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

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


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:
Wagner: Die Bühnenwerke von der Uraufführung bis heute (Propyläen, 1982); Dietrich Mack’s Der Bayreuther Inszenierungsstil, 1876–1976 (Prefet 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).


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 Wanderer heißen mich die Welt: Auf Richard Wagners Spuren durch Europa (ConBrio, 2019). Rudolph Sabor’s The Real Wagner (Cardinal, 1989) reveals some of the odder corners of Wagneriana, such as the “Wagalaweia!” bathtub. Terry Quinn’s Richard Wagner: The Lighter Side (Amadeus, 2013), is a welcome contrast to a generally solemn-toned literature; it draws on two collections of Wagner caricatures, John Grand-Carteret’s Richard Wagner en caricatures (Larousse, n.d.); and Ernst Kreowski and Eduard Fuchs’s Richard Wagner in der Karikatur (Behr, 1907). The field of canine Wagnerism is not overlooked: recent monographs include Kerstin Decker, Richard Wagner: Mit den Augen seiner Hunde betrachtet (Berenberg, 2013); Franziska Polanski, Richard Wagners Hunde: Da lernt’ ich wohl, was Liebe sei (Implizit, 2017).

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

Prelude: Death in Venice

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

Thomas Mann had Wagner in mind when he named one of his most famous stories Death in Venice. He had read Maurice Barrès’s 1903 meditation “La Mort de Venise,” reprinted in Amori et Dolori sacrum (Plon, 1921), which dwells on themes of Wagner, longing, disease, beauty, and death: “At the peak of the waves where Tristan bears us, we recognize the fevers that from the lagoons at night” (p. 95). This most famous of deaths in Venice has been depicted or evoked in a fairly large number of novels, stories, poems, and films. Barker catalogues fourteen of them in Wagner and Venice Fictionalized: Variations on a Theme (Boydell and Brewer,
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 (Keysersche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1954), and Gustav Renker’s Finale in Venedig: Ein Richard Wagner Roman (Staackmann, 1933). The latter describes an odd Platonic love affair between Wagner and a blond-haired, blue-eyed youth who writes poetry in his spare time and is besotted with the great-hearted Meister.

Chapter 1: Rheingold


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


Chapter 2: Tristan Chord


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


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

Wagner makes a brief cameo in Villiers’s 1867 story “Claire Lenoir,” which appears in Tribulat Bonhomme (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’ [properly “crescendo en ré” in which spoke (said she in her childish enthusiasm) the ‘terrible Hosanna.’” (from the Arthur Symons translation, Boni, 1925). Wagner is probably also present in Villiers’s story “The Secret of the Ancient Music,” from Contes choeurs (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’Éve 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 Brünhilde, in which the god closes her radiant eyes and kiss her godhood away.


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

Quotations of Verlaine come from *Oeuvres complètes de Paul Verlaine*, vol. 3 (Vanier, 1901); *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 5 (Vanier, 1904); *Oeuvres poétiques complètes* (Gallimard, 1962). For more on Verlaine and Wagner, see George Moore’s *Conversations in Ebury Street* (Boni and Liveright, 1910); Edmond Lepelletier’s *Paul Verlaine: sa vie, son œuvre* (Mercure de
France, 1907); and Verlaine’s “Épigrammes XX,” in *Oeuvres complètes de Paul Verlaine*, vol. 3 (Vanier, 1901), p. 265 (“J’ai fait jadis le coup de poing / Pour Wagner alors point au point, / Et pour les Goncourt, plus d’un soir”). Further references can be found in “Nuit du Walpurgis classique,” in *Poèmes saturniens* (Vanier, 1894), p. 50 (“Un air 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!”).


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 Bau mann’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**


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.


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 American 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.
Louis DiGaetani (McFarland, 2006), pp. 189–204; Burton W. Peretti, “Democratic Leitmotivs 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
Autobiography* (Houghton Mifflin, 1918); Samuel Longfellow, ed., *Life of Henry Wadsworth
Longfellow*, vol. 2 (Houghton, Mifflin, 1891); Theodore Thomas, see George P. Upton, ed.,
*Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography, Vol. I: Life Work* (McClurg, 1905); Ezra Schabas,
*Theodore Thomas: America’s Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905* (University of
Illinois Press, 1989); Henry Theophilus Finck, *Anton Seidl: A Memorial by His Friends*
145; Patrick Warfield, *Making the March King: John Philip Sousa’s Washington Years, 1854–
1893* (University of Illinois Press, 2013); Elise Kuhl Kirk, *Musical Highlights from the White
House* (Krieger, 1992); Diane Sasson, *Yearning for the New Age: Laura Holloway-Langford and
Late Victorian Spirituality* (Indiana UP, 2012). On Roosevelt, see Joseph Bucklin Bishop, ed.,
*Theodore Roosevelt’s Letters to His Children* (Scribner’s, 1919); *The Letters of Theodore
Roosevelt*, vol. 2, ed. Elting E. Morison (Harvard UP, 1951); and Carol Felsenthal, *Princess
Alice: The Life and Times of Alice Roosevelt Longworth* (St. Martin’s, 1988).

On Albert Pinkham Ryder, see Diane Chalmers Johnson, “Siegfried and the Rhine
*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
Harvey (National Academy of Design, 2001), pp. 9–33; Bennard B. Perlman, *The Lives, Loves,


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

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

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

The idea for a *Parsifal* carillon came from Frederick C. Mayer, the organist and choirmaster of the United States Military Academy at West Point, whom Rockefeller employed as his musical adviser. (The campus of West Point was, as it happens, designed by Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Goodhue.) Mayer, who was in the habit of including arrangements of Wagner on his recital programs at the West Point Cadet Chapel (see *New Music Review and Church Music Review* 34 (1934), p. 227; *Armed Forces Journal International* 83 (1946), p. 974), created the Wagnerian sequence especially for Rockefeller’s carillons, calling it the “Parsifal Quarters.”


**Chapter 4: Grail Temple**


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); *IIe Geste esthétique: Catalogue officiel du second Salon de la Rose + Croix* (Nilsson, 1893); *La
Prométhée: Trilogie d’Eschyle en quatre tableaux (Chamuel, 1895); La Rose + Croix: Organe trimestriel de l’Ordre (Commanderie de Tiphereth, 1893); Le Théâtre complet de Wagner (Chamuel, 1894); “Tribune publique,” Archives israélites, Oct. 3. 1901; La Victoire du mari (Slatkine, 1979). One can also find Wagner motifs in the 1890 novel Coeur en peine, which has chapters entitled “Wagnériisme,” “Gral,” and “Crescendo,” containing, respectively, allusions to The Flying Dutchman, Parsifal, and Walküre. The Bibliothèque nationale de France offers its Gallica portal various Péladan materials, including two scrapbooks: see gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508217d and gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508786r.


Chapter 5: Holy German Art


On Wilhelm I’s visit to Bayreuth in 1876 see, among other sources, “Abreise des deutschen Kaisers,” Neugheits-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


Chapter 6: Nibelheim


Chapter 7-15: forthcoming