

Bibliographic Essay for Alex Ross's *Wagnerism: Art and Politics in the Shadow of Music*

The notes in the printed text of *Wagnerism* give sources for material quoted in the book and cite the important primary and secondary literature on which I drew. From those notes, I have assembled an alphabetized bibliography of works cited. However, my reading and research went well beyond the literature catalogued in the notes, and in the following essay I hope to give as complete an accounting of my research as I can manage. Perhaps the document will be of use to scholars doing further work on the phenomenon of Wagnerism. As I indicate in my introduction and acknowledgments, I am tremendously grateful to scholars who have gone before me; a not inconsiderable number of them volunteered personal assistance as I worked.

Wagner has been the subject of thousands of books—although the often-quoted claim that more has been written about him than anyone except Christ or Napoleon is one of many indestructible Wagner myths. (Barry Millington, long established one of the leading Wagner commentators in English, disposes of it briskly in an essay on “Myths and Legends” in his *Wagner Compendium*, published by Schirmer in 1992.) Nonetheless, the literature is vast, and since Wagner himself is not the central focus of my book I won't attempt any sort of broad survey here. I will, however, indicate the major works that guided me in assembling the piecemeal portrait of Wagner that emerges in my book.

The most extensive biography, though by no means the most trustworthy, is the six-volume, thirty-one-hundred-page life by the Wagner idolater Carl Friedrich Glasenapp (Breitkopf und Härtel, 1894–1911). Far more skeptical and judicious is Ernest Newman's four-volume English-language biography (1933–1947; reissued by Cambridge UP in 1976). Although modern scholarship has superseded much of it, Newman's account remains an essential point of reference, not to mention amusing to read in its flights of exasperation. Curt von Westernhagen's 1968 biography, revised in 1978 and translated into English by Mary Whittall that same year (Atlantis/Cambridge UP), adds valuable material to Newman's account, although the author had a Nazi past and was blind to Wagner's antisemitism. Martin Gregor-Dellin's 1980 biography (Piper; translated by J. Maxwell Brownjohn for Harcourt, 1983), has great literary merit, although it works too hard to reclaim Wagner for the left. Robert Gutman's 1968 biography (Harcourt) suffers from the opposite problem, taking a prosecutorial, punitive approach. Joachim Köhler's *Der Letzte der Titanen: Richard Wagners Leben und Werk* (Econ Ullstein List, 2001; translated by Stewart Spencer for Yale UP, 2004) gives a rich picture of Wagner's confused family background but indulges in rampant psychologizing. Ulrich Drüner's *Richard Wagner: Die Inszenierung eines Lebens* (Blessing, 2016), is a model work of informed skepticism, steeped in the latest scholarship. Two shorter studies by Barry Millington are invaluable for those seeking a more manageable orientation: *Wagner* (Dent, 1984) and *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth: Richard Wagner, His Work and His World* (Oxford UP, 2012).

Translations of the *Ring* are based on Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington's *Wagner's Ring of the Nibelung: A Companion* (Thames and Hudson, 1993). I also consulted Andrew Porter's “singing” translation, *The Ring of the Nibelung* (Norton, 1977), and a recent version by John Deathridge (Penguin, 2018), and for variants and revised versions of Wagner's dramatic texts, I looked to the imposing Schott edition of Wagner's *Sämtliche Werke*, in particular vol. 11:3: “*Der Ring des Nibelungen*,” *Ein Bühnenfestspiel für drei Tage und einen Vorabend, Erster Tag: “Die Walküre,” Dritter Aufzug und Kritischer Bericht*, ed. Christa Jost (2005); vol. 27:

*Dokumente und Texte zu "Tristan und Isolde,"* ed. Gabriele E. Meyer and Egon Voss (2008); and vol. 28: *Dokumente und Texte zu "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg,"* ed. Egon Voss (2013). All translations from Wagner's prose writings are based on the sixteen-volume edition of the *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen* that Breitkopf und Härtel published in 1912–14. I have largely ignored William Ashton Ellis's bizarre, often unreadable translations of Wagner's prose, which, sadly, remain the standard versions in English. Wherever possible, quotations of Wagner's letters come from Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington's *Selected Letters of Richard Wagner* (Norton, 1988). Otherwise, I relied on the monumental edition of the *Sämtliche Briefe*, which has proceeded as far as the year 1873 (Deutscher Verlag für Musik/Breitkopf und Härtel, 1967–), with a few letters taken from other sources: *Briefe, 1830–1883*, ed. Werner Otto (Henschel, 1983); *Briefe Richard Wagners an Emil Heckel*, ed. Karl Heckel (Fischer, 1899): "Richard Wagner an Friedrich Feustel," ed. Hans von Wolzogen, *Bayreuther Blätter* 26 (1903), pp. 161–219. For Cosima Wagner's diaries, I relied on Geoffrey Skelton's excellent translation (Harcourt, 1978–80), although I made some adjustments based on *Die Tagebücher*, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack (Piper, 1976–77). Passages from Wagner's memoirs are taken from *My Life*, trans. Andrew Gray, ed. Mary Whittall (Cambridge UP, 1983), with reference also to *Mein Leben*, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (List, 1969). Wagner's scattered diary entries come from *Das braune Buch: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1865 bis 1882* (Atlantis, 1975).

Among general studies of Wagner's work, I gained crucial insights from Theodor W. Adorno's incomparable *Versuch über Wagner* (Suhrkamp, 1952; translated by Rodney Livingstone for New Left Books, 1981); Dieter Borchmeyer's *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner*, trans. Daphne Ellis (Princeton UP, 2003); Carl Dahlhaus's *Richard Wagner's Music Dramas*, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge UP, 1979); John Deathridge's *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil* (University of California Press, 2008); Barry Emslie's *Richard Wagner and the Centrality of Love* (Boydell, 2010); Martin Geck's *Richard Wagner: A Life in Music*, trans. Stewart Spencer (University of Chicago Press, 2013); Thomas S. Grey's *Wagner's Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts* (Cambridge UP, 1995); Bryan Magee's *Aspects of Wagner* (Oxford UP, 1988) and *The Tristan Chord: Wagner and Philosophy* (Metropolitan, 2000); Hans Mayer's *Richard Wagner: Mitwelt und Nachwelt* (Belser, 1978); Michael Tanner's *Wagner* (Princeton UP, 1996); and David Trippett's *Wagner's Melodies: Aesthetics and Materialism in German Musical Identity* (Cambridge UP, 2013); among many others. Important essay collections include Millington's aforementioned *Wagner Compendium*; the *Wagner Handbook*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, trans. John Deathridge (Harvard UP, 1992); *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner*, ed. Thomas S. Grey (Cambridge UP, 2008); *Wagner and His World*, ed. Thomas S. Grey (Princeton UP, 2010); *The Cambridge Wagner Encyclopedia*, ed. Hans Vazsonyi (Cambridge UP, 2013); and *Richard Wagner, Konstrukteur der Moderne*, ed. Claus-Steffen Mahnkopf (Klett-Cotta, 1999). The periodicals *wagnerspectrum* and *The Wagner Journal* regularly bring forth new insights into Wagner and Wagnerism alike.

For the foreseeable future, the standard history of the Bayreuth Festival will be Oswald Georg Bauer's two-volume *Die Geschichte der Bayreuther Festspiele* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2016). The classic English-language account is Frederic Spotts's *Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival* (Yale UP, 1994). Susanna Großmann-Vendrey's *Bayreuth in der deutschen Presse*, 3 vols. (Bosse, 1977–83), is an invaluable record of press reactions to the festival at various stages of its history. For Bayreuth at the fin-de-siècle, I consulted Robert Hartford's *Bayreuth: The Early Years* (Gollancz, 1980) and Albert Lavignac's *Le Voyage artistique à Bayreuth*, 5th ed. (Delagrave, 1903). On the history of Wagner staging, see Bauer's *Richard*

*Wagner: Die Bühnenwerke von der Uraufführung bis heute* (Propyläen, 1982); Dietrich Mack's *Der Bayreuther Inszenierungsstil, 1876–1976* (Prestel 1976); Barry Millington and Stewart Spencer's *Wagner in Performance* (Yale UP, 1992); and, the essential book on the subject, Patrick Carnegy's *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre* (Yale UP, 2006).

There is a considerable literature by and about members of the Wagner family. Eva Rieger's *Minna und Richard Wagner: Stationen einer Liebe* (Artemis & Winkler, 2003), dispels myths about Wagner's first marriage. Richard Du Moulin Eckart's *Cosima Wagner: Ein Lebens- und Charakterbild* (Drei Masken, 1929) is the work of a Bayreuth courtier; Oliver Hilmes's *Cosima Wagner: The Lady of Bayreuth*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Yale UP, 2010) gives a modern view. Further sources for the indomitable Cosima are her correspondence with Ludwig II, *Briefe: Eine erstaunliche Korrespondenz*, ed. Martha Schad (Lübbe, 1996); *Cosima Wagner und Houston Stewart Chamberlain im Briefwechsel, 1888–1908*, ed. Paul Pretzsch (Reclam, 1934); and *Das zweite Leben: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, 1883–1930*, ed. Dietrich Mack (Piper, 1980). Brigitte Hamann's *Winifred Wagner oder Hitlers Bayreuth* (Piper, 2002; translated by Alan Bance for Harcourt, 2005) is a hugely revealing portrait of Bayreuth in the Nazi era. I also consulted Geoffrey Skelton's *Richard and Cosima Wagner: Biography of a Marriage* (Houghton Mifflin, 1982). Siegfried Wagner's *Erinnerungen* (Engelhorn, 1923); Friedelind Wagner's *The Royal Family of Bayreuth* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1948); Eva Rieger's *Friedelind Wagner: Richard Wagner's Rebellious Granddaughter*, trans. Chris Walton (Boydell, 2013); Franz Wilhelm Beidler's *Cosima Wagner: Ein Porträt: Richard Wagners erster Enkel: Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefwechsel mit Thomas Mann*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer (Königshausen & Neumann, 2011); Wolfgang Wagner's *Acts: The Autobiography of Wolfgang Wagner*, trans. John Brownjohn (Wiedenfeld, 1994); ike Wagner's *Wagner Theater* (Suhrkamp, 1998); and Gottfried Wagner's *Twilight of the Wagners: The Unveiling of a Family's Legacy*, trans. Della Couling (Picador, 1999). Two recent accounts of the family are Jonathan Carr's *The Wagner Clan* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2007); and Oliver Hilmes's *Cosimas Kinder: Triumph und Tragödie der Wagner-Dynastie* (Siedler, 2009).

The Wagner shelves are crammed with specialized studies, not to say eccentric ones. Henri Perrier's *Les Rendez-vous wagnériens* (Tramontane, 1981) is a delightful guide for the Wagnerian tourist in Europe; a new, comprehensive book on the same subject is Markus Kiesel, Joachim Mildner, and Dietmar Schuth's *Wandrer heißt mich die Welt: Auf Richard Wagners Spuren durch Europa* (ConBrio, 2019). Rudolph Sabor's *The Real Wagner* (Cardinal, 1989) reveals some of the odder corners of Wagneriana, such as the “Wagalaweia!” bathtub. Terry Quinn's *Richard Wagner: The Lighter Side* (Amadeus, 2013), is a welcome contrast to a generally solemn-toned literature; it draws on two collections of Wagner caricatures, John Grand-Carteret's *Richard Wagner en caricatures* (Larousse, n.d.); and Ernst Kreowski and Eduard Fuchs's *Richard Wagner in der Karikatur* (Behr, 1907). The field of canine Wagnerism is not overlooked: recent monographs include Kerstin Decker, *Richard Wagner: Mit den Augen seiner Hunde betrachtet* (Berenberg, 2013); Franziska Polanski, *Richard Wagners Hunde: Da lernt' ich wohl, was Liebe sei* (Implizit, 2017).

The phenomenon of Wagnerism itself—the composer's influence on arts and literature—has inspired a number of general surveys. Among the earliest of these was Anna Jacobson's *Nachklänge Richard Wagners im Roman* (Carl Winter, 1932). Invaluable to my own work were Erwin Koppen's *Dekadenter Wagnerismus: Studien zur europäischen Literatur des Fin de siècle* (De Gruyter, 1973); Raymond Furness's *Wagner and Literature* (St. Martin's, 1982); Stoddard Martin's *Wagner to “The Waste Land”*: *A Study of the Relationship of Wagner to English*

*Literature* (Barnes and Noble, 1982); David C. Large and William Weber's *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, (Cornell UP, 1984); Wolfgang Storch's illustrated compilation *Les Symbolistes et Richard Wagner/Die Symbolisten und Richard Wagner* (Edition Hentrich, 1991); Annegret Fauser and Manuela Schwartz's scholarly anthology *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme: Musik, Literatur, Kunst, Politik* (Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1999); Paul Lang's sumptuously illustrated *Richard Wagner, visions d'artistes: D'Auguste Renoir à Anselm Kiefer* (Somogy, 2005); and an important sequence of essays by William Blissett (see Works Cited). More recent contributions include Timothée Picard's *Wagner, une question européenne: Contribution à une étude du wagnérisme (1860–2004)* (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006); Hugh Ridley's *Wagner and the Novel: Wagner's Operas and the European Realist Novel: An Exploration of Genre* (Rodopi, 2012); Philippe Berthier's *Toxicologie wagnérienne: Études de cas* (Bartillat, 2016); Jed Rasula's *History of a Shiver: The Sublime Impudence of Modernism* (Oxford UP, 2016); and *Music Theater as Global Culture: Wagner's Legacy Today*, ed. Anno Mungen, Anno, Nicholas Vazsonyi, Julie Hubbert, Ivana Rentsch, and Arne Stollberg (Königshausen & Neumann, 2017). No source was more crucial to me than Picard's *Dictionnaire encyclopédique Wagner* (Actes Sud, 2010), perhaps the most monumental and all-encompassing book on Wagner ever published.

### **Prelude: Death in Venice**

My account of Wagner's death relies on John Barker's thoroughgoing study *Wagner and Venice* (University of Rochester Press, 2008), and on Henry Perl's contemporary account, *Richard Wagner in Venedig: Mosaikbilder aus seinen letzten Lebenstagen* (Reichel, 1883), with a few other primary sources consulted. Needless to say, some details are difficult to pin down. There are several competing accounts of Wagner's last words, as Barker observes on pp. 306–307: the mundane utterance “My watch!” seems the strongest candidate, but one version has him saying “Siegfried should . . .”—an unfinished instruction to his son. There is also a lack of clarity about Cosima's emotional state in the hours before her husband's death. In a reminiscence reprinted in Carl Glasenapp's *Das Leben Richard Wagners*, vol. 6 (Breitkopf and Härtel, 1911), p. 772, Paul von Joukowsky mentions that as she played Schubert's “Lob der Tränen” at the piano “her own tears flowed as well” (“ihre eigenen Tränen flossen dabei”). But the same eyewitness wrote to Liszt on Feb. 20, 1883 that at lunch with Cosima “we were merry as always.” (See La Mara [Marie Lipsius], ed., *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, vol. 3 (Breitkopf and Härtel, 1904), p. 398: “Nous étions gais comme toujours.”) Stewart Spencer's ““Er starb,—ein Mensch wie alle’: Wagner and Carrie Pringle,” *Das Festspielbuch 2004* (Bayreuther Festspiele, 2004), pp. 72–85, effectively debunks a popular tale attributing Wagner's death to stress over an argument he had with Cosima over an alleged affair with Carrie Pringle, who had been one of the Flower Maidens at *Parsifal* in Bayreuth. Despite the lack of evidence, the story will undoubtedly continue to circulate indefinitely.

Thomas Mann had Wagner in mind when he named one of his most famous stories *Death in Venice*. He had read Maurice Barrès's 1903 meditation “La Mort de Venise,” reprinted in *Amori et Dolori sacrum* (Plon, 1921), which dwells on themes of Wagner, longing, disease, beauty, and death: “At the peak of the waves where *Tristan* bears us, we recognize the fevers that from the lagoons at night” (p. 95). This most famous of deaths in Venice has been depicted or evoked in a fairly large number of novels, stories, poems, and films. Barker catalogues fourteen of them in *Wagner and Venice Fictionalized: Variations on a Theme* (Boydell and Brewer,

2012). Three of these—Mann’s novella, Gabriele d’Annunzio’s *Il fuoco*, and Franz Werfel’s *Verdi*—are discussed in *Wagnerism*. I had no space for such lesser oddities as Zdenko von Kraft’s *Abend in Bayreuth* (Hyperion, 1943), a sequel to his Wagner trilogy *Welt und Wahn Wahn* (Keysersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1954), and Gustav Renker’s *Finale in Venedig: Ein Richard Wagner Roman* (Staackmann, 1933). The latter describes an odd Platonic love affair between Wagner and a blond-haired, blue-eyed youth who writes poetry in his spare time and is besotted with the great-hearted Meister.

## Chapter 1: Rheingold

In preparing to write about the *Ring*, I consulted, in addition to the general Wagner studies listed above, David J. Baker and Daniel Müllensiefen’s “Perception of Leitmotives in Richard Wagner’s *Der Ring des Nibelungen*,” *Frontiers in Psychology* 8:662 (2017); Udo Bermbach’s *Wahn des Gesamtkunstwerks: Richard Wagners politisch-ästhetische Utopie* (Metzler, 2004); Bermbach’s compilation *In der Trümmern der eigenen Welt: Richard Wagners “Ring des Nibelungen”* (Reimer, 1989), Mark Berry’s *Treacherous Bonds and Laughing Fire: Politics and Religion in Wagner’s Ring* (Routledge, 2016); Deryck Cooke’s *I Saw the World End: A Study of Wagner’s “Ring”* (Oxford UP, 2002); Robert Donington’s *Wagner’s “Ring” and Its Symbols: The Music and the Myth* (Faber, 1987); Daniel H. Foster’s *Wagner’s “Ring” Cycle and the Greeks* (Cambridge UP, 2010); Edward R. Haymes’s *Wagner’s “Ring” in 1848: New Translations of “The Nibelung Myth” and “Siegfried’s Death”* (Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Haymes’s “Richard Wagner and the *Altgermanisten: Die Wibelungen* and Franz Joseph Mone,” in *Re-Reading Wagner*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), pp. 23–38; Philip Kitcher and Richard Schacht, *Finding an Ending: Reflections on Wagner’s “Ring”* (Oxford UP, 2004); Hans Mayer’s “The *Ring* As a Bourgeois Parable: Wieland Wagner’s New Conception and Its Realization in Bayreuth,” *Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele 1966*, pp. 28–33; Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Tétralogies: Wagner, Boulez, Chéreau* (Bourgeois, 1983); Alexander Rehding’s *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford UP, 2009); Petra-Hildegard Wilberg’s *Richard Wagners mythische Welt: Versuche wider den Historismus* (Rombach, 1996).

On the political context, see Bonnie S. Anderson’s “The Lid Comes off: International Radical Feminism and the Revolutions of 1848,” *NWSA Journal* 10:2 (Summer 1998), pp. 1-12; Dieter Borchmeyer’s *Was ist deutsch? Die Suche einer Nation nach sich selbst* (Rowohlt, 2017); Dieter Dowe, Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Dieter Langewiesche’s *Europa 1848: Revolution und Reform* (Dietz, 1998); Robert John Weston Evans, and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann’s *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction* (Oxford UP, 2000); and Mike Rapport’s *1848: Year of Revolution* (Basic Books, 2010); and Daniel Stern’s *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (Charpentier, 1862)—Stern being the pseudonym of Marie d’Agoult, Cosima Wagner’s mother. Chris Walton’s *Richard Wagner’s Zurich: The Muse of Place* (Camden House, 2007) is the definitive account of Wagner’s Zurich exile. For the philosophical background, I read, in addition to the classic texts of Kant, Hegel, Schiller, the Schlegels, Feuerbach, Strauss, Stirner, and Schopenhauer, Jürgen Habermas’s *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. Frederick Lawrence (MIT Press, 1987); Richard Klein’s “Wagners plurale Moderne: Eine Konstruktion von Unvereinbarkeiten,” in *Richard Wagner, Konstrukteur der Moderne*, ed. Claus-Steffen Mahnkopf (Klett-Cotta, 1999).

For quotations from the work of Friedrich Nietzsche, I drew on *Nietzsche Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* ed. Giorgio Colli, Mazzino Montinari, et al. (de Gruyter, 1967–) and *Nietzsche Briefwechsel: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli, Mazzino Montinari, et al. (de Gruyter, 1975–2004). as well as the online versions of these editions at [www.nietzschesource.org](http://www.nietzschesource.org). Although many translations are my own, I made use of the following published translations: *The Anti-Christ, Ecce Homo, Twilight of the Idols, and Other Writings*, ed. Aaron Ridley and Judith Norman, trans. Judith Norman (Cambridge UP, 2005); *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Alan D. Schrift et al., trans. Adrian Del Caro, Richard T. Gray, Gary Handwerk, Brittain Smith, et al. (Stanford UP, 1995–); and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, ed. Adrian Del Caro and Robert Pippin, trans. Del Caro (Cambridge UP, 2006).

On Nietzsche's relationship with Wagner, I found many valuable insights in Karol Berger's *Beyond Reason: Wagner contra Nietzsche* (University of California Press, 2017); Dieter Borchmeyer and Jörg Salaquarda's *Nietzsche und Wagner: Stationen einer epochalen Begegnung* (Insel, 1994); Roger Hollinrake's *Nietzsche, Wagner, and the Philosophy of Pessimism* (Allen & Unwin, 1982); Georges Liébert's *Nietzsche and Music*, trans. David Pellauer and Graham Parkes (University of Chicago Press, 2004); Martine Prange's *Nietzsche, Wagner, Europe* (De Gruyter, 2013); and Martin Ruehl's "Politeia 1871: Nietzsche 'contra' Wagner on the Greek State," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 79 (2003), pp. 61–86. I also read Christa Davis Acampora's *Contesting Nietzsche* (Chicago UP, 2013); David Wyatt Aiken's "Nietzsche's Zarathustra: The Misreading of a Hero," *Nietzsche-Studien* 35:1 (2006), pp. 70–103; Raymond J. Benders, Stephan Oettermann, Hauke Reich, and Sibylle Spiegel's *Friedrich Nietzsche, Chronik in Bildern und Texten* (Hanser/dtv, 2000); Mark Berry's "Nietzsche and Wagner," in *The New Cambridge Companion to Nietzsche*, ed. Tom Stern (Cambridge UP, 2019), pp. 92–120; Paolo D'Iorio's *Nietzsche's Journey to Sorrento: Genesis of the Philosophy of the Free Spirit*, trans. Sylvia Mae Gorelick (University of Chicago Press, 2016); Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche's *Der einsame Nietzsche* (Kröner, 1914); Ronald Hayman's *Nietzsche: A Critical Life* (Oxford UP, 1980); Dimitri Hemelsoet, Karen Hemelsoet, and Daisy E Devreese's "The Neurological Illness of Friedrich Nietzsche," *Acta Neurologica Belgica* 108:1 (2008), pp. 9–16; Robert C. Holub's *Nietzsche's Jewish Problem: Between Anti-Semitism and Anti-Judaism* (Princeton UP, 2016); Eugen Kretzer's *Friedrich Nietzsche: Nach persönlichen Erinnerungen und aus seinen Schriften* (Kesselring, 1895); H. F. Peters's *Zarathustra's Sister: The Case of Elisabeth and Friedrich Nietzsche* (Crown, 1977); Luke Phillips's "Sublimation and the Übermensch," *Journal of Nietzsche Studies* 46:3 (2015), pp. 349–66; Édouard Schuré's "L'Individualisme et l'anarchie en littérature: Frédéric Nietzsche et sa philosophie," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Aug. 15, 1895; M. S., Silk and J. P. Stern's *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (Cambridge UP, 1991); Andreas Urs Sommer's *Kommentar zu Nietzsches "Der Antichrist," "Ecce homo," "Dionysos-Dithyramben," und "Nietzsche contra Wagner"* (De Gruyter, 2013); and Julian Young's *Friedrich Nietzsche: A Philosophical Biography* (Cambridge UP, 2010).

On the inaugural Bayreuth festival of 1876, I consulted, in addition to sources cited above, Joseph Bennett's *Letters from Bayreuth, Descriptive and Critical of Wagner's "Der Ring des Nibelungen"* (Novello, Ewer, 1877); Halford Hawkins's "The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth," *Macmillan's* 35 (1876), pp. 55–63; and Modest Tchaikovsky's *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky*, trans. Rosa Newmarch (John Lane, 1906). Russell Burdekin illuminates the murky matter of Bayreuth's auditorium lighting scheme in "Darkening the Auditorium at Bayreuth in 1876," *Wagner Journal* 14:1 (2020), pp. 49–62.

## Chapter 2: Tristan Chord

For my overview of *Tristan und Isolde*, I read, among other studies, Robert Bailey's *Richard Wagner: Prelude and Transfiguration from "Tristan und Isolde"* (Norton, 1985); Eric Chafe's *The Tragic and the Ecstatic: The Musical Revolution of Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde"* (Oxford UP, 2005); Ernst Kurth's *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners "Tristan"* (Max Hesse, 1923); and Roger Scruton, *Death-Devoted Heart: Sex and the Sacred in Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde"* (Oxford UP, 2003). On the reception of the opera and the surrounding legends, see Joan Tasker Grimbert's *Tristan and Isolde: A Casebook* (Routledge, 2002); Brigitte Linden's *Die Rezeption des Tristanstoffs in Frankreich vom Ende des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Peter Lang, 1988); and Elliott Zuckerman's *The First Hundred Years of Wagner's "Tristan"* (Columbia UP, 1964).

Important general studies of the topic of Wagnérisme include Georges Servières's *Richard Wagner jugé en France* (Henry du Parc, 1887); Edmond Evenepoel's *Le Wagnérisme hors d'Allemagne* (Fischbacher, 1891); Albert Lavignac's *Le voyage artistique à Bayreuth*, 5th ed. (Delagrave, 1903); *Wagner et la France: Numéro spécial de la Revue Musicale*, Oct. 1, 1923; Grange Woolley's *Richard Wagner et le Symbolisme français* (Presse universitaires de France, 1931); Léon Guichard's *La Musique et les lettres en France au temps du Wagnérisme* (Presse universitaires de France, 1963); Elwood Hartman's *French Literary Wagnerism* (Garland, 1988); Martine Kahane and Nicole Wild's *Wagner et la France* (Herscher, 1983); Cécile Leblanc's *Wagnérisme et création en France, 1883–1889* (Champion, 2005); Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (Oxford UP, 1999); Kelly Maynard's *The Enemy Within: Encountering Wagner in Early Third Republic France* (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 2007); Jann Pasler's *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford UP, 2008); Pasler's *Composing the Citizen, Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (University of California Press, 2009), Michał Piotr Mrozowicki's *Richard Wagner et sa réception en France: Première partie: Le musicien de l'avenir, 1813–1883* (Gdansk UP, 2013); Mrozowicki's *Richard Wagner et sa réception en France: Du ressentiment à l'enthousiasme, 1883–1893*, 2 vols. (Symétrie, 2016); and Jeremy Coleman's *Richard Wagner in Paris: Tradition, Identity, Modernity* (Yale UP, 2019).

First-hand reports by Wagnéristes, whether faithful or relapsed, include Théodore de Banville's *Critiques*, ed. Victor Barrucand (Charpentier, 1917); Léon Daudet's "De l'imagination: Dialogue entre mon père et moi," *Revue du palais* 3 (1897); Judith Gautier's *Le Collier des jours: Le troisième rang du collier* (Juven, 1909); Gautier's *Richard Wagner et son oeuvre poétique* (Charavay, 1882); Camille Mauclair's *Servitude et grandeur littéraires* (Ollendorff, 1922); Mauclair's fascinating autobiographical novel *Le Soleil des morts* (Ollendorff, 1898); Catulle Mendès's *Richard Wagner* (Charpentier, 1886); Mendès's *La Légende du Parnasse contemporain* (Brancart, 1884); Édouard Schuré's *Le drame musical: Richard Wagner, son oeuvre et son idée* (Perrin, 1895); Schuré's *Souvenirs sur Richard Wagner: La première de Tristan et Iseult* (Perrin, 1900); and André Suarès's *La Nation contre la race*, vol. 2: *République et barbares* (Émile-Paul, 1917). See also Remy de Gourmont's *Judith Gautier* (Bibliothèque Internationale d'Édition, 1904); Edmond Haraucourt, "Le Petit Théâtre," *Le Gaulois*, May 28, 1898; and Joanna Richardson's *Judith Gautier: A Biography* (Franklin Watts, 1987). Documents of the early opposition to Wagner include François-Joseph Fétis's seven-part series "Richard Wagner," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, June 6, 13, 20, 27, July 11 and 18, Aug. 8, 1852; Gustave Bertrand's *Les Nationalités musicales étudiées dans le drame lyrique*

(Didier, 1872); and Paul Scudo's "Revue Musicale: Le Tannhauser de M. Richard Wagner," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Apr. 1, 1861; and Hippolyte de Villemessant's *Mémoires d'un journaliste* (Dentu, 1873). A richer picture of the much-maligned Fétis appears in Thomas Christensen's *Stories of Tonality in the Age of François-Joseph Fétis* (University of Chicago Press, 2019).

For Wagner's first Parisian visit, see his "Le Freischutz," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, May 23 and 30, 1841, and the response in George Sand, *Mouny-Robin* (Lebègue, 1843). Sources for Gérard de Nerval include his *Oeuvres*, ed. Albert Béguin and Jean Richer (Gallimard, 1956), and his *Selected Writings*, trans. Richard Sieburth (Penguin, 1999). Théophile Gautier, "Feuilleton: Théâtres," *La Presse*, Dec. 2, 1850, "Le Tannhauser de Richard Wagner," *Le Ménestrel*, Oct. 4, 1857, Georges Servières, "Les Relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Théophile Gautier," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 24:1 (1917), pp. 65–79. For Gasperini, see Maxime Leroy, "Les premiers Amis Français de Wagner," in *Wagner et la France: Numéro spécial de la Revue Musicale*, Oct. 1, 1923; Gasperini's *De l'Art dans ses rapports avec le milieu social* (Guiraudet et Jouaust, 1850); and his *Richard Wagner* (Heugel, 1865). Strains of Wagner later waft through Théophile Gautier's supernatural tale *Spirite* (1866), heralding the opening of an occult realm; for a translation, see *Spirite and the Coffee Pot*, trans. Patrick Jenkins (Dedalus, 1995), esp. pp. 145–46.

Quotations from the work of Baudelaire come from *The Complete Verse*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. Francis Scarfe (Anvil, 1986); *Correspondance*, vol. 1, ed. Claude Pichois and Jean Ziegler (Gallimard, 1973); *Correspondance*, vol. 2, ed. Claude Pichois and Jean Ziegler (Gallimard, 1973); *Lettres, 1841–1866* (Mercure de France, 1906); *Oeuvres posthumes et correspondances inédites* (Quantin, 1887); *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. Jonathan Mayne (Phaidon, 1995); "Richard Wagner," *Revue européenne*, April 1, 1861; and *Richard Wagner et Tannhauser à Paris* (Dentu, 1861). I also read Paul Bourget's "Psychologie contemporaine: Notes et portraits: Charles Baudelaire," *Nouvelle Revue* 13 (1881), pp. 398–416; Roberto Calasso's *La Folie Baudelaire*, trans. Alastair McEwen (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008); Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe's *Musica Ficta (Figures of Wagner)*, trans. Felicia McCarren (Stanford UP, 1994); Margaret Miner's *Resonant Gaps: Between Baudelaire and Wagner* (University of Georgia Press, 1995); Nadar's *Charles Baudelaire intime: Le poète vierge* (Blaziot, 1911); Claude and Vincenette Pichois's *Lettres à Charles Baudelaire* (La Baconnière, 1973); and Barbara Spackman's *Decadent Genealogies: The Rhetoric of Sickness from Baudelaire to D'Annunzio* (Cornell UP, 1989).

For the Wagner scandals of 1860–61, see, in addition to Mrozowicki, Hector Berlioz's "Concerts de Richard Wagner" in *À travers chants* (Librairie Nouvelle, 1872); P.-A. Fiorentino's "Théâtre Impérial Italien: M. Richard Wagner," *Constitutionnel*, Jan. 30, 1860; Benoît Jouvin, "Les Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, Feb. 16, 1860; Ernest Closson's "À propos de Tannhæuser," *Le Guide musical*, Oct. 20, 1895; Ernest Raynaud's *La Bohème sous le second empire: Charles Cros et Nina* (Artisan du Livre, 1930), Annegret Fauser's "'Cette musique sans tradition': Wagner's *Tannhäuser* and Its French Critics," in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Annegret Fauser and Everist (University of Chicago Press, 2009); pp. 228–55; Mark Everist's "Jacques Offenbach: The Music of the Past and the Image of the Present," in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer*, pp. 228–55; and Flora Willson, "Future History: Wagner, Offenbach, and 'la musique de l'avenir' in Paris, 1860," *Opera Quarterly* 30:4 (2014), pp. 287–314.

Concerning Wagnerism and Wagner scandals from 1861 until the 1880s, Mrozowicki again has the most thorough documentation. I also drew on Jacques Durand's *Quelques*



*Souvenirs d'un éditeur de musique* (Durand, 1924); "Pasdeloup's Concerts Populaires at Paris," *Monthly Musical Record*, March 1, 1874; Rudolph Aronson's *Theatrical and Musical Memoirs* (McBride, Nast, 1913); Amédée Pigeon's "Chronique des Arts," *Revue des chefs-d'œuvre ancienne et moderne*, Feb. 10, 1884; Gustave Flaubert's *Bouvard et Pécuchet: Oeuvre posthume* (Conard, 1923); Katharine Ellis's "Wagnerism and Anti-Wagnerism in the Paris Periodical Press, 1852–70," in *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme*, pp. 51–83; Ellis's "How to Make Wagner Normal: Lohengrin's 'Tour de France' of 1891–92," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 25:2 (2013), pp. 121–37; Stephen Studd's *Saint-Saëns: A Critical Biography* (Cygnus, 1999). For Lautréamont, see his *Les Chants de Maldoror* (Sirène, 1920). For Émile Zola, see his *Correspondance*, vol. 2, 1868–1877, ed. B. H. Bakker and Colette Becker (Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1980); Zola, *L'Oeuvre* (Charpentier, 1886); and Michelle Foa, "'One Art Eating the Other' in Émile Zola's *L'Oeuvre*," in James H. Rubin and Olivia Mattis, eds., *Rival Sisters, Art and Music at the Birth of Modernism, 1815–1915* (Ashgate, 2014), pp. 149–63. Note that Zola waxes rhapsodic over Wagner in an 1891 *Écho de Paris* interview, reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 15, ed. Jean-Sébastien Macke (Nouveau Monde, 2007), p. 667. On Champfleury, see his *Richard Wagner* (Bourdilliat, 1860), and T. J. Clark's *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (University of California Press, 1999).

The definitive account of Villiers de l'Isle-Adam is A. W. Raitt's *The Life of Villiers de l'Isle-Adam* (Clarendon Press, 1981). Quotations are drawn from Villier's *Axël* (Quantin, 1890); "Azrael," *Liberté*, June 26, 1869; and *Correspondance générale de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et documents inédits*, vol. 1, ed. Joseph Bollery (Mercure de France, 1962). Secondary sources include Edmond and Jules de Goncourt's *Pages from the Goncourt Journals*, ed. and trans. Robert Baldick (New York Review Books, 2007); Jean-Marie Bellefroid's "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam en Bavière (1869)," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 63:4 (1963), pp. 644–52; Léon Deffoux's *Les derniers Jours de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam* (Bernard, 1930); Théophile Janvrais's *Le berceau des Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: Le manoir de Penanhoas-l'Isle-Adam* (Champion, 1913); Georges Jean-Aubry's "Villiers de l'Isle Adam and Music," *Music and Letters* 19:4 (Oct. 1938), p. 391–404; Heath Lees's "Transformation at Tribschen: How a French Literary Trio Became a Wagnerian Music Trio," *Wagner Journal* 8:1 (2014), pp. 4–18; Alan Raitt's "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam in 1870," *French Studies* 13:4 (1959); and Raitt's *Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et le mouvement symboliste* (Corti, 1965).

Wagner makes a brief cameo in Villiers's 1867 story "Claire Lenoir," which appears in *Tribulat Bonhomet* (Tresse & Stock, 1896). The title character "...referred to a certain famous German Musician, whose name I've forgotten—was it not Wagner? . . . she spoke of his 'miraculous genius' accessible only to the Initiated . . . I remember the way she spoke of a certain '*crescendo en ré un*' [properly "*crescendo en ré*"] in which spoke (said she in her childish enthusiasm) the 'terrible Hosanna.'" (from the Arthur Symons translation, Boni, 1925). Wagner is probably also present in Villiers's story "The Secret of the Ancient Music," from *Contes cruels* (1883), in which an avant-garde German composer produces a work calling for *chapeau chinois*—a jangling percussion instrument used in military marches of the period—and yet provides a part that consists of nothing but silence. An elderly *chapeau-chinois* virtuoso gives a masterly rendition of this Cagean conception, declares that art is dead, and disappears into a bass drum. In a climactic scene of Villiers's 1886 novel *L'Ève future*, the android created by Thomas Alva Edison begs not to be rejected by the nobleman for whom she is intended; this section has as its epigraph a paraphrase of Wotan's farewell to Brünnhilde, in which the god closes her radiant eyes and kiss her godhood away.

On Fantin-Latour, see Lisa Norris's "Painting *Around the Piano*: Fantin-Latour, Wagnerism, and the Musical in Art," in *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marsha L. Morton and Peter L. Schmunk (Garland, 2000), pp. 143–75; Michelle Barbe's "Images du 'Ring': Une vision de Fantin-Latour," in *Richard Wagner, visions d'artistes*, pp. 28–35; and Corrinne Chong's "Transpositions in Steam and Mist: Evoking the Scenographic World of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* in the Art of Henri Fantin-Latour," in *Scenography and Art History: Performance Design and Visual Culture*, ed. Astrid von Rosen and Viveka Kjellmer (Bloomsbury, 2021). The crucial work on Manet and Wagner is Therese Dolan's *Manet, Wagner, and the Musical Culture of Their Time* (Ashgate, 2013). For more on Renoir and Wagner, see Renoir's "Lettre à un ami," Jan. 14, 1882, in *Les Symbolistes et Richard Wagner/Die Symbolisten und Richard Wagner*, pp. 15–16; Ambroise Vollard's *La vie & l'œuvre de Pierre-Auguste Renoir* (Vollard, 1919), pp. 110–12; Barbara White's *Renoir: His Life, Art, and Letters* (Abrams, 2010), pp. 118–19; Michel Drucker, *Renoir* (Tisné, 1944), pp. 132–34, 162; and Jeanne Baudot's *Renoir: ses amis, ses modèles* (Éditions Littéraires de France, 1949), p. 77 ("La salle obscure l'oppressait; pendant un spectacle, à bout de patience, il eut l'audace, au grand scandale de ses voisins et de Martial Caillebotte, de faire craquer une allumette pour voir l'heure"). For more on Frédéric Bazille and Wagner, see John Rewald's *The History of Impressionism* (Museum of Modern Art, 1961), p. 116; Michel Hilaire and Paul Perrin's *Frédéric Bazille (1841–1870) and the Birth of Impressionism* (Flammarion, 2017), pp. 71–72; and François Daulte, "A True Friendship: Edmond Maître and Frédéric Bazille," in *Frédéric Bazille and Early Impressionism*, ed. J. Patrice Marandel and François Daulte (Art Institute of Chicago, 1978).

On Cézanne, see Norman Turner's "Cezanne, Wagner, Modulation," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 56:4 (Autumn, 1998), pp. 353–64.; Mary Tompkins Lewis's *Cézanne's Early Imagery* (University of California Press, 1989). Pau Cézanne's *Correspondance*, ed. John Rewald (Grasset, 2006); André Dombrowski's *Cézanne, Murder, and Modern Life* (University of California Press, 2013); Raymond Jean's *Cézanne, la vie, l'espace* (Seuil, 1986). On Van Gogh and Gauguin, see Natascha Veldhorst's *Van Gogh and Music: A Symphony in Blue and Yellow*, trans. Diane Webb (Yale UP, 2018); Roland Dorn's "Van Gogh, Gauguin, und Richard Wagner: Eine Etude auf das Jahr 1888," in *Les Symbolistes et Richard Wagner/Die Symbolisten und Richard Wagner*, pp. 67–75; Henri Dorra's "Le 'texte Wagner' de Gauguin," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1984), pp. 281–88; Ian Hunter's *Gauguin* (Royal Scottish Academy, 1955); Philippe Junod's "Paul Gauguin," in *Richard Wagner, visions d'artistes*, pp. 226–27; Robert Welsh's "Gauguin and the Inn of Marie Henry at Le Pouldu," in *Gauguin's Nirvana: Painters at Le Pouldu, 1889–90*, ed. Eric M. Zafran (Yale UP, 2001), pp. 61–80; Bogomila Welsh-Ovcharov's "Paul Gauguin's Third Visit to Brittany, June 1889–November 1890," in *Gauguin's Nirvana: Painters at Le Pouldu, 1889–90*, ed. Eric M. Zafran (Yale UP, 2001), pp. 15–61; Linda Goddard's "Scattered Notes": Authorship and Originality in Paul Gauguin's *Diverses choses*," *Art History* 34:2, pp. 352–69. On Seurat and the Nabis, Katherine M. Kuenzli's *The Nabis and Intimate Modernism: Painting and the Decorative at the Fin-de-Siècle* (Ashgate, 2010); Paul Smith's "Was Seurat's Art Wagnerian? And What If It Was?," *Apollo* 134:353 (1991), pp. 21–28; and Michelle Foa's *Georges Seurat: The Art of Vision* (Yale UP, 2015). Other sources include Octave Mirbeau, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 1 (L'Age d'Homme, 2002); and Michael Marlais, *Conservative Echoes in Fin-de-Siècle Parisian Art Criticism* (Pennsylvania State UP, 1992).

On Symbolism and related movements, see Jean Moréas's *Les Premières armes du symbolisme* (Vanier, 1889); Adolphe Retté's *Le Symbolisme: Anecdotes et Souvenirs* (Vanier, 1903); Anne Holmes's "The 'Music of the Forest': Wagner, Laforgue, Mallarmé," *French Studies Bulletin* 28:104 (October 2007), pp. 56–58; David Michael Hertz's *The Tuning of the Word: The Musico-literary Poetics of the Symbolist Movement* (Southern Illinois UP, 1987); and Michael Marlais's *Conservative Echoes in Fin-de-Siècle Parisian Art Criticism* (Pennsylvania State UP, 1992). Éditions Slatkine reprinted the three-year run of the *Revue wagnérienne* in 1968. For citations of Dujardin, see *The Bays Are Sere* and "Interior Monologue," trans. Anthony Suter (Libris, 1991); *Les Lauriers sont coupés* (Librairie de la Revue Indépendante, 1888); *Le Monologue intérieur: Son apparition, ses origines, sa place dans l'oeuvre de James Joyce* (Messein, 1931); "Les oeuvres théoriques de Richard Wagner," *Revue wagnérienne* 1:3, pp. 62–73; *Les premiers Poètes du vers libre* (Mercure de France, 1922). For Dujardin's background, see Steven Huebner's "Édouard Dujardin, Wagner, and the Origins of Stream of Consciousness Writing," *19th-Century Music* 37:1 (2013), pp. 56–88; Henri Régner's *De mon temps . . .* (Mercure de France, 1933); Gilles Cendar's edition of *Les Souvenirs de Charles Bonnier: Un intellectuel socialiste européen à la Belle Époque* (Septentrion, 2001). Dujardin's papers, including letters from Wagner in May 1882 and January 1883, are held at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin.

On other members of the Dujardin and Mallarmé circles, see Smith, Richard Cándida. *Mallarmé's Children: Symbolism and the Renewal of Experience* (University of California Press, 1999); Vielé-Griffin, "Le Symbolisme et la musique," *Le Phalange* 27 (1908), pp. 193–98; René Ghil's *Traité du verbe* (Giraud, 1886); Ghil's "Les Fastes, par Stuart Merrill," *Écrits sur l'art* 5:4 (June, 1891), pp. 77–78; Marjorie Louise Henry's *La Contribution d'un américain au symbolisme français: Stuart Merrill* (Champion, 1927); and Elga Liverman Duval's *Téodor de Wyzewa: Critic Without a Country* (Droz/Minard, 1961). I quote from the following Wyzewa articles: Wyzewa, Téodor de. "M. Mallarmé: Notes," *Vogue*, July 12 and 19, 1886, pp. 414–24; "Notes sur la littérature wagnérienne et les livres en 1885–1886," *Revue wagnérienne* 2:5, pp. 150–71; "Notes sur la musique wagnérienne et les œuvres musicales françaises en 1885–1886," *Revue wagnérienne* 2:6, pp. 183–93; "Notes sur la peinture wagnérienne et le Salon de 1886," *Revue wagnérienne* 2:4, pp. 100–113; "Peinture wagnérienne: Le Salon de 1885," *Revue wagnérienne* 1:5, pp. 154–56.

Sadly I had no space in *Wagnerism* for Wyzewa's novel *Valbert* (Perrin, 1893), one of the more Wagner-soaked works of the period. It opens at the Bayreuth Festival of 1888; the narrator meets the Kiev-born chevalier Valbert, who fancies a composer. The two men share Wagnerian impressions, and Valbert proceeds to tell his friend the stories of his love affairs, including a schoolboy crush on another boy. After his last story they arrive for Act III of the last *Parsifal* of the season. The epilogue takes us to the following year's festival, when the two meet again. Valbert relates how during that Act III *Parsifal* a supernatural light spread through him and revealed that he must change his life. "Mon cher ami, un miracle m'a transfiguré! Je connais le bonheur, le repos, je connais l'amour!" Hearing *Parsifal* impels him to stop thinking of himself—"imprisoned in this wall of my thought"—and to devote himself to the betterment of others. A hacking cough suggests that he may not have long to live.

Quotations of Verlaine come from *Oeuvres complètes de Paul Verlaine*, vol. 3 (Vanier, 1901); *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 5 (Vanier, 1904); *Oeuvres poétiques complètes* (Gallimard, 1962). For more on Verlaine and Wagner, see George Moore's *Conversations in Ebury Street* (Boni and Liveright, 1910); Edmond Lepelletier's *Paul Verlaine: sa vie, son oeuvre* (Mercure de

France, 1907); and Verlaine's "Épigrammes XX," in *Oeuvres complètes de Paul Verlaine*, vol. 3 (Vanier, 1901), p. 265 ("J'ai fait jadis le coup de poing / Pour Wagner alors point au point, / Et pour les Goncourt, plus d'un soir"). Further references can be found in "Nuit du Walpurgis classique," in *Poèmes saturniens* (Vanier, 1894), p. 50 ("Un air mélancolique, un sourd, lent et doux air / De chasse: tel, doux, lent, sourd et mélancolique / L'air de chasse de Tannhauser"); and "De Profundis," in *Oeuvres en prose complètes* (Gallimard, 1972), p. 422 ("J'y descends dans un geste wagnérien. O Wagner, je ne t'ai presque pas entendu. Artiste, tu ne travaillais donc que pour ceux qui t'avaient sifflé jadis et te voilà la proie de ceux qui ne t'aiment pas!").

Citations of Mallarmé are from *Correspondance, 1854–1898*, ed. Bertrand Marchal (Gallimard, 2019); *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Henri Mondor and G. Jean-Aubry (Gallimard, 1945); *Oeuvres complètes*, 2 vols., ed. Bertrand Marchal (Gallimard Pléiade, 1998–2003); and "Richard Wagner: Rêverie d'un poète français," *Revue wagnérienne* 1:7, pp. 195–200. The major work on Mallarmé and Wagner is Heath Lees's *Mallarmé and Wagner: Music and Poetic Language* (Ashgate, 2007). See also Joseph Acquisto's *French Symbolist Poetry and the Idea of Music* (Ashgate, 2006); Mary Breatnach's "Baudelaire, Wagner, Mallarmé: Romantic Aesthetics and the Word-Tone Dichotomy," in Suzanne M. Lodato, Suzanne Aspden, and Walter Bernhart, eds., *Word and Music Studies: Essays in Honor of Steven Paul Scher and on Cultural Identity and the Musical Stage* (Rodopi, 2002), pp. 69–83; Robert Greer Cohn's *Toward the Poems of Mallarmé* (University of California Press, 1965); Gardner Davies's *Les "Tombeaux" de Mallarmé* (Corti, 1950); Anne Holmes's "The Last Book Mallarmé Read," *French Studies Bulletin* 25:93 (2004), pp. 6–7; Bertrand Marchal's *Lecture de Mallarmé* (Corti, 1985); and Louis Marvick's *Waking the Face That No One Is: A Study in the Musical Context of Symbolist Poetics* (Rodopi, 2004); Henri Mondor's *Vie de Mallarmé* (Gallimard, 1946).

Various other literary instances of Wagnérisme had to go unmentioned in my book. The roster of Wagner-inflected novels includes Édouard Rod's *La course à la mort* (1885) and *Le dernier refuge* (1896); Jacque Vontade's *La lueur sur la cime* (1904, pseud. Augustine Bulbeau); Anna de Noailles's *La domination* (1905); Emile Baumann's *L'Immolé* (1906); Jacques Morel's *Feuilles mortes* (1910, pseud. Mme Edmond Pottier); and Henry Bordeaux's *La Neige sur les pas* (1911). I gave only the briefest attention to Henry Céard's formidable semi-comic novel *Terrains à vendre au bord de la mer* (1906). Fascination and skepticism are often intermingled in these narratives: Wagner may be a seduction to be resisted or a fake spiritual emblem distracting from the real. Philippe Berthier examines many of these titles in his *Toxicologie wagnérienne*.

### Chapter 3: Swan Knight

Sources for descriptions of Queen Victoria and her relationship with Wagner's music include Theodore Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, vol. 1 (Smith, Elder, 1875); G. E. Buckle, ed., *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, Second and Third Series (Murray, 1926–30); Stewart Spencer, *Wagner Remembered* (Faber, 2000); A Member of the Royal Household, *The Private Life of the Queen* (Appleton, 1897). On Princess Victoria and her wedding, see Hannah Pakula, *An Uncommon Woman: The Empress Frederick, Daughter of Queen Victoria, Wife of the Crown Prince of Prussia, Mother of Kaiser Wilhelm* (Simon and Schuster, 1995); "Her Majesty's State Concert," *Morning Post*, Jan. 26, 1858; "Concert at Buckingham Palace," *Musical World*, Jan. 30, 1858; "Court Circular," *Standard*, Feb. 11, 1859. On music in Victorian England, see Simon Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity* (Princeton UP, 2011); Phyllis Weliver,

*Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon: Music, Literature, Liberalism* (Cambridge UP, 2017); Rupert Christiansen, *The Visitors: Culture Shock in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chatto & Windus, 2000); Matthew Potter, *The Inspirational Genius of Germany: British Art and Germanism, 1850–1939* (Manchester UP, 2012); Christine Poulson, *The Quest for the Grail: Arthurian Legend in British Art, 1840–1920* (Manchester UP, 1999); Ruth Solie, “Music,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. Francis O’Gorman (Cambridge UP, 2010), pp. 101–18.

My principal guides to Wagnerian themes in the work of George Eliot were Delia da Sousa Correa, *George Eliot, Music, and Victorian Culture* (Palgrave, 2003); Nicholas Dames, *The Physiology of the Novel: Reading, Neural Science, and the Form of Victorian Fiction* (Oxford UP, 2007); and Ruth Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (University of California Press, 2004), Eliot’s article “Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar” appeared in *Fraser’s* 52 (July 1855). I also looked at *The Journals of George Eliot*, ed. Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston (Cambridge UP, 1998); Herbert Spencer, *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, vol. 2 (Routledge, 1996); George Henry Lewes, *The Physiology of Common Life*, vol. 2 (Appleton, 1860); C. Halford Hawkins, “The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth,” *Macmillan’s* 35 (1876); Gordon S. Haight, ed., *The George Eliot Letters*, vol. 6 (Yale UP, 1955); Henry James, “Daniel Deronda: A Conversation,” *Atlantic* 38 (1876), p. 685–87, K. K. Collins, ed., *George Eliot: Interviews and Recollections* (Palgrave, 2010); George Henry Lewes, diary, May 9, 1877, George Eliot and George Henry Lewes Collection, MS Vault Eliot, VI.11A, Beinecke Library, Yale; Moncure Conway, *Autobiography*, vol. 2 (Houghton, Mifflin, 1904); <sup>1</sup> Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (Edward Arnold, 1914); *The Letters of George Henry Lewes*, vol. 2, ed. William Baker (English Literary Studies, 1995). Quotations from Eliot’s fiction come from *Middlemarch*, ed. David Carroll (Oxford UP, 1996), and *Daniel Deronda* (Modern Library, 2002).

On the early opposition to Wagner in England, see J. W. Davison’s sharp-tongued articles in *The Musical World* (“These young musicians from Germany are maggots, that quicken from corruption”). The critic’s life is told in Henry Davison, ed., *From Mendelssohn to Wagner: Being the Memoirs of J. W. Davison, Forty Years Music Critic of “The Times”* (Reeves, 1912). Davison learned of Wagner’s Jewishness by way of an article by Ferdinand Praeger that originally appeared in the *New York Musical Review and Gazette*, May 19, 1855, and was then summarized in English papers. Praeger discusses the episode in *Wagner As I Knew Him* (Longmans, Green, 1891), pp. 219–21; see also William Ashton Ellis, *Life of Richard Wagner*, vol. 5 (Kegan Paul, 1906), p. 119. Henry Smart and Henry Chorley also commented negatively on Wagner’s attacks on Jews; see Ellis, *Life of Richard Wagner*, vol. 5, pp. 268 and 217.

On Hueffer and Dannreuther, see Franz Hueffer, *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future: History and Aesthetics* (Chapman and Hall, 1874); Franz Hueffer, *Half a Century of Music in England, 1837–1887: Essays Towards a History* (Chapman and Hall, 1889); Ford Madox Hueffer, *Memories and Impressions: A Study in Atmospheres* (Harper, 1911), Jeremy Dibble, “Edward Dannreuther and the Orme Square Phenomenon,” in *Music and British Culture*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford UP, 2000). On Pre-Raphaelite contact with the Wagners in 1877, see John Guille Millais, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais, President of the Royal Academy*, vol. 2 (Stokes, 1899); Charles Larcom Graves, *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works*, vol. 1 (Macmillan, 1926); Fiona MacCarthy, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite: Edward Burne-Jones and the Victorian Imagination* (Harvard UP, 2012); Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (Knopf, 1995), p. 372; Luke Ionides, “Memories,”

*Transatlantic Review* (1926), reprinted in *Journal of the William Morris Society* 7.4 (1988), pp. 27–28, pdf; Philip Henderson, *William Morris: His Life, Work, and Friends* (Thames & Hudson, 1967); Barry Millington, “Edward Burne-Jones, George Eliot and Richard Wagner: A Collision of Like-minded Souls,” *Wagner Journal* 10:1 (2016), pp. 26–44; Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* (Macmillan, 1904); William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* (Macmillan, 1905). On Wilde and Wagner in 1877, see Yvonne Ivory, “Wagner without Music: The Textual Rendering of Parsifal’s Pity in Oscar Wilde’s ‘The Young King,’” in *Wilde’s Worlds: Oscar Wilde in International Contexts*, ed. Michael Davis and Petra Dierkes-Thrun (Routledge, 2018), pp. 180–81.

Quotations from Swinburne’s poems come mainly from *Major Poems and Selected Prose*, ed. Jerome McGann and Charles L. Sligh (Yale UP, 2004). For an analysis of the Swinburne-Wagner relationship, see Francis Jacques Sypher, Jr., “Swinburne and Wagner,” *Victorian Poetry* 9:1/2 (1971), pp. 165–83; and Michael Craske, “Swinburne, Wagner, Eliot, and the Musical Legacy of *Poems and Ballads*,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 23:4 (2018), pp. 542–55. See also Jean Overton Fuller, *Swinburne: A Biography* (Schocken, 1971); *The Swinburne Letters*, 6 vols., ed. Cecil Y. Lang (Yale UP, 1959–62); Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Notes on Poems and Reviews* (Hotten, 1866); Nadar, *Charles Baudelaire intime: Le poète vierge* (Blaziot, 1911); Swinburne, *A Pilgrimage of Pleasure: Essays and Studies* (Gorham, 1913); Clyde K. Hyder, *Algernon Swinburne: The Critical Heritage* (Taylor & Francis, 2005); Terry L. Meyers, ed., *Uncollected Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, vol. 2 (Pickering & Chatto, 2005); Swinburne, *A Century of Roundels* (Chatto & Windus, 1883).

For Morris, Jane Susanna Ennis, *A Comparison of Wagner’s “Der Ring des Nibelungen” and William Morris’s “Sigurd the Volsung”* (Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds, 1993), is the principal source. See also *The Collected Works of William Morris*, vol. 6 (Longmans Green, 1911); Eiríkr Magnússon and William Morris, trans., *Völsunga Saga: The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs, with Certain Songs from the Elder Edda* (Ellis, 1870); J. W. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, vol. 1 (Longmans, Green and Co., 1901); Morris, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs* (Ellis and White, 1877).

Anne Dzamba Sessa’s *Richard Wagner and the English* (Farleigh Dickinson UP, 1979) brings to life some of the odder corners of British Wagnerism, including the querulous and often cryptic works of David Irvine (*A Wagnerian’s Midsummer Madness, Wagner’s Bad Luck, The Badness of Wagner’s Bad Luck*). For Alfred Forman, see his translations *The Nibelung’s Ring: English Words to Richard Wagner’s “Ring des Nibelungen”* (Schott, n.d.); and *Tristan and Isolde: English Words to Richard Wagner’s “Tristan und Isolde”* (Reeves and Turner, 1891). For his background, see John Collins, “A Short Note on Alfred William Forman (1840–1925),” *Book Collector* 23:1 (1974), pp. 69–77. The “young-adult” Wagner books under examination are Anna Alice Chapin, *Wonder Tales from Wagner: Told for Young People* (Harper, 1898) and *The Story of the Rhinegold (Der Ring Des Nibelungen): Told for Young People* (Harper, 1899); Grace Edson Barber, *Wagner Opera Stories* (Public-School Publishing, 1901); Florence Akin, *Opera Stories from Wagner: A Reader for Primary Grades* (Houghton Mifflin, 1915); Dolores Bacon, *Operas That Every Child Should Know* (Doubleday, 1911); and Constance Maud, *Wagner’s Heroes* (Edward Arnold, 1895) and *Wagner’s Heroines* (Edward Arnold, 1896). One could also include William Henry Frost’s *The Wagner Story Book: Firelight Tales of the Great Music Dramas* (Scribner’s, 1895) and *Stories from Wagner* by J. Walker McSpadden, also the author of *Famous Dogs in Fiction* and *Ohio: A Romantic Story for Young People*.

Wagner's imaginary emigration to America left traces in various letters and in Cosima's diaries, but the most fascinating document of the scheme is Newell Jenkins, *The Reminiscences of Newell Sill Jenkins* (Princeton, 1924), which contains the million-dollar prospectus for the purchase of Wagner by the United States government. The two parts of "The Work and Mission of My Life," the supposed Wagner article ghost-written by Wolzogen, appear in the August and September issues of *North American Review* 129 (1879).

The classic work on Wagner in America is Joseph Horowitz's *Wagner Nights: An American History* (University of California Press, 1994). Wagnerian themes also appear in Horowitz's later books *Classical Music in America: A History of Its Rise and Fall* (Norton, 2005) and *Moral Fire: Musical Portraits from America's Fin-de-Siècle* (University of California Press, 2012), particularly with respect to the career of Anton Seidl. See also Joann P. Krieg, "The Ring in America," in *Inside the Ring: Essays on Wagner's Opera Cycle*, ed. John Louis DiGaetani (McFarland, 2006), pp. 189–204; Burton W. Peretti, "Democratic Leitmotifs in the American Reception of Wagner," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 13:1 (1989), pp. 28–38; and Anne Dzamba Sessa, "At Wagner's Shrine: British and American Wagnerians," in *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, pp. 246–77.

On early Wagner performances in America, Nancy Newman, *Good Music for Free People: The Germania Musical Society in Nineteenth-Century America* (University of Rochester Press, 2010) is a revelatory study of the pivotal role of the Germania orchestra. See also John Koegel, *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City, 1840–1940* (University of Rochester Press, 2009); George Whitney Martin, *The Damrosch Dynasty: America's First Family of Music* (Houghton Mifflin, 1983); Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Houghton Mifflin, 1918); Samuel Longfellow, ed., *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, vol. 2 (Houghton, Mifflin, 1891); Theodore Thomas, see George P. Upton, ed., *Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography, Vol. I: Life Work* (McClurg, 1905); Ezra Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905* (University of Illinois Press, 1989); Henry Theophilus Finck, *Anton Seidl: A Memorial by His Friends* (Scribner's, 1899); Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa* (Integrity Press, 1984), p. 145; Patrick Warfield, *Making the March King: John Philip Sousa's Washington Years, 1854–1893* (University of Illinois Press, 2013); Elise Kuhl Kirk, *Musical Highlights from the White House* (Krieger, 1992); Diane Sasson, *Yearning for the New Age: Laura Holloway-Langford and Late Victorian Spirituality* (Indiana UP, 2012). On Roosevelt, see Joseph Bucklin Bishop, ed., *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children* (Scribner's, 1919); *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 2, ed. Elting E. Morison (Harvard UP, 1951); and Carol Felsenthal, *Princess Alice: The Life and Times of Alice Roosevelt Longworth* (St. Martin's, 1988).

On Albert Pinkham Ryder, see Diane Chalmers Johnson, "Siegfried and the Rhine Maidens: Albert Pinkham Ryder's Response to Richard Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*," *American Art* 8:1 (1994), pp. 22–31; Elliott Dangerfield, "Albert Pinkham Ryder, Artist and Dreamer," *Scribner's* 63 (March 1918), pp. 380–84; and Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition* (Harper & Row, 1975). For Wagnerian themes among American Symbolist painters, see Charles C. Eldredge, *American Imagination and Symbolist Painting* (Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, 1979), pp. 60–66; Steven Harvey, "Against the Grain: The Paintings of Louis Michel Eilshemius," in *Louis M. Eilshemius: An Independent Spirit*, ed. Harvey (National Academy of Design, 2001), pp. 9–33; Bennard B. Perlman, *The Lives, Loves, and Art of Arthur B. Davies* (SUNY Press, 1998), pp. 67–68; Elizabeth S. Sussman, "Rhythm and Music in the Frieze Paintings of Arthur B. Davies," in *Dream Vision: The Work of Arthur B.*

Davies, ed. Stephen Prokopoff (Institute of Contemporary Art, 1981), n. p.; Brooks Wright, *The Artist and the Unicorn: The Lives of Arthur B. Davies (1862–1928)* (Historical Society of Rockland County, 1978).

I conducted research into the work of Sidney Lanier at the Sidney Lanier Papers, Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University. I also benefited from a visit to the Sidney Lanier Cottage in Macon, Georgia. On Lanier's musical career, see Jane Gabin, *A Living Minstrelsy: The Poetry and Music of Sidney Lanier* (Mercer UP, 1985); Patricia Harper and Paula Robison, eds., *The Sidney Lanier Collection* (Universal Edition, 1997); Robison's recording *By the Old Pine Tree: Flute Music of Stephen Foster and Sidney Lanier* (Pergola, 1996); and Aubrey H. Starke, "Sidney Lanier as a Musician," *Musical Quarterly* 20:4 (1934), pp. 384–400. Quotations from Lanier's writings come from *The Science of English Verse* (Scribner's, 1893); the *Centennial Edition*, vol. 8: *Letters 1869–1873*, and vol. 9: *Letters 1874–1873*, ed. Charles R. Anderson and Aubrey H. Starke (Johns Hopkins Press, 1945); "The Truth about Wagner" and "Wagner's Beethoven," in Lanier, *Centennial Edition*, vol. 2: *The Science of English Verse and Essays About Music*; "To Richard Wagner," *The Galaxy* 24 (Nov. 1877), pp. 652–53. Jack Kerkering, "'Of Me and of Mine': The Music of Racial Identity in Whitman and Lanier, Dvořák and Du Bois," *American Literature* 73:1 (2001), pp. 147–84, has valuable insights into both racial and musical issues of Lanier's work.

For Owen Wister, I examined the Wister Papers at the Library of Congress as well as the online Owen Wister Papers at the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, <http://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu>. Biographical and interpretive sources for Wister include Darwin Payne, *Owen Wister: Chronicler of the West, Gentleman of the East* (Southern Methodist UP, 1985); Fanny Kemble Wister, ed., *Owen Wister Out West: His Journals and Letters* (University of Chicago Press, 1958); Leslie Whipp, "Owen Wister: Wyoming's Influential Realist and Craftsman," *Great Plains Quarterly* 10 (1990), pp. 245–59; and Thompson, Gerald. "Musical and Literary Influences on Owen Wister's *The Virginian*," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 85:1 (1986), pp. 40–55. Quotations from Wister's published writings come from "The Evolution of the Cow-Puncher," *Harper's* 91 (1895), pp. 602–617 "The First Operetta," in *The Thirteenth Catalogue & A History of the Hasty Pudding Club*, ed. Hermann Hagedorn, Jr. (Riverside, 1907), pp. 27–34; Introduction to *Done in the Open* (Collier, 1904), n.p.; *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship, 1880–1919* (Macmillan, 1930); "Strictly Hereditary," *Musical Quarterly* 22:1 (1936), pp. 1–7; *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains* (Macmillan, 1902).

Harriet Monroe, *John Wellborn Root: A Study of His Life and Work* (Houghton, Mifflin, 1896); John Wellborn Root, *The Meanings of Architecture: Buildings and Writings*, ed. Donald Hoffmann (Horizon 1967); Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (University of Chicago Press, 2009); Louis Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," *Lippincott's* 57 (1896). 403–409; Sullivan, *The Autobiography of an Idea* (American Institute of Architects, 1924); Frank Lloyd Wright, *An Autobiography* (Faber, 1945). Joseph M. Siry, "Chicago's Auditorium Building: Opera or Anarchism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57:2 (1998), pp. 128–59; Roula Mouroudellis Geraniotus, "German Design Influence in the Auditorium Theater," in *The Midwest in American Architecture*, ed. John S. Garner (University of Illinois Press, 1991), pp. 43–75; Mark Clague, "The Industrial Evolution of the Arts: Chicago's Auditorium Building (1889–) as Cultural Machine," *Opera Quarterly* 22:3–4 (2006), pp. 477–511; Lauren S. Weingarden, "The Colors of Nature: Louis Sullivan's Architectural Polychromy and Nineteenth-Century Color Theory," *Winterthur Portfolio* 20:4 (1985), pp. 243–60; *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the*



*World's Columbian Exposition* (Thompson, 1893); Larry Millett, *The Curve of the Arch: The Story of Louis Sullivan's Owatonna Bank* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1995). Note that Adler applied a Bayreuth-like seating plan first in his Opera Festival Hall of 1885; see Charles E. Gregersen and Joan W. Saltzstein, *Dankmar Adler: His Theatres and Auditoriums* (Swallow Press, 1990).

Space did not allow for a full consideration of Ralph Adams Cram, the leading Wagnerite among East Coast architects. Cram spent most of his career in Boston but made his presence farther down the seaboard, notably in New York and Princeton. Born in 1863, Cram began his apprenticeship as an architect in the early eighteen-eighties, and fell under the twin influence of pre-Raphaelitism and Wagner in the same period. He went to Bayreuth in 1885, and seems to have been speaking for himself when, in a newspaper article recounting his visit, he said that visitors “find here in Bayreuth something they have wanted all their lives.” (See Douglass Shand-Tucci, *Ralph Adams Cram: Life and Architecture*, vol. 1, University of Massachusetts Press, 1995, p. 60.) In a later memoir, Cram wrote, “It is really not too much to say that with the *Ring* operas, heaven opened for me. Then and there I became a besotted Wagnerite, and have remained so to this day, holding stubbornly to my idol when later my musical companions rejected him in their superiority and, after many years, witnessing his reinstatement in much of his old glory.” (See Ralph Adams Cram, *My Life in Architecture*, Little, Brown, 1936, p. 8.) Around 1895 Cram produced a play entitled *Excalibur*, the first part of a never-to-be-completed trilogy of Arthurian dramas, in which he aimed to do “for the epic of our own race” what Wagner achieved in setting to music the “Teutonic legends.” (See Cram, *Excalibur: An Arthurian Drama*, Gorham Press, 1909, n.p.)

The guiding obsession of Cram's life was the revival of Gothic style, in a manner that betokened a regression to the past rather than a fusion of past and present. A convert to Anglo-Catholicism, he saw Wagner mainly as a neo-medieval bulwark against the decadence of materialism and individualism; he tended to elide Wagner with Ruskin and Morris, overlooking their profound differences. On the campus of Princeton University, Cram and his longtime partner, Bertram Goodhue, created a kind of simulacrum of a great medieval university, steeped in longing for an auratic past that the relatively new American nation lacked. Cram and Goodhue's urban churches, likewise, seemed to voice a dissent from the teeming sidewalks and streets around them: their masterpiece in New York is St. Thomas's, on Fifth Avenue, which seems actively to defy the office towers and high-end retail stores that now crowd around it. The interiors of the Cram-Goodhue churches give a slightly exaggerated, almost cinematic impression of a sacred space; Goodhue commented that St. Bartholomew's, a neo-Byzantine church in New York, would “look more like Arabian Nights or the last act of Parsifal than any Christian Church.” (See Christine Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York* (Oxford UP, 1988), p. 76.)

Nor did I have space for a full examination of the *Parsifal* carillon at Riverside Church. Opened in 1930, it contains a magnificent seventy-four-bell, five-octave carillon which was donated by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in honor of his mother, Laura Spelman Rockefeller. The carillon's bourdon bell, a very low C, is, at twenty tons, the heaviest tuned bell in the world. The carillon marks the passing quarter-hours with a sequence based on the bell motif in *Parsifal*—the figure that sounds repeatedly as the knights of the Holy Grail approach their shrine at Montsalvat. The Riverside bells took those four recurring notes through a series of permutations, with the intervals falling in the first half-hour and rising in the second half-hour, in imitation of the minute hand of a clock. At around the same time, Rockefeller donated a similar carillon to

the University of Chicago, his father's proudest creation; it, too, used to play a *Parsifal* pattern, until the university opted for a different sequence in the nineteen-sixties.

The idea for a *Parsifal* carillon came from Frederick C. Mayer, the organist and choirmaster of the United States Military Academy at West Point, whom Rockefeller employed as his musical adviser. (The campus of West Point was, as it happens, designed by Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Goodhue.) Mayer, who was in the habit of including arrangements of Wagner on his recital programs at the West Point Cadet Chapel (see *New Music Review and Church Music Review* 34 (1934), p. 227; *Armed Forces Journal International* 83 (1946), p. 974), created the Wagnerian sequence especially for Rockefeller's carillons, calling it the "Parsifal Quarters." The Rockefeller Family Archives in Sleepy Hollow, New York, give more background. In a letter to Rockefeller dated Oct. 28, 1932, Mayer explains his logic: the familiar Westminster or "Big Ben" pattern has become "trivial and sentimental," whereas the *Parsifal* figure evokes the mythical Temple of the Grail, "traditionally located in a wild section of the Pyrenees in northern Spain." It is, Mayer claimed, "the only music written by a really great composer for bells." For more on the bells, see "Riverside Carillon to Get 22-Ton Bell," *New York Times*, April 29, 1928; "Carillon Rings Out a New Tune at U. of Chicago," *New York Times*, Nov. 23, 1961; and Percival Price, *Bells and Man* (Oxford UP, 1983), pp. 180–83.

For anti- or post-Wagnerian strains in American popular music, see Victor Herbert and Harry B. Smith, *Miss Dolly Dollars* (Witmark, 1905); and Scott Joplin and Joe Snyder, *Pine Apple Rag* (Seminary Music, 1910). For Mark Twain, see Harriet Elinor Smith et al., eds., *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, vol. 1 (University of California Press, 2010); Twain, *A Tramp Abroad* (Chatto & Windus, 1880); Twain, "Mark Twain at Bayreuth," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 6, 1891; Benjamin Griffin and Harriet Elinor Smith, eds., *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, vol. 2 (University of California Press, 2013). For Walt Whitman, see his *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose*, ed. Justin Kaplan (Library of America, 1982); "The Poetry of the Future," *North American Review* 132 (1881), pp. 195–210; William Sloane Kennedy, *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman* (Gardner, 1896); John Townsend Trowbridge, "Reminiscences of Walt Whitman," *Atlantic Monthly* 89 (1902), pp. 163–75; Kenneth M. Price, ed., *Walt Whitman: The Contemporary Reviews* (Cambridge UP, 1996); Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 2 (Mitchell Kennerley, 1915); *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 4, ed. Sculley Bradley (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959).

## Chapter 4: Grail Temple

*Tristan und Isolde* and the *Ring* may have inspired more analytical and interpretive commentary, but *Parsifal* is an object of endless scholarly and critical fascination. Some important studies and anthologies are Lucy Beckett, *Richard Wagner: "Parsifal"* (Cambridge UP, 1981); William Kinderman and Katherine R. Syer, eds., *A Companion to Wagner's "Parsifal"* (Camden House, 2005); Stephan Möscher, *Weihe, Werkstatt, Wirklichkeit: Wagners "Parsifal" in Bayreuth 1882–1933* (Bärenreiter, 2009); William Kinderman, *Wagner's "Parsifal"* (Oxford UP, 2013); Meihui Yu, "Kundry, Blumenmädchen, Klingsors Zaubergarten: Das Arabische im *Parsifal*," *wagnerspectrum* 13:1 (2017), pp. 61–81. For early interpretations theological or otherwise, see Albert Ross Parsons, *Parsifal: The Finding of Christ through Art; or, Richard Wagner as Theologian* (Putnam's, 1890); Maurice Kufferath, *Parsifal de Richard Wagner: Légende—drame—partition* (Librairie Fischbacher, 1890); Alfred Gurney, "*Parsifal*," *a Festival Play by Richard Wagner: A Study* (Kegan Paul, 1892); Frederick Hale, "American

Christians For and Against *Parsifal*: Debating the Holy Grail Opera in New York,” *In die Skriflig* 51:1 (2017), www.scielo.org.za.

On fin-de-siècle occult and esoteric movements, see Hollbrook Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties: A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (Mitchell Kennerley, 1914); Bramble, John. *Modernism and the Occult* (Palgrave, 2015); Leigh Wilson, *Modernism and Magic Experiments with Spiritualism, Theosophy and the Occult* (Edinburgh UP, 2015); Leon Surette and Demetres P. Tryphonopoulos, eds., *Literary Modernism and the Occult Tradition* (National Poetry Foundation, University of Maine, 1996); Leon Surette, *The Birth of Modernism: Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, W.B. Yeats, and the Occult* (McGill-Queen’s UP, 1993); Silver, Kenneth. “Afterlife: The Important and Sometimes Embarrassing Links Between Occultism and the Development of Abstract Art, ca. 1909–13,” in *Mystical Symbolism: The Salon de la Rose + Croix in Paris, 1892–1907*, ed. Vivien Greene (Guggenheim, 2017), pp. 46–53; Michelle Facos and Thor J. Mednick, “Introduction,” in *The Symbolist Roots of Modern Art*, ed. Facos and Mednick (Routledge, 2016), pp. 1–8. For Édouard Schuré on Wagner and the occult, see his *Souvenirs sur Richard Wagner: La première de Tristan et Iseult* (Perrin, 1900). For Aleister Crowley, see his “To Richard Wagner,” *The Works of Aleister Crowley*, vol. 1 (Society for the Propagation of Religious Truth, 1905), p. 179; *The Book of Thoth: A Short Essay on the Tarot of the Egyptians* (Weiser, 1974); and “Liber LII: Manifesto of the O.T.O.,” *Equinox* 3:1 (1919), pp. 198–99. For more obscure interpretations, see Corinne Heline, *Esoteric Music, Based on the Musical Seership of Richard Wagner* (New Age Bible & Philosophy Center, 1986); and Charles Stansfeld Jones, *The Chalice of Ecstasy, Being a Magical and Qabalistic Interpretation of the Drama of “Parzival,” by a Companion of the Holy Grail Sometimes Called Frater Achad* (Yogi, 1923). The great avant-garde jazz artist Sun Ra owned the latter book; see Sun Ra, *The Immeasurable Equation: The Collected Poetry and Prose*, ed. James L. Wolf and Hartmut Geerken (Waitawhile, 2005), p. 488.

The major work on Joséphin Péladan is Christophe Beaufils, *Joséphin Péladan (1858–1918): Essai sur une maladie du lyrisme* (Millon, 1993). See also Robert Pincus-Witten, *Occult Symbolism in France: Joséphin Péladan and the Salons de la Rose-Croix* (Garland, 1976); Roland Van der Hoeven, “L’Idéalisme musical: Musique et musiciens autour du Sâr Péladan,” *Revue de la Société liégeoise de musicologie* 2 (1995), pp. 5–34; Maria E. Di Pasquale, “Joséphin Péladan: Occultism, Catholicism, and Science in the Fin de Siècle,” *Revue d’art canadienne* 34:1 (2009), pp. 53–61; Laurinda S. Dixon, “Art and Music at the Salons de la Rose + Croix, 1892–1897,” in *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg and Dixon (Syracuse UP, 1987), pp. 167–75; Jennifer Birkett, “Fetishizing Writing: The Politics of Fictional Form in the Work of Remy de Gourmont and Joséphin Péladan,” in *Perennial Decay: On the Aesthetics and Politics of Decadence*, ed. Liz Constable et al. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 268–88; Birkett, *The Sins of the Fathers: Decadence in France 1870–1914* (Quartet, 1986); Laurant, Jean-Pierre, and Victor Nguyen. *Les Péladan* (Les Dossiers H, 1990).

Quotations from Péladan’s own work come from *L’Androgyne* (Dentu, 1891); *Comment on devient artiste: Esthétique* (Chamuel, 1894); *Comment on devient mage: Éthique* (Chamuel, 1892); *Constitution de la Rose + Croix, le Temple et le Graal* (Au secrétariat, 1893); *La Décadence esthétique*, vol. 1: *L’Art ochlocratique: Salons de 1882 & de 1883* (Dalou, 1888); *Geste esthétique: Catalogue du Salon de la Rose + Croix* (Durand-Ruel, 1892); *La Guerre des idées* (Flammarion, 1916); *La Gynandre* (Dentu, 1891); *Le Panthée* (Dentu, 1892); *Ile Geste esthétique: Catalogue officiel du second Salon de la Rose + Croix* (Nilsson, 1893); *La*

*Prométhéide: Trilogie d'Eschyle en quatre tableaux* (Chamuel, 1895); *La Rose + Croix: Organe trimestriel de l'Ordre* (Commanderie de Tiphereth, 1893); *Le Théâtre complet de Wagner* (Chamuel, 1894); "Tribune publique," *Archives israélites*, Oct. 3. 1901; *La Victoire du mari* (Slatkine, 1979). One can also find Wagner motifs in the 1890 novel *Coeur en peine*, which has chapters entitled "Wagnérisme," "Gaal," and "Crescendo," containing, respectively, allusions to *The Flying Dutchman*, *Parsifal*, and *Walküre*. The Bibliothèque nationale de France offers through its Gallica portal various Péladan materials, including two scrapbooks: see [gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508217d](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508217d) and [gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508786r](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508786r).

Sébastien Clerbois, *L'ésotérisme et le symbolisme belge* (Pandora, 2012) gives a comprehensive overview of Belgian symbolism, revealing various links to Wagner. Debora L. Silverman, in her three-part article "Art Nouveau, Art of Darkness: African Lineages of Belgian Modernism" *West 86th* 18:2 (2011), pp. 139–81; 19:2 (2012), pp. 175–195; 20:1 (2013), pp. 3–61, unveils the genocidal regime that underpinned some of the most splendid achievements of Belgian Art Nouveau. For more background, see Michèle Goslar, *Victor Horta, 1861–1947: L'homme, l'architecte, l'art nouveau* (Fonds Mercator, 2012), p. 373; Robert Michael Brain, "Protoplasmia: Huxley, Haeckel, and the Vibratory Organism in Late Nineteenth-Century Science and Art," in *The Art of Evolution: Darwin, Darwinisms and Visual Culture*, ed. Barbara Larson and Fae Brauer (University Press of New England, 2009), pp. 105–107; Katherine M. Kuenzli, *Henry van de Velde: Designing Modernism* (Yale UP, 2019); Maurice Maeterlinck, "Menus propos: Le théâtre," *Jeune Belgique* 9:9 (1890), pp. 331–36. On Khnopff, the standard work in English is Jeffery W. Howe, *The Symbolist Art of Fernand Khnopff* (UMI Research Press, 1982). For his remarks on Wagner, see Alma Mahler-Werfel, *Diaries, 1898–1902*, ed. and trans. Antony Beaumont (Cornell UP, 1999); *Tagebuch-Suiten, 1898–1902*, ed. Beaumont and Susanne Rode-Breyman (Fischer, 1997). On Delville, see Brendan Cole, *Jean Delville: Art Between Nature and the Absolute* (Cambridge Scholars, 2015). On Redon, see Jean Lorrain, *Sensations et souvenirs* (Charpentier, 1895); *Lettres d'Odilon Redon, (1878–1916), publiées par sa famille* (van Oest, 1923); Redon, *À soi-même: Journal (1867–1915): Notes sur la vie, l'art et les artistes* (Floury, 1922); Ernest Verlant, "Chronique artistique: Exposition Meunier," *Jeune Belgique* 11 (1892), 88–95; Dario Gamboni, "Parsifal / Druidess: Unfolding a Lithographic Metamorphosis by Odilon Redon," *Art Bulletin* 89:4 (2007), pp. 766–96. On Ensor, see James Ensor, *Lettres*, ed. Xavier Tricot (Labor, 1999); Tricot, "James Ensor," in *Richard Wagner, visions d'artistes*, p. 132; Émile Verhaeren, *James Ensor* (Van Oest, 1908); Patricia G. Berman, *James Ensor: Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889* (J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002).

The dubious array of satanic-Wagnerian works includes Élémir Bourges, *Le Crépuscule des Dieux* (Giraud, 1884); Huysmans, *Là-bas: A Journey Into the Self*, trans. Brendan King (Dedalus, 2001); Camille Lemonnier, *La Vie secrète* (Ollendorff, 1898), Horacio Quiroga, *Cuentos completos*, vol. 1 (Ediciones de la Plaza, 1987); and Marcel Batilliat, *Chair mystique* (Séguier, 1995). For Wagner in Darío, see Rubén Darío *Selected Writings*, ed. Ilan Stavans, trans. Andrew Hurley et al. (Penguin, 2005), pp. 379, 291; Lysander Kemp, trans., *Selected Poems of Rubén Darío* (University of Texas Press, 1965), p. 55.

On Theosophy and other end-of-century mystical movements, see Peter Washington, *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon: A History of the Mystics, Mediums, and Misfits Who Brought Spiritualism to America* (Schocken, 1995). The main text on Wagner and Theosophy is Christopher Scheer, "Theosophy and Wagner Reception in England and the United States, 1886–1911: Some Preliminary Findings," in *The Legacy of Richard Wagner: Convergences and Dissonances in Aesthetics and Reception*, ed. Luca Sala (Brepols, 2012), pp. 239–55. Other

sources for Theosophy are Helena Blavatsky, *Collected Writings*, vol. 4 (Theosophical Publishing House, 1966); Constance Wachtmeister, *Reminiscences of H. P. Blavatsky and "The Secret Doctrine"* (Theosophical Publishing Society, 1893); Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater, *Thought-Forms* (Theosophical Publishing Society, 1905); Jinarājadāsa, Curuppumullagē. *Theosophy and Modern Thought* (Theosophical Publishing House, 1915). On Ellis, see David Cormack, "Faithful, All Too Faithful: William Ashton Ellis and the Englishing of Richard Wagner," essay originally published in *Wagner* 14 (1993), pp. 104–137, expanded version available at [www.thewagnerjournal.co.uk/archive.html](http://www.thewagnerjournal.co.uk/archive.html), accessed Jan. 19, 2019; also William Ashton Elis, "A Glance at *Parsifal*?" *Lucifer* 3:14 (1888), pp. 106–109. For Alice Leighton Cleather and Basil Crump, see their *Parsifal, Lohengrin, and the Legend of the Holy Grail* (Schirmer, 1904?); and *Tristan and Isolde: An Interpretation Embodying Wagner's Own Explanations* (Methuen, 1905); also Crump, "The Wagner Lectures," *Theosophical Forum* 3:2 (1897), pp. 27–28. For Point Loma, see Katherine Tingley, *The Wine of Life* (International Theosophical Headquarters, 1925); Massimo Introvigne, "Reginald W. Machell (1854–1927): Blavatsky's Child, British Symbolist, American Artist," *Aries* 14 (2014), pp. 165–89.

For Anthroposophy, see the following Rudolf Steiner texts: *Die Geschichte und die Bedingungen der anthroposophischen Bewegung im Verhältnis zur Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft* (Steiner Verlag, 1981); "Das Gralsgeheimnis im Werk Richard Wagners", Vortrag Landin (Mark), 29. Juli 1906, in *Rudolf Steiner Gesamtausgabe, Vorträge*, Buch 97 (Dornach, 1998; *Die okkulten Wahrheiten alter Mythen und Sagen* (Steiner Verlag, 1999); *Die Geschichte und die Bedingungen der anthroposophischen Bewegung im Verhältnis zur Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft* (Steiner Verlag, 1981); "Parsifal: The Secret of the Grail in the Works of Richard Wagner, Parsifal, Arthur," 1906 lecture, [wn.rsarchive.org](http://wn.rsarchive.org). Other sources are Harry Collison, "Introduction," in Rudolf Steiner, *Four Mystery Plays* (Putnam, 1920), rène Diet, *Jules et Alice Sauerwein et l'anthroposophie en France* (Steen, 1999); Christoph Lindenberg, *Rudolf Steiner, eine Chronik: 1861–1925* (Verlag Freies Geistesleben, 1988); Rudolf Grosse, *The Christmas Foundation: Beginning of a New Cosmic Age* (Steiner Book Centre, 1984).

For Irish Wagnerism, see Adrian Frazier, *Behind the Scenes: Yeats, Horniman, and the Struggle for the Abbey Theatre* (University of California Press, 1990); Edward Malins, "Annie Horniman, Practical Idealist." *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 3:2 (1977), ), pp. 18–26; Edward Martyn, "Wagner's *Parsifal*, or the Cult of Liturgical Æstheticism," *Irish Review* 3:34 (1913), pp. 535–40. On George Moore, see William Blissett, "George Moore and Literary Wagnerism," *Comparative Literature* 13:1 (1961), pp. 52–71; *Hail and Farewell*, vol. 1: *Ave* (Appleton, 1912); Moore, *Evelyn Innes* (Appleton, 1898). I wish I had space to comment on Moore's beautiful 1905 novel *The Lake*, a more substantial work than *Evelyn Innes*, and one in which Wagner allusions occur both on the surface—several pages are devoted to a description of a trip to Bayreuth—and in the symbolic background, especially regarding Parsifalian themes of chastity colliding with desire. Richard Allen Cave, in *A Study of the Novels of George Moore* (Smythe, 1978), calls *The Lake* "the Wagnerian novel perfected" (p. 165).

Quotations from Yeats come from the following sources: Yeats, W. B. *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats*, vol. 3, ed. John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard (Oxford UP, 1994); *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats*, vol. 4, ed. John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard (Oxford UP, 2005); *The Collected Works of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Richard J. Finneran et al. (Scribner, 1996–); *The Shadowy Waters*, *North American Review* 170:522 (1900), pp. 711–29; *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, vol. 2, ed. John P. Frayne and Colton Johnson (Macmillan, 1975). See also Otto Bohlmann, *Yeats and Nietzsche: An Exploration of Major Nietzschean Echoes in the Writings of*

*William Butler Yeats* (Macmillan, 1982); Anna MacBride White and A. Norman Jeffares, eds., *The Gonno-Yeats Letters, 1893–1938* (Syracuse UP, 1994); Adrian Frazier, *The Adulterous Muse: Maude Gonno, Lucien Millevoje, and W. B. Yeats* (Lilliput, 2016). Maud Gonno, *A Servant of the Queen: Reminiscences* (Purnell, 1938), John Eglinton, W. B. Yeats, A. E., and W. Larminie, *Literary Ideals in Ireland* (Fisher Unwin, 1899), R. F. Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A Life*, vol. 1: *The Apprentice Mage, 1865–1914* (Oxford UP, 1998), W. B. Yeats and George Moore, *Diarmuid and Grania: Manuscript Materials*, ed. J. C. C. Mays (Cornell UP, 2005), Herbert Howarth, *The Irish Writers, 1880–1940* (Hill and Wang, 1959), Michael J. Sidnell, George P. Mayhew, and David R. Clark, eds., *Druid Craft: The Writing of “The Shadowy Waters”* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1971).

## Chapter 5: Holy German Art

Amid an extensive literature on *Die Meistersinger*, I found Nicholas Vazsonyi’s anthology *Wagner’s “Meistersinger”: Performance, History, Representation* (University of Rochester Press, 2002) most enlightening, especially for the essays by David Dennis, Thomas S. Grey, and Hans Rudolf Veget. See also Martin Geck’s *Richard Wagner: A Life in Music*, trans. Stewart Spencer (University of Chicago Press, 2013), pp. 263–87; Grey, “Wagner’s *Die Meistersinger* as National Opera (1868–1945),” in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 78–104; Wagner, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 28: *Dokumente und Texte zu “Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg,”* ed. Egon Voss (Schott, 2013); and the *Meistersinger* issue of *wagnerspectrum*, 15:2 (2019). On the revision to “Verachtet mir die Meister nicht,” see Cosima Wagner and Ludwig II, *Briefe: Eine erstaunliche Korrespondenz*, ed. Martha Schad (Lübbe, 1996), pp. 348–49; Wagner, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 28, p. 275; Volker Harm, “‘Jene neun Verse, die uns Not machen’: Zur Textgeschichte des *Meistersinger*-Schlusses,” *wagnerspectrum* 13:2 (2017), pp. 179–204.

On issues of the Sonderweg and the Kaiserreich, see Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford UP, 1984); Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1918* (Beck, 1998); Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Harvard UP, 2016); Eley, *Nazism as Fascism: Violence, Ideology, and the Ground of Consent in Germany, 1930–1945* (Routledge, 2013); and Richard J. Evans, *Rethinking German History: Nineteenth-Century Germany and the Origins of the Third Reich* (Harper Collins, 1987). See also Andreas Huyssen, “Monumental Seduction.” *New German Critique* 69 (1996), pp. 181–200; Hermann Broch, *Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit: Eine Studie* (Suhrkamp, 1974); and Hannu Salmi, *Imagined Germany: Richard Wagner’s National Utopia* (Lang, 1999).

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On Wilhelm I’s visit to Bayreuth in 1876 see, among other sources, “Abreise des deutschen Kaisers,” *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt*, Aug. 13, 1876; and Bernhard von Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. 4 (Ullstein, 1931), p. 308. For Friedrich III, see Kaiser Friedrich III, *Tagebücher, 1866–1888* (Schöningh, 2012); and Frank Lorenz Müller, *Der 99-Tage-Kaiser: Friedrich III. von Preußen—Prinz, Monarch, Mythos* (Siedler, 2013). For Wilhelm II, see the

works of John C. G Röhl: *Kaiser, Hof und Staat: Wilhelm II. und die deutsche Politik* (Beck, 1995); *Young Wilhelm: The Kaiser's Early Life, 1859–1888*, trans. Jeremy Gaines and Rebecca Wallach (Cambridge, UP, 1998); *Wilhelm II: The Kaiser's Personal Monarchy, 1888-1900*, trans. Sheila Bellaigue (Cambridge UP, 2004); *Wilhelm II: Into the Abyss of War and Exile, 1900–1941*, trans. Sheila Bellaigue and Roy Bridge (Cambridge UP, 2014); also Lamar Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, vol. 1 (University of North Carolina Press, 1989). For various aspects of Wagner's presence in Kaiserreich culture, see Franz Merloff, *Richard Wagner und das Deutschland* (Wurm, 1873); John Deathridge, "Living with Wagner," paper delivered at the WagnerWorldWide:America conference, University of South Carolina, Jan. 31, 2013; Stephan Mösch, *Weihe, Werkstatt, Wirklichkeit: "Parsifal" in Bayreuth 1882–1933* (Bärenreiter, 2009); Rudolph Sabor, *The Real Wagner* (Deutsch, 1987); Celia Applegate, *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme* (University of Toronto Press, 2017). On Makart, see Thomas S. Grey, "Wagner and the 'Makart Style,'" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 25:3 (2013), pp. 225–60; on Franz Stassen, see Stephen C. Meyer, "Illustrating Transcendence: *Parsifal*, Franz Stassen, and the Leitmotif," *Musical Quarterly* 92 (2009), pp. 9–32; Udo Bernbach, *Richard Wagner in Deutschland: Rezeption—Verfälschungen* (Metzler, 2011), pp. 351–59; and Rudolf Herzog, *Siegfried der Held: Der deutschen Jugend erzählt* (Ullstein, 1912).

For a compilation of invective hurled at Wagner, see Wilhelm Tappert, *Richard Wagner im Spiegel der Kritik* (Siegel, 1903). For Nestroy, see Micaela Baranello, "'Operettendämmerung': *Die lustigen Nibelungen* and the Failures of Wagnerian Operetta," *Opera Quarterly* 33:1 (2017), p. 34. Early novelistic satires of Wagner appear in Johannes Scherr, *Michel: Geschichte eines Deutschen unserer Zeit*, vol. 2 (Kober, 1858); and Friedrich Theodor von Vischer, *Auch einer: Eine Reisebekanntschaft*, vol. 1 (Hallberger, 1879); see also Barbara Titus, *Conceptualizing Music: Friedrich Theodor Vischer and Hegelian Currents in German Music Criticism, 1848–1887* (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 2005). Others of the genre are discussed in Anna Jacobson, *Nachklänge Richard Wagners im Roman* (Carl Winter, 1932). In Paul Heyse's *Kinder der Welt* (1873), the cosmopolitan Count Gaston compares his hopeless, overpowering lusts to the unending melody of Wagner: "...uns schließlich wie in einem verliebten Traum Hören und Sehen vergeht und wir vor ewiger Sehnsucht, unendlicher Melodie und wollüstiger Langerweile aus der Haut fahren möchten." I did not take up the question of Wagnerian allusions in the work of Gerhart Hauptmann. On that question, see Marc A. Weiner, "Gerhart Hauptmann's 'Die versunkene Glocke; and the Cultural Vocabulary of Pre-Fascist Germany,'" *German Studies Review* 11:3 (1988), pp. 447–61.

On Lagarde and Langbehn, see Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (University of California Press, 1974). See also Paul de Lagarde, *Le opere italiane di Giordano Bruno*, vol. 2 (Dieterichsche Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1888); Ludwig Schemann, *Paul de Lagarde: Ein Lebens- und Erinnerungsbild* (Matthes, 1920); and Julius Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher: Von einem Deutschen* (Hirschfeld, 1890). For Riehl, see Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Kulturgeschichtliche Charakterköpfe* (Cotta, 1891).

On Fontane and Wagner, see Nottinger, Isabel. *Fontanes Fin de Siècle: Motive der Dekadenz in "L'Adultera," "Cécile," und "Der Stechlin"* (Königshausen & Neumann, 2003); Werner von Stegmann, "Theodor Fontane und Richard Wagner: Ein Kapitel zur Geschichte der Wagner-Rezeption, lecture at Richard Wagner Verband München, Oct. 28, 2008; Dorothea Rüländ, "Instetten war ein Wagnerschwärmer: Fontane, Wagner und die Position der Frau zwischen Natur und Gesellschaft," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 29 (1985), pp. 405–425; Hans Otto Horch, "Annäherungen an ein Jahrhundertereignis: Theodor Fontanes

Verhältnis zu Richard Wagner und zum Wagnerismus,” in *Deutsche Dichtung um 1890: Beiträge zu einer Literatur im Umbruch*, ed. Robert Leroy und Eckart Pastor (Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 31–73. For a superb modern study of the author, see Iwan-Michelangelo D'Aprile, *Fontane: Ein Jahrhundert in Bewegung* (Rowohlt, 2018). Quotations from Fontane's works come from *Briefe*, vol. 3, ed. Walter Keitel et al. (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980); *Cécile*, trans. Stanley Radcliffe (Angel, 1992); *Effi Briest*, trans. Hugh Rorrison and Helen Chambers (Penguin, 1995); *Das Fontane Buch*, vol. 2, ed. Ernst Heilborn (Fischer, 1919); *Kriegsgefangen: Erlebtes 1870* (Fischer, 1910); “Otto Reinsdorff: Richard Wagners *Meistersinger von Nürnberg*,” *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 21 (Nymphenburger, 1974), pp. 175–76; *Tagebücher, 1866–1882, 1884–1898*, ed. Gotthard and Therese Erler (Aufbau, 1995); and *Two Novellas: The Woman Taken in Adultery and The Poggenpuhl Family*, trans. Gabrielle Annan (Penguin, 1995).

For overviews of Munich modernism, see Maria Makela, *Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn-Of-The-Century Munich* (Princeton UP, 1990); Rainer Metzger, *München—Die große Zeit um 1900 Kunst, Leben & Kultur 1890–1920* (Brandstätter, 2009); and Peter Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwriting, and Performance, 1890-1914* (Harvard UP, 1985). For quotations from Michael Georg Conrad, see his “Angewandte Kunst,” *Gesellschaft* 20 (1898), pp. 73–76. Robert E. Norton, *Secret Germany: Stefan George and His Circle* (Cornell UP, 2002); *Sämtliche Werke in 18 Bänden*, vol. 2 (Klett-Cotta, 1987); Kurt Hildebrandt, *Erinnerungen an Stefan George und seinen Kreis* (Bouvier, 1965); Wolfgang Osthoff, *Stefan George und “les deux musiques”: Tönende und vertonte Dichtung im Einklang und Widerstreit* (Steiner, 1989). For Friedrich Huch, see his *Tristan und Isolde, Lohengrin, Der fliegende Holländer: Drei groteske Komödien* (Mörike, 1911). One can also look at Georg Kaiser's 1913 play *König Hahnrei*, which tells the Tristan story from the point of view of King Mark, here a senile, dirty old man who experiences vicarious sexual thrills through the escapades of the lovers. In a parody of the *Tristan* love duet—“Ohne nennen, ohne trennen . . . “ (“Without naming, without parting”)—Mark burbles nonsense on the order “ohne Gang — ohne Klang — ohne Klirren — ohne Schwirren.” For Kaiser's love of Wagner, see *Briefe*, ed. Gesa M. Valk (Propyläen, 1980), p. 491, a 1939 letter on *Tristan*: “Einst wirst Du diese Musik hören—nie wurde eine hinreissendere geschrieben und nie wird sie geschrieben werden.”

On Wedekind, see Artur Kutscher, *Frank Wedekind: Sein Leben und seine Werke*, vol. 1 (Müller, 1922); Rolf Kieser, *Benjamin Franklin Wedekind: Biographie einer Jugend* (Arche, 1990); Kieser, *Olga Plümacher-Hünerwadel: Eine gelehrte Frau des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Lenzburger, 1990); and Stephen Parker, *Die Wedekinds in Amerika: Das Journal amoureux seines Vaters—übersetzt von Frank Wedekind* (Wallstein, 2020). Quotations come from Wedekind, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse* (Langen Müller, 1960); and *The First Lulu*, ed. and trans. Eric Bentley (Applause, 1994).

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Siobhán Donovan, Wolfgang Marx, eds., *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression* (University of Rochester Press 2013); and Dietmar Strauß, ed., *Eduard Hanslick: Sämtliche Schriften* (Böhlau, 1990 –). On Camillo Sitte, see Michael Mönninger, “Sitte und Wagner,” in *Camillo Sitte Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1: *Schriften zu Kunstkritik und Kunstgewerbe.*, ed. Klaus Semsroth et al. (Böhlau, 2008). On Hofmannsthal and Wagner, see Dieter Borchmeyer, “Der Mythos als Oper: Hofmannsthal und Richard Wagner,” *Hofmannsthal-Forschungen* 7 (1983), pp. 19–66.

On Italian Wagnerism, see Axel Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy: From Unification to Fascism* (Routledge, 2008); and *wagnerspectrum* 6:1 (2010). On similarities and differences in German and Italian unification, see Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton UP, 2014), pp. 409–412. On d’Annunzio, see Annamaria Andreoli, *Il vivere inimitabile: vita di Gabriele D’Annunzio* (Montadori, 2000); and Lucy Hughes-Hallett, *Gabriele d’Annunzio: Poet, Seducer, and Preacher of War* (Knopf, 2013); Barbara Spackman, *Decadent Genealogies: The Rhetoric of Sickness from Baudelaire to D’Annunzio* (Cornell UP, 1989). For Wagnerian themes, see Saverio Procida, “Ricordi intimi su Arturo Colautti,” *Lettura* 15:2 (1915); Thomas S. Grey and James Westby, “Gabriele d’Annunzio’s ‘Il case Wagner’ (The Case of Wagner): Reflections on Wagner, Nietzsche, and *Wagnerismo* from *Fin-de-Siècle* Italy,” *Leitmotive*, Fall 2012, pp. 7–26; and Bettina Vogel-Walter, “D’Annunzio’s Wagner,” *wagnerspectrum* 6:1 (2010), pp. 206–208. Quotations come from d’Annunzio, *Il caso Wagner*, ed. Paolo Sorge (Editori Laterza, 1996); *The Flame of Life*, trans. Kassandra Vivaria (Page, 1900); and *The Triumph of Death*, trans. Arthur Hornblow (Page, 1896).

On Thomas Mann’s immensely complicated and rich relationship with Wagner, the foremost study is Hans Rudolf Valet, *Seelenzauber: Thomas Mann und die Musik* (Fischer, 2012). *Im Schatten Wagners: Thomas Mann über Richard Wagner*, ed. Hans Rudolf Valet (Fischer, 1999) is also an invaluable resource; an English translation of much of the same material is available in *Pro and Contra Wagner*, trans. Alan Blunden (Faber, 1985). Major biographical studies include Hermann Kurzke, *Thomas Mann: Das Leben als Kunstwerk, eine Biographie* (Beck, 1999); Donald Prater, *Thomas Mann: A Life* (Oxford UP, 1995); and Anthony Heilbut, *Thomas Mann: Eros and Literature* (Knopf, 1996). I also consulted Rainer-Maria Kiel, “Thomas Mann—Bayreuth—Karl Würzburger,” *Thomas Mann Jahrbuch* 20 (2007), pp. 237–60. Quotations come from *Thomas Mann: Große kommentierte Frankfurter Ausgabe*, ed. Heinrich Detering et al. (Fischer, 2001–); “Erinnerungen ans Lübecker Stadttheater,” *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 11 (Fischer, 1960), pp. 417–20. *Jahrbuch* 20 (2007), pp. 237–60; “*Death in Venice*” and *Other Stories*, trans. David Luke (Bantam, 1988); *Buddenbrooks*, trans. John E. Woods (Knopf, 1993); “Auseinandersetzung mit Wagner,” *Der Merker* 2:19 (1911), pp. 21–23.

On Thomas Mann’s “Tristan,” a line-by-line comparison between the novella and d’Annunzio’s *The Triumph of Death* can be found in Nachum Schoffman, “D’Annunzio and Mann: Antithetical Wagnerisms,” *Journal of Musicology* 11:4 (Fall 1993), pp. 517–24. See also Barker, Andrew. “‘Bloss aus Lemberg gebürtig’: Detlev Spinell, the Austrian Jewish Aesthete in Thomas Mann’s *Tristan*,” *Modern Language Review* 102:2 (2007), pp. 440–50; and Stevie Anne Bolduc, “A Study of Intertextuality: Thomas Mann’s *Tristan* and Richard Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*,” *Rocky Mountain Review* 37 (1983), pp. 82–90. George Schoolfield, *Baedeker of Decadence: Charting a Literary Fashion, 1884–1927* (Yale UP, 2003), p. 271, notes that Spinell comes from Lemberg (Lvov), in Galicia, a place with a large Jewish population. Excerpts from Holitscher’s *The Poisoned Well* appear in Raymond Furness, ed., *The Dedalus Book of German*

*Decadence: Voices of the Abyss*, trans. Furness and Mike Mitchell (Dedalus, 1994), pp. 82–120. For Holitscher’s anecdote about Mann’s voyeuristic research methods, see his *Lebensgeschichte eines Rebellen* (Fischer, 1924), pp. 218–21.

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## Chapter 6: Nibelheim

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## Chapter 7-15: forthcoming