

The Cambridge Companion to Wagner

Richard Wagner is remembered as one of the most influential figures in music and theater, but his place in history has been marked by a considerable amount of controversy. His attitudes toward the Jews and the appropriation of his operas by the Nazis, for example, have helped to construct a historical persona that sits uncomfortably with modern sensibilities. Yet Wagner's absolutely central position in the operatic canon continues. This volume serves as a timely reminder of his ongoing musical, cultural, and political impact. Contributions by specialists from such varied fields as musical history, German literature and cultural studies, opera production, and political science consider a range of topics, from trends and problems in the history of stage production to the representations of nation, race, and sexuality. With the inclusion of invaluable and reliably up-to-date biographical data, this collection will be of great interest to scholars, students, and enthusiasts.

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WAGNER

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EDITED BY
Thomas S. Grey



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Notes on contributors

Mike Ashman is active as both a stage director and a writer on opera performance. He has produced for Opera Zuid and the Royal College of Music Opera School, and has served as staff director of the Welsh National Opera and the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. His directorial work focuses on nineteenth- and twentieth-century repertoires, including a *Ring* cycle for Den Norske Opera and a touring version of *Tristan und Isolde*. He has contributed chapters to *Wagner in Performance* (1992) and *Verdi in Performance* (2001).

Dieter Borchmeyer is Professor Emeritus of Modern German Literature and Theater at the University of Heidelberg and president of the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts. His work encompasses German literature of the eighteenth through twentieth centuries, including the intersection of theater, music, and opera. Among his numerous publications concerning Richard Wagner are *Das Theater Richard Wagners: Idee – Dichtung – Wirkung* (1982; trans. Stewart Spencer as *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre*, 1991), *Die Götter tanzen Cancan: Richard Wagners Liebesrevolten* (1992), *Das Tribschener Idyll: Nietzsche – Cosima – Wagner. Eine Textcollage* (1998), *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner* (2003), and an edition of Wagner's collected writings (1983).

Mitchell Cohen is Professor of Political Theory at Bernard Baruch College and the Graduate School of the City University of New York. He is coeditor of *Dissent*, a journal of social, political, and cultural discussion, and the author of *The Wager of Lucien Goldmann* (1994) and *Zion and State* (1987). He edited *Rebels and Reactionaries: An Anthology of Political Short Stories* (1992) and coedited *Princeton Readings in Political Thought* (1995).

John Daverio (1954–2003) was Professor of Music at Boston University. A specialist in the German Romantics, he authored *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (1993), the critical biography *Robert Schumann: Herald of a New Poetic Age* (1997), and the collection of essays *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms* (2002).

John Deathridge is King Edward Professor of Music at King's College London. A leading Wagner scholar and critic, he is the author of *Wagner's Rienzi: A Reappraisal Based on a Study of the Sketches and Drafts* (1977) and a coauthor of *The New Grove Wagner* (1984, with Carl Dahlhaus), coeditor of the *Wagner Werk-Verzeichnis: Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke Richard Wagners und ihrer Quellen* (WWV; 1986, with Martin Geck and Egon Voss), and editor/translator of the *Wagner Handbook* (1992). His critical edition of Wagner's *Lohengrin* appeared in 2007 (Eulenberg), and a collection of essays on Wagner and related topics (*Wagner Beyond Good and Evil*) is forthcoming in 2008.

Annegret Fauser is Professor of Music and Adjunct Professor in Women's Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her research involves French and American music and culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women's

music, exoticism, cultural transfer, nationalism, opera, and song. Recent publications include *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (2005) and an edition of reviews of the first performance of Jules Massenet's opera *Esclarmonde* (2001). She is coeditor of the correspondence of Nadia Boulanger and Aaron Copland, and of a volume on the institutions of French musical theater (forthcoming).

Thomas S. Grey is Professor of Music at Stanford University. He is the author of *Wagner's Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts* (1995), and the editor and coauthor of *Richard Wagner: The Flying Dutchman* (2000).

Stephen McClatchie currently serves as vice-president, academic and research, at Mount Allison University, Canada. Before that he taught in the music department of the University of Regina, Saskatchewan. He is the author of *Analyzing Wagner's Operas: Alfred Lorenz and German Nationalist Ideology* (1998) as well as numerous articles on Wagner, Mahler, and the musical culture of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. His edition of the family letters of Gustav Mahler is forthcoming in German and English. A recipient of several grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Dr. McClatchie was a member of the SSHRC Working Group on the Future of the Humanities (1999–2001).

Barry Millington has served as an editor and contributor to *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and as music critic for the *Musical Times*, the *London Times*, the *London Evening Standard*, and the *BBC Music Magazine*. He is also the founder and artistic director of the Hampstead and Highgate Festival and served as dramaturgical adviser on the new production of *Lohengrin* at the Bayreuth festival. His publications on Wagner include a monograph (1984; 2nd edn. 1993), *The Wagner Compendium* (editor, 1992), *Wagner in Performance* (editor, 1992), a major collection of Wagner's letters in translation (1987), and *Wagner's Ring of the Nibelung: A Companion* (1993), the last three in collaboration with Stewart Spencer. His articles on Wagner topics have appeared in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera* (1994), *Opera, Cambridge Opera Journal, Wagner*, and the *Musical Times*. He is the editor of a new *Wagner Journal* (2007–).

Pamela M. Potter is Professor of Music at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She has written extensively on music and politics in twentieth-century Germany, especially the history of German musicology (*Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (1998; German edn., 2000) and the cultural role of music in constructing national identity (*Music and German National Identity*, coedited with Celia Applegate, 2002). Current projects include a history of musical life in twentieth-century Berlin and a study of Nazi aesthetics in the visual and performing arts.

Stewart Spencer taught medieval German literature at the University of London and has translated books on Bach, Liszt, Mozart, and Wagner. He has also written widely on Wagner, having served as contributor to and editor of numerous volumes on the composer and his work.

Glenn Stanley, Professor of Music at the University of Connecticut, is reviews editor of *19th-Century Music*. He is the editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven* and has contributed articles to the *Cambridge Companions on*

Schubert, and Mendelssohn. Recent publications include studies of musical historiography in divided Germany after World War II (in *Deutsche Leitkultur Musik? Zur Musikgeschichte nach dem Holocaust*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller) and the role of orchestration and independent orchestral music in the Romantic oratorio (Detlef Altenburg, ed., *Eine Namenlose Mittelgattung: Gattungen und Formen des Oratoriums im 19. Jahrhundert*). Several essays are forthcoming in the *Beethoven-Handbuch*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller and Rainer Cadenbach.

James Treadwell has served as lecturer and junior research fellow at the University of Oxford, and assistant professor of English at McGill University. He authored *Interpreting Wagner* (2003) and *Autobiographical Writing and British Literature, 1783–1834* (2005).

Arnold Whittall is Professor Emeritus of Music Theory and Analysis at King's College London. His chief interest has been nineteenth- and twentieth-century music, with special reference to modern British composers, as well as the music of Wagner. Major publications include *Musical Composition in the Twentieth Century* (1999), first published as *Music Since the First World War* (1977). His work for radio includes thirty-six broadcasts introducing contemporary music for the BBC College Concerts from 1977 to 1983. Dr. Whittall has been a frequent contributor of articles and reviews to the *Musical Times*, among other journals.

Preface and acknowledgements

As long as there are books, it seems, there will be books on Wagner. The claims of this one are relatively modest, geared to the general aims of the *Cambridge Companion* series to provide an accessible portrait of the artist as we see him today, and at the same time to offer information about his life, times, works, and reception. In the case of Wagner, “reception” involves not only critical attitudes toward the music over time, but considerable social, political, and ideological dimensions as well. With his voluminous theoretical writings Wagner himself fueled the debate as to whether his operas and “music dramas” should be considered primarily *musical artworks*, or rather a new kind of artwork of ideas – a “total artwork” (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) integrating music, voice, poetry, and the arts of the theater in a way that finally realized the ambitions opera had harbored, if only fitfully, from the beginning. The designation of the *Ring* cycle and *Parsifal* as “stage-festival plays” (*Bühnenfestspiele*) articulates their author’s sense of them as objects of cultic ritual or worship and as texts for hermeneutic exegesis: the foundation of a modern religion of art. Whatever one thinks about such grand claims for the Wagnerian “synthesis,” there is no question as to the composer’s unusual genius for developing the materials of myth and legend in modern dramatic form rife with symbolic, psychological, and social meaning. As a result, discussions of his work tend, even more than in the case of opera generally, toward interpretations of character and meaning and away from analysis or evaluation of music, aside from specialized professional-academic attention to the latter. Wagner to some extent foresaw and condoned, or at least accepted, this disproportionate division of critical labor. The fact that he thought of such things at all is a sign of his “modernity”; Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Rossini, or any of their contemporaries showed little evidence of wondering about how their works would be studied and interpreted by future generations, except perhaps within the profession of musical composition as such. The current *Companion* reflects the traditional emphasis on a broader discourse of “ideas” in Wagner’s oeuvre (and their influence) over specialized analytical discussion of the musical scores. Nonetheless, the music has not been ignored, and it is always worth repeating the adage that without the scores Wagner’s “ideas” would have had little or no impact, unless perhaps he had pursued some altogether different line of creative work.

About half of the chapters in this collection are devoted to the musical-dramatic oeuvre as such, the other half addressing matters of biography

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(chapter 1), social and political background (chapter 3), issues in Wagner's writings and their intellectual and social context (part III: chapters 10 through 12), and matters of influence, reception, performance history, and scholarship (part IV: chapters 13 through 16). Anyone who reads or skims the volume as a whole will likely be struck by the prominence of debates over Wagner's notorious anti-Semitism, its role in his posthumous influence, and how it might be confronted by scholars, critics, producers, and audiences today. As editor I could have made more effort to suppress what might appear as a certain redundancy on this topic (let alone contributing a whole further chapter to it). On reflection, however, it occurred to me that this possible redundancy serves as a good index of the indisputable prominence of this topic in Wagner studies and public discussion over the past fifteen or twenty years. This repoliticizing of the "Wagner question" (or at least of this particular one) can be seen as a reaction to the long period – about four decades – after the end of World War II during which scholarship and criticism were largely concerned with rehabilitating the figure of Wagner in the wake of his appropriation as a cultural icon by the Nazi regime, not to mention the anti-Romantic and anti-Wagnerian polemics of modernist intellectuals and artists since the beginning of the twentieth century. Since even general introductory "companion" volumes of this kind cannot help recording, in some small way, the cultural trends and preoccupations of their historical moment, it seemed to me just as well to leave these exposed rather than trying to hide them. I trust, too, that beyond this topic of Wagner's anti-Semitism and its possible residue in the musical-dramatic oeuvre the chapters of this *Companion* succeed in registering some concrete, quantifiable "advances" in biographical, musicological, and critical scholarship – that the contents of the volume succeed in being up to date by design, too, and not merely as a passive reflection of the critical *Zeitgeist*.

Wagner's major musical stage-works are few enough that it does not seem necessary to append a catalogue of them to this volume; his prose writings are so many and of such varied and unequal interest that a catalogue of those seems impractical here. The fairly extensive chronology of Wagner's life and career that is included here (xvii–xxxvi) contains information about most of the composer's musical works, both major and minor, and some information on his principal writings. More detailed listings of the works, their genesis and surviving sources, and of the published prose are all readily available in Barry Millington's entries on Wagner in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* as well as *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, among other places. Readers desirous of more comprehensive information about the genesis and publication history of the music and libretti can find the sum of modern scholarly knowledge collected in the *Wagner Werk-Verzeichnis*.

The bibliography included at the end of this volume is naturally very selective. To a large – though not entirely comprehensive – extent it serves as a list of works cited within the individual chapters. In addition, it attempts to list significant or at any rate representative writings on Wagner's life and works and their influence, interpretation, and reception – mainly in English and German, and mainly works available in print or reprint. Not included in the bibliography is the important field of periodicals devoted to Wagner and matters Wagnerian. As early as the 1850s such journals as the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and the *Anregungen für Kunst, Leben und Wissenschaft* served as literary organs for the Wagnerian cause, at least *pro tem*, until the high tide of Wagnerism gave birth to a spate of dedicated journals starting with the *Bayreuther Blätter* (1878–1938), followed by the short-lived but culturally significant *Revue wagnérienne* (1885–88), the organ of English Wagnerism *The Meister* (1885–95), and sporadic attempts at founding a *Wagner Jahrbuch* before World War I. The many Wagner Societies established around the world since then have produced a large number of newsletters and serial publications, among which the journal of the British Wagner Society (*Wagner*, 1980–2005) is a rich source of shorter articles, reviews, and documents. More recently the bilingual *WagnerSpectrum* (German and English, 2005–) has entered this field, providing a forum for scholarship and reviews that address the interests of opera audiences as well as academic scholars, and the still newer *Wagner Journal* (2007–) follows suit in these aims.

The chronology owes much to those compiled by Barry Millington (*The Wagner Compendium*, 1992) and Stewart Spencer (*Wagner Remembered*, 2000), as well as the older, extensive chronologies of Otto Strobel (1952) and Martin Gregor-Dellin (1972; 2nd edn. 1983). Stewart Spencer quickly and expertly reviewed the present chronology, helping to correct various oversights and omissions. I would also like to express my thanks to Dieter Borchmeyer for allowing me to include a somewhat abridged, newly translated version of his chapter on Wagner and Nietzsche from *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner* (Princeton, 2003). Ilias Chrissochoidis has provided a keen scholarly eye in matters of editing, bibliography, and fact-checking, as well as in assembling the index. As with several previous projects, I'm very grateful for Bruno Ruviaro's meticulous setting of musical examples (and hereby acknowledge any mistakes to be my own!). Rebecca Jones and Karen Anderson Howes were consistently helpful and just patient enough during production. Above all, of course, I want to thank the whole roster of contributors for their willingness to collaborate, for their contributions, and for their enforced patience with the gradual genesis of the project. The presence of John Daverio's chapter on *Tristan* is evidence of the very extended

gestation of the project. Initial plans for the *Companion* go back some ten years and John had already produced an essay by 1999, before a hiatus of some four years on the project and shortly before his own tragic and untimely death. Thus, I also take this opportunity to remember John Daverio as a penetrating, wide-ranging scholar of Romantic music, and as an uncommonly kind and generous person.

Chronology

(Selected biographical events and points of reference)

- 1813** 22 *May* Richard Wagner born, last of nine children to Johanna Rosine and Carl Friedrich Wagner, in Leipzig.
16 *August* “Wilhelm Richard Wagner” baptized in the Thomaskirche in Leipzig.
26–27 *August* Napoleon victorious against the Bohemian army at Dresden, but defeated 16–19 *October* in the Völkerschlacht or Battle of Nations near Leipzig.
23 *November* Carl Friedrich Wagner, police actuary in Leipzig and amateur actor, dies of typhoid fever.
- 1814** 28 *August* Johanna Wagner remarries, to the close family friend Ludwig Geyer, a painter and actor. Circumstances suggest that Geyer could have been Richard’s biological father, as he himself seems to have (sometimes) believed. The family moves to Dresden before the end of the year.
- 1815** *September to June* Congress of Vienna.
- 1817** First schooling, in Dresden, under Royal Saxon Vice-Kantor, Karl Friedrich Schmidt.
- 1820** Further schooling and earliest musical instruction (piano) under Christian Wetzel, a pastor in Possendorf near Dresden.
- 1821** 30 *September* Ludwig Geyer dies of tuberculosis.
- 1822** *December* Richard “Geyer” matriculates at the Dresden Kreuzschule.
- 1826** Interest in the classics, dating back to 1823 (claims later to have translated excerpts from the *Odyssey*), and in writing poetry and drama. *Leubald*, tragedy in five acts, begun (?).
December The family moves to Prague where elder sister Rosalie is engaged at the theater. Richard remains at school in Dresden.
- 1827** *Spring* Undertakes a walking trip from Dresden to Prague in the company of a school friend, Rudolf Böhme.
Summer Visits Leipzig, including uncle Adolf Wagner (1774–1835), a scholar and writer with significant literary connections.
December Joins family in Leipzig, where most have returned.

- 1828** 21 January Now as Richard Wagner, matriculates at the Nicolaischule in Leipzig.
Spring–summer Finishes the tragedy *Leubald* and decides to compose his own incidental music. Studies of basic harmony and counterpoint, first independently (with J. B. Logier’s *Method of Thorough-bass*) and then with Christian Müller, a member of the Gewandhaus orchestra.
- 1829** First attempts at composition: piano sonatas in D minor and F minor, string quartet in D major, concert aria (?) – none preserved. Later claims (in *ML*) to have heard Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient in the role of Leonore (*Fidelio*) in Leipzig in this year (April?), although evidence of the performance is lacking.
28 September Sister Rosalie performs the role of Fenella in D. F. E. Auber’s *La muette de Portici* in Leipzig.
- 1830** 16 June Transfers to the Thomasschule in Leipzig.
Spring Begins a pastoral opera (*Schäferoper*) modeled on Goethe’s *Die Laune des Verliebten*. During this year composes four or five overtures (*WWV* 10–14), including the so-called Drumbeat Overture (cf. *ML*) and one to Schiller’s *Bride of Messina* (all lost, apart from fragments of *WWV* 13).
6 October Offers publisher Schott a piano arrangement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony (*WWV* 9, completed Easter 1831, but not published). Demonstrations in Leipzig (October) in the wake of Paris “July revolution.”
25 December Drumbeat Overture (*WWV* 10) performed under Heinrich Dorn in a concert at the Leipzig theater.
- 1831** Composes six Lieder and one *Melodram* (“Ach neige, du Schmerzenreiche”) from Goethe’s *Faust* (voice and piano). Another overture (D minor), a piano sonata (B flat), and a fantasia (F-sharp minor) composed (*WWV* 20–22).
23 February Matriculates at the University of Leipzig, though without completing any course of study.
Fall Musical studies with Theodor Weinlig, Thomaskantor in Leipzig.
- 1832** Two overtures performed in Gewandhaus concerts (Leipzig); C major symphony (*WWV* 29, composed spring 1832) performed in Prague in November. Piano sonata in A (*WWV* 26), overture and incidental music to Raupach’s *König Enzo* (*WWV* 24) composed.

- November–December* Begins work on an opera, *Die Hochzeit*; text and some musical numbers completed, but the project is abandoned the following year.
- 23, 27 December* Schröder-Devrient performs in *Der Freischütz* and *Fidelio* in Leipzig.
- 1833** *January* Finishes libretto of first completed opera, *Die Feen* (*The Fairies*; after C. Gozzi, *La donna serpente* [*The Serpent Woman*]). (Score completed January 1834.)
- 17 January* Moves to Würzburg to work as chorus director and musical coach for brother Albert.
- 1834** *21 January* Returns to Leipzig after completing score of *Die Feen*. Influence of Heinrich Laube (first meeting in 1832) and “Young German” movement (1834–35).
- March* Schröder-Devrient performs in Bellini’s *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* in Leipzig, as well as *Fidelio* and Rossini’s *Otello*.
- 10 June* First published essay, “On German Opera,” appears in Laube’s *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*.
- Summer* Vacation in Bohemia with Theodor Apel; conceives plan for opera after Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure*, as *Das Liebesverbot* (*The Ban on Love*). While engaged as music director of Heinrich Bethmann’s theater troupe during summer season in Bad Lauchstädt, meets and becomes intimate with Minna Planer.
- August–September* A symphony in E major (WWV 35) begun; incomplete.
- 1835** Continues as music director for Bethmann’s theater troupe, in Magdeburg.
- January* Overture and incidental music for five-act drama *Columbus* by Theodor Apel. Begins composition of *Das Liebesverbot* (completed by March 1836).
- Summer* Travels to southern Germany and Bohemia looking for singers to engage at Magdeburg. While visiting his sister and her husband, Klara and Heinrich Wolfram, in Nuremberg, witnesses a late-night disturbance in the streets later recalled in the scenario of *Die Meistersinger*. Begins the “Red Pocket-Book,” notes toward a future autobiography. After Minna Planer takes up an engagement in Berlin, Wagner begins more urgent courtship.
- 1836** *29 March* With almost no rehearsal, Wagner attempts to stage the recently completed *Das Liebesverbot* in Magdeburg prior to dissolution of the troupe there.

- July* Settles in Königsberg (following Minna). Remains there, with some employment in the theater, through May 1837. Completes the concert overture “Polonia.” Drafts a libretto for a grand opera after the historical novel by Heinrich Koenig, *Die hohe Braut* (*The High-Born Bride*; summer–fall); sends scenario to Eugène Scribe in Paris. (Full libretto drafted in Dresden, August 1842.)
- 24 November* Marries Minna Planer in Tragheim, near Königsberg.
- 1837** *15 March* Completes another “national” overture, on “Rule Britannia.”
- June–July* Trouble with Minna, who several times leaves Wagner (staying mainly in and around Dresden). Receives contract for post of music director in Riga through Karl Holtei, in Berlin. Reads Bulwer-Lytton’s novel *Rienzi, Last of the Roman Tribunes* and sketches scenario for a grand opera on the subject.
- September* Takes up post in Riga, where Minna joins him again in October.
- 1838** *Spring* Writes libretto for comic opera, *Männerlist grösser als Frauenlist, oder die glückliche Bärenfamilie*, a modernized version of a story from the *Arabian Nights*, which he intends to compose in a *Singspiel* idiom appropriate for performance in Riga (breaks off composition after three numbers).
- August* Libretto for *Rienzi* completed (by 6 August) and composition begun immediately. Act 1 completed (orchestral draft) by 6 December.
- Between September 1837 and March 1839 conducts twenty-six different works including operas by Mozart (four), Beethoven, Cherubini, Weber, Adam (two), Auber (three), and Meyerbeer (*Robert le diable*), as well as orchestral concerts (Beethoven).
- 1839** *March* Loses contract with the Riga theater. Continues work on *Rienzi* (orchestral draft of Act 2 completed 9 April).
- Spring–summer* Plans to flee creditors in Riga and to settle in Paris.
- 19 July* Richard, Minna, and their dog begin voyage (by sea) from Baltic coast to France, via London.
- 27–29 July* Bad storms beset the ship (*Thetis*), which docks temporarily on the southern coast of Norway (Sandvika).
- 12 August* Arrival in London.

- 20 August Arrival in France (Boulogne-sur-mer), staying through 16 September; first meeting with Giacomo Meyerbeer, in Boulogne.
- 17 September Arrival in Paris.
- November Hears Beethoven's Ninth Symphony at the Société des Concerts (Conservatoire) under François Habeneck, as well as one of the first performances of Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*.
- December Drafts an orchestral movement after Goethe's *Faust* (completed January 1840; revised 1855 as *Eine Faust-Ouvertüre*, WWV 59).
- 1840** Winter Begins Act 3 of *Rienzi* (whole opera completed 19 November). Composes several songs to French texts.
- 6 May Sends prose sketch for a short (one-act) opera on the subject of the "Flying Dutchman" to Scribe, afterwards to Meyerbeer.
- 12 July First of series of articles for *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* published ("De la musique allemande").
- Fall Works on operatic arrangements and score proofs (Donizetti, Halévy) for Maurice Schlesinger.
- 1841** Winter Composes some initial sections of *Der fliegende Holländer* (*The Flying Dutchman*), including Senta's Ballad.
- 18 March Meyerbeer recommends *Rienzi* to Baron von Lüttichau, intendant of the court opera in Dresden. First encounter with Franz Liszt (late March).
- 29 April Richard and Minna move to Meudon, outside Paris.
- 18–28 May Libretto of *Der fliegende Holländer* completed.
- 11 July Begins composition of *Der fliegende Holländer*; draft completed 22 August, full score by end of November.
- 1842** Winter Sketches operatic projects *Die Sarazenin* (historical-mythical opera on the early Hohenstaufen dynasty in Italy) and *Die Bergwerke zu Falun* (after E. T. A. Hoffmann).
- 7 April Richard and Minna leave Paris for Dresden, arrive 12 April.
- 22 June–8 July Drafts scenario of *Tannhäuser* (at first titled *Der Venusberg*).
- 20 October Premiere of *Rienzi* in Dresden, Wagner's first major success.
- 1843** 2 January Premiere of *Der fliegende Holländer* in Dresden, a more limited success.
- 2 February Appointed Royal Saxon Kapellmeister, in conjunction with Karl Gottlieb Reissiger.

- 6 July Performance of *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel* for men's and boys' chorus and orchestra in the Dresden Frauenkirche (1,200 singers and 100 players).
Summer Reads Jacob Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* while vacationing in Bohemia (Teplitz). Begins composition of *Tannhäuser* (completed 13 April 1845).
Fall Begins book collection that will include classical Greek drama, medieval German poetry and legendary sources, and assorted modern philosophical and literary texts.
- 1844** January Conducts performances of *Der fliegende Holländer* in Berlin.
November Gasparo Spontini visits Dresden, at Wagner's invitation, to oversee production of *La vestale* featuring Schröder-Devrient and Josef Tichatschek (creators of leading roles in *Rienzi* and *Tannhäuser*), as well as Wagner's young niece, Johanna Wagner.
- 1845** Summer In Marienbad, studies sources of the Lohengrin and Parsifal legends, drafts scenarios for *Lohengrin* and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*.
19 October Premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Dresden.
November Finishes libretto of *Lohengrin*; reads it publicly at Dresden "Engelklub," with Robert Schumann and various artists in attendance (17 December).
- 1846** 5 April Conducts Beethoven's Ninth Symphony for Palm Sunday concert (publishes essays in *Dresdner Anzeiger* regarding the work and the performance).
30 July Composition draft of *Lohengrin* completed (orchestral draft completed 29 August 1847, full score 28 April 1848).
August Facing financial difficulties, Wagner takes out a large loan (5,000 thalers) from the theater pension fund. A further loan requested from Meyerbeer is turned down (26 November).
31 October Prose draft to a five-act drama, *Friedrich I* (Barbarossa).
- 1847** 24 February Wagner's arrangement and translation of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide* produced at the Dresden court theater.
Summer Readings in Greek drama, Roman history, Hegel.
24 October Conducts *Rienzi* in Berlin; production fails to achieve the hoped-for breakthrough for Wagner in the Prussian capital (in Berlin from 18 September through 6 November).
- 1848** 9 January Wagner's mother Johanna dies.
February–March Political insurrections in Paris with immediate repercussions in German states and Austria. Wagner continues

series of orchestral concerts in Dresden, in addition to operatic productions.

16 April Conducts orchestral concert (Palm Sunday) featuring Beethoven's Symphony No. 8.

June Delivers speech to the Dresden Vaterlandsverein (a political discussion group), "How Do Republican Aims Relate to the Institution of Monarchy?" (published anonymously in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* 15 June).

4 October Completes prose scenario for a drama on the Nibelung Saga (published version: "The Nibelung Myth"); prose draft for a libretto, *Siegfrieds Tod* (*Siegfried's Death*), 20 October; draft of libretto completed 28 November. An essay entitled "The Wibelungs: World-History from the Saga," written between late 1848 and early 1849, speculates on mythographic connections between Siegfried, Friedrich Barbarossa, the Nibelungen hoard, and the Holy Grail.

1849 *January* Draft of a spoken drama, *Jesus of Nazareth*.

5–8 May Involvement in the political uprising in Dresden, occasioned by Friedrich August II's dissolution of the two Saxon chambers of deputies.

9–28 May Flees Dresden, stopping in Eisenach (the Wartburg) and Weimar (Franz Liszt), before continuing to Zurich on a false passport.

2 June Arrives in Paris, at Liszt's suggestion, to look for career opportunities. Returns to Zurich a month later.

Summer Writes long essay on *Art and Revolution*, followed by *The Artwork of the Future* (finished 4 November); published 1849 and 1850, respectively.

1850 *January, March* Prose drafts of an opera scenario, *Wieland the Smith*.

1 February Returns to Paris, in search of further opportunities.

March–April Involvement with Jessie Laussot (Bordeaux); plans to separate from Minna and travel abroad. After some months of unsettled existence, returns to Zurich and Minna (3 July).

May Visits with Julie Ritter and family (from Dresden) in Villeneuve (Lake Geneva); acquires promise of subsidy from Ritter together with the Laussot family.

August Composition sketches for opening scenes (prologue) of *Siegfried's Death*. Writes essay "Judaism in Music" (published

- 3, 6 September in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*). *Lohengrin* premiered under Liszt in Weimar, 28 August.
- 1851** *January–February* Completes draft of major theoretical treatise, *Opera and Drama* (published 1852); favorite parrot Papo dies 12 February.
- May–June* Prose scenario followed by full libretto for a “prequel” to *Siegfried’s Death* entitled *Young Siegfried* (*Der junge Siegfried*).
- August* An “artistic” autobiography drafted as *A Communication to My Friends* (published 1852).
- 15 September–23 November* Hydrotherapy cure pursued at Albisbrunn, near Zurich.
- November* First prose drafts of *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre*.
- 1852** *February* Meets Otto and Mathilde Wesendonck.
- 25 April–2 May* Conducts performances of *Der fliegende Holländer* in Zurich.
- 1 July* Completes libretto of *Die Walküre*.
- Summer* Travels in the Alps and the Italian lakes.
- 3 November* Completes libretto of *Das Rheingold*.
- 15 December* Completes revisions to *Siegfried’s Death* (eventually to become *Götterdämmerung*), following those to *Young Siegfried*. Complete text of Ring cycle read aloud at the house of François and Eliza Wille, 18–19 December.
- 1853** *February* Private printing (fifty copies) of the text of the Ring cycle. Larger public reading in Zurich (Hotel Baur au Lac), 16–19 February 1853.
- May* Concerts of opera excerpts (up through *Lohengrin*) in Zurich.
- 2–10 July* Visit from Liszt, followed by travels in the Alps with Georg Herwegh (14 July–10 August).
- 24 August–10 September* Travels via Turin to the Ligurian coast (Genoa, La Spezia); later account (*ML*) posits the conception of the music for the beginning of *Das Rheingold* during a fevered sleep in La Spezia (early September).
- October* Journeys via Basel, Paris back to Zurich, partly in the company of Liszt and Carolyn Sayn-Wittgenstein (meets Cosima Liszt in Paris).
- November* Begins composition of *Das Rheingold*.
- 1854** *14 January* Composition draft of *Das Rheingold* completed; full score completed 28 May.
- 28 June* Begins composition draft of *Die Walküre*, completed 27 December.

- Fall* Begins reading Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*.
- 1855** *January* Begins orchestration of *Die Walküre*.
26 February Travels via Paris to London. Directs series of concerts in London, March–June 1855.
30 June Returns to Zurich.
December (or earlier) First ideas for a musico-dramatic treatment of the Tristan and Isolde story.
- 1856** *23 March* Fair copy of *Die Walküre* orchestral score completed.
16 May Prose sketch of drama on Buddhist legend, *Die Sieger* (*The Victors*).
Summer Pursues water cure in Mornex.
September Begins composition draft of *Siegfried*, Act 1. (Definitive titles of *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung* established spring 1856.) Orchestral draft begun 11 October and completed 31 March 1857.
13 October–27 November Franz Liszt visits Wagner in Zurich, with Princess Wittgenstein. Auditions of *Walküre*, Act 1 (Liszt at the piano) in Zurich, 22 October. Liszt and Wagner present orchestral concerts in St. Gallen (Symphonic Poems of Liszt, Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony).
19 December First musical ideas for *Tristan und Isolde* sketched.
- 1857** *15 February* Finishes “open letter” on Liszt's Symphonic Poems (published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*).
April Moves with Minna into the guest cottage (Asyl) of Otto and Mathilde Wesendonck, outside Zurich (Enge). First ideas for *Parsifal* libretto sketched.
22 May On his birthday, begins composition draft of *Siegfried*, Act 2.
26–27 June Breaks off simultaneous work on composition and orchestral drafts of *Siegfried*, Act 2 (at “Forest Murmurs” episode), and resumes in mid-summer (completed 30 July, 9 August, respectively).
18 August Cosima Liszt marries Hans von Bülow in Berlin.
20 August–18 September Prose draft and libretto of *Tristan und Isolde*.
1 October Begins composition draft of *Tristan*, Act 1, completed 31 December.
December Sets several poems by Mathilde Wesendonck, using ideas partially reworked afterwards in *Tristan und Isolde*.

- 1858** 15 January–6 February Travels to Paris in wake of domestic tensions regarding his intimacy with Mathilde Wesendonck.
3 April Orchestral score of *Tristan*, Act 1, completed.
7 April Following Richard's return to Zurich, Minna intercepts a letter to Mathilde Wesendonck; Minna seeks therapy in Brestenberg (15 April–15 July) for heart ailment; continued domestic tensions lead to Richard's departure from Zurich toward the end of the summer.
4 May Begins composition draft of *Tristan*, Act 2, completed 1 July (full score completed 18 March 1859).
30 August Occupies rooms in the Palazzo Giustiniani in Venice, with Karl Ritter.
- 1859** 24–28 March Travels via Milan to Lucerne. Settles in Lucerne following brief return to Zurich (2–3 April).
9 April Begins composition draft of *Tristan*, Act 3, completed 16 July. Orchestral draft 1 May–19 July, full score completed 6 August.
6–11 September Travels via Zurich to Paris. Minna joins Richard 17 November.
- 1860** 25 January, 1 and 8 February Concerts at the Théâtre Italien attract attention of a broad public including Auguste Gaspérini, Louvre curator Frédéric Villot, writers Charles Baudelaire and Champfleury, artist Gustave Doré, musicians Stephen Heller, Gounod, Saint-Saëns, and others.
24–28 March Concerts in Brussels.
May Auditions of *Tristan*, Act 2, at the house of Pauline Viardot-Garcia.
Summer Travels with Minna (Bad Soden, Frankfurt, Baden-Baden).
September Publication of French prose translations of the Dresden operas (*Quatre poèmes d'opéras*) with prefatory essay addressed to Frédéric Villot (prefatory essay republished in German as "*Zukunftsmusik*" [*Music of the Future*], 1861).
October–December New "Bacchanale" and revisions to Act 1 of *Tannhäuser* for Paris production (completed 28 January 1861).
- 1861** 13 March Premiere of the revised French score of *Tannhäuser* at the Paris opera (Rue le Peletier); oppositional voices led by the Jockey Club create legendary scandal, and the production is canceled after third performance (24 March).

May Successful production of *Lohengrin* in Vienna (first time Wagner hears or sees it); Vienna court opera promises to mount the premiere of *Tristan und Isolde*.

July–August Minna returns to Bad Soden, Richard follows (from Paris); visits with Liszt and family in Weimar, stops in Nuremberg, Munich en route to Vienna.

September–October Initial rehearsals of *Tristan* in Vienna gradually falter, in part due to continuing indisposition and incapacity of the tenor Aloys Ander.

November Visit with Otto and Mathilde Wesendonck in Venice. On the train ride back to Vienna, Wagner claims (*ML*) to have conceived the main ideas of the *Meistersinger* Prelude (Act 1). Completes full prose draft for the new opera 18 November, reads aloud to invited public at Schott's in Mainz, 3 December.

1862 *25–31 January* Libretto of *Die Meistersinger* completed.

5 February Reads libretto to invited guests at Schott's again, in Mainz. Settles temporarily in Biebrich, near Mainz (mid-February). Troubles with Minna (visits in Biebrich, 21 February–3 March).

13–20 April Drafts Prelude to Act 1 of *Die Meistersinger* (Prelude to Act 3 drafted 22 May).

July Visits from Hans and Cosima von Bülow, Ludwig and Malvina Schnorr von Carolsfeld (later to create title roles in *Tristan und Isolde*) in Biebrich.

1 November Conducts *Meistersinger* Prelude in Leipzig; visits Minna in Dresden (3 November).

14 November Settles again in Vienna, still with hopes for a Viennese premiere of *Tristan*. Friendship with actress Friederike Meyer (alienating her sister, Luise Dustmann, the intended creator of *Isolde*). Reads *Meistersinger* libretto at the house of Dr. Josef Standthartner, in Eduard Hanslick's presence (23 November).

26 December Conducts concert of his music at the Theater an der Wien (further concerts January 1863).

1863 *January* Prepares *Ring* librettos for publication. Concerts in Vienna (1, 11 January), resulting only in financial losses.

February Travels via Berlin, Königsberg to St. Petersburg for concerts, also in Moscow, March–April.

May New, expensively appointed lodgings in Penzing (Vienna). Completes in score the opening scene of *Die Meistersinger*, Act 1 (mid-June). Friendship with Peter Cornelius.

July Concerts in Budapest.

4 November New production of *Der fliegende Holländer* in Prague. Further contact with court and theater in Karlsruhe (ongoing since 1861).

28 November Visits with Bülow in Berlin, en route to concerts in Löwenberg and Breslau. Intimacy with Cosima von Bülow begins (“Amid tears and sobs we confessed that henceforth we would only belong to one another,” *ML*, suppressed in earlier editions).

1864 23 March Fleeing creditors in Vienna, arrives in Munich. Travels in southern Germany and Switzerland, arriving 29 April in Stuttgart.
3 May On the day following the death of Giacomo Meyerbeer in Paris (as Wagner later observed), cabinet secretary Franz von Pfistermeister delivers a summons from King Ludwig II of Bavaria, to whom Wagner is presented in Munich, 4 May. Arrangements for Ludwig’s patronage of Wagner begin.

14 May Moves into a villa (Haus Pellet) rented for him by Ludwig on Lake Starnberg in Bavaria. Cosima von Bülow visits there with daughters Daniela and Blandine, 29 June; Hans von Bülow arrives 7 July.

July–August First of various writings produced on behalf of Ludwig (“On State and Religion”), and draft of *Huldigungsmarsch* (*March of Homage*).

September–October Rents lodgings in Munich (Briennerstrasse). Fair copy of orchestral score of *Siegfried*, Act 1, scene 2 (27 September). Contract with Ludwig for completion of the *Ring* project.

20 November Hans and Cosima von Bülow move to Munich.

4 December *Der fliegende Holländer* produced at Munich court theater. Orchestral draft of *Siegfried*, Act 2, begun (22 December).

1865 February–March Anti-Wagner sentiment in Munich begins to surface.

10 April First child of Wagner and Cosima, Isolde, born in Munich (christened von Bülow).

11 May Rehearsals for premiere of *Tristan und Isolde* begin in Munich. Minna Wagner writes her will (Dresden).

10 June Hans von Bülow conducts the premiere of *Tristan und Isolde* in Munich, with Ludwig and Malvina Schnorr von Carolsfeld. Further performances 13, 19 June, 1 July.

17 July Begins dictation to Cosima of autobiography (to 1864), *Mein Leben*.

27–31 August Prose draft of *Parsifal* (here, *Parzival*).

- 14–27 September Series of journal entries for Ludwig, published 1878 as “What Is German?”
- December In the face of increasing political hostility to his presence and activities in Munich, Wagner leaves the city and settles at first near Geneva (Les Artichauts). Continues composition draft of *Die Meistersinger*, Act 1 (January 1866).
- 1866** 25 January Minna Wagner dies, in Dresden.
- April Rents villa (Haus Tribschen) on Lake Lucerne. Cosima, Daniela, and Blandine von Bülow come to stay.
- 15 May Begins composition draft of *Die Meistersinger*, Act 2. Ludwig visits at Tribschen for Wagner’s birthday (22–24 May).
- 10 June Leaving his post as court pianist in Munich, Hans von Bülow arrives at Tribschen.
- September Hans von Bülow moves to Basel, Cosima remains at Tribschen. Orchestral draft of *Die Meistersinger*, Act 2, completed (23 September).
- 24 December Gives Ludwig autograph score of *Das Liebesverbot* as Christmas present; fair copies of full scores of *Rheingold* and *Walküre* previously offered as birthday presents (25 August 1865, 1866).
- 1867** 7 February Composition draft of *Die Meistersinger*, Act 3, completed; orchestral draft completed 5 March.
- 17 February Eva, second child of Cosima by Richard, born at Tribschen.
- Spring Extended visits to Munich, Starnberg, and contact with Ludwig II. *Lohengrin* produced in Munich in June.
- Summer Orchestration of *Die Meistersinger*, completed 24 October.
- 16 September Cosima and daughters return to Munich and to husband Hans.
- 24 December Gives Ludwig II autograph full score of *Die Meistersinger*.
- 1868** Spring Brochure *German Art and German Politics*, second edition of *Opera and Drama*, “Recollections of Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld” (died 21 July 1865) prepared for publication.
- 21 May Wagner arrives in Munich to attend rehearsals of *Die Meistersinger*; premiere 21 June (St. John’s Day) at the Munich court opera, under Hans von Bülow.
- August Notes for a drama, *Luther’s Wedding*.

- 14 September–6 October Travels with Cosima to northern Italy. Decision to seek her divorce from Hans von Bülow, and to inform Ludwig II of the situation.
- 8 November Meets Friedrich Nietzsche at the home of Wagner's brother-in-law Hermann Brockhaus, Leipzig.
- 16 November Cosima returns with daughters Isolde and Eva to Tribschen.
- 24 December Gives Ludwig II autograph full score of *Rienzi*.
- 1869** 1 January Cosima begins diaries of her life with Wagner, continued through the day of his death.
- January Writes new "afterword" to "Judaism in Music" essay, republished as a brochure under Wagner's own name in March.
- 23 February Fair copy of full score of *Siegfried*, Act 2, completed; composition draft of Act 3 begun 1 March.
- 7 May Elected a member of the Royal Academy of the Arts in Berlin.
- 17 May Nietzsche, now appointed professor in Basel, makes his first visit to Tribschen.
- 6 June Wagner's first and only son (the third child by Cosima), Siegfried Helferich, born at Tribschen.
- 14 June Composition draft of *Siegfried*, Act 3, completed; orchestral draft completed 5 August.
- September Attends rehearsals for the Munich production (world premiere) of *Das Rheingold* (22 September), which he opposed but had been unable to prevent, conducted by Franz Wüllner.
- October Composition draft of *Götterdämmerung* begun. Writes essay "On Conducting" (October–November).
- 1870** 11 January Begins orchestral draft of *Götterdämmerung* (Prologue).
- 5 March Attention drawn to Bayreuth (Markgräfliches Opernhaus) as possible venue for the complete "festival" performance of the *Ring* cycle.
- 26 June *Die Walküre* premiered in Munich; as with *Das Rheingold* (1869), Wüllner conducts.
- 18 July Divorce of Hans and Cosima von Bülow ratified in Berlin.
- 19 July War declared between France and Prussia. Visit from Catulle and Judith (Gautier-)Mendès, Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, Henri Duparc, Camille Saint-Saëns leads to personal and political conflicts.
- 20 July–7 September Drafts musical-philosophical essay *Beethoven* in honor of the 100th anniversary of the composer's birth.

- 25 August Cosima married to Richard Wagner in the Protestant church at Lucerne.
- October–November A comedy “in the manner of Aristophanes” (*Eine Kapitulation*) satirizing the fortunes of France and the Parisians in the conflict with Prussia and allied German states conceived as libretto for a modern political operetta in the style of Offenbach. Hans Richter attempts to compose music.
- December Completes orchestral tone-poem on themes from *Siegfried*, the *Siegfried-Idyll*, privately premiered on Christmas day in honor of Cosima’s birthday (24 December). Private printing of the first volume of memoirs (*Mein Leben*).
- 1871** 5 February Full score of *Siegfried*, Act 3, completed.
- February–March Composition of *Kaisermarsch* (Imperial March) in honor of the new German Reich and its emperor, Wilhelm I.
- March–April Writings on opera (“On the Destiny of Opera”) and the Bayreuth festival scheme.
- 3–9 April Nietzsche visits at Tribschen and reads draft, *The Origins and Goal of Tragedy*. At Wagner’s suggestion, he subsequently revises the book to address the modern music drama in relation to ancient tragedy (as *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music*), presented to Wagner in proofs, 2 January 1872.
- 15–20 April Travels with Cosima to Bayreuth. Considers the eighteenth-century margrave’s opera house (Markgräflisches Opernhaus) briefly as a venue for his future festival.
- April–May Travels with Cosima to Berlin (received by Bismarck, 3 May), Leipzig, Darmstadt with an eye to preparations for Bayreuth project. Conducts orchestral concert in the Royal Opera House, Berlin, 5 May.
- 24 June Composition draft of *Götterdämmerung*, Act 2, begun (orchestral draft completed 19 November). *Rienzi* produced in Munich (27 June).
- 31 October Completes “Recollections of Auber.”
- 1–7 November, 14–15 December Preliminary arrangements with city council of Bayreuth regarding plans for festival and theater.
- 1872** 4 January Composition draft of *Götterdämmerung*, Act 3, begun (orchestral draft completed 23 July).
- 24 January–4 February More travels (Berlin, Weimar, Bayreuth) regarding financing and administration of the Bayreuth festival. Deed to property of the eventual villa Wahnfried acquired, 1 February.

- 25 April Nietzsche's last (of twenty-three) visits to the Wagner family at Tribschen.
- 30 April Cosima and rest of household join Richard in Bayreuth.
- 6–13 May Concert tour to Vienna.
- 22 May On Wagner's birthday the foundation-laying ceremony of the festival theater is celebrated, including performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.
- June–September Wagner family occupies lodgings in the Hotel Fantaisie outside Bayreuth. "On Actors and Singers" completed 14 September. Moves late September to no. 7 Dammallee.
- 31 July–22 August Completes dictation (to Cosima) of the second section of *Mein Leben* (to 1850), privately printed in December.
- 10 November–14 December Talent-scouting tour for potential singers for Bayreuth project (Würzburg, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Strasbourg, Karlsruhe, Wiesbaden, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Hannover, Magdeburg, Dessau, Leipzig).
- 1873 12 January–7 February Further travels to Dresden (performance of *Rienzi*, meeting with Wesendoncks), Berlin, Hamburg (conducts concerts), Schwerin, and Berlin again (conducts concert 4 February).
- March "On the Performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony."
- Late April Travels to Cologne (conducts concert 24 April), Kassel, Leipzig.
- 3 May Full score of *Götterdämmerung*, Act 1, begun (full score of Act 2 completed 26 June 1874; full score of Act 3 completed 21 November 1874).
- 22 May Wagner's sixtieth birthday celebrated with a concert in the Markgräfliches Opernhaus in Bayreuth. With Cosima, attends performance of Liszt's *Christus* in Weimar, 29 May.
- 24 June Submits to Bismarck essay on "The Festival Theater at Bayreuth" in hopes of gaining state support for the project (not forthcoming).
- September Anton Bruckner visits in Bayreuth and presents Wagner with score and dedication of his Symphony No. 3 in D minor.
- 30 October–2 November Nietzsche visits in Bayreuth.
- 21 November Discusses with court secretary Lorenz von Düfflipp proposals for subsidy by Ludwig II for the festival theater project. By the following February (1874) Ludwig agrees to extending him a line of credit. Back in Bayreuth (28 November)

- meets with machinist Karl Brandt of Darmstadt and painter-designer Josef Hoffmann of Vienna regarding production plans for the *Ring* cycle.
- 1874** *16 January* Drafts proposal (unsuccessful) for imperial subsidy of the Bayreuth festival, for one-third of total costs.
28 April The Wagner family moves into the newly built Villa Wahnfried in Bayreuth (building costs covered by Ludwig II).
20 May Hans Richter arrives in Bayreuth to consult about musical preparation for the *Ring* cycle, and embarks on two-week tour regarding singers. Several arrive later in June (including Emil Scaria, Franz Betz, Georg Unger, and Karl Hill) to work with Wagner. In July Amalie Materna, Marianne Brandt, Albert Niemann, and Carl Schlosser do likewise.
4–15 August Further visit from Nietzsche in Bayreuth; growing tensions.
1 December Visits Coburg to consult with Brückner brothers Max and Gotthold about stage sets. Invites Emil Doepler of Berlin to design costumes (17 December).
- 1875** *20 February–16 March* Cosima and Richard travel to Vienna for concerts (1 and 14 March) as well as a joint concert with Liszt in Budapest, 10 March.
9–26 April Cosima and Richard travel via Leipzig (hear Schumann's *Genoveva*), Hannover, Braunschweig to Berlin for concerts with Materna and Niemann. Return to Vienna for a third concert (6 May).
July–August Proceeds from spring concerts help pay for rehearsals with singers and orchestra of the *Ring* cycle, now planned for the following summer. Richter conducts.
1 November–17 December Consults on new productions of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* in Vienna (first performances 22 November, 15 December, under Richter). Hears Richter conduct Verdi's *Requiem*.
- 1876** *8 February* Contract for composition of a march for centennial festivities commemorating American independence (4 July 1876), commissioned through Theodor Thomas (drafted 15–20 February, orchestration finished 17 March).
4–23 March Trip to Berlin for local premiere of *Tristan und Isolde*.
3 June–9 August Final series of rehearsals for the Bayreuth festival premiere of the *Ring des Nibelungen* cycle. (Ludwig II attends dress rehearsals 6–9 August.)

13, 14, 16, 17 August First Bayreuth festival performances of the *Ring* cycle. Second cycle 20–23 August, third cycle 27–30 August. Many illustrious visitors. Despite subsidies and fund-raising programs, festival concludes with deficit of approximately 148,000 Reichsmark.

Late summer Affair with Judith Gautier (recently divorced from Catulle Mendès).

14 September–20 December Wagner travels with family via Munich to Italy (Verona, Bologna, Sorrento, Naples, Rome, Florence).

Final encounter with Nietzsche in Sorrento, late October.

1877

1 January Drafts a circular to the Society of Patrons entreating continued support of the Bayreuth festival, and to petition the German Reichstag to that end as well.

February–April Libretto of *Parsifal* developed; completed 19 April.

30 April–4 June Travels with Cosima to London. Eight concerts given (with Hans Richter) in Albert Hall, 7–29 May, to raise money toward festival debts. Reads libretto of *Parsifal* to invited audience at 12 Orme Square, Bayswater, 17 May, following audience at Windsor with Queen Victoria, who asks after Wagner’s dog Rus, among other things.

June Richard and Cosima join children in Bad Ems.

5–28 July Visits in Heidelberg, Nuremberg, Weimar, and Switzerland (Lucerne).

Late September Composition and orchestral drafts of *Parsifal*, Act 1, begun (orchestral draft completed 31 January 1878).

7 October Hans von Wolzogen settles in Bayreuth, to serve as editor of the *Bayreuther Blätter* (1878–1938). Wagner’s contributions include “Modern,” “Public and Popularity,” “The Public in Time and Space” (1878); “Shall We Hope?” “On Poetry and Composition,” “On Opera Poetry and Composition in Particular,” “On the Application of Music to the Drama,” “Against Vivisection: Open Letter to Ernst von Weber” (1879), “Religion and Art” (1880), and several “supplements” (“What Avails This Knowledge?” “Know Thyself,” “Heroism and Christianity”).

1878

March Begins composition and orchestral drafts of *Parsifal*, Act 2 (completed 11 October).

Nietzsche (who received *Parsifal* libretto on 3 January, with strongly mixed feelings) sends Wagner *Human, All Too Human*. His attachment to Cosima remains strong, despite his distance from Wagner.

- 20–31 August Franz Liszt visits in Bayreuth.
30 October Composition draft of *Parsifal*, Act 3, begun; works on composition and orchestral drafts of Act 3 through 26 April 1879.
17–23 November Ring cycle performed in Munich.
25 December Prelude to *Parsifal* performed at Wahnfried for Cosima's birthday.
- 1879** January Complete Ring cycles produced in Leipzig.
21–31 August Franz Liszt visits in Bayreuth.
23 August Begins full score of *Parsifal* (Act 1 completed 25 April 1881; Act 2 completed 20 October 1881; Act 3 completed 13 January 1882).
20 October Heinrich von Stein (philosopher, poet, and student of liberal socialist Karl Eugen Dühring) settles at Wahnfried as tutor to Siegfried.
31 December Wagner and family travel via Munich to Italy.
- 1880** 4 January Family occupies Villa d'Angri in Posillipo, near Naples.
18 January Russian artist Paul von Joukowsky visits the Wagners in Posillipo.
9 March Engelbert Humperdinck visits the Wagners in Posillipo (later assists with copying of *Parsifal* in Bayreuth). Dictation of *Mein Leben* concluded, late March.
22 May Act 1 Grail scene of *Parsifal* performed (with Humperdinck, Joseph Rubinstein, and the Wagner children) for Wagner's birthday.
8 August–30 October Family travels to Tuscany, Venice.
25 August Final privately printed volume of *Mein Leben* presented to Ludwig II.
31 October–17 November Visit in Munich (with painter Franz von Lenbach, conductor Hermann Levi). Performances of *Fliegende Holländer*, *Tristan*, *Lohengrin*. Returns to Bayreuth, 17 November.
- 1881** 5–9 May Production of Ring cycle in Berlin, arranged by Angelo Neumann based on original Bayreuth festival and Leipzig 1879 productions (Wagner attends).
11 May Count Arthur Gobineau visits at Bayreuth for several weeks. (Wagner reads Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* [Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races] the previous February.)
26 June Hermann Levi stays at Wahnfried. Preparatory work toward *Parsifal* production (June–July).
22 September–9 October Franz Liszt visits in Bayreuth.

1 November Wagner and family travel via Munich and Verona to Palermo, arriving 5 November. Full score of *Parsifal*, Act 3, begun 8 November; Joseph Rubinstein completes piano-vocal score of the opera (published 1882).

- 1882** 13 January Completes orchestration of *Parsifal* (Act 3).
February Moves to Villa Gangi (Palermo) and the following month to the Grand Hôtel des Bains, Acireale, in conjunction with engagement of Blandine von Bülow to Count Biagio Gravina (married 25 August in Bayreuth).
April In view of continuing health trouble and poor weather, Wagner family begins return trip to Bayreuth.
Spring “Royal loggia” (“Königsbau”) added to front of festival theater.
5 May Beginning of complete *Ring* cycles at Her Majesty’s Theatre, London.
11 May–17 June Count Gobineau visits again in Bayreuth.
2 July Rehearsals for *Parsifal* begin.
15 July–30 August Liszt visits in Bayreuth (with some weeks in Weimar).
26 July Premiere of *Parsifal* at the second Bayreuth festival, conducted by Hermann Levi. Sixteen performances through 29 August. Wagner suffers heart trouble during the run of performances, but conducts the final part of Act 3 in last performance.
14 September Wagner and family leave for Venice, arrive 16 September and occupy (18 September) apartments in the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi.
19 November Liszt visits in Venice, through 13 January 1883.
24 December Wagner conducts his early C-major symphony in a concert at the Teatro la Fenice in Venice, for Cosima’s birthday; Liszt performs as well.
- 1883** 11–13 February Works on an essay “On the Feminine Element in the Human.”
13 February Richard Wagner dies in Venice, 3:30 p.m.
16 February Wagner’s body is returned to Bayreuth, accompanied by his family, Hans Richter, Adolf Gross (subsequently financial adviser to the Wagner family).
Wagner buried at Wahnfried, 18 February.

Abbreviations

- CWD *Cosima Wagner's Diaries*, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. Geoffrey Skelton, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1978–80).
- GS Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1887–1911).
- ML Richard Wagner, *My Life*, trans. Andrew Gray (Cambridge, 1983).
- PW *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis, 8 vols. (New York, 1966; orig. edn., 1895–1912).
- SB Richard Wagner, *Sämtliche Briefe*, ed. Gertrud Strobel, Werner Wolf, et al., 16 vols. to date (Leipzig, 1967–2000; Wiesbaden, 1999–).
- SL Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington, eds., *Selected Letters of Richard Wagner* (London and New York, 1988).
- SSD Richard Wagner, *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, 16 vols. (Leipzig, 1911–16).
- SW Richard Wagner, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Mainz, 1970–).
- WWV *Wagner Werk-Verzeichnis: Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke Richard Wagners und ihrer Quellen*, ed. John Deathridge, Martin Geck, and Egon Voss (Mainz and New York, 1986).

