and then filmed for DEFA (the East German state film company). The film – the first ever of a "complete" Wagner opera – used actors miming to a cut (97-minute) version of the score, prerecorded using an early version of four-channel stereo sound. A DVD release is mandatory.
28. *Wagner* 19/1 (January 1998) contains representative photos of Joachim Herz's major Wagner productions, together with an English translation of his lecture "Wagner and Theatrical Realism, 1960–1976."
29. The production was filmed for video (and later put on laserdisc in Japan) in 1978, Philips 070 412-3PH2 (and 070 412-1); and released on DVD in 2008. Like all productions from the Festspielhaus, it was recorded specially outside the main festival season. This first project undertaken by Unitel in the venue has problems finding a compromise between the production's original lighting and what was necessary for the cameras, and doesn't quite capture the production at its freshest.
30. This was one of several ideas in the production anticipated by Herz/Heinrich in Leipzig. Another was the composite design of Valhalla, made up from recognizable strands of great buildings from European history.
31. Crucial changes were made after the first year of performances to the sets for *Rheingold*, scenes 2 and 4, and the various appearances of the Valkyries' rock.
32. Filmed in 1979–80 for television in a coproduction between Unitel, the Bayreuth festival, and Bavarian Radio. A recording (vinyl and later CDs) was issued in 1981 from the filmed material (Philips 434 421-24-2). After extensive broadcasting (sometimes, as in the UK, in a soap-opera format of one act at a time), the filming was issued by Philips on video (070 401-3, 070 402-3, 070 403-3, 070 404-3), laserdisc (same numbers with suffix-1) and finally DVD (suffix-9). Made in collaboration with Chéreau, the filming gets in close, capturing the visceral impact of the acting, if (inevitably) not always the beauty and spaciousness of Peduzzi's sets. In 2005 the DVDs were reissued (Deutsche Grammophon).

33. Before his death in 2001 Friedrich completed a third *Ring* production for Finnish Opera, Helsinki, 1996–99. With the Austrian designer Gottfried Pilz he mixed the bright primary colors and cartoon-sharp acting of contemporary deconstructionist stagings into a synthesis of his own London and Berlin productions.

34. The production was filmed at the time of a 1985 revival; it is a technical success, but the result is not as sharp as the premiere run of performances. It was released on Philips video (070 406-3), laserdisc (suffix-1), and finally, in 2005, DVD (Deutsche Grammophon 00440 073 4041). In Kupfer's 2001 Berlin production of the work the central symbol of the prison ship holding the imaginary Dutchman changed sex to become a phallus.

35. The production was filmed in 1991–92 and released on Teldec video (4509-91122-233, 4509-94193-94 -3) and laserdisc (suffix-1). This was the first really successful attempt to capture a Bayreuth stage production on film, maintaining a fine balance between close-up detail and the scale of the overall stage picture. DVD release commenced in 2005, especially successful in capturing the laser work. The "soundtrack" of these films (i.e., from the same assemblage of performance material) was released simultaneously on CD. Kupfer went on to become the first director in history to have his productions of all the mature Wagner operas put on at a single festival (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsoper, April 2003). A DVD release of his Berlin *Ring*, filmed at inconsistent revivals at the Teatro Liceu, Barcelona, in 2004, was made in 2005 (Opus Arte OA 0910-13D).

36. The Frankfurt Opera at this time was noted for a radical staging policy that actively rejected production concepts it considered too traditional. Other major Berghaus/Gielen productions included *Die Zauberflöte*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *The Makropoulos Case*, and *Les Troyens*. None of these productions were filmed for official release but the house's one-camera videos of the *Ring* production may be viewed by appointment.

37. Interviewed in Cardiff while staging *Don Giovanni* there in 1984, Berghaus commented that, whereas "symbols" can mean all things to all men, "signs" are unambiguously clear. As is the case with Wieland Wagner, the sheer humor of Berghaus's work has been insufficiently commented upon.

38. This production was not officially preserved on film. In contrast to the Gielen/Berghaus 1985–87 Frankfurt *Ring* or the Barenboim/Kupfer 1988 Bayreuth *Ring*, Bernard Haitink's handling of the music was in

no way related to the psychology or pacing of what happened onstage.

39. When the cycle was presented complete in 1996–97, Siegfried got his drink – one of many detail changes made at that time.

40. Similarly in Konwitschny's 2005 *Fliegende Holländer*, the performance of the final scene, the Dutchman's "salvation," is played on tape instead of being sung and played by the actual performers.

41. DVD releases of the Stuttgart *Ring* were filmed at performances in 2002–03 (arte edition 2052068-98).

42. The Alden/Davey team succeeded Herbert Wernicke, who died after the opening of *Das Rheingold*.

43. A DVD of the Warner/Fielding *Siegfried* has been released in Japan; the Warner/Lazaridis London cycle awaits release on DVD; there is no official filming of the Carsen cycle.

44. A 1987-originated *Ring* from Munich is available on video (EMI MVB 99 1276-87 3) and laserdisc (LDE 99 1276-87 1); *Parsifal* (recorded in Baden-Baden 2004) is on DVD (Opus Arte 0915D); and *Lohengrin* on DVD (Opus Arte 09640).

45. Recorded at revivals during the 1990s, the Met *Ring* is on DVD (Deutsche Grammophon 073 043-9). That a Romantic, historically inclined Wagner staging can have dramaturgical validity and life was demonstrated by Jean-Pierre Ponnelle's Bayreuth *Tristan und Isolde* of 1981 (available on Philips video VHS 070 409-3, laserdisc-1, DVD DG 0730449).

46. Winifred Wagner's close friendship with Hitler – and his strong endorsement by other family members, notably Houston Stewart Chamberlain – resulted in Hitler giving Bayreuth his close personal and financial patronage from 1924 to 1940, acting also as surrogate father and counsellor to the young Wieland Wagner. However, his frequent advice on purely artistic matters was not often accepted. See Brigitte Hamann, *Winifred Wagner: A Life at the Heart of Hitler's Bayreuth*, trans. Alan Bance (London, 2005) – an unnecessary abridgement of the original German text (Munich, 2002), although made with the author's consent.

47. A reaction which reached a sort of apogee in early 1981, when the London *Daily Telegraph* devoted one of its leader columns to a piece entitled "Marx Brothers at the Opera."

48. "I am convinced that this character was intended by Wagner as the living parody of a Jew," Mahler remarked while rehearsing a new Mime for a *Siegfried* revival in Vienna in 1898; "It's clear from all the aspects he's given to Mime – his petty obsessions, his covetousness, the whole clever kit of musical and verbal

tics”: quoted in Herbert Killian, *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner* (Hamburg, 1984), 122.

49. Wagner was fond of this motif. He alludes to it obliquely in a private parody of the words of Senta’s Ballad, which he made up for himself in Paris in the early 1840s (see *Richard Wagner: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. XXIV, *Dokumente und Texte zu Der fliegende Holländer*, ed. Egon Voss (Mainz, 2004), 176; see also John Deathridge, “Wagner’s ‘Pale’ Senta,” *Opera Quarterly* 21/3 (2005), and at several points in Act 1 of *Siegfried*. A more direct allusion occurs at the beginning of Act 3 of *Parsifal*, when Gurnemanz discovers Kundry in a thorn bush.

#### 16 Criticism and analysis: current perspectives

1. For example, Nicholas Vazsonyi’s recent edited collection *Wagner’s Meistersinger: Performance, History, Representation* (Rochester, NY, 2003) contains contributions from a singer (Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau), a conductor (Peter Schneider), a producer (Harry Kupfer), and a philosopher (Lydia Goehr), as well as from historians and musicologists.
2. For a succinct but stimulating introduction to the vast subject of Wagner reception and writing in all its phases up through the 1980s, see John Deathridge, “A Brief History of Wagner Research,” in *Wagner Handbook*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, translation ed. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 202–23.
3. See H. von Wolzogen: “Prelude,” “Act 1 [scene 1],” from *Parsifal: A Thematic Guide Through the Poetry and the Music* (1882), in Ian Bent, ed., *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. II, *Hermeneutic Approaches* (Cambridge, 1994), 88–105. A recent study of the leitmotif phenomenon and its critical dissemination is Christian Thorau’s monograph *Semantisierte Sinnlichkeit: Studien zur Rezeption und Zeichenstruktur der Leitmotivtechnik Richard Wagners* (Stuttgart, 2003).
4. Bryan Magee, *The Tristan Chord: Wagner and Philosophy* (London and New York, 2000), 325. See also Dieter Borchmeyer’s essay in this volume (chap. 11).
5. “Modernist” as used here refers to art of the past 150 years or so that is uneasy with organicism and that questions the emphasis on unity which so much technical and critical analysis involves.
6. Thomas Grey, *Wagner’s Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts* (Cambridge, 1995), 182.
7. Wagner referred to “my most delicate and profound . . . art of transition” in a letter to

Mathilde Wesendonck of 29 October 1859 (SL 475; SB XI:329).

8. Cyrill Kistler, *Harmonielehre für Lehrer und Lernende* (Munich, 1879).

9. Robert W. Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory from Albrechtsberger to Schenker and Schoenberg* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1985), 90. For other accounts of the history of *Tristan* chord analysis, see Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Towards a Semiology of Music*, trans. Carolyn Abbate (Princeton, 1990), 216–38; David W. Bernstein, “Nineteenth-Century Harmonic Theory: The Austro-German Legacy,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge, 2002), 791–94; and Thomas Grey, “Magnificent Obsession: *Tristan* as the Object of Musical Analysis,” in Nikolaus Bacht, ed., *Music, Theatre and Politics in Germany, 1850–1950* (London and Burlington, VT, 2006), 51–78.

10. For translated extracts from Karl Mayrberger’s *Die Harmonik Richard Wagner’s an den Leitmotiv aus “Tristan und Isolde” erläutert* (1882), see Ian Bent, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. I, *Fugue, Form and Style*, (Cambridge, 1994), 221–52. On the differences between analytical approaches, like Mayrberger’s, and hermeneutic ones, like Wolzogen’s, see the discussion in Bent, *Hermeneutic Approaches*, 88–105.

11. See Arnold Schoenberg, *Structural Functions of Harmony*, ed. Leonard Stein, 2nd edn. (London, 1969), 76–77.

12. Ernst Kurth, *Selected Writings*, ed. and trans. Lee A. Rothfarb (Cambridge, 1991), 134 (from Kurth, *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners “Tristan”* [Berlin, 1920; 2nd edn. 1923]).

13. See for example Allen Forte, “New Approaches to the Linear Analysis of Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (1988), 315–48.

14. Heinrich Schenker, *Free Composition*, ed. and trans. Ernst Oster (New York and London, 1979), 106 (original title, *Der freie Satz* [Vienna, 1935]).

15. The four volumes of Lorenz’s *Das Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner* were published in 1924–33 (Berlin; repr. Tutzing, 1966).

16. For a full account of Lorenz’s work and its cultural-political contexts, see Stephen McClatchie, *Analyzing Wagner’s Operas: Alfred Lorenz and German Nationalist Ideology* (Rochester, NY, 1998).

17. Thomas Mann, “The Sorrows and Grandeur of Richard Wagner” (1933), in Mann, *Pro and Contra Wagner*, trans. Allan Blunden (London, 1985), 128.

18. *Ibid.*, 141.
19. Ernest Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, 4 vols. (New York, 1937–46; reprint, Cambridge, 1976). See the discussion in Deathridge, “A Brief History of Wagner Research.”
20. Mann, “Sorrows and Grandeur,” 107.
21. Theodor W. Adorno, “Wagner’s Relevance for Today” (1963), in his *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), 585.
22. Mann, “Sorrows and Grandeur,” 206.
23. Gyorgy Markus, “Adorno’s Wagner,” *Thesis Eleven* 56 (1999), 49.
24. Adorno, “Wagner’s Relevance for Today,” 591.
25. *Ibid.*, 596.
26. In Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama* (New York, 1956; 2nd edn., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988), 158–77.
27. Robert Bailey, “Wagner’s Musical Sketches for *Siegfrieds Tod*,” in H. S. Powers, ed., *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton, 1968), 459–94; Bailey “The Genesis of *Tristan und Isolde* and a Study of Wagner’s Sketches and Draft for the First Act” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1969). (See also nn. 32 and 35 below.)
28. The most widely cited works by Dahlhaus are *Richard Wagner’s Music Dramas*, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge, 1979; originally published as *Wagners Konzeption des Musikdramas* [Regensburg, 1971]); *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century* (1974), trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980); and *Nineteenth-Century Music* (1980), trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989). For an extended bibliography, see J. Bradford Robinson, “Dahlhaus, Carl,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (London, 2001), VI, 836–39.
29. McClatchie, *Analyzing Wagner’s Operas*, 184.
30. *Ibid.*, 184 and n. 48.
31. Felix Salzer, *Structural Hearing: Tonal Coherence in Music*, 2 vols. (New York, 1952), I, 216–18; II, 232–33.
32. William J. Mitchell, “The *Tristan* Prelude: Techniques and Structure,” in William J. Mitchell and Felix Salzer, eds., *The Music Forum*, vol. I (New York, 1967), 163–203; repr. in Robert Bailey, ed., *Richard Wagner: Prelude and Transfiguration from Tristan and Isolde* (New York, 1985), 242–67.
33. Christopher Wintle, “The Numinous in *Götterdämmerung*,” in Arthur Groos and Roger Parker, eds., *Reading Opera* (Princeton, 1988), 200–34; Matthew Brown, “Isolde’s Narrative: From *Hauptmotiv* to Tonal Model,” and Patrick McCreless, “Schenker and the Norns,” in Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, eds., *Analyzing Opera: Verdi and Wagner* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), 180–201 and 276–97; William M. Marvin, “The Function of ‘Rules’ in *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*,” *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003), 414–60.
34. Warren Darcy, *Wagner’s Das Rheingold* (Oxford, 1993), 215.
35. See Robert Bailey, “The Structure of the *Ring* and Its Evolution,” *19th-Century Music* 1 (1977), 48–61; and Bailey, “The Method of Composition,” in *The Wagner Companion*, ed. Peter Burbidge and Richard Sutton (New York, 1979), 269–338.
36. Darcy, *Wagner’s Das Rheingold*, 218.
37. Anthony Newcomb, “The Birth of Music out of the Spirit of Drama: An Essay in Wagnerian Formal Analysis,” *19th-Century Music* 5 (1981–82), 64.
38. Carolyn Abbate, “Opera as Symphony, a Wagnerian Myth,” in Abbate and Parker, *Analyzing Opera: Verdi and Wagner*, 92–124.
39. Newcomb, “The Birth of Music,” 64.
40. For the origins and significance of this usage, see Grey, *Wagner’s Musical Prose*, esp. 283–87.
41. John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York, 1993), 17, 189.
42. See Max Paddison, *Adorno’s Aesthetics of Music* (Cambridge, 1993), 158 (citing Adorno’s 1966 essay “Form in der neuen Musik”).
43. Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 16–17.
44. Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1991), 176, 192.
45. Carolyn Abbate, “Wagner, ‘On Modulation,’ and *Tristan*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989), 33–58; see also the discussion in Grey, *Wagner’s Musical Prose*, 339–41.
46. Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990), 135.
47. *Ibid.*, 148, 149.
48. *Ibid.*, 157.
49. *Ibid.*, 165. See also Kramer’s “The Waters of Prometheus: Nationalism and Sexuality in Wagner’s *Ring*,” in Richard Dellamora and Daniel Fischlin, eds., *The Work of Opera: Genre, Nationhood, and Sexual Difference* (New York, 1997), 131–59.
50. Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Wagner Androgyne: A Study in Interpretation*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Princeton, 1993), 300.

51. Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose*, 107.
52. *Ibid.*, 348.
53. Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1995), 358.
54. *Ibid.*, 359.
55. For recent commentaries, see Hans Rudolf Valet, “Du warst mein Feind von je’: The Beckmesser Controversy Revisited,” in Nicholas Vazsonyi, ed., *Wagner's Meistersinger: Performance, History, Representation* (Rochester, NY, 2003); Dieter Borchmeyer, *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner*, trans. Daphne Ellis (Princeton, 2003), 196–211; and Simon Williams, *Wagner and the Romantic Hero* (Cambridge, 2004), 142–46.
56. Gary Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song: An Essay on Opera* (Princeton, 1999), 131.
57. *Ibid.*, 135, 142.
58. For further discussion of these issues with reference to *Parsifal*, see Arnold Whittall, “Wagner and Real Life,” *Musical Times* 137 (1996), 5–11.
59. The latter category of Deathridge's writing on Wagner is represented in the newly published collection of his essays *Wagner Beyond Good and Evil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2008).
60. Lydia Goehr, *The Quest for Voice: On Music, Politics, and the Limits of Philosophy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998), and Goehr, “The Curse and Promise of the Absolutely Musical: *Tristan and Isolde* and *Don Giovanni*,” in Goehr and Daniel Herwitz, eds., *The Don Giovanni Moment* (New York, 2006), 137–60.
61. Roger Scruton, *Death-Devoted Heart: Sex and the Sacred in Wagner's Tristan and Isolde* (New York, 2004), 3, 159.
62. *Ibid.*, 3, 194.
63. *Ibid.*, 75, 115, 197.
64. David Lewin, “Amfortas's Prayer to Titurel and the Role of D in *Parsifal*: The Tonal Spaces and the Drama of the Enharmonic C♭/B,” *19th-Century Music* 7 (1984), 336–49; repr. in *Studies in Music with Text* (Oxford, 2006), 214, 218.
65. Eric Chafe, *The Tragic and the Ecstatic: The Musical Revolution of Wagner's Tristan und Isolde* (New York, 2005), 8.
66. Lewin, “Amfortas's Prayer to Titurel and the Role of D in *Parsifal*.”
67. David Kopp, *Chromatic Transformations in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2002), 223.