

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 those 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 Although modern scholarship has superseded much of it, Newman's account remains an essential point of reference, not to mention amusing to read in its flights of exasperation.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 evaded the question of 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). The last is perhaps the best English-language introduction to Wagner in print.

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); 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. Nicholas 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 looked at 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); Nike 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 discussed in Chapter 5 of *Wagnerism*. 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 should not be overlooked: recent monographs include Kerstin Decker, *Richard Wagner: Mit den Augen seiner Hunde betrachtet* (Berenberg, 2013); and 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 essay anthology *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). I also looked at Friedrich Dieckmann, *Richard Wagner in Venedig: Eine Collage* (Luchterhand, 1983) and various newspaper sources. 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, in "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 meditation *Amori et dolori sacrum: La Mort de Venise* (Juven, 1902), 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* (Keyzersche 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.

On the Wagner memorial in Vienna in 1883, see Hermann Bahr, *Selbstbildnis* (Fischer, 1923); “Localbericht,” *Neue Freie Presse*, March 6, 1883; Eduard Pichl, *Georg Schönerer* (Stalling, 1938); Donald G. Daviau, “Hermann Bahr and the Radical Politics of Austria in the 1880s,” *German Studies Review* 5:2 (1982), pp. 163-185; William J. McGrath, “Student Radicalism in Vienna,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 2:3 (1967), pp. 183–201; Theodor Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, vol. 1, ed. Johannes Wachten (Propyläen, 1983), pp. 125–26; and Herzl, “Selbstbiographie,” *Zionistische Schriften*, ed. Leon Kellner (Jüdischer Verlag, 1920), p. 9.

Chapter 1: Rheingold

The literature on the *Ring* cycle is vast in itself. Among English-language studies, George Bernard Shaw’s *The Perfect Wagnerite* holds pride of place for its bold political reading of the cycle, though Shaw’s judgments are often eccentric in the extreme—not least in his near-total failure to grasp *Götterdämmerung*. Two influential studies from later in the twentieth century are Deryck Cooke’s leitmotif-oriented *I Saw the World End: A Study of Wagner’s “Ring”* (Oxford UP, 2002) and Robert Donington’s Jungian-psychoanalytic *Wagner’s “Ring” and Its Symbols: The Music and the Myth* (Faber, 1987). Important German studies include, in addition to classic studies by Adorno and Carl Dahlhaus named above, Hans Mayer, “The *Ring* As a Bourgeois Parable: Wieland Wagner’s New Conception and Its Realization in Bayreuth,” *Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele 1966*, pp. 28–33; Udo Bernbach, *Wahn des Gesamtkunstwerks: Richard Wagners politisch-ästhetische Utopie* (Metzler, 2004); Bernbach, *In der Trümmern der eigenen Welt: Richard Wagners “Ring des Nibelungen”* (Reimer, 1989); Borchmeyer, *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner*, and Klaus Hortschansky, *Richard Wagners “Ring des Nibelungen”: Musikalische Dramaturgie, kulturelle Kontextualität, Primär-Rezeption* (Karl Dieter Wagner, 2004). The latest addition to the *Ring* literature is Mark Berry and Nicholas Vazsonyi, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner’s “Der Ring des Nibelungen”* (Cambridge UP, 2020). Berry’s *Treacherous Bonds and Laughing Fire: Politics and Religion in Wagner’s “Ring”* (Routledge, 2016) is perhaps the most incisive political reading of the *Ring* since Shaw’s.

I also consulted David J. Baker and Daniel Müllensiefen, “Perception of Leitmotives in Richard Wagner’s *Der Ring des Nibelungen*,” *Frontiers in Psychology* 8:662 (2017); Daniel H. Foster, *Wagner’s “Ring” Cycle and the Greeks* (Cambridge UP, 2010); Edward R. Haymes, *Wagner’s “Ring” in 1848: New Translations of “The Nibelung Myth” and “Siegfried’s Death”* (Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Haymes, “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); Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Tétralogies: Wagner, Boulez, Chéreau* (Bourgois, 1983); Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford UP, 2009); Petra-Hildegard Wilberg, *Richard Wagners mythische Welt: Versuche wider den Historismus* (Rombach, 1996); and Christian Thorau, *Semantisierte Sinnlichkeit: Studien zu Rezeption und Zeichenstruktur der Leitmotivtechnik Richard Wagners* (Steiner, 2003).

On the political context, see Bonnie S. Anderson, "The Lid Comes off: International Radical Feminism and the Revolutions of 1848," *NWSA Journal* 10:2 (Summer 1998), pp. 1-12; Dieter Borchmeyer, *Was ist deutsch? Die Suche einer Nation nach sich selbst* (Rowohlt, 2017); Dieter Dowe, Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Dieter Langewiesche, *Europa 1848: Revolution und Reform* (Dietz, 1998); Robert John Weston Evans, and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction* (Oxford UP, 2000); Mike Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution* (Basic Books, 2010); and Daniel Stern, *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 classic texts of Kant, Hegel, Schiller, the Schlegels, Feuerbach, Strauss, Stirner, and Schopenhauer, Bryan Magee, *The Tristan Chord: Wagner and Philosophy* (Metropolitan, 2000) and Richard Klein, "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. 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 valuable insights in Karol Berger, *Beyond Reason: Wagner contra Nietzsche* (University of California Press, 2017); Dieter Borchmeyer and Jörg Salaquarda, *Nietzsche und Wagner: Stationen einer epochalen Begegnung* (Insel, 1994); Roger Hollinrake, *Nietzsche, Wagner, and the Philosophy of Pessimism* (Allen & Unwin, 1982); Georges Liébert, *Nietzsche and Music*, trans. David Pellauer and Graham Parkes (University of Chicago Press, 2004); Martine Prange, *Nietzsche, Wagner, Europe* (De Gruyter, 2013); and Martin Ruehl, "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, *Contesting Nietzsche* (Chicago UP, 2013); David Wyatt Aiken, "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, *Friedrich Nietzsche, Chronik in Bildern und Texten* (Hanser/dtv, 2000); Mark Berry, "Nietzsche and Wagner," in *The New Cambridge Companion to Nietzsche*, ed. Tom Stern (Cambridge UP, 2019), pp. 92-120; Paolo D'Iorio, *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, *Der einsame Nietzsche*

(Kröner, 1914); Ronald Hayman, *Nietzsche: A Critical Life* (Oxford UP, 1980); Dimitri Hemelsoet, Karen Hemelsoet, and Daisy E Devreese, “The Neurological Illness of Friedrich Nietzsche,” *Acta Neurologica Belgica* 108:1 (2008), pp. 9–16; Robert C. Holub, *Nietzsche’s Jewish Problem: Between Anti-Semitism and Anti-Judaism* (Princeton UP, 2016); Eugen Kretzer, *Friedrich Nietzsche: Nach persönlichen Erinnerungen und aus seinen Schriften* (Kesselring, 1895); H. F. Peters, *Zarathustra’s Sister: The Case of Elisabeth and Friedrich Nietzsche* (Crown, 1977); Luke Phillips, “Sublimation and the Übermensch,” *Journal of Nietzsche Studies* 46:3 (2015), pp. 349–66; Édouard Schuré, “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, *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (Cambridge UP, 1991); Andreas Urs Sommer, *Kommentar zu Nietzsches “Der Antichrist,” “Ecce homo,” “Dionysos-Dithyramben,” und “Nietzsche contra Wagner”* (De Gruyter, 2013); and Julian Young, *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, *Letters from Bayreuth, Descriptive and Critical of Wagner’s “Der Ring des Nibelungen”* (Novello, Ewer, 1877); Halford Hawkins, “The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth,” *Macmillan’s* 35 (1876), pp. 55–63; and Modest Tchaikovsky, *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, *Richard Wagner: Prelude and Transfiguration from “Tristan und Isolde”* (Norton, 1985); Eric Chafe, *The Tragic and the Ecstatic: The Musical Revolution of Wagner’s “Tristan und Isolde”* (Oxford UP, 2005); Ernst Kurth, *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 and Isolde”* (Oxford UP, 2003). On the reception of the opera and the surrounding legends, see Joan Tasker Grimbert, *Tristan and Isolde: A Casebook* (Routledge, 2002); Brigitte Linden, *Die Rezeption des Tristanstoffs in Frankreich vom Ende des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Peter Lang, 1988); and Elliott Zuckerman, *The First Hundred Years of Wagner’s “Tristan”* (Columbia UP, 1964).

Important general studies of the topic of Wagnérisme include Georges Servières, *Richard Wagner jugé en France* (Henry du Parc, 1887); Edmond Evenepoel, *Le Wagnérisme hors d’Allemagne* (Fischbacher, 1891); Albert Lavignac, *Le voyage artistique à Bayreuth*, 5th ed. (Delagrave, 1903); *Wagner et la France: Numéro spécial de la Revue Musicale*, Oct. 1, 1923; Grange Woolley, *Richard Wagner et le Symbolisme français* (Presse universitaires de France, 1931); Léon Guichard, *La Musique et les lettres en France au temps du Wagnérisme* (Presse universitaires de France, 1963); Elwood Hartman, *French Literary Wagnerism* (Garland, 1988); Martine Kahane and Nicole Wild, *Wagner et la France* (Herscher, 1983); Cécile Leblanc, *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, *The Enemy Within: Encountering Wagner in Early Third Republic France* (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 2007); Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford UP, 2008); Pasler, *Composing the Citizen, Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (University of California

Press, 2009), Michał Piotr Mrozowicki, *Richard Wagner et sa réception en France: Première partie: Le musicien de l'avenir, 1813–1883* (Gdansk UP, 2013); and Mrozowicki, *Richard Wagner et sa réception en France: Du ressentiment à l'enthousiasme, 1883–1893*, 2 vols. (Symétrie, 2016). For a painstaking reexamination of myths and realities involving Wagner's time in Paris, see Jeremy Coleman, *Richard Wagner in Paris: Translation, Identity, Modernity* (Boydell & Brewer, 2019).

First-hand reports by Wagnéristes, whether faithful or relapsed, include Théodore de Banville, *Critiques*, ed. Victor Barrucand (Charpentier, 1917); Léon Daudet, "De l'imagination: Dialogue entre mon père et moi," *Revue du palais* 3 (1897); Judith Gautier, *Le Collier des jours: Le troisième rang du collier* (Juven, 1909); Gautier, *Richard Wagner et son oeuvre poétique* (Charavay, 1882); Camille Mauclair, *Servitude et grandeur littéraires* (Ollendorff, 1922); Mauclair's fascinating autobiographical novel *Le Soleil des morts* (Ollendorff, 1898); Catulle Mendès, *Richard Wagner* (Charpentier, 1886); Mendès, *La Légende du Parnasse contemporain* (Brancart, 1884); Édouard Schuré, *Le drame musical: Richard Wagner, son oeuvre et son idée* (Perrin, 1895); Schuré, *Souvenirs sur Richard Wagner: La première de Tristan et Iseult* (Perrin, 1900); and André Suarès, *La Nation contre la race*, vol. 2: *République et barbares* (Émile-Paul, 1917). See also Remy de Gourmont, *Judith Gautier* (Bibliothèque Internationale d'Édition, 1904); Edmond Haraucourt, "Le Petit Théâtre," *Le Gaulois*, May 28, 1898; and Joanna Richardson, *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, *Les Nationalités musicales étudiées dans le drame lyrique* (Didier, 1872); Paul Scudo, "Revue Musicale: Le Tannhauser de M. Richard Wagner," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Apr. 1, 1861; and Hippolyte de Villemessant, *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 George Sand's response in *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). For Théophile Gautier, see his "Feuilleton: Théâtres," *La Presse*, Dec. 2, 1850, "Le Tannhauser de Richard Wagner," *Le Ménestrel*, Oct. 4, 1857; and 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, *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, "Psychologie contemporaine: Notes

et portraits: Charles Baudelaire,” *Nouvelle Revue* 13 (1881), pp. 398–416; Roberto Calasso, *La Folie Baudelaire*, trans. Alastair McEwen (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008); Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, *Musica Ficta (Figures of Wagner)*, trans. Felicia McCarren (Stanford UP, 1994); Margaret Miner, *Resonant Gaps: Between Baudelaire and Wagner* (University of Georgia Press, 1995); Nadar, *Charles Baudelaire intime: Le poète vierge* (Blaziot, 1911); Claude and Vincenette Pichois, *Lettres à Charles Baudelaire* (La Baconnière, 1973); and Barbara Spackman, *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, “Concerts de Richard Wagner” in *À travers chants* (Librairie Nouvelle, 1872); P.-A. Fiorentino, “Théâtre Impérial Italien: M. Richard Wagner,” *Constitutionnel*, Jan. 30, 1860; Benoît Jouvin, “Les Théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, Feb. 16, 1860; Ernest Closson, “À propos de Tannhäuser,” *Le Guide musical*, Oct. 20, 1895; Ernest Raynaud, *La Bohème sous le second empire: Charles Cros et Nina* (Artisan du Livre, 1930), Annegret Fauser, “‘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, “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, *Quelques Souvenirs d’un éditeur de musique* (Durand, 1924); “Pasdeloup’s Concerts Populaires at Paris,” *Monthly Musical Record*, March 1, 1874; Rudolph Aronson, *Theatrical and Musical Memoirs* (McBride, Nast, 1913); Amédée Pigeon, “Chronique des Arts,” *Revue des chefs-d’œuvre ancienne et moderne*, Feb. 10, 1884; Gustave Flaubert, *Bouvard et Pécuchet: Oeuvre posthume* (Conard, 1923); Katharine Ellis, “Wagnerism and Anti-Wagnerism in the Paris Periodical Press, 1852–70,” in *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme*, pp. 51–83; Ellis, “How to Make Wagner Normal: *Lohengrin*’s ‘Tour de France’ of 1891–92,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 25:2 (2013), pp. 121–37; Stephen Studd, *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, *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, *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, *Pages from the Goncourt Journals*, ed. and trans. Robert Baldick (New York Review Books, 2007); Jean-Marie Bellefroid, “Villiers de l’Isle-Adam en Bavière (1869),” *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France* 63:4 (1963), pp. 644–52; Léon Deffoux, *Les derniers Jours de Villiers de l’Isle-Adam* (Bernard, 1930); Théophile Janvrais, *Le berceau des Villiers de l’Isle-Adam: Le*

manoir de Penanboas-l'Isle-Adam (Champion, 1913); Georges Jean-Aubry, "Villiers de l'Isle Adam and Music," *Music and Letters* 19:4 (Oct. 1938), p. 391–404; Heath Lees, "Transformation at Tribschen: How a French Literary Trio Became a Wagnerian Music Trio," *Wagner Journal* 8:1 (2014), pp. 4–18; Alan Raitt, "Villiers de l'Isle-Adam in 1870," *French Studies* 13:4 (1959); and Raitt, *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 Bonhommet* (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 she 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'Eve 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, "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, "Images du 'Ring': Une vision de Fantin-Latour," in *Richard Wagner, visions d'artistes*, pp. 28–35; and Corrinne Chong, "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, *Manet, Wagner, and the Musical Culture of Their Time* (Ashgate, 2013). For more on Renoir and Wagner, see Renoir, "Lettre à un ami," Jan. 14, 1882, in *Les Symbolistes et Richard Wagner/Die Symbolisten und Richard Wagner*, pp. 15–16; Ambroise Vollard, *La vie & l'œuvre de Pierre-Auguste Renoir* (Vollard, 1919), pp. 110–12; Barbara White, *Renoir: His Life, Art, and Letters* (Abrams, 2010), pp. 118–19; Michel Drucker, *Renoir* (Tisné, 1944), pp. 132–34, 162; and Jeanne Baudot, *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, *The History of Impressionism* (Museum of Modern Art, 1961), p. 116; Michel Hilaire and Paul Perrin, *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, "Cezanne, Wagner, Modulation," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 56:4 (Autumn, 1998), pp. 353–64; Mary Tompkins Lewis, *Cézanne's Early Imagery* (University of California Press, 1989); Paul Cézanne, *Correspondance*, ed. John Rewald (Grasset, 2006); André Dombrowski, *Cézanne, Murder, and Modern Life* (University of

California Press, 2013); Raymond Jean, *Cézanne, la vie, l'espace* (Seuil, 1986). On Van Gogh and Gauguin, see Natascha Veldhorst, *Van Gogh and Music: A Symphony in Blue and Yellow*, trans. Diane Webb (Yale UP, 2018); Roland Dorn, "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, "Le 'texte Wagner' de Gauguin," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1984), pp. 281–88; Ian Hunter, *Gauguin* (Royal Scottish Academy, 1955); Philippe Junod, "Paul Gauguin," in *Richard Wagner, visions d'artistes*, pp. 226–27; Robert Welsh, "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, "Paul Gauguin's Third Visit to Brittany, June 1889–November 1890," in *Gauguin's Nirvana*, pp. 15–60; and Linda Goddard, "'Scattered Notes': Authorship and Originality in Paul Gauguin's *Diverses choses*," *Art History* 34:2 (2011), pp. 352–69. On Seurat and the Nabis, see Katherine M. Kuenzli, *The Nabis and Intimate Modernism: Painting and the Decorative at the Fin-de-Siècle* (Ashgate, 2010); Paul Smith, "Was Seurat's Art Wagnerian? And What If It Was?," *Apollo* 134:353 (1991), pp. 21–28; and Michelle Foa, *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, *Les Premières armes du symbolisme* (Vanier, 1889); Adolphe Retté, *Le Symbolisme: Anecdotes et Souvenirs* (Vanier, 1903); Anne Holmes, "The 'Music of the Forest': Wagner, Laforgue, Mallarmé," *French Studies Bulletin* 28:104 (October 2007), pp. 56–58; David Michael Hertz, *The Tuning of the Word: The Musico-literary Poetics of the Symbolist Movement* (Southern Illinois UP, 1987); and Michael Marlais, *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, "Édouard Dujardin, Wagner, and the Origins of Stream of Consciousness Writing," *19th-Century Music* 37:1 (2013), pp. 56–88; Henri Régner, *De mon temps . . .* (Mercure de France, 1933); and Gilles Candar'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 Richard Cándida Smith, *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, *Traité du verbe* (Giraud, 1886); Ghil, "Les Fastes, par Stuart Merrill," *Écrits sur l'art* 5:4 (June, 1891), pp. 77–78; Marjorie Louise Henry, *La Contribution d'un américain au symbolisme français: Stuart Merrill* (Champion, 1927); and Elga Liverman Duval, *Téodor de Wyzewa: Critic Without a Country* (Droz/Minard, 1961). I quote from the following Wyzewa articles: "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 oeuvres 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; and “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 himself 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 in time for Act III of the final *Parsifal* of the season. The epilogue takes us to the following year’s festival, where the two meet again. Valbert relates how during that Act III of *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.

Paul Verlaine is quoted 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, *Conversations in Ebury Street* (Boni and Liveright, 1910); Edmond Lepelletier, *Paul Verlaine: sa vie, son œuvre* (Mercure de France, 1907); and Verlaine, “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 mélancholique, un sourd, lent et doux air / De chasse: tel, doux, lent, sourd et mélancholique / 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: Réverie d’un poète français,” *Revue wagnérienne* 1:7, pp. 195–200. The major work on Mallarmé and Wagner is Heath Lees, *Mallarmé and Wagner: Music and Poetic Language* (Ashgate, 2007). See also Joseph Acquisto, *French Symbolist Poetry and the Idea of Music* (Ashgate, 2006); Mary Breatnach, “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, *Toward the Poems of Mallarmé* (University of California Press, 1965); Gardner Davies, *Les “Tombeaux” de Mallarmé* (Corti, 1950); Anne Holmes, “The Last Book Mallarmé Read,” *French Studies Bulletin* 25:93 (2004), pp. 6–7; Bertrand Marchal, *Lecture de Mallarmé* (Corti, 1985); and Louis Marvick, *Waking the Face That No One Is: A Study in the Musical Context of Symbolist Poetics* (Rodopi, 2004); and Henri Mondor, *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 Bulteau); 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); and 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); and 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 quotations come from "Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar," *Fraser's* 52 (July 1855), pp. 48–62; *The Journals of George Eliot*, ed. Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston (Cambridge UP, 1998); Gordon S. Haight, ed., *The George Eliot Letters*, vol. 6 (Yale UP, 1955); K. K. Collins, ed., *George Eliot: Interviews and Recollections* (Palgrave, 2010); *Middlemarch*, ed. David Carroll (Oxford UP, 1996); and *Daniel Deronda* (Modern Library, 2002). I also drew on 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); Henry James, "Daniel Deronda: A Conversation," *Atlantic* 38 (1876), p. 685–87, 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); Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (Edward Arnold, 1914); and *The Letters of George Henry Lewes*, vol. 2, ed. William Baker (English Literary Studies, 1995).

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); and 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; 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 Algernon Charles Swinburne are taken from *Major Poems and Selected Prose*, ed. Jerome McGann and Charles L. Sligh (Yale UP, 2004); *Notes on Poems and Reviews* (Hotten, 1866); *A Pilgrimage of Pleasure: Essays and Studies* (Gorham, 1913); *A Century of Roundels* (Chatto & Windus, 1883); also from *The Swinburne Letters*, 6 vols., ed. Cecil Y. Lang (Yale UP, 1959–62); and Terry L. Meyers, ed., *Uncollected Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, vol. 2 (Pickering & Chatto, 2005). For analyses 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. I also examined Nadar, *Charles Baudelaire intime: Le poète vierge* (Blazot, 1911); Clyde K. Hyder, *Algernon Swinburne: The Critical Heritage* (Taylor & Francis, 2005); and Jean Overton Fuller, *Swinburne: A Biography* (Schocken, 1971);

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); and Samuel Longfellow, ed., *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, vol. 2 (Houghton, Mifflin, 1891). For Theodore Thomas, see George P. Upton, ed., *Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography, Vol. I: Life Work* (McClurg, 1905); and Ezra Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905* (University of Illinois Press, 1989). For Seidl, see Henry Theophilus Finck, *Anton Seidl: A Memorial by His Friends* (Scribner's, 1899) and various writings of Joseph Horowitz, especially Wagner nights. Sources

for Sousa are Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa* (Integrity Press, 1984); Patrick Warfield, *Making the March King: John Philip Sousa's Washington Years, 1854–1893* (University of Illinois Press, 2013). For a close study of Sousa's relationship with Wagner, see Tobias Faßhauer, "Wagner was a brass band man, anyway': Wagnerismus, Amerikanismus, und populäre Orientierung bei John Philip Sousa," *wagnerspectrum* 16:2 (2020), pp. 65–98. On Wagner at the White House, see 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); 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.; and 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's *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).

On the Chicago School of architecture, see 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); and Frank Lloyd Wright, *An Autobiography* (Faber, 1945). The Wagner-Sullivan relationship is touched on in 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); and 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.)

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); and *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 Mösch, *Weihe, Werkstatt, Wirklichkeit: Wagners "Parsifal" in Bayreuth 1882–1933* (Bärenreiter, 2009); William Kinderman, *Wagner's "Parsifal"* (Oxford UP, 2013); and 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); and 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); John Bramble, *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); Kenneth Silver, "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; and 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 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); and Jean-Pierre Laurant 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; and *La Victoire du mari* (Slatkine, 1979). One can also find Wagner motifs in the 1890 novel *Coeur en peine*, which has chapters entitled “Wagnérisme,” “Graal,” 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 and gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508786r.

Sébastien Clerbois, in *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, “Protoplasmania: 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 Khnopff’s 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 James Ensor, see 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); and Patricia G. Berman, *James Ensor: Christ’s Entry into Brussels in 1889* (J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002).

The small but memorable library of satanic Wagneriana includes Élémer 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.

To my assemblage of dark-hued Wagnerian narratives might be added several more examples. One is Louis Couperus's 1920 story "De binocle" ("The Binoculars"), often featured in Dutch short-story anthologies. It tells of a man who, while sitting in a front-row balcony seat at a performance of *Die Walküre*, is seized by the impulse to drop a heavy pair of opera-glasses onto the bald head of a man in the parterre below. Another is Hjalmar Söderberg's 1905 novel *Doktor Glas*, in which a doctor who has murdered a corrupt clergyman listens to the *Lohengrin* prelude and finds himself assuaged of his guilt—an idiosyncratic variation on the familiar mode of Wagnerian transport. For more on Söderberg, see Ole Nordenfors, "This Wonderful Blue Music': Richard Wagner in Swedish Fiction," in *Richard Wagner: Werk und Wirkungen / His Works and Their Impact: A Wagner Symposium 2013*, ed. Anders Jarlert (Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2014), pp. 158–69.

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); Curuppumullagē Jinarājadāsa, *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, 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) and Massimo Introvigne, "Reginald W. Machell (1854–1927): Blavatsky's Child, British Symbolist, American Artist," *Aries* 14 (2014), pp. 165–89.

Quotations from the writings of Rudolf Steiner are derived from *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. Other sources are Harry Collison, “Introduction,” in Rudolf Steiner, *Four Mystery Plays* (Putnam, 1920); Irène Diet, *Jules et Alice Sauerwein et l’anthroposophie en France* (Steen, 1999); Christoph Lindenberg, *Rudolf Steiner, eine Chronik: 1861–1925* (Verlag Freies Geistesleben, 1988); and 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 Collected Works of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Richard J. Finneran et al. (Scribner, 1996–); *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 Shadowy Waters*, *North American Review* 170:522 (1900), pp. 711–29; and *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 Gonne-Yeats Letters, 1893–1938* (Syracuse UP, 1994); Adrian Frazier, *The Adulterous Muse: Maude Gonne, Lucien Millevoye, and W. B. Yeats* (Lilliput, 2016); Maud Gonne, *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); and 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 Vaget. See also various essays in *Richard Wagner, Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg: Texte, Materialien, Kommentare*, ed. Attila Csampai and Dietmar Holland (Rowohlt, 1981); Arthur Groos, “Constructing Nuremberg: Typological and Proleptic Communities in *Die Meistersinger*,” *19th-Century Music* 16:1 (1992), pp. 18–34; Martin Geck, *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; Karol Berger, “How Holy is German Art? On the Last Scene of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*,” in *Gefühlskraftwerke für Patrioten? Wagner und das Musiktheater zwischen Nationalismus und Globalisierung*, ed. Arne Stollberg, Ivana Rentsch, and Anselm Gerhard (Königshausen und Neumann, 2015), pp. 137–55; 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: *Dokumente und Texte zu “Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*,” ed. Egon Voss (Schott, 2013), p. 275; Volker Harm, “‘Jene neun Verse, die uns Not machen’: Zur Textgeschichte des *Meistersinger*-Schlusses,” *wagnerspectrum* 13:2 (2017), pp. 179–204. Citations of discussions of *Meistersinger* and antisemitism can be found in Chapter 6 below.

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).

On King Ludwig II and Wagner, see Ludwig II, *Tagebuch–Aufzeichnungen von Ludwig II., König von Bayern*, ed. Edir Grein (Quaderer, 1925); and Ludwig II and Wagner, *Briefwechsel*, 4 vols., ed. Otto Strobel (Braun, 1936–39). Recent biographies include Heinz Häfner, *Ein König wird beseitigt: Ludwig II. von Bayern* (Beck, 2011); and Oliver Hilmes, *Ludwig II.: Der unzeitgemäße König* (Panthéon, 2015).

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). Other examples 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 Isabel Nottinger, *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; and 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. The best modern study of the author is 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. For Stefan George see his *Sämtliche Werke in 18 Bänden*, vol. 2 (Klett-Cotta, 1987); Robert E. Norton, *Secret Germany: Stefan George and His Circle* (Cornell UP, 2002); Kurt Hildebrandt, *Erinnerungen an Stefan George und seinen Kreis* (Bouvier, 1965); and 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* (Mörrike, 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).

On fin-de-siècle Vienna, see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Vintage, 1981); Steven Beller, ed., *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (Berghahn, 2001); Kevin C. Karnes, *A Kingdom Not of This World: Wagner, the Arts, and Utopian Visions in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Oxford UP, 2013); Brigitte Borchhardt-Birbaumer, “Richard Wagners Männermythos vom indoarischen Gralsritter,” in *Euphorie und Unbehagen: Das jüdische Wien und Richard Wagner*, ed. Andrea Winklbauer (Metroverlag, 2013), pp. 122–33; Stephen Carlton Thursby, *Gustav Mahler, Alfred Roller, and the Wagnerian Gesamtkunstwerk: “Tristan” and Affinities Between the Arts at the Vienna Court Opera* (Ph.D. diss., Florida SU, 2009). On Ludwig Speidel and Eduard Hanslick, see David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford UP, 2014); Nicole Grimes, 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); Lucy Hughes-Hallett, *Gabriele d’Annunzio: Poet, Seducer, and Preacher of War* (Knopf, 2013); and Barbara Spackman, *Decadent Genealogies: The Rhetoric of Sickness from Baudelaire to D’Annunzio* (Cornell UP, 1989). For Wagnerian themes in d’Annunzio, 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’Annunzios 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. Cassandra 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 Vaaget, *Seelenzauber: Thomas Mann und die Musik* (Fischer, 2012). Vaaget’s anthology *Im Schatten Wagners: Thomas Mann über Richard Wagner* (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); and “Auseinandersetzung mit Wagner,” *Der Merker* 2:19 (1911), pp. 21–23.

Concerning 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 (1993), pp. 517–24. See also Andrew Barker, “‘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 *Der vergiftete Brunnen* 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.

For Heinrich Mann, see, Klaus Matthias, “Heinrich Mann und die Musik,” in *Heinrich Mann 1871–1971: Bestandsaufnahme und Untersuchung, Ergebnisse der Heinrich-Mann-Tagung in Lübeck*, ed. Klaus Matthias (Fink, 1973), pp. 235–366; and Daniel Fuhrmann, *Opern- und Konzertpublikum in der deutschen Literatur des langen 19. Jahrhunderts* (PhD. diss., University of Bern, 2004). Quotations come from “Doktor Biebers Versuchung,” in *Haltlos: Sämtliche Erzählungen*, vol. 1 (Fischer, 1995), pp. 494–550; *In einer Familie* (Fischer, 2000); *The Loyal Subject*, trans. Ernest Boyd and Daniel Theisen (Continuum, 1998); and *Der Untertan* (Wolff,

1918). Interestingly, Heinrich Mann's somewhat pitiless attitude toward Wagner softened in later years. In his memoir *Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt* (Claassen, 1974), written during the Second World War, he came quite close to his brother's mature assessment of Wagner, emphasizing the composer's cosmopolitan, universal appeal while observing the dangers inherent in the work. He placed Wagner beside Nietzsche as an artist who contained contradictory impulses: "Gleichviel, beide Künstler haben in ihrer Neigung, sich mißverstehen zu lassen, zweigesichtig, zweideutig haben sie den Deutschen die Wahl freigegeben, aus ihrem Werk zu nehmen, was ihnen anstände: den festen Sinn, die Fragwürdigkeit, das Echte allein oder vor allem das Verführerische. Die Deutschen haben gewählt" (p. 163).

Chapter 6: Nibelheim

Quotations from "Of the Coming of John" are taken from W. E. B. Du Bois, *Writings*, ed. Nathan Huggins (Library of America, 1986), pp. 521–35. On "double consciousness" and the Veil, see Howard Winant, "Dialectics of the Veil," in Winant, *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, Justice* (University of Minnesota Press, 2004), pp. 25–38. On Du Bois and Wagner, see Russell Berman, "Du Bois and Wagner: Race, Nation, and Culture between the United States and Germany," *German Quarterly* 70:2 (1997), pp. 123–35; and Sieglinde Lemke, "Of the Coming of John," in *The Cambridge Companion to W. E. B. Du Bois*, ed. Shamoon Zamir (Cambridge UP, 2008), pp. 37–47.

Book-length studies of Wagner's antisemitism include Leon Stein, *The Racial Thinking of Richard Wagner* (Philosophical Library, 1950); Robert W. Gutman, *Richard Wagner: The Man, His Mind, and His Music* (Harcourt, 1968); Hartmut Zelinsky, *Richard Wagner—ein deutsches Thema: Eine Dokumentation zur Wirkungsgeschichte Richard Wagners, 1876–1976* (Zweitausendeins, 1976); Jacob Katz, *The Darker Side of Genius: Wagner's Anti-Semitism* (Brandeis UP, 1986); Nattiez, *Wagner Androgyne: A Study in Interpretation*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Princeton UP, 1998 [1990]); Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (Yale UP, 1992); Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Annette Hein, "Es ist viel 'Hitler' in Wagner": *Rassismus und antisemitische Deutschtumsideologie in den "Bayreuther Blättern" (1878–1938)* (Niemeyer, 1996); Dieter Borchmeyer, Ami Maayani, and Susanne Vill, eds., *Richard Wagner und die Juden* (Metzler, 2000); Dieter David Scholz, *Richard Wagners Antisemitismus: Jahrhundertgenie im Zwielicht—Eine Korrektur* (Parthas, 2000); Jens Malte Fischer, *Richard Wagners "Das Judentum in der Musik": Eine kritische Dokumentation als Beitrag zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus* (Insel, 2000); Borchmeyer, *Richard Wagner: Ahasvers Wandlungen* (Insel, 2002); Wolf-Daniel Hartwich, *Romantischer Antisemitismus: Von Klopstock bis Richard Wagner* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005); Stefanie Hein, *Richard Wagners Kunstprogramm. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (Königshausen & Neumann, 2006); Pierre-André Taguieff, *Wagner contre les juifs: Aux origines de l'antisémitisme culturel moderne* (Berg, 2012); Carlo Alberto Defanti, *Richard Wagner: Genio e antisemitismo* (Lindau, 2013); a trilogy of works by Philippe Godefroid: *Richard Wagner 1813–2013: Quelle Allemagne désirons-nous?*, *Richard Wagner, L'éclésiaste antisémite: Être wagnérien en 2013?*, and *Wagner et le juif errant: Une hontologie* (L'Harmattan, 2011–14); Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Wagner antisémite: Un problème historique, sémiologique et esthétique* (Bourgeois, 2015); Alexander Schmidt, *Die ideologische Rezeption der Judenfeindschaft Richard Wagners: Ursprung, Verlauf und Konsequenzen* (Tectum, 2017); Matthias Schmidt, *Eingebildete Musik:*

Richard Wagner, das jüdische Wien und die Ästhetik der Moderne (Edition Text + Kritik, 2020). Thomas S. Grey, Grey, "The Jewish Question," in *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner*, ed. Grey (Cambridge UP, 2008), pp. 203–218, gives a reasoned overview of the controversy.

On antisemitism more generally, see, among a vast number of sources, Léon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. 3, trans. Miriam Kochan (Vanguard, 1975); Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (Harvard UP, 1988); Klaus B. Fischer, *History of an Obsession: German Judeophobia and the Holocaust* (Continuum, 2001); Thomas Gräfe, *Antisemitismus in Deutschland 1815–1918: Rezensionen, Forschungsüberblick, Bibliographie* (self published, 2010), Ruth HaCohen, *The Music Libel Against the Jews* (Yale UP, 2011); and David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (Norton, 2014). On connections between Wagner and Marx's "Zur Judenfrage," see Udo Bernbach, *Wahn des Gesamtkunstwerks: Richard Wagners politisch-ästhetische Utopie* (Metzler, 2004), p. 277; Friedrich Dieckmann, *Richard Wagner in Venedig: Eine Collage* (Luchterhand, 1983), p. 183; Arnold Ruge to Karl Marx, March 1843, in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, ed. Ruge and Marx (Bureau des Annales, 1844), p. 21 ("Der deutsche Geist, so weit er zum Vorschein kommt, ist niederträchtig"); and Wagner, "Das Bühnenfestspielhaus zu Bayreuth," RWSS9, p. 334 ("Ein zu offener Verzweiflung getriebener Patriot, der wunderliche Arnold Ruge, glaubte schließlich aussagen zu müssen, der Deutsche sei 'niederträchtig'").

For *Das Judentum in der Musik*, the essential source is Jens Malte Fischer's volume above. On Meyerbeer, see, Manuela Jahrmärker, "Wagners Aufsatz 'Das Judentum in der Musik' im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Reaktionen," in *Meyerbeer, Wagner: Eine Begegnung*, ed. Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, Marion Linhardt, and Thomas Steiert (Böhlau, 1998), pp. 120–41; on Mendelssohn, see Sinéad Dempsey-Garratt, "Mendelssohn's 'Untergang': Reconsidering the Impact of Wagner's 'Judaism in Music,'" in *Mendelssohn Perspectives*, ed. Nicole Grimes and Angela R. Mace (Routledge, 2016), pp. 31–48. For Hanslick and Meistersinger, see Hanslick, "Richard Wagner's 'Meistersinger von Nürnberg,'" part 2, *Neue Freie Presse*, June 25, 1868; and Hannes Heer, "'Alles dort morsch, treulos. Und so roh': Der Blick Richard Wagners auf Wien," in *Euphorie und Unbehagen*, pp. 36–65. For early mentions of Wagner's authorship, see *Meyerbeer, Wagner: Eine Begegnung* (Böhlau, 1998), pp. 124, 268, as well as Praeger in Chapter 3 above. For parodic responses to *Judentum*, see Richard Schmidt-Cabanis, attrib., *Hepp, Hepp! oder Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg: große confessionell-socialdemokratische Zukunftsooper in 3 gegenwärtigen Acten* (Erbe, 1872); Andrea Schneider, *Die parodierten Musikdramen Richard Wagners: Geschichte und Dokumentation Wagnerscher Opernparodien im deutschsprachigen Raum von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Müller-Speiser, 1996); Micaela Baranello, "'Operettendämmerung': *Die lustigen Nibelungen* and the Failures of Wagnerian Operetta," *Opera Quarterly* 33:1 (2017), pp. 28–48; Fritz Mauthner, *Der unbewusste Ahasverus oder Das Ding an sich als Wille und Vorstellung*, in *Wagner Parodien*, ed. Dieter Borchmeyer and Stephen Kohler (Insel, 1983); Moritz Anton Grandjean and Josef Koch von Langentreu, *Das Judentum in der Musik*, op. 36 (Bösendorfer, 1870?). On Wagner's late-period references to Jewish mysticism, see Wolf-Daniel Hartwich, "Jüdische Theosophie in Richard Wagners *Parsifal*," in *Richard Wagner und die Juden*, pp. 103–122; and Hartwich, *Romantischer Antisemitismus*, pp. 229–45. On Wagner and Gobineau, see Eric Eugène, *Wagner et Gobineau: Existe-t-il un racisme wagnérien?* (Cherche Midi, 1998). For an examination of overlooked French translations of "Judentum," see Peter Bloom, "The French Text of Wagner's *Das Judentum in der Musik*," *Notes* 67:2 (2010), pp. 263–83.

For early discussions of antisemitism in the Wagner operas, see Paul Bekker, *Wagner: Das Leben im Werke* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1924); Alfred Einstein, “Der Jude in der Musik,” *Der Morgen* 6 (1927), pp. 690–602; Theodor W. Adorno, “Fragmente über Wagner,” *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 8 (1939–40), pp. 1–49; Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner* (Suhrkamp, 1952). On the question of antisemitism in *Meistersinger*, see Barry Millington, “Nuremberg Trial: Is There Anti-Semitism in ‘Die Meistersinger’?,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3:3 (1991), pp. 247–60; David J. Levin, “Reading Beckmesser Reading: Antisemitism and Aesthetic Practice in *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*,” *New German Critique* 69 (1996), pp. 127–46; Thomas S. Grey, “Masters and Their Critics: Wagner, Hanslick, Beckmesser, and *Die Meistersinger*,” in *Wagner’s “Meistersinger”: Performance, History, Representation*, ed. Nicholas Vazsonyi (University of Rochester Press, 2002), pp. 165–89; Hans Rudolf Vaget, “‘Du warst mein Feind von je’: The Beckmesser Controversy Revisited,” in *Wagner’s “Meistersinger*, pp. 190–208; David B. Dennis, “‘The Most German of All German Operas’: *Die Meistersinger* Through the Lens of the Third Reich,” in *Wagner’s “Meistersinger*, pp. 98–11; Ulrich Drüner, “Judenfiguren bei Richard Wagner,” in *Judenrollen: Darstellungsformen im europäischen Theater von der Restauration bis zur Zwischenkriegszeit*, ed. Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer and Jens Malte Fischer (Niemeyer, 2008), pp. 143–64; Adrian Daub, “Mother Mime: Siegfried, the Fairy Tale, and the Metaphysics of Sexual Difference,” *19th-Century Music* 32:2 (2008), pp. 160–77; Thomas S. Grey and Kirsten Paige, “The Owl, the Nightingale and the Jew in the Thorn-bush: Relocating Anti-Semitism in *Die Meistersinger*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 28:1 (2016), pp. 1–35; Matthias Schmidt, “Reflexe der Unsichtbarkeit: Wagner, Hanslick, und *Das Judentum in der Musik*,” *Musik & Aesthetik* 22 (2018), pp. 5–26; and Friedrich Geiger, “‘Das Judentum’ in der Musik: Der antisemitische Subtext der *Meistersinger* und seine Inszenierung durch Barrie Kosky,” *wagnerspectrum* 15:2 (2019). pp. 99–129.

On the question of antisemitism in the *Ring*, see early mentions of the topic in Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Gustav Mahler in den Erinnerungen von Natalie Bauer-Lechner*, ed. Herbert Killian (Wagner, 1984); and Paul Gisbert [Paul Pniower], *Der Ring der nie gelungen* (Wedekind & Scheiger, 1877). Modern studies include, aside from Nattiez’s *Wagner Androgyne* cited above, Veit Veltzke, *Der Mythos des Erlösers: Richard Wagners Traumwelten und die deutsche Gesellschaft, 1871–1918* (Arnoldsche, 2002); Tash Siddiqui, “Specters of Nazism,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner’s “Der Ring des Nibelungen*,” pp. 297–316; and Michael Tusa, “Mime, Meyerbeer, and the Genesis of *Der junge Siegfried*: New Light on the ‘Jewish Question’ in Richard Wagner’s Work,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 26:2 (2014), pp. 113–146. On antisemitism in *Parsifal*, see Paul Lindau, *Bayreuther Briefe vom reinen Thoren: “Parsifal” von Richard Wagner* (Schottlaender, 1883); Max Kalbeck, *Richard Wagner’s Parsifal: erste Aufführung am 26. Juli 1882 zu Bayreuth* (Schletter’sche Buchhandlung, 1883); Ludwig Speidel, “‘Parsifal’ in Baireuth,” in Großmann-Vendrey, *Bayreuth in der deutschen Presse*, vol. 2 (Bosse, 1977), p. 186; Ludwig Schemann, “Die Gral- und die Parzival-Sage in ihren hauptsächlichsten dichterischen Verarbeitungen,” part 4, *Bayreuther Blätter* 2:4 (1879), pp. 106–16. A modern study of the topic of Jewishness in *Parsifal* is Benjamin Binder, “Kundry and the Jewish Voice: Anti-antisemitism and Musical Transcendence in Wagner’s *Parsifal*,” *Current Musicology* 87 (2009), pp. 47–131. For *The Flying Dutchman*, see Stephen McClatchie, “The Flying Dutchman, the Wandering Jew, and Wagner’s Anti-Semitism,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 81:4 (2012), pp. 877–92.

For antisemitism in the Wagner/Bayreuth circle, Annette Hein’s *Es ist viel ‘Hitler’ in Wagner* remains the most thorough study. I also consulted Wilhelm Marr, *Der Sieg des*

Judenthums über das Germanenthum (Costenoble, 1879), esp. p. 26; Moshe Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr: The Patriarch of Anti-Semitism* (Oxford UP, 1986); Theodor Fritsch, *Antisemiten-Katechismus: Eine Zusammenstellung des wichtigsten Materials zum Verständnis der Judenfrage* (Beyer, 1893); Rudolf Wellingsbach, “Wolzogen, Baron Hans Paul von,” in *The Cambridge Wagner Encyclopedia*, ed. Nicholas Vazsonyi (Cambridge UP, 2013). On Adolf Stoecker, see Max Braun, *Adolf Stoecker* (Verlag der Vaterländischen Verlags- und Kunstanstalt), esp. pp. 255–56. On Förster, see his *Parsifal-Nachklänge* (Fritsch, 1883) and *Das Verhältniss des modernen Judenthums zur deutschen Kunst* (Schulze, 1881); also Ben Macintyre, *Forgotten Fatherland: The Search for Elisabeth Nietzsche* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1992). On de Lagarde, see Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (University of California Press, 1974); on Eugen Dühring, see his *Der Ersatz der Religion durch Vollkommeneres und die Ausscheidung alles Judäerthums* (Kufahl, 1897), esp. p. 112 (“... spielt der bayreuther Orpheus eine Art Magnet, dessen einer Pol sich mit dem jüdischen Gelde anzieht und auch so stark von ihm gezogen wird, dass es dem andern Pol mit seiner Eigenschaft, jüdische Nasen abzustossen . . .”). For Pudor, see his “Deutsche Musik,” in *Das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert* 2:1 (Oct. 1891-March 1892), esp. pp. 533–35. For more Bayreuthian antisemitism, see Arthur Seidl, “R. Wagner’s ‘Parsifal’ und Schopenhauer’s ‘Nirwâna,’” *Bayreuther Blätter* 11:9 (1888), pp. 277–306, esp. p. 300; and Adolf Wahrmund, “Die Bändigung Mammons: Vom deutschen Hochsinn und für ihn,” *Bayreuther Blätter* 22 (1899), pp. 311–59, esp. p. 356 (“im Portefeuille des jüdischen Börsianers”).

On French Wagnerites, the Dreyfus Affair, and antisemitism, see Jane Fulcher, “A Political Barometer of Twentieth-Century France: Wagner as Jew or Anti-Semite,” *Musical Quarterly* 84:1 (2000), pp. 41–57; Duval, *Téodor de Wyzewa*, esp. p. 85, 140–41, 144 (“cette race odieuse”); Émile de Saint-Auban, *Un pèlerinage à Bayreuth* (Savine, 1892); Beaufile, *Péladan*, pp. 394–95; a Péladan letter in *Archives israélites* 62 (1901), pp. 315–16; Cándida Smith, *Mallarmé’s Children*, pp. 48, 189–90; Henry de Paysac, *Francis Vielé-Griffin: poète symboliste et citoyen américain* (Éditions Klincksieck, 1976), and Henry, *La Contribution d’un américain au symbolisme français*, p. 109. On Drumont, see his *Richard Wagner, l’homme et le musicien, à propos de Rienzi* (Dentu, 1869); Frederick Busi, *The Pope of Antisemitism: The Career and Legacy of Edouard-Adolphe Drumont* University Press of America, 1986), p. 17; and Jean Laporte. “Wagneriana,” *Revue musicale* 9:5 (1913), p. 32. For Léon Daudet, see his *L’entre-deux-guerres: Souvenirs des milieux littéraires, politiques, artistiques et médicaux de 1880 à 1905*, third series (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1915), pp. 310–11; and *Devant la douleur: Souvenirs des milieux littéraires, politiques, artistiques et médicaux de 1880 à 1905* (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1915), pp. 201–204.

The most comprehensive biographer of Houston Stewart Chamberlain is Udo Bernbach’s *Houston Stewart Chamberlain: Wagners Schwiegersohn—Hitlers Vordenker* (Metzler, 2015). The English-language text is Geoffrey G. Field, *Evangelist of Race: The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain* (Columbia UP, 1981). Dujardin recalled his early association with Chamberlain in *Rencontres avec Houston Stewart Chamberlain: Souvenirs et correspondance* (Grasset, 1943). Among Chamberlain’s own writings, I consulted *Briefe, 1882–1924: und Briefwechsel mit Kaiser Wilhelm II*, vol. 2 (Bruckmann, 1928); *Cosima Wagner und Houston Stewart Chamberlain im Briefwechsel, 1888–1908*, ed. Paul Pretzsch (Reclam, 1934); *Das Drama Richard Wagners. Eine Anregung* (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892); *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bruckmann, 1900); *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 3rd ed. (Bruckmann, 1903); *Lebenswege meines Denkens* (Bruckmann, 1919); and *Richard Wagner*

(Bruckmann, 1904). Roger Allen has written two crucial analyses: “‘All Here is Music’: Houston Stewart Chamberlain and *Der Ring des Nibelungen*,” *wagnerspectrum* 2:1 (2006), pp. 155–77; and “*Die Weihe des Hauses* (The Consecration of the House): H. S. Chamberlain and the Early Reception of *Parsifal*,” in *A Companion to Wagner’s ‘Parsifal*,” ed. William Kinderman and Katherine R. Syer (Camden House, 2005), pp. 265–72.

On Wagner and his Jewish admirers, see Eric Werner, “Jews Around Richard and Cosima Wagner,” *Musical Quarterly* 71:2 (1985), pp. 172–99; Leon Botstein, “German Jews and Wagner,” in *Richard Wagner and His World*, ed. Thomas S. Grey (Princeton UP, 2010), pp. 151–97; and James Loeffler, “Richard Wagner’s ‘Jewish Music’: Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture,” *Jewish Social Studies* 15:2 (2009), pp. 2–36. On Hermann Levi, see Frithjof Haas, *Zwischen Brahms und Wagner: Der Dirigent Hermann Levi* (Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1995; trans. by Cynthia Klohr for Scarecrow, 2012); Paul Heyse and Hermann Levi. *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Paul Heyse und Hermann Levi: Eine kritische Edition*, ed. Julia Bernhardt (Kovač, 2007); Josef Stern, “Hermann Levi und seine jüdische Welt,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden* 7:1 (1970), pp. 17–25; Peter Gay, “Hermann Levi: A Study in Service and Self-Hatred,” in *Freud, Jews, and Other Germans: Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture* (Oxford UP, 1979), pp. 189–230; Hartmut Zelinsky, “Der Kapellmeister Hermann Levi und seine Stellung zu Richard Wagner und Bayreuth oder der Tod als Gralsgebiet,” in Walter Grab, ed., *Jüdische Integration und Identität in Deutschland und Österreich, 1848–1918* (Universität Tel-Aviv, Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften, Forschungszentrum für Geschichte, Institut für Deutsche Geschichte, 1984), pp. 309–351; Laurence Dreyfus, “Hermann Levi’s Shame and *Parsifal*’s Guilt: A Critique of Essentialism in Biography and Criticism,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6:2 (1994), pp. 125–45; Dieter Steil, “‘... es wird mir Nichts übrig bleiben, als mich taufen zu lassen ...’: Der Gießener Dirigent Hermann Levi im Spannungsfeld von jüdischer Tradition und Richard Wagners germanisch-christlicher Kunstreligion,” *Mitteilungen des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins Gießen* 97 (2012), pp. 171–194; Stephan Mösch, “‘Liebevolltes Wegweisen’: Zum Verhältnis von Leben, Glaube und Musik im frühen Bayreuth, dargestellt am Beispiel des Dirigenten Hermann Levi,” in *Richard Wagner: Werk und Wirkungen / His Works and Their Impact: A Wagner Symposium 2013*, ed. Anders Jarlert (Kunigl. Vitterhetsakademien Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2014), pp. 72–90. For Eulenburg’s anecdote about Levi at Bayreuth, see John C. G. Röhl, ed., *Philipp Eulenburgs politische Korrespondenz*, vol. 2 (Boldt, 1976), p. 817.

On Jewish self-hatred, see Theodor Lessing, *Die jüdische Selbsthass* (Jüdischer Verlag, 1930) and Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1986). On Daniel Spitzer, see his *Wiener Spaziergänge: Neue Sammlung* (Rosner, 1873) and Nadja-Irena Orfei, *Wiener Spaziergänge mit Wagner: Daniel Spitzers satirischer Blick auf Richard Wagner* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2007). For other Jewish responses, see Julius Lang, *Zur Versöhnung des Judenthums mit Richard Wagner* (Stilke und van Muyden, 1869); E. Liéser, *Die modernen Judenhasser, und der Versuch von Julius Lang, das Judenthum mit Richard Wagner zu versöhnen* (Kallmann, 1869); Adalbert Horawitz, *Richard Wagner und die nationale Idee* (Gutmann, 1874); Friedrich Eckstein, *Alte, unnennbare Tage: Erinnerungen aus siebenzig Lehr- und Wanderjahren* (Severus, 2013); Anna Stoll Knecht, “Mahler’s *Parsifal*,” *Wagner Journal* 11:3 (2017), p. 7. On Bleichröder, see Fritz Stern, *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichröder, and the Building of the German Empire* (Vintage, 1979). On Mann, the Pringsheims, and “Wälsungenblut,” see Egon Voss, *Alfred Pringsheim, der kritische Wagnerianer* (Königshausen und Neumann, 2013); and Alfred Pringsheim, *Musikalische Bilder aus R. Wagner’s*

Tristan und Isolde (Breitkopf und Härtel, 1877); Cristina Herbst's commentary in Hedwig Pringsheim, *Tagebücher*, vol. 4: 1904–1910, ed. Herbst (Wallstein, 2015), pp. 39–44, and pp. 135–50 of the diaries; and Sander Gilman, "Sibling Incest, Madness, and the 'Jews,'" *Social Research* 65:2 (1998), pp. 401–433.

For Spitzer's novel, see *Verliebte Wagnerianer* (Klinkhardt, 1880). For Carl Sternheim, see his *Briefe I: Briefwechsel mit Thea Sternheim, 1904–1906*, ed. Wolfgang Wendler (Luchterhand, 1988); and *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 2, ed. Fritz Hofmann (Aufbau, 1963). For Arthur Schnitzler, see *Tagebücher, 1903–1908* (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991) and *Der Weg ins Freie* (Fischer, 1978). Marc A. Weiner probes the Wagner-Schnitzler relationship in *Arthur Schnitzler and the Crisis of Musical Culture* (Winter, 1986), and *Undertones of Insurrection: Music, Politics, and the Social Sphere in the Modern German Narrative* (University of Nebraska Press, 1993). One can also discuss the Wagner reference in the novella *Lieutenant Gustl*: when the title character boasts that he has seen *Lohengrin* twelve times, Schnitzler is indicating, much as Heinrich Mann did in *Der Untertan*, the artificially inflated psyche of the striver. I might also have mentioned Max Brod, *Jüdinnen* (Wolff, 1922), in which the character of Alfred admires Weininger: "Alfred gehörte zu jenen jungen Juden, die eine starke Hinneigung zum Arischen haben und alles Jüdische verächtlich finden, bei denen dies jedoch keine Fexerei, sondern eine durch ihre übrigen Neigungen bekräftigte Anlage zu sein scheint . . . Überdies war er, ohne sich viel um Musik sonst zu bekümmern, Wagnerianer, kannte auch Text und viele Motive der Wagner-Opern überraschend genau. Von weitem piff er Donars Ruf oder das Siegfriedshorn als Erkennungszeichen" (pp. 228, 231).

On Otto Weininger, see David Abrahamsen, *The Mind and Death of a Genius* (Columbia UP, 1946); Emil Lucka, *Otto Weininger, sein Werk und seine Persönlichkeit* (Braumüller, 1906); Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, pp. 244–48; Nancy Anne Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams, eds., *Jews & Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger* (Temple UP, 1995); and Chandak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger: Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna* (University of Chicago Press, 2000). Quotations come from *Eros und Psyche: Studien und Briefe, 1899–1902*, ed. Hannelore Rodlauer (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990); *Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung* (Braumüller, 1919); and *Über die letzten Dinge* (Braumüller, 1904). There is a fine English translation of the last-named by Steven Burns: *A translation of Weininger's Über die letzten Dinge, 1904–1907, On Last Things*, Studies in German language and literature, vol. 28 (Mellen, 2001). The original English translation of *Geschlecht und Charakter* was incomplete and problematic, but there is a good modern version by Ladislaus Lob: *Sex and Character: An Investigation of Fundamental Principles*, ed. Daniel Steuer and Laura Marcus (Indiana UP, 2005).

For Theodor Herzl, see Desmond Stewart, *Theodor Herzl: Artist and Politician: A Biography of the Father of Modern Israel* (Doubleday, 1974); Amos Elon, *Herzl* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975); Erwin Rosenberger, *Herzl as I Remember Him* (Herzl Press, 1959); Steven Beller, "Herzl's *Tannhäuser*: The Redemption of the Artist as Politician," in *Austrians and Jews in the Twentieth Century: From Franz Joseph to Waldheim*, ed. Robert S. Wistrich (St. Martin's, 1992), pp. 38–57; Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Inversion of the Jewish Man* (University of California Press, 1997); Alan Levenson, "Gentile Reception of Herzlian Zionism, a Reconsideration," *Jewish History* 16:2 (2002), pp. 187–211; Leah Garrett, "Sabotaging the Text: *Tannhäuser* in the Works of Heine, Wagner, Herzl, and Peretz," *Jewish Social Studies* 9:1 (2002), pp. 34–52; Garrett, *A Knight at the Opera: Heine, Wagner, Herzl, Peretz*,

and the Legacy of *Der Tannhäuser* (Purdue UP, 2011); and Robert S. Wistrich, “Theodore Herzl—Between Messianism and Politics,” *Studia Judaica* 15 (2007), pp. 20–46. Quotations from Herzl are from *Briefe und Tagebücher*, vol. 1, ed. Johannes Wachten (Propyläen, 1983); *Briefe und Tagebücher*, vol. 2, ed. Johannes Wachten and Chaya Harel (Propyläen, 1983); “Feuilleton: Pariser Theater,” *Neue Freie Presse*, May 14, 1895; *Zionistische Schriften*, vol. 1 (Jüdischer Verlag, 1934). On Ephraim Moses Lilien, see Milly Heyd, “Lilien and Beardsley: To the Pure All Things Are Pure,” *Journal of Jewish Art* 7 (1980), pp. 58–69; and Lynne Swarts, “Lilien’s Sensual Beauties: Discovering Jewish Orientalism in Ephraim Moses Lilien’s Biblical Women,” *Nashim* 33 (5779/2018), pp. 90–120. On Wagnerian Yiddishkeit, see Arthur Holitscher, *Amerika heute und morgen: Reiseerlebnisse* (Fischer, 1912); Daniela Smolov Levy, “Parsifal in Yiddish? Why Not?,” *Musical Quarterly* 97:2 (2014); Daniel Jütte, “Mendele Lohengrin’ and the Kosher Wagner,” in *Gefühlskraftwerke für Patrioten: Wagner und das Musiktheater zwischen Nationalismus und Globalisierung*, ed. Arne Stollberg, Ivana Rentsch, and Anselm Gerhard (Königshausen und Neumann, 2017), pp. 177–91; and Heinrich York-Steiner, “Mendele Lohengrin,” *Welt*, April 22, April 29, and May 6, 1898.

The life of Ira Aldridge is told in Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock’s *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian* (Rockcliff, 1958) and in Bernth Lindfors’s four-volume biography *Ira Aldridge* (University of Rochester Press, 2011–15). Reviews of Aldridge’s performances are cited from Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Russie*, vol. 1 (Charpentier, 1867) and Georg Herwegh, *Der Freiheit eine Gasse: Aus dem Leben und Werk Georg Herweghs* (Volk und Welt, 1948). Gottfried Keller’s attendance at Aldridge’s 1857 Zurich performance, for which Wagner was probably also present, is evidenced in Jakob Baechtold, *Gottfried Kellers Leben: Seine Briefe und Tagebücher*, vol. 2 (Wilhelm Herz, 1894). Liszt mentioned the actor’s performances in Weimar in a letter to Wagner on Aug. 7, 1853.

Various works on Black musical history make brief mention of Luranah Aldridge, often stating, incorrectly, that she performed at Bayreuth. The earliest mention of her in connection with Bayreuth seems to have been in a chronological entry in the *Negro Year Book*, vol. 10 (Negro Year Book Publishing Company, 1947), p. 432: “Bayreuth Festival, Austria, Luranah Aldridge participated in the Festival prior to her singing at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden in London.” Marshall and Stock include some crucial details in their biography, presumably derived from Amanda. Luranah’s putative Bayreuth appearance is also cited in Maud Cuney-Hare, *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (Da Capo, 1974), p. 315; Raoul Abdul, *Blacks in Classical Music: A Personal History* (Dodd, Mead, 1977), p. 239; Eileen Southern, *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians* (Greenwood Press, 1982), p. 8; Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (Norton, 1997), p. 534; Timothy E. Scheurer, *American Popular Music, Vol. 1: The Nineteenth Century and Tin Pan Alley* (Bowling Green State University Popular Press), p. 83; and Kira Thurman, “Black Venus, White Bayreuth: Race, Sexuality, and the Depoliticization of Wagner in Postwar West Germany,” *German Studies Review* 35:3 (2012), p. 622. Two notable authors made mention of the fact that Aldridge’s name appears in Wagner’s correspondence: James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (Da Capo, 1991), pp. 85–86; and Langston Hughes, “Ira Aldridge: A Star Who Never Came Home,” in *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes*, vol. 12, ed. Dolan Hubbard (University of Missouri Press, 2001), pp. 30–31 (“The composer, Richard Wagner, was a follower of his performances”).

I found more biographical details about Luranah Aldridge, including the crucial letters from Eva, Cosima Wagner, and Charles Gounod, in Amanda Aldridge’s papers at the Charles

Deering McCormick Special Library of Collections, at Northwestern University. I also found the following press notices: review by “R. D.” [Raymond Duval-Den’lex], *Guide musical*, Nov. 25, 1900; *Wiener Zeitung*, March 28, 1890; *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, Nov. 13, 1890; *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, April 22, 1891; and Johannes Flach, “Theater und Musik: Konzert Luranah Aldridge,” *Hamburger Anzeiger*, Oct. 29, 1891. The 1896 preview of Aldridge’s non-performance appears in Friedrich Wild’s *Bayreuth 1896: Praktisches Handbuch für Festspielbesucher* (Constantin Wilds, 1896). Concerning the Hôtel Kurhaus in Rupprechtstegen, see Lothar Schnabel, “Rupprechtstegen und sein ehemaliges Kurhotel,” *Altnürnberger Landschaft* 27 (1978), pp. 8–13. For W. E. B. Du Bois and the Aldridges, see Du Bois to Amanda Aldridge, March 9, 1933, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries; also Aldridge to Du Bois, Oct. 4, 1923; Aldridge to Du Bois, Aug. 27, 1921; and Du Bois to Aldridge, June 1, 1908. Confirmation of the link is found in Jeffrey Green, *Black Edwardians: Black People in Britain, 1901–1914* (Frank Cass, 1998). For Théophile Gautier, see “Gautier on Aldridge,” Du Bois Papers.

On the topic of “Afro-Wagnerism” and attendant phenomena, see Kira Thurman, “Wagnerian Dreams, Grandiose Visions: Lawrence Freeman’s *Voodoo* at the Miller Theater at Columbia University,” *Opera Quarterly* 32:2–3 (2016), pp. 226–32; Thurman, *A History of Black Musicians in Germany and Austria, 1870–1961: Race, Performance, and Reception* (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 2013); Thurman, *Singing Like Germans: Black Musicians in the Land of Bach, Beethoven and Brahms* (Cornell UP, forthcoming); David J. Gutkin, “The Modernities of H. Lawrence Freeman,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72:3 (2019), pp. 719–79; Samuel Dwinell, “Afro-Wagnerism in Imperial London: Samuel Coleridge-Taylor’s ‘Thelma’ and the Endless Melody of Interracial Dreams,” talk given at the *Current Musicology* 50th Anniversary Conference, Columbia University, March 29, 2015. See also Paul Gilroy’s masterly *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Verso, 1993); Robbie Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft, *Black Germany: The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community, 1884–1960* (Cambridge UP, 2013); and Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann, eds., *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250–1914* (Berghahn, 2013).

For Langston Hughes and Wagner, see Hughes, *Big Sea* (Hill and Wang, 1993); Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, eds. *Twentieth-Century Authors: A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Literature* (Wilson, 1942); and Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes*, vol. 1 (Oxford UP, 2002). For Ralph Ellison and Wagner, see his *Shadow and Act* (Random House, 1964); Maryemma Graham and Amritjit Singh, eds. *Conversations with Ralph Ellison* (University of Mississippi Press, 1995); William Walling, “Ralph Ellison’s Invisible Man: ‘It Goes a Long Way Back, Some Twenty Years,’” *Phylon* 34:1 (1960), p. 8; Sydney Boyd, “The Color of Sound: Hearing Timbre in Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man*,” *Arizona Quarterly* 74:3 (2018), pp. 47–64. For some mentions by Countee Cullen, see “One Day We Played a Game,” in *My Soul’s High Song*, ed. Gerald Early (Doubleday, 1991), pp. 149–50; and *One Way to Heaven*, p. 424 of same volume (“I wish you would play for us, Mendelssohn or Wagner, when Mattie starts down the stairway”). For Martin Luther King, Jr. see *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, vol. 6, ed. Clayborne Carson et al. (University of California Press, 2007); and *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington (HarperCollins, 1990).

The definitive life of Du Bois is David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (Holt, 1993); and *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American*

Century, 1919–1963 (Holt, 2000). I also read, in addition to the sources cited above, Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Ethics in a World of Strangers: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Spirit of Cosmopolitanism,” *Berlin Journal* 11 (2005), pp. 15–43; Appiah, *Lines of Descent: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Emergence of Identity* (Harvard UP, 2014); Kenneth Barkin, “W.E.B. Du Bois’s Love Affair with Imperial Germany,” *German Studies Review* 28:2 (2005), pp. 284–302; Barkin, “Introduction: Germany on His Mind: ‘Das Neue Vaterland,’” *Journal of African American History* 91:4 (2006), pp. 444–49; Ingeborg Solbrig, “Herder and the ‘Harlem Renaissance’ of Black Culture in America: The Case of the ‘Neger-Idyllen,’” in Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, ed., *Herder Today: Contributions from the International Herder Conference, Nov. 5–8, 1987, Stanford, California* (de Gruyter, 1990), pp. 402–414; and Paul Allen Anderson, *Deep River: Music and Memory in Harlem Renaissance Thought* (Duke UP, 2001). Quotations come from Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century* (International Publishers, 1968); *Newspaper Columns by W. E. B. Du Bois*, vol. 1, ed. Herbert Aptheker (Kraus-Thomson, 1986); *Worlds of Color* (Mainstream, 1961); and *Writings*, ed. Nathan Huggins (Library of America, 1986).

For Shirley Graham Du Bois, see her papers at the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University. I am grateful to Lucy Caplan for drawing my attention to Graham’s work and for supplying me with a reproduction of *Deep River*, from *Arts Quarterly*, Sept. 1939. I also read Gerald Horne, *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois* (New York UP, 2000); Sarah Schmalenberger, “Debuting Her Political Voice: The Lost Opera of Shirley Graham,” *Black Music Research Journal* 26:1 (2006), pp. 39–87; and Bettina Aptheker, “The Passion and Pageantry of Shirley Graham’s Opera *Tom-Tom*,” *Souls* 18:2–4 (2016), pp. 263–270. For Samuel R. Delany, see his “A Lost Lady and Modernism, a Novelist’s Overview,” *Critical Inquiry* 41:3 (2015): 573–95; and “Wagner/Artaud: A Play of 19th and 20th Century Critical Fictions,” in Delany, *Longer Views* (Wesleyan UP, 1996), pp. 1–86. The final quotation in the chapter comes from Ijoma Mangold, *Das deutsche Krokodil: Meine Geschichte* (Rowohlt, 2017). In the context of Wagner quotations in Donald Lambert and Charlie Parker, I might also have discussed the Wagnerian interests of Sun Ra, who owned a copy of Charles Stansfeld Jones’s *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*; see Sun Ra, *The Immeasurable Equation: The Collected Poetry and Prose*, ed. James L. Wolf and Hartmut Geerken (Waitawhile, 2005), p. 488. John F. Szwed mentions Sun Ra’s Wagnerian interests in *Space Is the Place: The Life and Times of Sun Ra* (Pantheon, 1997), p. 262.

Chapter 7: Venusberg

Instances of Wagnerian eroticism in the opening section come from James Kennaway, *Bad Vibrations: The History of the Idea of Music as a Cause of Disease* (Ashgate, 2012); Aldred S. Warthin, “Some Physiologic Effects of Music in Hypnotized Subjects,” *Medical News* 65:4 (1894), pp. 89–92; Frank Parsons Norbury, “Nervousness in Young Women: Its Mechanism, and Some of Its Causes,” *Medical Fortnightly* 9:4 (1896), pp. 110–13; Otto Weininger, *Eros und Psyche: Studien und Briefe, 1899–1902*, ed. Hannelore Rodlauer (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990); Peter Altenberg, *Prodromos* (Fischer, 1906); Theodor Puschmann, *Richard Wagner: Eine psychiatrische Studie* (Behr, 1873); Max Nordau, *Entartung* (Duncker, 1893); and Xavier Mayne, *The Intersexes: A History of Similisexuality as a Problem in*

Social Life (privately printed, 1908). For useful background on concepts of “degeneration,” see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848–c. 1918* (Cambridge UP, 1989); Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Oxford UP, 1986); J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander L. Gilman, eds., *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (Columbia UP, 1985); Stephen Downes, *Music and Decadence in European Modernism: The Case of Central and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge UP, 2010); and Thomas Grey, “Wagner the Degenerate: Fin de Siècle Cultural ‘Pathology’ and the Anxiety of Modernism,” *Nineteenth-Century Studies* 16 (2002), pp. 73–92.

The most formidable modern study of Wagner, gender, and sexuality is Laurence Dreyfus’s *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse* (Harvard UP, 2010). On Wagner’s relationships with women, see especially Eva Rieger, *Leuchtende Liebe, Lachender Tod: Richard Wagners Bild der Frau im Spiegel seiner Musik* (Artemis & Winkler, 2009; trans. by Chris Walton as *Richard Wagner’s Women*, Boydell, 2011); and Rieger, *Minna und Richard Wagner*. The Bertha Goldwag letters were published by Daniel Spitzer as “Briefe Richard Wagner’s an eine Putzmacherin,” *Neue Freie Presse*, June 16, 1877. For the Nibelung writings of Louise Otto, see *Die Nibelungen, Oper in fünf Akten* (Hofmeister, 1852); and “An Richard Wagner,” in *Mein Lebensgang: Gedichte aus fünf Jahrzehnten* (Moritz Schäfer, 1893). Commentaries on Louise Otto-Peters appear in Elizabeth Magee, *Richard Wagner and the Nibelungs* (Clarendon, 1990); Johanna Ludwig and Rita Jorek, *Louise Otto-Peters: Ihr literarisches und publizistisches Werk* (Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1995); and Laurie McManus, “Feminist Revolutionary Music Criticism and Wagner Reception: The Case of Louise Otto,” *19th-Century Music* 37:3 (2014), pp. 161–87. Major studies of Wagner in feminist terms include, in addition to Rieger, Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy Wing (University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Nila Parly, *Vocal Victories: Wagner’s Female Characters from Senta to Kundry* (Museum Tusulanum Press, 2011); Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton UP, 1996); Courtney W. Howland, *A Feminist Perspective on Opera Interpretation: The Case of Richard Wagner’s “Der Fliegende Holländer”* (Lit Verlag, 2014); and Kate Hopkins, “Agents of Loving Empathy: Wagner Heroines Reassessed,” *Wagner Journal* 14:3 (2020), pp. 31–46.

Other sources for the chapter include Emma Sutton, *Aubrey Beardsley and British Wagnerism in the 1890s* (Oxford UP, 2002); Arnold Bennett, *Sacred and Profane Love* (Tauchnitz, 1906); Eugène Brioux, *Les Trois Filles de M. Dupont* (Stock, 1899); Pierre Louÿs, “Le Trophe des vulves légendaires,” in *L’Oeuvre érotique*, ed. Jean-Paul Goujon (Sortilèges, 1994), pp. 775–83; Henri Borgeaud, ed., *Correspondance de Claude Debussy et Pierre Louÿs (1893–1904)* (Corti, 1945); Daniel Cavicchi, *Listening and Longing: Music Lovers in the Age of Barnum* (Wesleyan UP, 2011); Joe Mitchell Chapple, “The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth,” *National Magazine* 7:1 (1897); Hannu Salmi, *Wagner and Wagnerism in Nineteenth-century Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic Provinces: Reception, Enthusiasm, Cult* (University of Rochester Press, 2005); R. Milner Barry, *Bayreuth and Franconian Switzerland* (Swan Sonnenschein, 1887); Lisle March-Phillipps and Bertram Christian, eds., *Some Hawarden Letters, 1878–1913, Written to Mrs. Drew (Miss Mary Gladstone), Before and After Her Marriage* (Dodd Mead, 1918); and Emma Goldman, “Dear Dr. Hirschfeld,” 1923 draft of a letter to be published in Magnus Hirschfeld’s *Jahrbuch für sexuellen Zwischenstufen*, Emma Goldman Papers, International Institute of Social History.

Charlotte Teller’s novel *The Cage* (Appleton, 1907) was published partly with help from Mark Twain, who admired the politically active young author. Hamlin Garland’s *The Rose of Dutcher’s Coolly* (Harper, 1899) has received some latter-day scholarly attention, notably from

Kenneth M. Price in “Whitman’s Influence on Hamlin Garland’s *Rose of Dutcher’s Coolly*,” in *Walt Whitman of Mickle Street: A Centennial Collection*, ed. Geoffrey M. Sill (University of Tennessee Press, 1994), pp. 19–29. On the topic of Valkyrie imagery among European feminists, see Elena Lindholm Narváez, “The Valkyrie in a Bikini: The Nordic Woman as a Progressive Media Icon in Spain, 1891–1975,” in *Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region*, ed. Jonas Harvard and Peter Stadius (Routledge, 2016), pp. 197–218. Quotations from Colette come from *Claudine s’en va* and *Claudine à Paris* (both Société d’Éditions Littéraires et Artistiques, 1903). See also the Wagner and Bayreuth themes in three French novels by female authors cited above: Jacque Vontade, *La lueur sur la cime* (1904, pseud. Augustine Bulteau); Anna de Noailles, *La domination* (1905); and Jacques Morel, *Feuilles mortes* (1910, pseud. Mme Edmond Pottier).

In the same connection I might have mentioned Kate Chopin’s *The Awakening* (1899), in which Wagner plays a small but telling role. The proto-feminist coming-to-awareness of Edna Pontellier is assisted when she hears the otherworldly Mademoiselle Reisz play Chopin and Wagner at the piano. The music is a blend of a Chopin Impromptu and “Isolde’s song,” with the pianist’s improvisatory manner blurring the boundaries between the two pieces. It is not clear to which composer the following description applies: “The shadows deepened in the little room. The music grew strange and fantastic—turbulent, insistent, plaintive and soft with entreaty. The shadows grew deeper. The crescent of the river, losing itself in the silence of the upper air.” Edna’s suicide by drowning at the end of the novel might be considered a Liebestod of a sort; the scenario is echoed in the 1946 film *Humoresque*. Chopin was a pianist and composed a polka titled *Lilia*. She could have seen *The Flying Dutchman*, *Lohengrin*, and *Tannhäuser* in 1877 in New Orleans, or a Walter Damrosch touring program of 1895 that included *Tristan*; see Per Seyersted, *Kate Chopin: A Critical Biography* (Louisiana State UP, 1980), p. 42.

The notion that women somehow understand Wagner better than men is touched upon in Italo Svevo’s *Senilità* (1898; trans. by James Lasdun as *As a Man Grows Older*, New York Review Books, 1977), which describes the siblings Emilio and Amalia at a performance of Walküre: “Her pain, absorbed into the music, took on a fresh color and a greater significance, though at the same time it became simpler and purified of all that had defiled it . . . Her companion was familiar with the music, he knew how all those sounds were produced and how they were put together, but he did not succeed in getting so near to them than Amalia.”

On early German gay-rights history and related questions, see Karl Heinrich Ulrichs [Gladus furens, pseud.], *Das Naturrecht der Urningsliebe und der Irrthum als Gesetzgeber: Eine Provokation an den deutschen Juristentag* (Württenberger, 1868); Hubert Kennedy, *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement* (Peremptory Publications, 2002); Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity* (Knopf, 2014); Norman Domeier, *The Eulenburg Affair: A Cultural History of Politics in the German Empire*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Camden House, 2015); and Rainer Herrn, “Ein historischer Urning: Ludwig II. von Bayern im psychiatrisch-sexualwissenschaftlichen Diskurs und in der Homosexuellenbewegung des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts,” in *Ein Bild von einem Mann: Ludwig II. von Bayern, Konstruktion und Rezeption eines Mythos*, ed. Katharina Sykora (Campus, 2004), pp. 48–52. On Wagnerian sexuality, see, in addition to sources cited above, Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, *Opera: Desire, Disease, Death* (University of Nebraska Press, 1996); and Richard D. Mohr, *Gay Ideas: Outing and Other Controversies* (Beacon, 1992).

For Robert de Montesquiou, see his *Les Chauves-souris: Clairs-obscur* (Richard, 1907). For Oskar Panizza, see his “Bayreuth und die Homosexualität: Eine Erwägung,” *Die Gesellschaft* 11 (1895), pp. 88–92; Panizza, *Parisjana: Deutsche Verse aus Paris* (Zürcher Diskussionen, 1899); Henry Gauthier-Villars, “Bayreuth et la homosexualité,” *Revue blanche*, March 1, 1896; and Peter D. G. Brown, *Oskar Panizza and “The Love Council”: A History of the Scandalous Play on Stage and in Court, with the Complete Text in English and a Biography of the Author* (McFarland, 2010). For Richard von Krafft-Ebing, see his *Psychopathia sexualis mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der conträren Sexualempfindung: Eine klinisch-forensische Studie* (Enke, 1892). For Magnus Hirschfeld, see his *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Marcus, 1914); *Sappho und Sokrates oder Wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Spohr, 1896); and *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb* (Pulvermacher, 1910). For Edward Carpenter, see his *Homogenic Love, and Its Place in a Free Society* (Labour Press Society Limited, 1894) and *Ioläus: Anthology of Friendship* (Allen & Unwin, 1902). For Hanns Fuchs, see his *Richard Wagner und die Homosexualität: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der sexuellen Anomalien seiner Gestalten* (Barsdorf, 1903); and “Parsifal and Eroticism in Wagner’s Music.” trans. John Urang, *Opera Quarterly* 22:2 (2006), pp. 337–41.

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The original text of Thomas Mann’s “Auseinandersetzung mit Wagner” appeared in *Der Merker* 2:19 (1911), pp. 21–23. See also “Nachschrift der Redaktion,” *Der Merker* 2:19 (1911), p. 23. On the 1911 visit to Venice, see Katia Mann, *Meine ungeschriebenen Memoiren*, ed. Elisabeth Plessen and Michael Mann (Fischer, 1983). For August von Platen and Venice, see Georg von Laubmann and Ludwig von Scheffler, eds., *Die Tagebücher des Grafen August von Platen*, vol. 2 (Cotta, 1900); and Platen, *Gedichte*, ed. Carl Fischer (Schneider, 1958). For Wagnerian interpretations of *Death in Venice*, see Vaget’s *Seelenzäuber* and also William Kinderman, “The Motif of the Gaze (*Blick*) in Thomas Mann’s *Der Tod in Venedig* and Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*,” *German Studies Review* 41:2 (2018), pp. 313–33. For the reception of the novella, see Ehrhard Bahr, *Thomas Mann, “Der Tod in Venedig”: Erläuterungen und Dokumente* (Reclam, 1991); and Kurt Hiller, “Wo bleibt der homoerotische Roman?,” reprinted in Jules Siber, *Seelenwanderung* (Männerschwarm Verlag, 2011).

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1982); John Kerr, *A Most Dangerous Method: The Story of Jung, Freud, and Sabina Spielrein* (Knopf, 1993); Sabine Richebächer, *Sabina Spielrein: Ein fast grausame Liebe zur Wissenschaft* (BTB, 2008); and John Launer, *Sex Versus Survival: The Life and Ideas of Sabina Spielrein* (Overlook Duckworth, 2014).

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Chapter 8: Brünnhilde’s Rock

Quotations from the fiction of Willa Cather are generally taken from University of Nebraska Press’s scholarly editions of her writing. I also made use of *Willa Cather: Stories, Poems, and Other Writings*, ed. Sharon O’Brien (Library of America, 1992). In the case of “A Wagner Matinée,” I quoted from the original magazine version of the story—*Everybody’s Magazine* 10:3 (1904), pp. 325–28—with comparisons to the revised text in *The Troll Garden*, ed. James Woodress (University of Nebraska Press, 1983). Her critical writings are quoted from *The Kingdom of Art: Willa Cather’s First Principles and Critical Statements, 1893–1896*, ed. Bernice Slote (University of Nebraska Press, 1966); and *The World and the Parish: Willa Cather’s Articles and Reviews, 1893–1902*, 2 vols., ed. William M. Curtin (University of Nebraska Press, 1970). Interviews are from *Willa Cather in Person: Interviews, Speeches, and Letters*, ed. L. Brent Bohlke (University of Nebraska Press, 1986). Texts of letters generally come from Andrew Jewell and Janis Stout, eds. *The Selected Letters of Willa Cather* (Knopf, 2013). I also made use of the holdings at the Willa Cather Archive, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and at the National Willa Cather Center, Red Cloud, Nebraska.

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Willa Cather's 'A Wagner Matinée,'" *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 50:4 (2014), pp. 405–425; Wendy K. Perriman, *Willa Cather and the Dance: "A Most Satisfying Elegance"* (Farleigh Dickinson UP, 2009); David Porter, *On the Divide: The Many Lives of Willa Cather* (University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Susan Rosowski, *The Voyage Perilous: Willa Cather's Romanticism* (University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Klaus P. Stich, "Cather's 'Midi Romanesque': Missionaries, Myth, and the Grail in 'Death Comes for the Archbishop,'" *Studies in the Novel* 38:1 (2006), pp. 57–73; and Susie Thomas, *Willa Cather* (Macmillan, 1990).

My reconstruction of the career of Albert Schindelmeisser is based on the following sources: the passenger manifest for the *Prussia*, Feb. 20, 1862; *Eighteenth Annual Catalogue for the Lawrence University of Wisconsin*; A. Schindelmeisser, "Music," *Lawrence Collegian*, May 1868; *Appleton Post*, June 16, 1870; *Quad-City Times* (Davenport, Iowa), March 11, 1872; *Leavenworth Times*, Oct. 6, 1872; *Abilene Weekly Chronicle*, April 14, 1876; *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, Jan. 8, 1879; *Nebraska State Journal*, Dec. 8, 1882 and April 7, 1883; *Red Cloud Chief*, Aug. 8, 1884; *Red Cloud Chief*, May 15, 1885; *Topeka State Journal*, July 30, 1886; "Letters List," *Kansas City Gazette*, Jan. 3, 1890; and "Advertized Letter List," *Macon Times*, June 26, 1891. I also received information about Schindelmeisser's birthdate and early history from Anke Leonhardt, at the Darmstadt Stadtarchiv, and Ursula Kramer, at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte und Musikwissenschaft in Mainz. Louis Schindelmeisser's mother, Fanny, a noted piano pedagogue, was also the mother, by another husband, of Heinrich Dorn, who was opposed to Wagner and who happened to compose his own *Nibelungen*.

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Chapters 9-15: forthcoming