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.


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.


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 Bühnenswerke von der Uraufführung bis heute (Propyläen, 1982); Dietrich Mack’s Der Bayreuther Inszenierungsstil, 1876–1976 (Berenberg, 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 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

**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 “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* (Keysersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1954), and Gustav Renker’s *Finale in Venedig: Ein Richard Wagner Roman* (Staackmann, 1933). The latter describes an odd Platonic love affair between Wagner and a blond-haired, blue-eyed youth who writes poetry in his spare time and is besotted with the great-hearted Meister.


**Chapter 1: Rheingold**


Chapter 2: Tristan Chord


Important general studies of the topic of Wagnerism include Georges Servières, Richard Wagner jugé en France (Henry du Parc, 1887); Edmond Evenepoel, Le Wagnerisme 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 Wagnerisme (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, Wagnerisme 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
First-hand reports by Wagneristes, 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 Internatonale 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).


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); Œuvres 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


Wagner makes a brief cameo in Villiers's 1867 story “Claire Lenoir,” which appears in Tribulat Bonhomet (Tresse & Stock, 1896). The title character “…referred to a certain famous German Musician, whose name I've forgotten—was it not Wagner? . . . she spoke of his ‘miraculous genius’ accessible only to the Initiated . . . I remember the way she spoke of a certain ‘crescendoen ré un’ [properly “crescendo en ré] in which spoke (said she in her childish enthusiasm) the ‘terrible Hosanna.’” (from the Arthur Symons translation, Boni, 1925). Wagner is probably also present in Villiers's story “The Secret of the Ancient Music,” from Contes cruels (1883), in which an avant-garde German composer produces a work calling for chapeau chinois—a jangling percussion instrument used in military marches of the period—and yet provides a part that consists of nothing but silence. An elderly chapeau-chinois virtuoso gives a masterly rendition of this Cagean conception, declares that art is dead, and disappears into a bass drum. In a climactic scene of Villiers's 1886 novel L'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 Cézanne, see Norman Turner, “Cézanne, 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


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 Tannhäuser”); 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’aimaient sifflé jadis et te voilà la proie de ceux qui ne t’aimaient 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); Jacques Vontade’s La lueur sur la cime (1904, pseud. Augustine Bulteau); Anna de Noailles’s La domination (1905); Emile Baumann’s L’Immole (1906); Jacques Morel’s Feuilles mortes (1910, pseud. Mme Edmond Pottier); and Henry Bordeaux’s La Neige sur les pas...
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 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).


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*


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.

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 ochcratique: 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 Panthére (Dentu, 1892); IIe Geste esthétique: Catalogue officiel du second Salon de la Rose + Croix (Nilsson, 1893); La Prométhéeïde: 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.


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.


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*.
Chapter 5: Holy German Art


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 anständige: den festen Sinn, die Fragwürdigkeit, das Echte allein oder vor allem das Verführerische. Die Deutschen haben gewählt” (p. 163).

Chapter 6: Nibelheim


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


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 Unteran, 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 pfiff er Donars Ruf oder das Siegfriedhorn als Erkennungszeichen” (pp. 228, 231).


Quotations come from Eros und Psyche: Studien und Briefe, 1899–1902, ed. Hannalore 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).


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


Chapter 7: Venusberg


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 (Tauntnitz, 1906); Eugène Brieux, Les Trois Filles de M. Dupont (Stock, 1899); Pierre Louÿs, “Le Trophe des vulves légendaires,” in L’Œuvre 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 andFranconian Switzerland (Swan Sonnenschein, 1887); Lisle March-Phillipps and Bertram Christian, eds., Some Hauorden 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...

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.”


Chapter 8: Brünnhilde’s Rock


The standard biography is James Woodress’s Willa Cather: A Literary Life (University of Nebraska Press, 1987). Crucial biographical material and remembrances are found in Mildred Bennett, The World of Willa Cather (Dodd, Mead, 1951); L. Brent Bohlke and Sharon Hoover, eds. Willa Cather Remembered (University of Nebraska Press, 2002); and Edith Lewis, Willa Cather Living: A Personal Record (Knopf, 1953).


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*.


Chapters 9-15: forthcoming