

RICHARD WAGNER'S PARISIAN WRITINGS

RICHARD WAGNER'S PARISIAN WRITINGS:
A DEVELOPING CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

By

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ABSTRACT

The music criticism that Richard Wagner wrote in 1840 and 1841 represents the composer's most active involvement with music journalism. While attempting to establish himself as a composer of operas for the Parisian stage, he addressed issues of direct consequence to own artistic development and created lively portraits of a milieu that he ultimately judged to be incompatible with his ideals. He left Paris in poverty and failure, but the articles that he contributed to four different periodicals attest to the importance of his Parisian experiences as both a composer and an author. Wagner addressed issues of musical consequence with a variety of means, writing colorful narratives for the readers of *La Gazette musicale* in Paris, descriptions of cultural events for the fashion-conscious readers of *Europa* in Stuttgart, serious musical essays for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in Leipzig, and feuilletons for the *Dresden Abendzeitung*.

For much of the success of his varied literary efforts, Wagner was indebted to influential predecessors, primarily E. T. A. Hoffmann and Heinrich Heine. By adopting the stylistic features of the German novella, Wagner permanently embraced Hoffmann's musical aesthetics. In a

similar emulation of Heine's critical writing, Wagner rejected Heine's musical attitudes, although he found Heine's methods useful.

A systematic analysis of Wagner's Parisian criticism evaluates the longevity and importance of these influences and the worth of Wagner's writing for his development as a composer and musical author. Despite Wagner's attempts to emphasize or discount influences in the editing of his collected writings, examination of the Parisian writings reveals that the experiences of the 1840s significantly affected his musical aesthetics.

In addition to being indispensable to an evaluation of Wagner's developing opinions of Italian operatic style, the role of virtuosity in performance, and the meaning of emotion in music, the Parisian writings also provide insight into the issues, personalities, and institutions that were of consequence to the critical press of the cultural capital of the 1830s and 1840s. Wagner's youthful critical writing provides a penetrating analysis of its author and its time.

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Chapter One

Biographical, Historical, and Journalistic Contexts

Introduction

Richard Wagner's forays into the world of Parisian music criticism provided the composer with his only public platform for expressing musical opinions between September 17, 1839 and April 7, 1842, the period of his first French sojourn. The twenty-five articles he wrote for journals in Paris, Dresden, Leipzig, and Stuttgart also afforded him many occasions for commentary on contemporary Parisian customs and attitudes. During his stay in Paris, Wagner took full advantage of the forum that was provided by correspondence columns in *La Gazette musicale*, the Dresden *Abendzeitung*, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, and *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt*. On the one hand, his reviews from this period are garrulous, volatile, occasionally insolent, and inconsistent or exaggerated in both tone and perspective. On the other hand, they contain many shrewd observations, penetrating insights, and passages of fervent idealism. Because of their diverse qualities, Wagner's Parisian writings form a crucial chapter in the saga of the composer's literary and musico-aesthetic development.

It is the intent of the present study to examine the aesthetic issues Wagner confronted as a member of the popular press from July 12, 1840, when his first article appeared in *La Gazette musicale*, to May 1, 1842, the date of the final installment of his last essay for the same periodical. It will also analyze the stylistic forms and devices used in these essays, techniques which give them a "quality of sheer readability" not usually associated with Wagner's writing.¹

Detailed documentation of the early influences which shaped his literary approaches and critical attitudes is necessary to set the stage for the discussion of the reviews themselves. Separate discussions of the aesthetic and stylistic issues raised in Wagner's writings will demonstrate the importance of these influences. Wagner's journalism displays characteristics of two great literary traditions, the German Romantic novella and the French feuilleton. Wagner's relationship to the conventions of both traditions will be defined and analyzed. Finally, a study of Wagner's manipulation of his own writings in his *Gesammelte Schriften* of 1871-1873 will reveal his final thoughts on the issues that he had addressed during an important, early phase of his compositional career.

These analyses, discussions, and investigations comprise the substance of subsequent chapters of the current

study. Because Wagner's reviews are very much products of their time, the present chapter endeavors to establish a context for Wagner's daily journalism. Such a context includes a biographical profile of the young composer, a sketch of the Parisian musical milieu during the mid-nineteenth century, portraits of the musical celebrities whom Wagner encountered, and characterizations of the members of his intimate circle of associates. This initial chapter also contains descriptions of the journals which published Wagner's reports and outlines his relationships with the publishers of these journals. A listing of Wagner's Parisian writings concludes the chapter and examines the origins of Wagner's texts.

Biographical Context

On September 17, 1839, Richard Wagner arrived in Paris "... with a wife, an opera and a half, a slender purse, and a terribly ravenous Newfoundland dog."² Wagner, only twenty-six years old, had already held conducting posts at provincial theaters in Würzburg (1833-34), Magdeburg (1834-36), Königsberg (1837), and Riga (1837-39). Dissatisfied with the mixed success and instability of this career, he had resolved to establish himself as a composer of operas for the French stage.

His wife, Christine Wilhelmine ("Minna") Planer, was an experienced actress who had performed in Dresden, Leipzig, and Berlin, as well as in a host of smaller German cities before leaving the theater to follow her husband from one appointment to another. She steadfastly supported Wagner's doomed operatic ambitions while the couple struggled for survival during their two-and-a-half years in Paris.³ Robber, the Newfoundland dog, deserted his master after a year of urban life, seeking an owner who was better able to satisfy his "ravenous appetite."⁴

The opera that Wagner had brought with him was the two-act *Das Liebesverbot oder Die Novize von Palermo*, written after Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and completed in Magdeburg in 1836. Wagner hoped its light musical style and "liberated sensuality" would make the work suitable for performance at the Théâtre (National) de l'Opéra-Comique.⁵ The incomplete opera was *Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen*, begun in 1837 and finished in Paris on November 19, 1840. Although Wagner later tried to create the impression that he originally intended *Rienzi* for the stage of the Académie Royale de musique (Opéra), he had also thought of offering it to the Hofoper in Berlin for production.⁶ Nevertheless, the libretto of *Rienzi* was translated into French when Wagner decided to mount an assault on the Opéra.

Neither work was performed on any Parisian stage during Wagner's stay in the city. The director of the Théâtre de la Renaissance, Anténor Joly, promised to produce *Das Liebesverbot*, but Wagner received news that the house was bankrupt only days after he had arranged the audition that Joly had deemed necessary for the acceptance of the opera.⁷ Although Wagner persuaded the management of the Opéra to hear the audition, Edouard Monnais, one of two co-directors of the company, and Eugène Scribe, the leading and most prolific librettist of his day, offered no encouragement after hearing perfunctory performances of three selections from Wagner's opera.

Only one work by Wagner was performed publicly in Paris during his two-and-a-half years there, the overture to *Columbus*, a drama by his close friend Theodor Apel.⁸ Wagner recalled in his autobiography, *Mein Leben*, that the overture had been a great success at its Magdeburg premiere.⁹ In Paris, an inept and poorly rehearsed rendition of the composition resulted in a fiasco. On February 4, 1841, the overture was considered a failure by members of the audience and the orchestra alike when it was featured on a concert sponsored by *La Gazette musicale*.¹⁰

The composer's "slender purse" became even thinner quite early during the stay in Paris. The Wagners had fled Riga as debtors, their passports impounded in an attempt to

prevent their sudden departure. The limited financial resources that they had been able to smuggle out of the country were quickly depleted by the voyage from Pillau to London, the crossing of the English Channel, and a month-long stay in Boulogne-sur-mer. Wagner asked members of his family to support him, but Eduard Avenarius, Wagner's brother-in-law and the Parisian agent of the Leipzig publishing firm Brockhaus, understandably denied requests that would have jeopardized his own financial security.¹¹

With few assets to their names, the Wagners were often hard pressed to pay their rent. They lived in four different apartments between September, 1839 and April, 1842. Between April 29 and October 31, 1841, the Wagners moved to Meudon, in the country near Paris, quite probably to avoid creditors.¹² During the six months that he lived in the suburbs, Wagner rarely attended musical performances and relied on newspaper accounts and personal conversations for his own writing, a subject discussed later in the present chapter.

While leading this unsettled existence, Wagner managed to complete *Rienzi*, *Der fliegende Holländer*, and a substantial number of small, occasional pieces. No performances of these works took place, nor did Wagner earn any substantial commissions for any of his compositions. He reluctantly accepted five hundred francs from Léon Pillet,

the other co-director of the Opéra, for a prose version of the *Holländer* subject, and he drafted a scenario for an opera based on E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Die Bergwerke zu Falun*. The latter sketch brought Wagner two hundred francs.¹³

To meet minimal expenses, Wagner resorted to arranging other composers' music, mostly popular operatic melodies.¹⁴ This work was quite extensive, lasting for most of the duration of the stay in Paris,¹⁵ and occasionally interrupting his activities as a composer. Wagner made many of the arrangements for Maurice Schlesinger, a powerful Parisian music publisher who owned *La Gazette musicale*, although Wagner also worked for Eugène Troupenas, who served as the head of another very active Parisian music publishing firm.¹⁶

Wagner also turned to journalistic activity as an additional source of income, although his earnings from this source could not have been great.¹⁷ In a letter to August Lewald, the editor of the Stuttgart journal *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt*, Wagner stated he had heard that contributors to the quarterly periodical were paid fifty francs per sheet for their articles.¹⁸ The sums of ninety francs for an entire article and sixty francs per sheet were mentioned regarding articles published in *La Gazette musicale*.¹⁹ Based on these rates of payment per page, Wagner's articles brought him anywhere from ninety to 250

francs apiece. The wages from Wagner's journalism could have done little to defray expenses, given, for example, that the apartment in the Rue du Helder rented for twelve hundred francs annually.²⁰ Wagner was also paid considerably less for his articles than the sums he earned for his arrangements,²¹ indicating that journalism was very much a secondary source of income during this period. Although writing may not have provided Wagner with any significant income, his desperate financial condition forced him to accept the small commissions from *La Gazette musicale*. Furthermore, he probably wanted to maintain good relations with Schlesinger, who was an influential figure in Parisian musical circles. It also afforded Wagner one of the few successes he achieved in Paris.

Wagner may have submitted correspondence reports to Dresden's *Abendzeitung: Intelligenzblatt für Literatur und Kunst* without receiving payment for them. The motivation for these reports stemmed from Wagner's interest in courting the favor of Theodor Winkler, the journal's publisher. Winkler, assistant director of the Dresdener Hoftheater, was instrumental in promoting *Rienzi* in the Saxon capital. Wagner did not broach the subject of finances with Winkler until after he had submitted at least three reports and two novellas to the *Abendzeitung*. Even then, after five months of frequent correspondence, Wagner asked for a "moderate

advance" on the articles enclosed with his letter.²² By the time the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* published two of Wagner's essays late in 1841 and early in 1842, the honoraria from Robert Schumann's journal would have been used to pay debts or to plan the departure from Paris.

Wagner's Parisian journalism may not have been lucrative, but it occasionally permitted him to meet musical celebrities of the day and allowed him to maintain contact with members of the music publishing community. This may have been of some small consolation to a composer who achieved no significant recognition despite his "unceasing labour."²³ Wagner's grand operatic ambitions met with nothing but bitter frustration in Paris, making it only natural for him to begin planning his return to Germany after *Rienzi* was accepted in June of 1841 for production in Dresden.

Richard and Minna Wagner left Paris on April 7, 1842, taking no fond memories with them. Wagner had written essays on contemporary musical issues up until his final days in the city, and in fact, the last installments of his articles appeared weeks after his departure. He returned to music criticism later in his career in essays such as the "Bericht über die Aufführung der neunten Symphonie von Beethoven im Jahre 1846 in Dresden"²⁴ and "Über musikalische Kritik: Brief an den Herausgeber der *Neue*

Zeitschrift für Musik," written in January of 1852, but gradually he came to write only about the historical and theoretical issues which were to preoccupy him as a mature artist. Already this tendency may be observed in incipient form in his final Parisian writings, two essays on Jacques Fromental Halévy's opera *La Reine de Chypre*.²⁵

It was in Paris that Wagner became most intensely involved in music criticism, a Paris that was the cultural capital of Europe during the 1830s and 1840s. Wagner may have failed to make his mark there as a composer, but he had the chance to observe and interact with many other artists, business speculators, and politically-minded individuals who had been lured to the city by its many powers of attraction. It was in a vital musical, economic, and political community that Wagner wrote his voluble, capricious criticisms and his temperamental, visionary novellas.

Historical Context

The period between the French Revolution and the fall of the Second Empire (1789-1870) was one of extreme social turbulence and economic instability in Paris. Napoleon's surrender in 1814, the July Revolution of 1830, and the Revolution of 1848 were manifestations of an atmosphere of unrest that dominated the era. Between the last two of these events, the throne was occupied by Louis Philippe, a

bourgeois king. Under his reign, a new spirit developed in Paris. Commerce prospered, industry and urban population experienced tremendous growth, and French diplomacy reasserted itself in affairs of state.

As a matter of course, musical activities were affected by the city's social, economic, and political life. The concert schedule of the period reflected the "new spirit" of Paris. "Under Louis Philippe a distinct public demand brought about many light classical concerts, typically with a promenade audience and dancing during the quadrilles."²⁶ The promenade concerts became so popular the public preferred evenings of dance to performances of symphonies.²⁷ More traditional concerts were given in theaters, whereas students and the great virtuosi performed in large recital halls such as the one at the Conservatoire.

Chamber music performances were almost totally eclipsed by presentations better suited to social display. Small groups of enthusiasts maintained a tradition of the public performance of chamber music, and major artists such as Franz Liszt and Frédéric Chopin often included chamber works on their public recitals.²⁸ From 1835 onward, the officially sanctioned Société de musique de chambre offered Parisians a regular series of chamber music concerts, but both concert life and the Société could not rival the operatic institutions of Paris in popularity.

At the time Wagner arrived in Paris, the city was the center of the operatic world. A success there offered a composer continuous royalties and the certainty of acceptance elsewhere on the continent. Ambitious composers competed for production of their works, while the public eagerly anticipated new operas and demanded innovative revivals of old ones. A few important theaters, such as the Théâtre de la Renaissance and the Théâtre-français, produced a limited number of opera performances throughout their seasons, alternating operas with stage plays or vaudevilles. The three major institutions of Paris, frequently mentioned in Wagner's criticisms, presented lengthy seasons consisting primarily of opera and ballet. The Théâtre (National) de l'Opéra-Comique, the Théâtre Italien, and the Académie Royale de musique (Opéra) attempted to satisfy the Parisian appetite for opera.

The operas of Daniel-François-Esprit Auber, Louis-Josef Ferdinand Hérold, and Adolphe Charles Adam dominated the schedule of the Opéra-Comique, although Gaetano Donizetti's *La Fille du régiment* enjoyed a spectacular debut on February 11, 1840. The following operas, representing what Wagner came to consider products of the "French School," were performed by the company during Wagner's stay in Paris. The operas are arranged alphabetically according

to the composer's last name. Dates indicate premiere performances; all other productions were revivals.

Adam, Adolphe Charles: *La Rose de Péronne* (December 12, 1840); *La Main de fer* (October 26, 1841).

Auber, Louis-Josef: *L'Ambassadrice*; *La Neige*; *Lestocq*; *Les Diamants de la couronne* (March 6, 1841).

Boïeldieu, Adrien-Louis-Victor: *L'Aïeule* (August 17, 1841).

Boïeldieu, François Adrien (father of Adrien-Louis-Victor): *La Dame blanche*.

Bordèse, Luigi: *L'Automate de Vaucanson* (March, 1840); *La Reine Jeanne* (October 12, 1840) [in collaboration with Hippolyte Monpou].

Clappison, Antoine Louis: *Le Pendu* (March 25, 1841); *Frère et Mari* (July 7, 1841).

Colet, Hippolyte Raymond: *L'Ingénue* (June 3, 1841).

Dalayrac, Nicolas-Marie: *Camille*.

Girard, Narcisse: *Les Deux voleurs* (June 26, 1841).

Grétry, André Ernest Modeste: *Richard Cœur-de-lion*.

Halévy, Jacques Fromental: *Le Guitarrero* (January 21, 1841).

Isouard, Nicolò (Nicolò de Malte): *Joconde*.

Kastner, Jean Georges (known to the readers of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* as Johann Georg Kastner): *La Maschera* (June 17, 1841).

Luce-Varlet, J.: *L'Elève de Presbourg* (April 24, 1840).

Montfort, Alexandre: *La Jeunesse de Charles-Quint* (December 1, 1841).

Ney, Joseph Napoléon (Prince de la Moskowa): *Zanetta*; *Le Pré aux clercs*; *Le Cent-suisse* (July 6, 1840).

Potier, Henri: *Mademoiselle de Mérange* (December 14, 1841).

Thomas, Charles Louis Ambroise: *Carline*.

The Théâtre Italien enjoyed many illustrious Parisian premieres during its history, including Gioachino Rossini's *L'italiana in Algeri* and *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Vincenzo Bellini's *I puritani* and *Norma*, and Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*, *L'elisir d'amore*, and *Lucia di Lammermoor*. The company performed all of these operas while Wagner was in Paris except for *L'italiana* and *Anna Bolena*. Their repertory during the two years in question included the following important Italian operas from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries:

Bellini, Vincenzo: *I puritani*; *Norma*; *Il pirata*; *La sonnambula*; *Beatrice di Tenda*.

Cimarosa, Domenico: *Il matrimonio segreto*.

Donizetti, Gaetano: *L'elisir d'amore*; *Lucia di Lammermoor*; *Lucrezia Borgia*.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: *Le nozze di Figaro*; *Don Giovanni*.

Rossini, Gioachino: *Il barbiere di Siviglia*; *Tancredi*; *La gazza ladra*; *Mosè in Egitto*; *Semiramide*; *La cenerentola*; *Il turco in Italia*.

Wagner had a great deal to say about the subject of Italian opera and the prestige accorded the company, but he reserved his comments for German periodicals. The position of the Théâtre Italien was unassailable during the 1830s and 1840s, and Parisian editors did not think unfavorable criticism of the company would strike an enthusiastic response among readers.

The Académie Royale de musique, commonly referred to as the Opéra, changed administrations during Wagner's years in Paris. Charles Edmond Duponchel, who catered to the tastes of his subscribers, resigned his directorship in 1840, nevertheless retaining an administrative position until the company found a replacement. His post was temporarily filled by Monnais, one of the two auditors of Wagner's *Das Liebesverbot*, but in 1841, Monnais was ousted by Pillet.

Pillet's administration was marred by a scandal involving Rosine Stoltz, the leading soprano of the Opéra. Through her romantic liaison with the director, she exerted considerable influence over the company's day-to-day operations. Pillet became a laughing stock in the daily press,²⁹ resigned in disgrace, and left the company in debt. Wagner commented on Stoltz's position of authority in "Pariser Amusements," and his first and sixth reports for the *Abendzeitung*.³⁰

The vastness and variety of the repertory of the Opéra prevented Schlesinger's publication from reviewing every production of the company's seasons while Wagner wrote for *La Gazette musicale*, yet the journal did take note of the following significant premieres and revivals:

Donizetti, Gaetano: *Les Martyrs* (April 10, 1840); *La Favorite* (December 2, 1840).

Flotow, Friedrich von: *Alessandro Stradella*.

Halévy, Jacques Fromental: *La Juive*; *Le Drapier* (January 6, 1840); *La Reine de Chypre* (December 22, 1841).

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: *Don Giovanni*.

Rossini, Gioachino: *Guillaume Tell*.

Ruolz-Fontenay, Henri: *La Vendetta* (September 11, 1839).

Thomas, Charles Louis Ambroise: *Le Comte de Carmagnola* (April 19, 1841).

Weber, Carl Maria von: *Der Freischütz* (in a French version entitled *Le Freischütz*).

Two ballets, *Le Diable amoureux* (September 23, 1840), with music by the Conservatoire pedagogue François Benoit, and *Giselle ou les Willis* (June 28, 1841), with a score by Adam, were two full-length stage works that the Opéra presented in 1840 and 1841 respectively. Ballets were considered to be as fashionable as operas, and they were regularly incorporated into operatic evenings.

The popularity of ballets and all other composers' works was dwarfed by the success of two operas by Meyerbeer, a composer who dominated the repertoire of the Opéra for more than four decades. *Les Huguenots* received its 107th performance at the Opéra on February 16, 1840, fourteen years after its premiere, and *Robert le Diable* was sung for the 205th time in November of that year,³¹ only nine years after its first performance. Meyerbeer went on to consolidate his success with *Le Prophète*, premiered in 1849,

and *L'Africaine*, first performed in 1865, but by the time of Wagner's arrival in Paris, he was already "an undisputed king of the French opera establishment."³² Meyerbeer was a man of his time. He controlled the powerful clagues at the Opéra, influenced members of the critical press, and wrote operas "in which the epoch saw itself reflected."³³

Hoping that Meyerbeer would be his benefactor in Paris, Wagner had sent him the score to *Das Liebesverbot* in 1837. Wagner requested that Meyerbeer have the libretto translated into French and arrange its production at the Opéra-Comique.³⁴ This bold solicitation was accompanied by a plea for Meyerbeer to urge Scribe to re-examine a prose sketch for another opera, *Die hohe Braut*, which Wagner had sent to Paris in August of 1836. Nothing came of Wagner's hopelessly naive expectations, but they reveal the importance of the role that Meyerbeer played in his life even before he arrived in Paris.

By sheer coincidence, Wagner had learned during his voyage across the English Channel that Meyerbeer was staying in Boulogne-sur-mer.³⁵ He wasted no time in calling on Meyerbeer, reciting the first three acts of *Rienzi* to him at their first meeting. Meyerbeer responded enthusiastically and gave Wagner letters of introduction to three influential members of the Parisian operatic community: Duponchel, who was nearing the end of his tenure as director of the Opéra;

François Antoine Habeneck, director and conductor of the company's orchestra and the orchestra at the Conservatoire; and Luigi Lablache, a renowned operatic bass.³⁶ Armed with Meyerbeer's introductions, Wagner undoubtedly felt he had found a way of entering the world of Parisian music.

Meyerbeer was not always in Paris to protect Wagner's interests, but he continued to arrange introductions between Wagner and his professional associates. Wagner became acquainted with Schlesinger and Joly through Meyerbeer's influence, and it was Meyerbeer who lobbied for the acceptance of *Rienzi* in Dresden and *Der fliegende Holländer* in Berlin.³⁷ During Meyerbeer's long absences from Paris, Wagner wrote to his "patron" regularly, thinly disguising his desperation with effusive flattery.³⁸ Wagner's attitude toward Meyerbeer changed by the time he left Paris, eventually verging on libel in *Mein Leben*,³⁹ but in 1839, Meyerbeer offered Wagner his only means of taking a place among the powerful figures of Parisian musical life.

Musical Personalities

Meyerbeer's letters of introduction did little to promote Wagner's career. Duponchel, wearied by countless letters of this kind, dismissed Wagner as the provincial, unknown German that he was.⁴⁰ Habeneck, whose concerts Wagner was to greet as revelations,⁴¹ was more diplomatic:

he agreed to read through the *Columbus Overture* during a Conservatoire rehearsal, but made it quite clear that no performance would come of it.⁴² Wagner attempted to impress Lablache with "Norma il predisse," a grand aria with chorus written for the role of Orvieto in Bellini's *Norma*. Lablache declined to introduce the aria in his performances, reasoning that the public would not accept an extended interpolation in such a familiar opera.⁴³

In an attempt to pay court to other influential singers, Wagner wrote smaller songs and arias in styles that would flatter their individual talents. Most of the singers he approached were complimentary, but they usually refused to perform his compositions. Furthermore, even though a few compositions were published by Parisian firms, after Wagner had paid a translator and a publisher's fee, there must have been very little profit left for himself.

Duponchel, Habeneck, and Lablache, did not directly influence Wagner's criticism, although they were mentioned in the reviews. Duponchel had left office before any of Wagner's essays had been published, but Wagner frequently mentioned anonymous theater directors and referred to Pillet, the new director of the Opéra, in "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche," his first report for the *Abendzeitung*, and his essay on *Der Freischütz* for *La Gazette musicale*.⁴⁴ Wagner acknowledged Habeneck's abilities as a

conductor in the third report to Dresden,⁴⁵ and remembered the Conservatoire performances in *Mein Leben* and in the report on Beethoven's Ninth Symphony of 1846. Wagner praised Lablache's interpretation of the role of Leporello in *Don Giovanni* in "Der Virtuos und der Künstler" and the first report for the *Abendzeitung*.⁴⁶

Wagner fared no better in his encounters with other leading musical celebrities of the day, several of whom figured prominently in Wagner's essays. Schlesinger introduced him to Franz Liszt, although Wagner was evidently confused regarding the date of the first uneventful meeting. In a letter dated March 21, 1841, Wagner reminded Liszt of their fleeting introduction in the late autumn of the previous year,⁴⁷ a meeting which could have occurred between Liszt's second and third tours of England in 1840.⁴⁸ It is more likely that Wagner was in error. Comments in one of Wagner's essays for *La Gazette musicale*, "Du Métier de virtuose et l'indépendance des compositeurs," suggest that Wagner had heard Liszt's program at the Salle Érard on April 20, 1840.⁴⁹ The article was published on October 18, 1840, making it likely that Wagner substituted the approximate date of his essay for that of his first meeting with Liszt. In any event, Liszt would have had no reason to remember the occasion.

Wagner's letter, clearly implying a request for money, led to another meeting late in March of 1841. Liszt received Wagner cordially, but the presence of the pianist's friends and admirers prevented Wagner from asking for a loan.⁵⁰ Wagner's attempts to turn the subject of conversation to the music of Franz Schubert and Carl Loewe, undoubtedly impeded by Wagner's inability to speak French, met with no particular response on Liszt's part. In fact, Liszt later had no recollection of the conversation.⁵¹ Wagner left his address with Gaëtano Belloni, Liszt's secretary, and a few days later, he received complimentary tickets to Liszt's upcoming recitals.

Wagner expressed his resentment toward Liszt's fame and success in two of his reports for the *Abendzeitung*. In his report of April 6, 1841, Wagner commented unfavorably on the solo recital Liszt gave on March 27, and in the report of May 5, he criticized Liszt's performance in a concert for the Beethoven Memorial on April 25.⁵² There was nothing in their early meetings that would have predicted the development of one of the nineteenth century's greatest artistic friendships.

Wagner's attempts to become personally acquainted with Hector Berlioz also failed. Berlioz had shown interest in Wagner's journalism, favorably mentioning "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" in his column in the *Journal des*

Débats and agreeing with the assessment of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide* that Wagner had expressed in "De L'Ouverture," an essay written for *La Gazette musicale*.⁵³ Encouraged by Berlioz's interest and impressed by Berlioz's music and conducting,⁵⁴ Wagner was disappointed to find that the man himself was unapproachable. Berlioz attended the rehearsal for the concert given by *La Gazette musicale*, but he remained aloof when the *Columbus Overture* was performed. Wagner recalled Berlioz's reaction in *Mein Leben*:

Berlioz... remained silent throughout; he gave me no encouragement, yet also did not try to dissuade me, but rather let me know with a weary smile that things were very difficult in Paris.⁵⁵

Berlioz maintained a "prudent silence" regarding the overture in his report for the *Journal des Débats*.⁵⁶ His attitude was shared by contemporary musical celebrities who found no particular reason to take notice of Wagner, a young German musician with no status in the world of Parisian music.

Personal Friendships

Finding no entry to Parisian musical society through Meyerbeer's letters or his own initiative, Wagner withdrew into a circle of a few close friends. These men were fellow Germans who, like Wagner, were struggling to establish themselves in artistic careers. In *Mein Leben*, Wagner

confessed that his friends had played a role in his activities as a music critic, especially when he was living in Meudon and was not able to attend concerts:

To fill the columns of the *Abendzeitung*, I adopted the shameful practice of patching together whatever I was told in the evenings, based on newspaper stories and restaurant conversations...⁵⁷

Although Wagner obviously did not approve of his own practice, during the mid-nineteenth century, critics frequently resorted to the methods that Wagner described, especially for correspondence reports to journals in foreign countries.⁵⁸ Berlioz frequently reviewed concerts when he had only attended rehearsals,⁵⁹ and Heine was notorious for reporting on events that he had not actually witnessed.⁶⁰ Parisian papers, including music journals, were committed to partisan or ideological causes, slanting or inventing news to suit the inclination of the owners, editors, or correspondents.⁶¹ For Wagner, the practical advantages of the methods used by Parisian correspondents proved useful, regardless of ideological considerations.

Wagner's associates would most probably have been lost in history were it not for their colorful descriptions in *Mein Leben*. In addition to providing Wagner with material for his reports, they often became subjects of portions of the essays. Such autobiographical references uniquely contribute to the context of the Parisian writings.

Eduard Avenarius introduced Wagner to many of his own acquaintances, including one who called himself Gottfried Engelbert Anders.⁶² An aristocrat by birth, Anders never revealed his true name. He had been employed at the Bibliothèque Nationale for six years when Wagner met him.⁶³ Although he was eighteen years older than Wagner, the two became quite close friends and planned to collaborate on a biography of Ludwig van Beethoven. Anders's occupation as a bibliographer had allowed him to devote much of his time to compiling material about Beethoven,⁶⁴ but it was Wagner who developed plans for the book during a period from March to May of 1841. He submitted sketches for the project to three different publishers: Avenarius's Brockhaus firm, Christoph Arnold, and Johann Georg and Johann Friedrich von Cotta.⁶⁵ Wagner's letters to these publishers are no longer extant, but he described the projected biography in a letter to Heinrich Laube:

A propos! Do you perhaps know a good publisher? My friend Anders, the bibliographer and the most learned music-philologist and historian in the world, has already for some time been engaged in gathering the most detailed and painstakingly exact information about Beethoven and his works; already he possesses a supply as rich as that of Schindler's book, through which the wealth of information about Beethoven has finally been collected. In general it must be admitted that this latter book supplies only material and is by no means a true biography. Anders has now asked me if I want to collect all the material in one place and write the

book with him. We are in agreement that this should be a detailed history of Beethoven that is far removed from all pedantic citation-scholarship, perhaps to be narrated with speech full of fantasy...⁶⁶

All three publishers rejected Wagner's idea for two 480-page volumes on the life of Beethoven, and the plan remained unexecuted. Anders occasionally contributed to *La Gazette musicale*, but he never achieved any prominence as a journalist.⁶⁷ Wagner referred to him in the second report for the *Abendzeitung*.⁶⁸

Anders in turn introduced Wagner to Samuel Lehrs, a classical philologist. Although Lehrs had no musical knowledge or interests, Wagner valued his friend's advice and came to regard their friendship as one of the "most beautiful of [his] life."⁶⁹ Even though Lehrs contributed to Didot's edition of Greek classics, he never was able to capitalize on his scholarly talents.⁷⁰ Lehrs fell into ill health while Wagner was in Paris and died shortly after Wagner's departure. Wagner was indebted to Lehrs for material on the *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* legends and had Lehrs in mind as the philologist in "Ein Ende in Paris."⁷¹

Wagner's third Parisian companion was Ernst Benedikt Kietz, an artist from Dresden who had come to Paris to study with Paul Delaroche, a renowned painter of historical subjects. Wagner recalled in *Mein Leben* that he had met Kietz through his sister Luise when she and her husband,

Friedrich Brockhaus, had visited Paris to attend to business concerning the Brockhaus publishing company.⁷² Kietz's artistic skill is shown in several sketches of Wagner, some of the earliest portraits of the composer to have survived.⁷³ Kietz supported Wagner when he was completing *Der fliegende Holländer* in the autumn of 1841, and Wagner relied on Kietz for information on an historical mural by Delaroche in the penultimate report to the *Abendzeitung*.⁷⁴

Wagner believed Kietz had introduced him to Friedrich Pecht,⁷⁵ another German painter studying with Delaroche, but Pecht recalled that he had been introduced to Wagner and his wife one day at the Louvre by Heinrich Laube, the influential German author and publicist.⁷⁶ Wagner admired Pecht's industry, yet the painter never attained the same degree of intimacy with the Wagners as their other three friends. Pecht's memoirs provide colorful, although not entirely reliable, accounts of Wagner's activities in Paris, several of which will be cited in subsequent chapters of the present study.

Heinrich Rudolf Constanz Laube, famous for the radicalism of his political novel *Das junge Europa*, had published "Die deutsche Oper," one of Wagner's pre-Parisian essays, in *Die Zeitung für die elegante Welt* on June 10, 1834. Laube had edited the belle-lettres journal from January of 1833 to July of 1834 and would resume its

editorship in the 1840s. Persecuted by German authorities, Laube had come to Paris, married a wealthy young widow, then served a prison sentence in Prussia and travelled in France and North Africa before returning to Paris.⁷⁷ He left the city early in 1840,⁷⁸ making him a peripheral figure in Wagner's Parisian experiences. He did, however, introduce Wagner to Heinrich Heine, who will be the subject of the fourth chapter of the present study.

Surrounded by fellow German artists, Wagner survived in Paris for two-and-a-half years without learning to speak French passably,⁷⁹ although when pressed, he wrote short business letters in French.⁸⁰ For the articles published in *La Gazette musicale*, Wagner engaged the services of a translator, which considerably reduced his profits from journalism. A note on the back side of the twelfth page of the manuscript of Wagner's article on Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre* suggests it was an editor named Duesberg who translated Wagner's articles for the journal.⁸¹

From this sheltered isolation, Wagner produced the novellas and reviews that appeared in the pages of the daily press in Paris, Dresden, Stuttgart, and Leipzig. The journals in each of these cities had distinct characters, determined in part by the strong personalities of their publishers. The men who published Wagner's criticisms were more prosperous than his Parisian friends, but certainly no

less colorful. An examination of the nature of these journals and Wagner's relations with their publishers provides a journalistic context for the Parisian writings.

The Journals and their Publishers

La Gazette musicale and Maurice Schlesinger

Founded in 1827 by François-Joseph Fétis, the *Revue musicale* was the first significant French music periodical of the nineteenth century.⁸² Fétis's tenure as editor lasted until 1832, when his duties were assumed by his son Edouard, who edited the journal for three years.⁸³ During this entire period, the *Revue musicale* featured historical essays, composer biographies, reports on other European musical centers, and emphasized performance notices.⁸⁴ It amalgamated with the *Gazette musicale de Paris* in 1834, becoming *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*. Between January and June of 1839, the journal was published semi-weekly, one issue bearing the full title and the other being published as *La Gazette musicale*. Under this name, it continued to be published in a weekly format until its final issue in 1880.

La Revue et gazette musicale was founded as a platform for composers.⁸⁵ In the first issue of 1834, Liszt attacked critics as shallow and ignorant practitioners of their art and called for tests to verify the competency

of music reviewers. Some of Berlioz's finest essays were published in the journal, including his important articles on Rameau. *La Gazette musicale* continued to cater to the tastes of an erudite, selective readership,⁸⁶ the quality of its writing assuring its active collaborators of a broad readership until the end of its publication. Estimates of the journal's circulation statistics in 1840 range from 103 to three hundred copies, although by 1845, the number of subscribers had grown to 798.⁸⁷

When Wagner came to Paris, *La Gazette musicale* was one of the city's two consequential music journals, both of which functioned as house organs for important music publishing companies.⁸⁸ *La France musicale* served the interests of the conservatively disposed House Escudier, representing Rossini, Gasparo Spontini, Donizetti, Adam, and Auber, among others. *La Gazette musicale* belonged to the strongly progressive company owned by Schlesinger which published the music of Meyerbeer, Liszt, and Berlioz. Wagner's articles do not seem to have been significantly affected by the journal's commercial bias. His review of an arrangement of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* that Schlesinger's company had published is unfavorable,⁸⁹ and Wagner's unsympathetic response to Liszt did not support the company's interests.

The register of contributors reflected Schlesinger's progressive orientation. Besides Wagner, Berlioz, Liszt, Schumann, Anders, Fétis père, and Fétis fils, the journal counted the following critics as collaborators in 1840 and 1841:

Gustave Bénédict	Adrien de Lafage
François Benoist	Jules Lecomte
Henri-Montan Berton	John Martin
Henri Blanchard	Adolf Bernhard Marx
Maurice Bourges	Charles Merruau
François-Henri-Joseph	Auguste Morel
Castil-Blaze	Joseph-Louis d'Ortigue
Philarète Chasles	Ferdinand Prévost
Jean-Louis-Félix Danjou	Ludwig Rellstab
Antoine Elwart	Edmonde Saint-Hugué
Joseph Gillou	Georges Sand
Adam Guérault	Ignaz Xaver Seyfried
Stephen Heller	Richard Otto Spazier
Jules Janin	Richard Specht
Jean-Georges Kastner	

Edouard Monnais, another contributor, dared to publish articles under the name of Paul Smith despite his status as co-director of the Opéra.⁹⁰ He also supervised the entire staff during the period in which Wagner wrote for the journal. Competing successfully for space with essays of practiced journalists, Wagner's contributions to *La Gazette musicale* frequently appeared as the lead article of an issue and rarely suffered major editorial cuts.⁹¹

Schlesinger himself was seen as imaginative, reckless, and shrewd in his business dealings.⁹² A descendant of a German publishing family, he used his experience to rise to the top of the music business in

Paris. His firm had published some of the period's most successful operas, including *Robert le Diable*, *Les Huguenots*, and *La Juive*. One of his coups of the 1840-41 season was acquiring Parisian publication rights to Donizetti's *La Favorite*. Schlesinger was concerned that his journal would have a good list of correspondents, but other than his direct involvement with its financial concerns, he left most of the daily operations of *La Gazette musicale* to its editorial staff.⁹³

Wagner corresponded with Schlesinger frequently, usually discussing the new arrangements of popular operatic tunes that he had undertaken at Schlesinger's request. In *Mein Leben*, Wagner created the impression that Schlesinger had forced him into his work as both journalist and arranger,⁹⁴ but Wagner's letters from this period do not support such a view. Wagner assured Schlesinger of his industry in completing arrangements of *La Favorite*,⁹⁵ and he boasted of having accepted Schlesinger's offer of three thousand francs for the work.⁹⁶ Wagner complained about "his superfluous and tiresome work for a Parisian music publisher" to his mother, Johanna Rosine Geyer, yet admitted that he had taken the chore upon himself.⁹⁷ Another indication that Schlesinger had not forced Wagner to work for him was Wagner's voluntary solicitation of tickets to *Le Freischutz*.⁹⁸ Wagner wrote to Pillet in order to review

the performance for *La Gazette musicale*, making sure to mention "Monsieur Maurice."⁹⁹

To be sure, Wagner lamented the fact that "the godless head of *La Gazette musicale*"¹⁰⁰ had produced a concert without having included any work of his.¹⁰¹ He also complained that his publisher in Paris brought him next to nothing,¹⁰² but Wagner recognized Schlesinger's influential position in Parisian musical life. To Ferdinand Heine, one of Wagner's closest friends and strongest advocates in Dresden, Wagner wrote: "He [Schlesinger] has influence, and gives up nothing which he has once begun."¹⁰³ Wagner even admitted to Schlesinger himself that he would have been at his end in Paris without the publisher.¹⁰⁴ Wagner may have had ambivalent personal feelings toward Schlesinger, but as a journalist, Wagner maintained the highest professional standards when working for his Parisian publisher.

The *Abendzeitung* and Theodor Winkler

The nature of the writing about music in Dresden's *Abendzeitung: Intelligenzblatt für Literatur und Kunst* may only be determined against the background of the history of the Deutsche Oper, the company that occupied the Dresdner Hoftheater from 1817 onward. By an act of the Vienna Congress of 1814-15, Dresden was designated the seat of the

royal court of the Kingdom of Saxony. On January 30, 1817, the Deutsche Oper inaugurated its first season, led by the company's newly appointed Kapellmeister, Carl Maria von Weber. The *Abendzeitung* began publication in the same year.

Weber spent his first three years in Dresden writing his epoch-making German "Romantic Opera," *Der Freischütz*. It heralded the establishment of a repertory that was destined to be favored by the middle class.¹⁰⁵ The Dresden *Abendzeitung* supported the establishment of a German national opera throughout its forty years of publication. This was certainly due to the fact that its publisher was Carl Gottfried Theodor Winkler, the author of the libretto for Weber's unfinished opera, *Die drei Pintos*, the translator of James Robertson Planche's English text for *Oberon*, and the editor of the first collected edition of Weber's writings. Wagner's essays contributed to Weber's legacy. A lengthy feature article for the *Abendzeitung* praises the nationalistic virtues of *Der Freischütz*, and the sixth report for the journal assures readers of the Parisian audience's enthusiastic response to the opera.¹⁰⁶

Winkler employed several editors who supported his German nationalistic policies toward opera during the run of the journal's publication.¹⁰⁷ From 1817 to 1850, the *Abendzeitung* was edited by Friedrich August Schulze, Friedrich Laun, and Robert Schmieder, but from 1851 to 1857,

Winkler edited the journal using his own pseudonym, Theodor Hell. He was assisted by Friedrich Kind, a Dresden lawyer and writer who suggested to Weber the idea of writing a libretto on a typically German subject, becoming the librettist of *Der Freischütz*. Winkler and Kind were members of the famous group of literary figures who gathered at Dresden's Café Eicheltraut and included E. T. A. Hoffmann. Winkler's association with Hoffmann undoubtedly contributed to his enthusiasm for two of Wagner's novellas, "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" and "Ein Ende in Paris," reprinted in the *Abendzeitung* during the summer of 1841.¹⁰⁸

Winkler's most influential position was that of assistant director of the Deutsche Oper. When *Rienzi* was accepted for production in Dresden, Wagner naturally entered into a correspondence with Winkler in order to promote the cause of his opera. In turn, Winkler seized the opportunity to enlist a Parisian correspondent for his journal. Wagner claimed in *Mein Leben* that Winkler demanded reports from him whenever he wanted to discover more about the progress of *Rienzi*.¹⁰⁹ He also asserted that he had withdrawn from Parisian society at the time and was greatly inconvenienced by Winkler's requests. Wagner's contention is certainly an exaggeration in view of the contemporaneity of his reports.¹¹⁰

In *Mein Leben*, Wagner characterized the *Abendzeitung* as "a paper that had gone far down hill at the time" of his reports to Dresden, an opinion that may be more reliable.¹¹¹ The journal has not generated significant scholarly interest, despite its longevity and frequency of publication during Wagner's collaboration. Installments of Wagner's longer articles and novellas usually appeared in consecutive daily issues of the *Abendzeitung*, a rate of publication the journal maintained during its entire history. At one time Weber had written articles for the journal, some of them preparing audiences for upcoming opera productions. He was apparently the first to do so.¹¹²

Most German evening newspapers of the time published editorials that reflected their authors' personalities, and included theater schedules, humorous anecdotes, and literary articles.¹¹³ The *Abendzeitung* conformed to contemporary norms. It included supplements for literature and graphic arts, book and art notices, reviews of periodicals, and literary and art folios during the period in which Wagner contributed to the journal.¹¹⁴

Many of Wagner's letters to Winkler did not clarify or even address journalistic issues. Most of them inquired about the status of *Rienzi*, beginning with one which is unfortunately nonextant.¹¹⁵ Winkler answered this letter by Wagner at the beginning of December of 1840, asking the

young composer for reports from Paris.¹¹⁶ Wagner replied that he had already "gathered a few things together,"¹¹⁷ and he would send them with his next letter. He also assured Winkler that he was thankful for the efforts exerted on his behalf and that he was tireless in executing his duties.¹¹⁸

Wagner fulfilled his promise by sending Winkler a report on February 23, 1841.¹¹⁹ In the letter enclosed with the article, he mentioned very little about the essay itself, but did ask Winkler to consider it as a token of his faith in the intendant's influence in the production of *Rienzi*.¹²⁰ Presumably, Wagner wrote letters to accompany all of his reports for Dresden, but not all of them have survived. Cover letters for the fourth, sixth, and seventh reports are no longer extant. Wagner also enclosed letters to Winkler when he submitted the previously named novellas for publication,¹²¹ as well as the long essay on *Der Freischütz*.¹²²

On the basis of these letters and others which inquired about *Rienzi*, it would appear that little in the way of a personal relationship developed between correspondent and publisher. Wagner usually described the report he had enclosed and frequently proposed topics for future articles,¹²³ but he maintained a formal attitude and invariably discussed business. He seemed concerned that

Winkler would think he had shirked his responsibilities when he submitted a report on impressions of a Sunday in Paris, but he assured Winkler it was because there was no cultural news of import to send to Dresden.¹²⁴

He also made Winkler aware of his admiration for Weber, declaring the Opéra production of *Le Freischütz* had experienced a success beyond all expectations.¹²⁵ Later, Wagner lamented the fact that Weber's opera had been replaced by ballet performances, but he hoped to re-establish interest in the composer by organizing a benefit concert for Weber's widow.¹²⁶ Wagner approached Pillet toward this end, but nothing came of the plan.¹²⁷

Wagner knew he had a powerful ally in Winkler, and he credited his correspondence to the *Abendzeitung* for Winkler's partiality to *Rienzi*. When Wagner received formal notification of the acceptance of the opera, he stated:

For the hastening on of this decision I am certainly indebted chiefly to the instigation of Councillor W., whom, by an unimportant counterservice, I have been enabled to win over to my interests.¹²⁸

The counterservice, Wagner's journalism, was a means toward an end. Wagner may have had ulterior motives for submitting articles to Winkler, but they were not inconsistent with critical practices of the day. Berlioz, for example, openly used his position in the press in support of his own compositions and was not above reviewing his own concerts on

occasion.¹²⁹ No one in Paris at that time had ever heard of "objective journalism," and reporters often promoted private as well as partisan causes.¹³⁰

After arriving in Dresden and meeting Winkler, Wagner had no doubts about the intendant's enthusiasm for his opera.¹³¹ While Wagner was a reporter, however, he maintained a cautious reserve toward his publisher. Eventually Wagner felt enough confidence in the relationship with Winkler to recommend Anders as his replacement as a correspondent,¹³² but he never became as close to Winkler as he was to his other Dresden friends.

Europa and August Lewald

Based in Leipzig and Stuttgart, *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt* began its short publication run with two volumes in 1834. For another six years it appeared in quarterly installments, with "fashion pictures, lithographs, and musical supplements."¹³³ During 1840 it also contained enclosures with color pictures, vignettes, and an *Album der Boudoir*. It continued as a quarterly periodical until 1845, when it became a weekly magazine. The journal lasted for another two years in this format.

Clearly a literary journal and not a music periodical, *Europa* was founded and edited by August Lewald, "a very liberal actor and theater personality."¹³⁴

Confusion exists regarding the date of Wagner's introduction to Lewald. If Carl Friedrich Glasenapp's dating of one of Wagner's letters is to be trusted, they met in Königsberg in 1836.¹³⁵ In any event, Wagner corresponded with Lewald long before emigrating to Paris. Early in 1837 he had sent Lewald his "Karnevalslied" from *Das Liebesverbot* for publication in *Europa*, promising to send a notice from Riga for the journal at a later date.¹³⁶ Laube published the "Karnevalslied" in the second issue of the 1837 volume of *Europa*, but no essay from Riga ever appeared in the journal. In the fourth issue of 1839, Laube published another of Wagner's shorter compositions, a song entitled "Der Tannenbaum."

Wagner wrote Lewald from Paris, asking about the possibility of publishing "Dors mon enfant" and "Mignonne," songs intended for salon recitals, and referring to an essay that he had enclosed for the editor's consideration.¹³⁷ Again Lewald published the songs, "Dors mon enfant" in the third issue of 1841 and "Mignonne" in the second issue of 1843, but no essay appeared. Wagner mentioned his need for the honorarium its publication would bring him,¹³⁸ but this did not move Lewald to action. The article was probably "Über deutsches Musikwesen," which had just been published in *La Gazette musicale* as "De la musique allemande."¹³⁹

Wagner continued to send Lewald letters and articles, including "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" and "Ein Ende in Paris,"¹⁴⁰ but Lewald published only "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche" and "Pariser Amusements." The subjects of both of these essays, mostly great inflations of Parisian opera and theater gossip, were undoubtedly better suited to the journal's character than Wagner's musically orientated novellas and articles.¹⁴¹

In the letter which accompanied the essays, Wagner requested Lewald to publish them under a pseudonym since he had made disparaging comments about powerful musical figures in Paris, particularly Giovanni Battista Rubini, billed throughout his career as "il re dei tenore."¹⁴² Lewald obliged, and the essays were signed W. Freudenfeur.

Wagner's letters to Lewald are long and contain personal asides and conversational news of Paris. However, Wagner only wrote four letters to Lewald between 1836 and 1842, each beginning with a long account of Wagner's activities since the last letter. The infrequency of Wagner's correspondence does make it seem that he was merely attempting to earn a few more francs by submitting articles which had already been published in other journals.

The *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and Robert Schumann

Little need be said here about Leipzig's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, "the standard-bearer of the Romantic movement."¹⁴³ Scholarly research into the origins and character of the journal under Robert Schumann's editorship culminated in Leon Plantinga's major study entitled *Schumann as Critic*,¹⁴⁴ making a brief description of the journal sufficient to establish a context for the articles Wagner wrote for it.

The idealistic goals of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* included the restoration of German musical resources that had been depleted after the deaths of Beethoven, Weber, and Schubert, the renunciation of superficial virtuosity, and the cultivation of the poetry of art.¹⁴⁵ Its thorough immersion in living contemporary issues did much to achieve these ambitious objectives, beginning with its first number of April 3, 1834.

As the founder of the *Neue Zeitschrift*, Schumann was largely responsible for the journal's existence. He became owner, manager, and editor of the journal in 1835, exerting control over its staff and policies until he resigned its editorship in 1844.¹⁴⁶ Schumann selected writers who were sympathetic to his views, revised contributions vigorously, and supervised the choice of music for review.¹⁴⁷ Compared to *La Gazette musicale*, the *Neue Zeitschrift* was relatively

free from commercial interests. The music published in the journal's supplements certainly was chosen to serve Schumann's purposes,¹⁴⁸ but financial considerations did not motivate his editorial or critical policies. The *Neue Zeitschrift* also differed from *La Gazette musicale* in that the Leipzig journal devoted its space primarily to free essays and critiques of new music.¹⁴⁹ Performance reviews, though included in the correspondence column, were relatively low on Schumann's list of priorities. The two journals were comparable in the number of copies that were published for each issue. Schumann and his associates initially anticipated a circulation of five hundred copies,¹⁵⁰ and in 1838, the journal had 450 subscribers.¹⁵¹

Lasting for the better part of twenty years, the relationship between Wagner and Schumann passed through many phases.¹⁵² Between 1830 and 1848, many of the encounters between Wagner and Schumann concerned music criticism. Schumann published two of Wagner's earliest essays in the *Neue Zeitschrift*, making it appropriate to reserve discussion of this association for the examination of Wagner's pre-Parisian reviews in the following chapter. Of immediate and direct relevance to the Parisian writings is Schumann's publication of one of Wagner's personal letters as a correspondence report.

Wagner sent Schumann an article describing Rossini's *Stabat Mater* on December 15, 1841. Schumann published it on December 28 and wrote to Wagner requesting additional reports. Wagner's letter of February 5, 1842, mistakenly dated a month earlier,¹⁵³ informed Schumann that he would be returning to Germany, and he would be unable to accept Schumann's "kind offer concerning reports from Paris."¹⁵⁴ Wagner went on to recommend Anders as a correspondent and warned Schumann not to expect further reports from him because of the urgency of completing "a whole pile of subsistence work for Schlesinger."¹⁵⁵

In order to assure Schumann of his good intentions, he included notes which he had begun and suggested that Schumann could use them to write a finished report.¹⁵⁶ Wagner stressed that if this were done, the resulting essay should be attributed to a freelance correspondent.¹⁵⁷ After four paragraphs of news from Paris, Wagner's letter concluded with a clear statement of his intentions:

In the end I have covered a whole sheet of paper, and cannot help wondering whether, had I done it differently, it would have been any better. You have neither a letter nor a report. Forgive me. If, as long as I am still in Paris, I find further opportunity to write anything sensible for you, you may count upon my doing so.¹⁵⁸

Schumann published Wagner's notes with very few alterations on February 22, 1842, signing the article "H. V."¹⁵⁹

The personal nature of the commentary revealed the contributor's identity, compromising Wagner's reputation in Paris. Schumann's alteration of a reference to Meyerbeer was particularly damaging. Wagner had described Halévy as "open and honest, and not a premeditatedly cunning trickster (kein absichtlich schlauer Betrüger¹⁶⁰) like Meyerbeer."¹⁶¹ Schumann changed *Betrüger* ("trickster") to *Filou* ("rogue") and abbreviated "Meyerbeer" to "M." He also edited Wagner's adamant warning from the report: "But you must not be rude about Meyerbeer! He is my protector and-- joking aside--an amiable person."¹⁶²

Wagner may not have been clear about what Schumann should have excluded from a published article, but these comments were obviously intended as personal asides. Schumann must also be held responsible for perpetuating Wagner's "Valentino" pseudonym, although the practice of writing under an assumed name was common throughout the nineteenth century and need not be interpreted as an act of editorial indiscretion.

Wagner may have intended to submit a finished article to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* before he left Paris. Wagner reorganized the notes that he had sent to Schumann for another article on Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre*, the final report he wrote in Paris.¹⁶³ The first appeared in the *Abendzeitung*, while portions of the second were

published in four Sunday issues of *La Gazette musicale*. The complete German version was not published during Wagner's lifetime. It was reprinted in its entirety in Julius Kapp's *Der junge Wagner* amid speculations that it had been intended for publication in the *Neue Zeitschrift*.¹⁶⁴ If this were the case, Wagner did find the time to write something "sensible" for Schumann, but the publication of his personal letter had made the submission of a second article on the same subject superfluous. Wagner would have been forced to consider having it translated for publication in *La Gazette musicale*.

The confusion that arose between Wagner and Schumann because of the report about *La Reine de Chypre* is indicative of the general nature of the association between the two men. Although the two composers' complex motivations did not result in open rivalry or animosity, a satisfying artistic rapport never really developed between them.¹⁶⁵ The publication of the Parisian articles in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* was yet another awkward chapter in the history of a complicated relationship between two leading musical figures of the nineteenth century.

The Journals and their Publishers: Summary

Wagner adapted to each of the journals that published his Parisian articles: for *La Gazette musicale*, he wrote

historical essays, performance reviews, and novellas; he changed his approach and submitted feuilletons to the *Abendzeitung*; he catered to the tastes of *Europa's* fashion-conscious readership; for the *Neue Zeitschrift*, he wrote essays concerned with contemporary musical issues, focusing on the merits of Halévy's style and the "triviality" of Rossini's music. Indeed, Wagner's malleability at the time is a striking feature of his Parisian criticism that will be demonstrated in the course of subsequent chapters of the present study.

His relationships with the publishers of the journals were equally diverse. Although he had known both Laube and Schumann before his Parisian sojourn, he was not able to capitalize on his previous acquaintances. His relationship with Schumann remained awkward, and his friendship with Lewald, although more personal, never developed beyond a congenial association. The bulk of Wagner's criticism from the early 1840s was published by Schlesinger and Winkler, men whom Wagner had not known until after his arrival in Paris. They appeared to be searching for qualified reviewers and apparently felt that Wagner met their standards of music journalism.

Origin of the Texts

The final section of the current chapter presents a listing of Wagner's Parisian writings. It includes the following information: (1) title of the article as it appeared in the journal in which it was originally published; (2) title of the article as it appeared in its German reprint, either in the *Abendzeitung*, the *Gesammelte Schriften*, or in a few cases, Wagner's *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, as indicated; (3) title of the article as it appeared in English in William Ashton Ellis's edition of *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* and/or, for bibliographical convenience, in *Wagner Writes from Paris*, translated and edited by Robert L. Jacobs and Geoffrey Skelton (again, as indicated); (4) The name of the periodical in which the article appeared, either originally or in its reprint; (5) the dates on which the article appeared; (6) the occasion for writing the article; (7) the topics and/or pieces discussed in the article.

Throughout his literary career, Wagner wrote many articles which were published in obscure newspapers and periodicals that are either difficult to locate today or are no longer extant.¹⁶⁶ This is particularly true of Wagner's period in Paris, when his financial insecurity may have led him to write articles for any number of Parisian journals under assumed names. For this reason, the listing of

Wagner's Parisian essays cannot claim to be complete.

Current editions and bibliographies of Wagner's writings list twenty-five articles which were written while Wagner was in Paris. The following list presents these articles in chronological order according to date of publication. One essay was not published during Wagner's lifetime and has been assigned a position in the chronology on the basis of Wagner's dating of it.

1. De la musique allemande
Über deutsches Musikwesen
On German Music

July 12 and 26, 1840

La Gazette musicale

Fragments of a diary kept by Wagner during the summer of 1840 indicate that on June 29 he was in the direst of straits, but he had just found new "prospects of earning something for *La Gazette musicale*."¹⁶⁷ In *Mein Leben*, Wagner stated that he had recklessly agreed to pay for the engraving of his *Les deux grenadiers*, and Schlesinger had suggested essays for *La Gazette musicale* as a form of payment for publishing the songs.¹⁶⁸ The essay was not written for any particular occasion, since it was intended to give the Parisian reader a historical outline of German musical philosophy and practices. Wagner discussed composers from J. S. Bach to Ludwig Spohr and Heinrich Marschner.

2. *Stabat Mater* de Pergolèse, arrangé pour grand orchestre avec chœurs par Alexis Lvoff, membre des Académies de Bologne et de Saint-Petersbourg
Pergolesis Stabat Mater
Pergolesi's Stabat Mater

October 11, 1840

La Gazette musicale

As its French title indicates, this *revue critique* was written as an evaluation of an arrangement that had just been published by Schlesinger's firm. Wagner did more than review Lvoff's setting by giving a summary and a personal interpretation of the history of sacred music from Palestrina to Lvoff.

3. Du Métier de virtuose de l'indépendance des compositeurs: fantaisie esthétique d'un musicien
Der Virtuos und der Künstler
The Virtuoso and the Artist

October 18, 1840

La Gazette musicale

Wagner's third article for Schlesinger's journal focuses on the problems that composers of genius face because of public demand for virtuosic display. Despite the date of its publication, passages in the article indicate that Wagner was referring to a concert given by Liszt on April 20, 1840. At the Salle Érard, Liszt had performed his arrangement of Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony, a fantasia on *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Schubert's *Ständchen* and *Ave Maria*, and a *Galop chromatique*. Wagner mentioned Beethoven, a galop, and the fantasia on *Robert le Diable*, which could certainly have figured as an encore to the program. The French form of this article differs radically from the version in the *Gesammelte Schriften*--the variants will be treated in the final chapter of this study.

4. Une visite à Beethoven: épisode de la vie d'un musicien allemand
Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven: Aus den Papieren eines deutschen Musikers
A Pilgrimage to Beethoven

La Gazette musicale

November 19, 22, 29, December 3, 1840

Abendzeitung

July 30-August 5, 1841

Published under the heading: "Zwei Epochen aus dem Leben eines deutschen Musikers" (with *Ein Ende in Paris*) and with the additional subtitle, "Aus den Papieren eines wirklich verstorbenen Musikers"

Wagner's first Parisian novella may have been inspired by Habeneck's rehearsals of the first three movements of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony during November of 1839.¹⁶⁹ Habeneck had been rehearsing the symphony for years, and the Conservatoire orchestra made a profound impression on Wagner. A synopsis of the plot of the novella is included in Chapter Three of this study. As a reprint of the original German version of the novella, it is possible to determine if Wagner changed the text for publication in Dresden. The changes are assessed in the final chapter of the present study. Wagner no doubt drew on his own trip to Vienna in 1832 for many of the purely descriptive passages of the story.

5. De L'Ouverture
Über die Ouverture
On the Overture

La Gazette musicale

January 10, 14, 17, 1841

Again, there may have been no specific occasion for this essay. Wagner stated his views on the function of the overture, concentrating primarily on works by Mozart, Gluck, and Beethoven. Wagner's comments about Luigi Cherubini's *Les Deux Journées, ou Le Porteur d'eau* offer a clue to the origin of some of its subject material. Wagner was making an arrangement of arias from Cherubini's opera for Schlesinger at the time he wrote this article.

6. Un musicien étranger à Paris
Ein Ende in Paris (*Gesammelte Schriften*)
An End in Paris (Ellis)
Death in Paris (Jacobs and Skelton)

La Gazette musicale

January 31, February 7, 11, 1841

Abendzeitung

August 6-11, 1841

Published as "Das Ende zu Paris. Aus der Feder eines in Wahrheit noch lebenden Notenstechers" under the heading: "Zwei Epochen aus dem Leben eines deutschen Musikers" (immediately after the publication of "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven")

According to *Mein Leben*, Schlesinger took note of the popularity of Wagner's first novella and requested a sequel.¹⁷⁰ It pleased him less than the Beethoven narrative, but both were accepted by the *Abendzeitung* and were published in Dresden in consecutive installments. A synopsis of the novella is included in Chapter Three.

7. Pariser Berichte I
First Parisian Letter (Ellis)
The Opéra Lies Dying (Jacobs and Skelton)

Abendzeitung

March 19, 20, 22, 1841

Wagner's date: February 23, 1841

Wagner's essays generally appeared in the correspondence columns of the *Abendzeitung* without titles. His first feuilleton for the newspaper addressed a number of subjects. Wagner referred to the ceremony of the reinterment of Napoleon's remains in Paris on December 15, 1840 and described the current repertoire of the major operatic theaters. He also mentioned a concert given at the Conservatoire on January 10, 1841 by Henri Vieuxtemps, whom he had met in Riga when the violinist was touring with François Servais.¹⁷¹ Joseph Kürschner included this report in the 1886 volume of the *Richard Wagner Jahrbuch* since it had not been published in the *Gesammelte Schriften*.¹⁷²

8. Caprices esthétiques extraits du journal d'un musicien défunt. Le Musicien et la publicité
Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit
The Artist and Publicity (Ellis)
The Artist and the Public (Jacobs and Skelton)

La Gazette musicale

April 1, 1841

This article was considerably altered by the editor of *La Gazette musicale*, and Wagner reworked it substantially before including it in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. A discussion of those changes is included in the final chapter of this study. Although the essay again develops the theme of a conflict between the artist and society, Wagner referred to Habeneck's performances of the "Eroica" symphony at the Conservatoire. Berlioz's report of January 28, 1841 confirms the event, tending to affirm Wagner's involvement with contemporary issues.¹⁷³ It would also place the

origin of the body of the article in the Parisian period. The essay was originally signed Werner, but a note in the index corrected the error. Ellis suggested that the Werner pseudonym, referring to the great German poet Zacharias Werner, was Wagner's way of retaliating for previous editing of his essays.¹⁷⁴

9. *Der Freischütz* in Paris
Der Freischütz. An das Pariser Publikum
Der Freischütz: To the Paris Public

La Gazette musicale

May 23, 30, 1841

This article originated in part as a reply to remarks made in the March 25 issue of *La Gazette musicale* by Spazier,¹⁷⁵ who had protested the inclusion of recitatives in the Opéra production of *Der Freischütz* as incompatible with its "exclusive German aspects." Wagner wanted to expand Spazier's thoughts to include other "German aspects" which he felt were also being neglected. Wagner's article was intended as a preparation for the first performance at the Opéra on June 7, 1841.

10. Pariser Berichte II
 Second Parisian Letter (Ellis)
 Farewell Performances (Jacobs and Skelton)

Abendzeitung

May 24-28, 1841

Wagner's Date: April 6, 1841

A performance of *Don Giovanni* given at the Opéra on March 31, 1841 served as the basis for most of this article.¹⁷⁶ Because the singer of the title role became ill, the performance concluded with the overture and trio from *Guillaume Tell*. Wagner considered the production a travesty. He also commented on Liszt's recital of March 27, 1841, which featured the overture to *Guillaume Tell*.¹⁷⁷

11. Pariser Berichte III
 Third Parisian Letter (Ellis)
 Berlioz and Liszt (Jacobs and Skelton)

Abendzeitung

June 14-16, 1841
 Wagner's Date: May 5, 1841

Wagner drew on all of his experiences with Berlioz for this essay. He considered the *Grande symphonie funèbre et triomphale* to be one of the composer's most successful works,¹⁷⁸ and even though he had heard it performed during the ceremony for the reinterment of the victims of the July Revolution on July 28, 1840, he did not hesitate to comment on it over nine months after the event. Wagner also referred to the concert for the Beethoven memorial on April 13, 1841, as well as various Conservatoire performances of Berlioz's music which he had heard on several occasions during his stay in Paris. The ill-fated concert sponsored by *La Gazette musicale* is also briefly described.

12. Pariser Amusements
 Parisian Amusements (Ellis)

Europa

Second Quarter, 1841

Wagner's persistence in sending Lewald contributions finally resulted in a commission for a series of long articles based on impressions of Paris. Wagner described pre-Lenten Paris in the first essay, but managed to include some comments on musical personalities, including Rubini, Stoltz, and Kathinka Heinefetter, a soprano who made her debut at the Opéra in 1840. The article was signed W. Freudenfeur. The original, unedited version of the article was reprinted in the *Bayreuther Taschenbuch* for 1892 and 1893 along with its companion piece, "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche."¹⁷⁹

13. *Le Freischütz*. Kritische Betrachtung der Pariser
Aufführung für die *Dresdener Abendzeitung*
"Le Freischütz": Report to Germany (Ellis)
Der Freischütz (Jacobs and Skelton)

Abendzeitung

July 16, 17, 19, 20, and 21, 1841

Wagner's Date: June 20, 1841

Wagner had prepared his Parisian readers for the June 7, 1841 premiere of Weber's opera, but he reserved his account of the performance for his Dresden publisher. Wagner did not state whether he had attended its first performance or a subsequent one.

14. *Pariser Berichte IV*
Fourth Parisian Letter (Ellis)
Wonders from Abroad (Jacobs and Skelton)

Abendzeitung

August 2-4, 1841

Wagner's Date: July 6, 1841

In this report, Wagner remained enthusiastic about the reception of *Le Freischütz* in Paris and described the production which had replaced it, the ballet *Giselle, ou Les Willis*. He also gave a short account of activity at the Opéra-Comique and defended Heine from charges of cowardice which had been published in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*. Wagner's involvement in the scandal is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

15. *Pariser Berichte V*
Pariser Sonntagseindrücke

Abendzeitung

August 23, 1841

Wagner's Date: August 1, 1841

Wagner must have felt compelled to submit an article whenever he wrote to Winkler about the status of *Rienzi*. He recorded his impressions of life in Meudon in this report, making it valuable to the Wagner biographer, but less useful in evaluating his work as a journalist. The article has not been translated into English. Ellis's omission of it from his edition of the *Prose Works* causes a discrepancy of

numbering in this listing. Ernest Newman claimed in his biography of Wagner that this article was incomplete, unsigned, and unpublished. He was correct in that it is the only report for the *Abendzeitung* that does not bear Wagner's signature. He also theorized that Josef Mendelssohn, a regular contributor to the *Abendzeitung*, was away from Paris at the time and Wagner was pressured for another report.¹⁸⁰ It was reprinted for the first time in Julius Kapp's edition of the *Sämtliche Schriften*.

16. Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche
 Parisian Fatalities for the German (Ellis)
 Traps for Unwary Germans in Paris (Jacobs and Skelton)

Europa

Third Quarter, 1841

"Pariser Fatalitäten," its author claimed, was inspired by a visit from Hermann Pfau, an acquaintance from Wagner's student days in Leipzig.¹⁸¹ Wagner also referred to his own experiences in Boulogne in the introduction to the essay. The article is a mixture of narrative elements and reports of typical Parisian activities. Parisian customs and manners are ridiculed by a *Faust* scholar who ultimately succumbs to Parisian social pressures. Again, it was signed with Wagner's Stuttgart pseudonym, W. Freudenfeur.

17. Pariser Berichte VI
 Fifth Parisian Letter (Ellis)

Abendzeitung

October 1 and 2, 1841

Wagner's Date: September 8, 1841

Wagner was thoroughly immersed in the composition of *Der fliegende Holländer* while writing this essay. There are few references to current events, although the repertory of the Théâtre des Variétés is described in some detail. Operas by Clapisson and Boïeldieu are discussed, as is Scribe's role in Parisian operatic success.

18. Une Soirée heureuse: fantaisie sur la musique
pittoresque
Ein glücklicher Abend
A Happy Evening (Ellis, Jacobs and Skelton)

La Gazette musicale

October 24, November 27, 1841

Wagner claimed that the pleasant spring and summer in Meudon had initially raised his hopes and inspired an optimistic novella.¹⁸² Cast as a dialogue between the two main characters of his earlier novellas, its events precede those of "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" and "Ein Ende in Paris." Although it contains virtually no contemporary references, its analysis of the relationship between music and emotion is of great value in assessing Wagner's basic approach to his art.

19. Pariser Berichte VII
Sixth Parisian Letter (Ellis)

Abendzeitung

December 4-8, 1841

Wagner's Date: November 5, 1841

Wagner returned to contemporary musical events in this essay, describing Rubini's retirement from operatic life and the repertoires of the three principal theaters in Paris.

20. Pariser Berichte VIII
Seventh Parisian Letter (Ellis)

Abendzeitung

December 25, 1841

Wagner's Date: December 1, 1841

Wagner relied on Kietz for this report about Hippolyte (Paul) Delaroche's *L'Hémicycle*, an historical mural exhibited at the École des Beaux Arts for the first time on November 30, 1841. Delaroche had devoted four years of assiduous labor to the decoration of the Beaux Arts amphitheater. No fewer than seventy-five figures are represented in the three portions of the mural. Wagner also alluded to a forthcoming review of Scribe's newest comedy, *Une Chaîne*.

21. Rossinis *Stabat Mater*
Rossini's *Stabat Mater* (Ellis)

Neue Zeitschrift für Musik

December 28, 1841

Wagner's Date: December 15, 1841

The first six numbers of the *Stabat Mater* were produced at the Salle Herz on October 31, 1841 and created quite a sensation among Parisian concert-goers. The complete work, with Rossini's new additions, was scheduled for performance by members of the Théâtre Italien at the Salle Ventadour on January 7, 1842.¹⁸³ Wagner may not have attended the performance in October, but felt compelled to comment on the extraordinary publicity surrounding the composition. Schumann prefaced the article with a verse by Friedrich Rückert and used the pseudonym Wagner had suggested, H. Valentino.

22. Pariser Berichte IX
Eighth Parisian Letter (Ellis)

Abendzeitung

January 10 and 11, 1842

Wagner's Date: December 23, 1841

Wagner kept his promise to report on Scribe's comedy in this feuilleton, declaring he was finally able to get a ticket to the popular play. He also described the anticipation of a new opera by Halévy that had not been named at the time of the report. It was rumored to be set in Malta, but the opera that came forth was *La Reine de Chypre*.

23. Bericht über eine neue Pariser Oper ("La Reine de Chypre" von Halévy)
Halévy's "Reine de Chypre" (Ellis)
A First Night at the Opéra (Jacobs and Skelton)

Abendzeitung

January 26-29, 1842

Wagner's Date: December 31, 1841

Halévy's opera had its premiere on December 22, 1841. Although Wagner referred to the concerns of the parties involved on the first night of a new opera production, it is

not certain that he was in attendance. The length of the essay and the time which elapsed between the premiere and the review's composition would indicate he was at one of the first performances.

24. Extrablatt aus Paris
Ninth Letter from Paris (Ellis)

Neue Zeitschrift für Musik

February 22, 1842

Wagner's Date: January 5, 1842 (Misdated)

This report has been previously discussed in connection with Wagner's relations with Schumann. Wagner's renewed attack on Rossini's *Stabat Mater* included a reference to the frequency of its performance. Fourteen performances of the work were scheduled after its initial success, suggesting that Wagner had incorrectly dated this letter.

25. Halévy und die französische Oper (*Sämtliche Schriften*)
Halévy and "La Reine de Chypre" (Ellis)

La Gazette musicale

February 27, March 13, April 24, May 1, 1842

The original version of the second article about Halévy's opera was published in its entirety for the first time in Julius Kapp's *Der junge Wagner*¹⁸⁴ and may be the "sensible" article Wagner mentioned to Schumann in his letter of February 5, 1842. It differs completely from its companion piece in the *Abendzeitung*. It is a retrospective article which includes an evaluation of Halévy's career and extensive comments about *La Juive* as well as *La Reine de Chypre*.

- 25a. *La Reine de Chypre* d'Halévy (*Sämtliche Schriften*)

Sternfeld retained the abbreviated French version of "Halévy und die französische Oper" in his edition of Wagner's collected writings. The portions included in this form of the article derive from the last half of the essay. Although the German version of the article was not published until 1910, Ellis managed to include an English translation of the complete essay in his edition of the *Prose Works*. Ellis only credits an anonymous friend as the source of the article in the preface to the eighth volume of the edition, but it must be conjectured that it was Cosima Wagner who

gave him access to the manuscript. Ellis was on very good terms with Wagner's widow, making it possible that she allowed him to publish an English version of the manuscript, now at the Richard-Wagner-Archiv in Bayreuth, before German scholars had the opportunity to publish it. By the time Wagner was ready to leave Paris, he had obligated himself to Schlesinger for more work as an arranger than he could have hoped to finish. Submitting portions of an article that was already written seemed a more expedient method of fulfilling his responsibilities than completing the arrangements. He left Paris owing Schlesinger labor, but he claimed he later paid the publisher rather than having done the work.¹⁸⁵

1. Robert L. Jacobs and Geoffrey Skelton, preface to Wagner Writes from Paris... Stories, Essays and Articles by the Young Composer (New York: The John Day Company, 1973), 13, hereafter cited as WWfP.
2. Heinrich Laube, preface to "Autobiographische Skizze" by Richard Wagner, Die Zeitung für die elegante Welt 43 (1 February 1843): 1, quoted in William Ashton Ellis, preface to Richard Wagner's Prose Works, vol. 7, In Paris and Dresden (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1898), vii, hereafter cited as PW.
3. Ernest Newman, The Life of Richard Wagner, vol. 1, 1813-1848 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933), 291.
4. Ibid., 309.
5. Richard Wagner, "Das Liebesverbot," in PW, 7:7.
6. John Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1984), 18.
7. Newman, 281.
8. Ibid., 283.
9. Wagner, My Life, ed. Mary Whittall, trans. Andrew Gray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 97. Between 1865 and 1875, Wagner dictated his autobiography to his second wife Cosima, the daughter of Franz Liszt the first wife of the conductor and pianist, Hans von Bülow.
10. Ibid., 193. If Friedrich Pecht's memoirs are to be trusted, the orchestra hissed the overture at a rehearsal.
11. Newman, 292.
12. Ibid., 313.
13. Ibid., 314.
14. Although the full extent of Wagner's work as an arranger will probably not ever be known, he made arrangements of Gaetano Donizetti's *La Favorite*, Henri Herz's *La Romanesca*, Jacques Fromental Halévy's *Le Guitarrero* and *La Reine de Chypre*, in addition to Daniel Auber's *Zanetta, ou Jouer avec*

le feu. Deathridge, "Works List," in The New Grove Wagner, 186-87.

15. Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 19-20.

16. Ibid., 20.

17. Newman, 285.

18. Wagner, Paris, to August Lewald, Stuttgart, July 1840, in Richard Wagners sämtliche Briefe, ed. Gertrud Strobel and Werner Wolf, vol. 1, Briefe der Jahre 1830-1842 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967), 399, hereafter cited as SB.

19. Wagner, Paris (Meudon), to Maurice Schlesinger, Paris, 27 April 1841, in SB, 1:478-79.

20. Newman, 293.

21. Wagner, Paris (Meudon), to Schlesinger, Paris, 27 April 1841, in SB, 1:478-79.

22. Wagner, Paris (Meudon), to Theodor Winkler, Dresden, 1 June 1841, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, ed. and trans. Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1988), 80.

23. Newman, 291.

24. The "Report," as stated in the full German title of the article ("Bericht über die Aufführung der neunten Symphonie von Beethoven [aus meinem Lebenserinnerungen ausgezogen] nebst Programm dazu"), is an extract from Wagner's memoirs, written between 1866 and 1871. The program was distributed to the audiences attending the annual Palm Sunday performance of the symphony in Dresden in 1846, and subsequently at the music festival in Karlsruhe in October, 1853, conducted by Franz Liszt.

25. Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 24. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 23, 25, and 25a.

26. David Charlton and John Trevitt, "Paris," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), 14:217.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 266-67.

30. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 12, 7, and 17.

31. Ellis, x.

32. The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, abridged version of Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, 7th ed., s. v. "Meyerbeer, Giacomo."

33. Newman, 259.

34. Wagner, Königsberg, to Giacomo Meyerbeer, Paris, 4 February 1837, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 42-43.

35. Wagner, My Life, 168.

36. Ibid.

37. Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 23-24.

38. See Wagner, Paris, to Meyerbeer, Baden-Baden, 18 January 1840; Berlin, 3 May 1840; Bad Ems, 26 July 1840, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 63-70.

39. Spencer and Millington, introductory essay to "Indigence in Paris: Recognition in Dresden 1839-1849," chap. in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 52.

40. Newman, 278.

41. See Wagner, "Farewell Performances," and "Berlioz and Liszt," in WWfP, 126 and 130.

42. Newman, 282.

43. Ibid., 279.

44. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 16, 7, and 9.

45. See Origin of the Texts, No. 11.

46. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 3 and 7.

47. Wagner, Paris, to Franz Liszt, Paris, 24 March 1841, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 76-77.

48. Alan Walker, Franz Liszt, vol. 1, The Virtuoso Years 1811-1847 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 353.
49. See Origin of the Texts, No. 3.
50. Newman, 277.
51. Walker, 352.
52. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 10 and 11. Both reports will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four in connection with the opinions of Heinrich Heine.
53. Wagner, My Life, 191. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 4 and 5.
54. Ibid. Wagner and Berlioz almost surely met or knew each other by sight. Wagner's name is entered in Berlioz's hand on a seating list for one of the first performances of *Roméo et Juliette*. D. Kern Holoman, Berlioz (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 200.
55. Wagner, My Life, 193.
56. Newman, 285.
57. Wagner, My Life, 198.
58. Michael Mann, Heinrich Heines Musikkritiken, Heine Studien Series, ed. Manfred Windfuhr (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, Heinrich Heine Verlag, 1971), 113.
59. Holoman, 237.
60. Jeffrey L. Sammons, Heinrich Heine: A Modern Biography (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 175.
61. Ibid., 176.
62. Wagner, My Life, 170.
63. Mary Whittall, notes to Wagner, My Life, 767.
64. Wagner, Paris, to Heinrich Laube, Leipzig, 13 March 1841, in SB, 1:453.
65. Ellis, xii.

66. Wagner, Paris, to Heinrich Laube, Leipzig, 13 March 1841, in SB, 1:453.
67. Newman, 271.
68. See Origin of the Texts, No. 10.
69. Wagner, My Life, 171.
70. Jacobs and Skelton, preface to WWfP, 12.
71. Spencer and Millington, glossary of names in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 972. See Origin of the Texts, No. 6.
72. Wagner, My Life, 178.
73. Newman, 272.
74. Ibid., 315. See Origin of the Texts, No. 20.
75. Wagner, My Life, 184.
76. Newman, 273.
77. Ibid., 274.
78. Ellis, ix.
79. Newman, 273.
80. Wagner, Paris, to Eugène Scribe, Paris, 6 May 1841; Wagner, Paris, to Léon Pillet, Paris, early June, 1841, in SB, 1:390 and 495-96.
81. Wagner, Paris to Duesberg, Paris, 26 February 1842, in SB, 594. See Origin of the Texts, No. 25.
82. Imogen Fellingner, "Periodicals," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 14:415.
83. The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, abridged version of Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, 7th ed., s. v. "Fétis, François-Joseph."
84. Fellingner, 415.
85. Winton Dean, "Criticism," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5:39.

86. James Andrew Deaville, "The Music Criticism of Peter Cornelius" (Ph. D. diss., Northwestern University, 1986), 2:638.

87. Peter Bloom, "François-Joseph Fétis and the Revue Musicale (1827-1835)" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972), 67-70.

88. Mann, 38.

89. See Origin of the Texts, No. 2.

90. Ellis, xiii.

91. Ibid.

92. Richard Macnutt, "Schlesinger, Maurice," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 16:661.

93. Ellis, xi.

94. Wagner, My Life, 186-87.

95. Wagner, Paris, to Schlesinger, Paris, December, 1840, in SB, 1:429-30.

96. Wagner, Paris, to Eduard Avenarius, Paris, 22 February 1840, in SB, 1:445.

97. Wagner, Paris (Meudon), to Johanna Rosine Geyer, Leipzig, 12 September 1841, in SB, 1:518.

98. The title of Weber's opera took several different forms in Parisian journals. Berlioz referred to it as *Le Freyschütz* in the *Journal des Débats*, but in *La Gazette musicale*, it was called *Le Freischutz*. Wagner used the French title in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, and *Le Freischutz* will be used in the present study to distinguish between Wagner's reports for the journals in Paris and in Dresden.

99. Wagner, Paris, to Léon Pillet, Paris, after 17 June 1841, in SB, 1:495-96.

100. Wagner, Paris, to Meyerbeer, Berlin, 20 November 1841, in SB, 1:543.

101. Wagner, Paris, to Meyerbeer, Baden-Baden, 18 January 1840, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 65-66.

102. Wagner, Paris, to Heinrich Laube, Leipzig, 13 March 1841, in SB, 1:453.
103. Wagner, Paris, to Ferdinand Heine, Dresden, 18 January 1842, in Richard Wagner's Letters to his Dresden Friends, Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, and Ferdinand Heine, trans. and ed. J. S. Shedlock (London: H. Grevel and Co., 1890), 450.
104. Wagner, Paris, to Schlesinger, Paris, 14 January 1841, in SB, 1: 437.
105. Spencer and Millington, introductory essay to "Indigence in Paris: Recognition in Dresden, 1839-1849," chap. in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 55.
106. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 13 and 14.
107. Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schriftums. 1700-1910, supervising eds. Peter Geils and Willi Gorzny, bibliographic eds. Hans Popst and Rainer Schöller (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1979), 1:111.
108. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 4 and 5.
109. Wagner, My Life, 196.
110. See Origin of the Texts, No. 7.
111. Wagner, My Life, 196.
112. Dean, 39.
113. Wilmont Haacke, Handbuch des Feuilletons (Einsdetten: Lechte, 1951), 2:197.
114. Joachim Kirchner, ed., Bibliographie der Zeitschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes bis 1900 (Stuttgart: Hiersman, 1967) 1:560.
115. Strobel and Wolf, note to Wagner, Paris, to Theodor Winkler, Dresden, 7 February 1841, in SB, 1:442.
116. Ibid.
117. Wagner, Paris, to Theodor Winkler, Dresden, 7 February 1841, in SB, 1:443.
118. Ibid., 444.

119. See Origin of the Texts, No. 15.
120. Wagner, Paris, to Winkler, Dresden, 23 February 1841, in SB, 1:446.
121. Wagner, Paris, to Winkler, Dresden, 1 June 1841, in SB, 1:493-95.
122. Wagner, Paris, to Winkler, Dresden, 23 June 1841, in SB, 1:496-97.
123. Wagner, Paris, to Winkler, Dresden, 8 April 1841, 7 May 1841, 24 December 1841, in SB, 1:475-77, 481-86, 562-64.
124. Wagner, Paris (Meudon), to Winkler, Dresden, 8 September 1841, in SB, 1:515. See Origin of the Texts, No. 15.
125. Wagner, Paris (Meudon), to Winkler, Dresden, 1 July 1841, in SB, 1:499.
126. Wagner, Paris, to Winkler, Dresden, 12 March 1842, in SB, 1:596.
127. Wagner, Paris, to Ferdinand Heine, Dresden, 18 January 1842, in Richard Wagner's Letters to his Dresden Friends, 449.
128. Wagner, Paris (Meudon), to Ferdinand Heine, Dresden, 7 September 1841, in Richard Wagner's Letters to his Dresden Friends, 437.
129. Holoman, 237.
130. Sammons, 175-76.
131. Wagner, Dresden, to Ernst Benedikt Kietz, Paris, 12 May 1842, in Richard Wagner's Selected Letters, 91.
132. Wagner, Paris, to Winkler, Dresden, 7 May 1841, in SB, 1:482.
133. Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums. 1700-1910, 88:35.
134. Sammons, 244.
135. Strobel and Wolf, note to Wagner, Riga, to August Lewald, Stuttgart, 12 November 1838, in SB, 1: 350.

136.Wagner, Riga, to Lewald, Stuttgart, 12 November 1838, in SB, 1:357.

137.Wagner, Paris, to Lewald, Stuttgart, Summer 1840, in SB, 1:398.

138.Ibid.

139.Strobel and Wolf, note to Wagner, Paris, to Lewald, Stuttgart, Summer 1840, in SB, 1:398.

140.Wagner, Paris, to Lewald, Stuttgart, 4 March 1841, in SB, 1:450.

141.See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 12 and 16.

142.Wagner, Paris, to Lewald, Stuttgart, 1 April 1841, in SB, 1:472.

143.Fellinger, 415.

144.Leon B. Plantinga, Schumann as Critic (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

145.Ibid., 53.

146.Ibid.

147.Ibid., 54-55.

148.Ibid., 42.

149.Ibid.

150.Deaville, 2:607.

151.Robert Schumann, Leipzig, to Clara Schumann, Vienna, 19 March 1838, in Clara und Robert Schumann. Briefwechsel, ed. Eva Weissweller (Stroemfeld: Roter Stern, 1984), 1:117.

152.For a full documentary study of this relationship, see Ulrich Konrad, "Robert Schumann und Richard Wagner: Studien und Dokumente," Augsburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft (1987), 211-320.

153.This was the second time Wagner substituted the date of a performance for a personal letter. Rossini's *Stabat Mater* was performed in its complete version on January 7, 1842 at the Théâtre Italien. Wagner used the approximate date of

this performance rather than the actual date of his letter. (See Spencer and Millington, note to Wagner, Paris, to Schumann, Leipzig, 5 February 1842, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 89.)

154. Wagner, Paris, to Robert Schumann, Leipzig, 5 February 1842, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 87.

155. Ibid., 88.

156. Ibid.

157. Wagner, Paris, to Schumann, Leipzig, 5 February 1842, in SB, 1:575.

158. Wagner, Paris, to Schumann, Leipzig, 5 February 1842, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 90.

159. See Origin of the Texts, No. 24. For the earlier essay about Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, Wagner had used Henri Valentino as a pseudonym, quite possibly to avenge the conductor's treatment of the *Columbus Overture* on the concert sponsored by *La Gazette musicale*. See Origin of the Texts, No. 21.

160. Wagner, Paris, to Schumann, Leipzig, 5 February 1842, in SB, 1:576.

161. Wagner, Paris, to Schumann, Leipzig, 5 February 1842, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 88.

162. Ibid.

163. See Origin of the Texts, Nos. 23, 25, 25a.

164. Strobel and Wolf, note to Wagner, Paris, to Schumann, Leipzig, 5 February 1842, in SB, 1:575.

165. Konrad, 211.

166. Deathridge, "Works List," in The New Grove Wagner, 188.

167. Wagner, quoted in Ellis, xiii.

168. Wagner, My Life, 186.

169. Curt von Westernhagen, Wagner: A Biography, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 54.

170. Wagner, My Life, 190.

171. Ellis, note to "Letters from Paris, 1841," in Richard Wagner's Prose Works, vol. 8, Posthumous, etc. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1899), 116.

172. Richard Wagner-Jahrbuch, ed. Joseph Kürschner (Stuttgart: by the editor, 1886), cited in Ellis, note to "Letters from Paris, 1841," in PW, 8:108.

173. Ellis, note to Wagner, "The Artist and the Publicity," in PW, 7:139.

174. Ibid., 135.

175. Ellis, note to "Der Freischütz: To the Paris Public," in PW, 7:168.

176. Ellis, note to "Letters from Paris, 1841," in PW, 8:123.

177. Ellis, translator's preface to PW, 7: xv.

178. Wagner, "Berlioz and Liszt," in WWfP, 132.

179. Bayreuther Taschenbuch, ed. Oscar Eichberg (Berlin: E. Bote and G. Bock, 1892-93), cited in Ellis, note to "Parisian Amusements," in PW, 8:70.

180. Newman, 289.

181. Ibid.

182. Wagner, My Life, 200.

183. Ellis, note to Wagner, "Rossini's Stabat Mater," in PW, 7:148.

184. Wagner, "Halévy und die französische Oper," in Julius Kapp, ed., Der Junge Wagner: Dichtungen, Aufsätze, Entwürfe, 1832-1849 (Berlin: Schuster und Loeffler, 1910), 273-306.

185. Newman, 336.

Chapter Two

Early Influences and First Critical Essays

Introduction

Before he reached full maturity, Richard Wagner, the author, like Wagner the composer and Wagner the man, passed through many identifiable, but not always separable phases. His initial musical development fluctuated between extremes, encompassing the early German Romanticism of *Die Feen*, the lightness and frivolity of French comic opera captured in *Das Liebesverbot*, and the unabashed Italianism of *Rienzi*, *der Letzte der Tribunen*. Wagner's literary growth reflects these major changes in musical aesthetics through developments in the content of his prose and experiments in his style of expression.

Wagner himself recognized his youthful vicissitudes when he wrote to Mathilde Wesendonck in 1862:

I well remember how, when I was about thirty, I used to ask myself whether after all I had the stuff in me to do really individual work. I could still see influence and imitation in everything of mine, and could only venture an anxious hope that I might some day develop as a truly original artist.¹

Wagner's confession to Mathilde gains significance when viewed as an acknowledgement of his artistic need to absorb external influences.

Until his thirtieth year or thereabouts, Wagner was troubled by his own dependence on impressions of purely artistic origin. Lacking the individual turn supplied by real life they proclaim themselves imitations very plainly, and Wagner saw this. Doubts of his own talent awoke, spurring him on from imitation to imitation, making him strive towards an even wider range of impressions, till his artistic models were all exhausted.²

Ernest Newman, sharing this view of Wagner's first three decades, writes with his customary authority:

For so great a revolutionary, Wagner was curiously long in coming to consciousness of himself. The record of his youth and early manhood is one of constant fluctuation between one ideal or influence and another. The most remarkable feature of him in these days, indeed, is his mental malleability. In his later years he is the center of a solar system of his own; everything else in his orbit is a mere planet that must revolve around him or be cast out. In his younger days, on the contrary, he is extraordinarily sensitive to the changing currents of men and circumstances.³

Wagner's earliest journalistic essays reflect this journey to self awareness. The reviews and novellas Wagner wrote in Paris in the early 1840s represent a crossroads in his literary development, standing as they do between the sporadically produced essays of the 1830s and his first mature literary products, the theoretical writings of the Zürich period. During the Parisian period, his journalism displayed characteristics of two literary forms of criticism that contrasted markedly in form, style, and content. The first, a literary-poetic approach, was perfected by writers

such as Schumann and Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann. The second, the feuilletonism cultivated in Parisian journals of the time, was then at its zenith in the writings of Berlioz and Heine.

The opinions Wagner expressed and the styles he used in his Parisian writings resulted from powerful influences that were also responsible for his earliest literary efforts. The goal of this chapter is to establish two distinct tendencies in Wagner's first prose writings, an investigation warranted by the strength and longevity of these influences.

Since Wagner wrote no critical essays until 1834, it will be necessary to rely on biographical sources and the scenarios for his earliest operatic sketches and operas in order to determine his aesthetic point of view during the first stages of his literary development. His initial writings, ranging from insignificant juvenilia to the libretto for *Die Feen*, were produced while Wagner was being exposed almost exclusively to writers of the Romantic period, or to authors revered by the Romantics. The Greek classics and the tragedies of William Shakespeare informed his very first attempts at writing, but the works of Hoffmann, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Friedrich von Schiller soon supplanted such sources of influence.

After this initial phase of his literary development, Wagner encountered Heinrich Laube and his circle of "Young Germans" as a student in Leipzig in 1832. Wagner's first published musical essays, written between 1834 and 1839, reflect the ideas he came to share with these new associates. His musical works from this period also evince characteristics associated with the movement known as *Das junge Deutschland*. The influence of Laube and his followers culminated in *Rienzi*, the opera Wagner hoped would lead to success in Paris. An analysis of the essays and the scenarios to the operas from the 1830s will outline the development of Wagner's musical aesthetics during the period immediately preceding his arrival in Paris.

The two aforementioned streams of influences are virtually exclusive of one another. Wagner's rejection of the early Romantics in favor of *Das junge Deutschland* marks the division between the first two phases of his fluctuating, youthful development. His attempts to come to terms with both disparate influences in his Parisian writings constitute the third phase of his evolution as a composer and writer. An understanding of the conflicting influences in Wagner's early development must be considered essential to an evaluation of the Parisian writings.

Juvenilia and Early Romantic Influences

Independent Writing

If Wagner had followed his earliest artistic impulses, he might have become an author, not a composer. At the age of eight, shortly after entering the Dresden Kreuzschule, he responded to a puppet theater discovered among his father's effects by sketching a chivalric drama.⁴ Given the theatrical background of many members of Wagner's family, this was not a surprising occurrence, but Wagner persisted in his literary pursuits.

In November of 1825, Leipzig's Kreuzschule lost one of its students to scarlet fever. The burden of writing a eulogy fell upon the student's classmates, and Wagner's essay, edited by Magister Julius Sillig, was chosen for the burial services.⁵ The teachers at the Kreuzschule confidently predicted a literary career for the young scholar, but in classical philology rather than poetry. Their opinion was based on Wagner's enthusiasm for Homer, which led him to translate the first three books of the *Odyssey* on his own initiative in 1826.⁶ Studies of the classics included Karl Phillip Moritz's *Götterlehre*, Friedrich Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*, Hector's death speech from the *Iliad*, and August Apel's imitative tragedies, *Polidos*, *Kallirhoe*, and *Die Aitolier*.

Wagner's absorption in Greek literature and mythology might yet have led to an academic vocation, but even at an early age, it was only as a maker of dramatic scenes that Wagner could aspire to the rank of poet.⁷ A tragedy based on the death of Odysseus and an incomplete epic, *The Battle of Parnassus*, represent his first attempts at fashioning such dramatic scenes. These abortive attempts at writing hold no particular significance for the Parisian criticisms, but an enumeration of them illustrates that Wagner's first response to a new stimulus was verbal, not musical.

Shakespeare

Wagner's independent writing may have ended in failure, but he continued to absorb fresh influences and imitate writers new to him. Needing another, more powerful catalyst to inspire him to complete his scenic constructions, he turned to the tragedies of William Shakespeare. His passion for Shakespeare's plays became an obsession. As recorded by his second wife, Cosima Wagner, he could remember dreaming in his early adolescence that he spoke to Shakespeare face to face.⁸ What little progress he made in teaching himself English originated because of his interest in Shakespeare:

My trying to learn English sprang from the desire to understand Shakespeare more thoroughly. I soon made a metric translation

of Romeo's monologue. After a short time I abandoned English again, but Shakespeare remained my ideal.⁹

Along with *Romeo and Juliet*, Wagner read *Richard III*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*, the death soliloquy of which he recited under Master Sillig's vigilant tutelage.

These plays provided models for Wagner's first complete prose work, *Leubald und Adelaide*, begun in Dresden in 1826 and finished in 1828 when Wagner's family returned to Leipzig. In *Mein Leben*, he described his grand tragedy in ironic tones:

The plan was gigantic in the extreme; two-and-forty human beings perished in the course of this piece, and in its working-out I saw myself compelled to call the greater number back as ghosts, as I should otherwise have had no characters left for its latter acts.¹⁰

At the time of its composition, however, Wagner took *Leubald* quite seriously, concentrating on the macabre elements and ghostly qualities of the Shakespearean canon.

Wagner's personal *Shakespearomanie*¹¹ was a typical example of a new Romantic attitude toward Shakespeare. By Wagner's time, Shakespeare had become part of the normal education of all cultured Germans, and his plays, either in the landmark translations by August Wilhelm von Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck or as free adaptations of older German versions, had established themselves in the standard repertoire of most state and municipal theaters. Romantic

critics no longer disputed Shakespeare's aesthetic or ethical values, but "raised [him] to his highest place, ... to merge then into the general stream of culture."¹²

Within that stream, Shakespeare's poetical qualities were appreciated mainly in the frankly fantastic plays, such as *The Tempest*. The Romanticists shared this view of Shakespeare, withdrawing from any sort of realism, philosophical or aesthetic, and postulating the subconscious as the source of creation.¹³ Wagner used Shakespeare in a typically Romantic fashion as he made his first attempts at writing, focusing on the fantastic, unconscious, and otherworldly aspects of the plays.

His second complete work for the musical stage, *Das Liebesverbot*, written in Rudolstadt and Magdeburg between June and December of 1834, owes its inspiration to *Measure for Measure*. Wagner's alterations of the play to conform to operatic convention again are typical of the Romantic attitude toward Shakespeare. The debate once waged between the Schlegels and Goethe over the aesthetic validity of altering Shakespeare's plays for the German stage had been abandoned by the generation of Romantics that included Jean Paul and Karl Lebrecht Immermann, which made justification of such adaptations unnecessary.¹⁴

The influence of Shakespeare manifested itself in the Parisian writings in two ways. The first is the

incorporation of fantastic elements of Shakespearean drama into Wagner's novellas, particularly "Ein Ende in Paris." The second is that Wagner first articulated his idea of the music drama in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" with reference to Shakespeare. Both manifestations will be noted in the following chapter.

E. T. A. Hoffmann

Wagner's absorption in the fantastic and macabre aspects of Romanticism would never have become a powerful influence in his writing without an amplification through the work of E. T. A. Hoffmann. Wagner first discovered Hoffmann during an 1826 visit to Prague, "where the art-loving upper classes constituted a close-knit society and spent much time discussing modern German literature."¹⁵ This activity had been made possible for connoisseurs by the recent publication of Hoffmann's collected works, edited by Julius Eduard Hitzig, a regular member of Hoffmann's informal circle of friends. Wagner described his first encounter with Hoffmann's works, which occurred at the home of Count Johann Josef Pachta and his daughters Jenny and Auguste:

They often heatedly discussed Hoffmann's tales, which were then still fairly new and of great interest. I got my first, rather superficial impression of this master of fantasy at the time and conceived an interest

which over the years grew to a mania and caused me to adopt the most eccentric way of looking at the world.¹⁶

The strength of Hoffmann's spell fired Wagner with the wildest mysticism, as he admitted in the

Autobiographische Skizze:

I had day-dreams in which the keynote, third and dominant, seemed to take on living form and reveal to me their mighty meaning: the notes I wrote down were raving mad.¹⁷

The "raving madness" of his first musical efforts led Wagner to begin harmony lessons with Christian Gottlieb Müller, a violinist in the theater orchestra in Leipzig. Müller's pedantic instruction was unable to hold the attention of his pupil, who found Hoffmann's *Fantasiestücke* more inspirational. Wagner even formed a friendship with a local musician who supposedly resembled Kapellmeister Kreisler, the leading character of several of Hoffmann's most widely read novellas.¹⁸

Wagner continued to think in Hoffmannesque terms as he became serious about musical study. Liberating himself from Müller, he enrolled at Leipzig University to study music on February 23, 1831. Later that year, he journeyed to Vienna where a performance of Gluck's *Iphigénia en Tauride* fell short of the expectations aroused by Hoffmann's "Ritter Gluck":

My conception of Gluck had inevitably attained gigantic dimensions from my reading of

Hoffmann's well-known tale: I assumed I would find him, whose works I had not yet studied, an overpowering dramatic fire, and applied to my first hearing of his most famous work the standard set for me on that unforgettable evening when Schröder-Devrient had sung in *Fidelio*. With some effort I succeeded in bringing myself during the great scene of Orestes with the Furies into a halfway comparable state of ecstasy. I spent the rest of the opera waiting in solemn intensity for an effect that never came.¹⁹

Despite his disappointment, Wagner's faith in Hoffmann remained unshaken as he extended his journey by renewing his acquaintance with the Pachta family in Prague. There he persisted in viewing everything in Hoffmannesque terms, comparing the jealousy aroused in him by the Count's daughters to the events of "Das Majorat," another of Hoffmann's short stories.

Two years afterward, Wagner passed through Bamberg, recalling that Hoffmann's own stay there had inspired some of the tales. Still later, in August of 1836, Wagner was haunted by Hoffmann's spirit on a trip from Königsberg to Memel. In bad weather, Wagner crossed the Kurische Haff in a small sailing vessel and recalled:

The castle of Runsitten, where Hoffmann had laid the scene of one of his most gruesome tales ["Das Majorat"], was pointed out to me. The fact that in these desolate environs I should after such a long interval be confronted again by some of the fantastic impressions of my youth had a singular and chilling effect on my mood.²⁰

It is demonstrably clear that Hoffmann's *Märchen* and *Novellen* colored Wagner's thinking for years and that he made their fantastic conception of the world his own. The tales later provided material for *Tannhäuser* and *Die Meistersinger*, but during the period of his first encounters with the author, one aspect of Hoffmann's writing appealed to Wagner:

It was Hoffmann's supernatural world of fantasy and mystery, his tales of psychologically unbalanced musicians and painters, his exploration of hypnotism, telepathy and other uncharted areas of the unconscious, that seized the young Wagner.²¹

The young German musician portrayed in all three of Wagner's Parisian novellas is in many ways a reincarnation of Hoffmann's characters, and the psychological states of Wagner's musician are those of Hoffmann's Kreisler and Krespel. However Wagner's characterizations and choice of subject matter were not the only ways in which Hoffmann influenced Wagner's novellas. Hoffmann's style appealed to Wagner as much as his content. The "mode of story-telling, the matchless mixture of the weird and ironical, [and] the association of mystic awe with the immediate reality of familiar places" imbedded themselves in Wagner's youthful writing, never to leave his works of musical apprenticeship or adult mastery.²² Wagner's adoption of Hoffmann's

narrative methods will also be examined in the following chapter.

Just as Wagner had responded to Shakespeare with *Leubald und Adelaide*, he attempted to meet Hoffmann's challenges with a series of dramatic works with Romantic traits. The effort required a new conception of drama. One change effected by his encounters with Hoffmann was that music and literature had become inextricably linked.

Wagner no longer found poetry practicable without music. Literature as such lay outside the sphere of his interest, and where it was associated with drama it spurred him to musical imitation.²³

Needing more formal musical training to meet his own new ideals, Wagner turned to Thomaskantor Christian Theodor Weinlig in the autumn of 1831 for instruction. This renewed interest in serious composition was accompanied by a search for literary material suited for musical adaptation.

Goethe and Schiller

During Richard's residence in Leipzig, his uncle, Adolph Wagner, insured that the nephew continued to be exposed to the Greek classics and introduced him to the writings of Goethe and Schiller. Adolph was a formidable scholar himself, completing his *Parnasso italiano*, an anthology including texts by Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso, in 1827. He dedicated his magnum opus "al principe

de' poeti, Goethe,"²⁴ and was later described by Richard as "a genuine product of the School of Goethe."²⁵

Adolph expounded his views while he took his nephew on long walks outside the city gates and when he read Sophoclean tragedies to Richard. The younger Wagner may have been more bewildered than enlightened by his uncle's discourses on Goethe, but they certainly awakened a passion for *Faust*, so much so that his routine studies at the Nikolaischule were disrupted.²⁶

In 1829, Wagner's interest in Goethe's play was reinforced by the experimental production of *Faust* at the Königlich-Sächsisches Hoftheater, which was an unparalleled success despite its four-and-a-half hour length.²⁷ Early in 1830, he wrote a fragmentary Schäferoper based on *Die Laune des Verliebten*. A year later, a complete work finally resulted when Wagner produced a seven-movement composition based on *Faust*.²⁸

In the interim between the Schäferoper and the *Faust* music, an interest in Schiller resulted in Wagner's overture to *Die Braut von Messina*, but Wagner quickly returned to his preoccupation with Goethe in 1832, confessing in the margin of a letter to his friend from the Nikolaischule, Theodor Apel, that he had stolen the following passage from *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*:

Evening was breaking, I sat by Jenny at the piano. Suddenly my feelings overflowed; to hide my tears, I hurried from the castle, into the open air; Ah the evening star shined on me; I raised my eyes to it, it dried my tears. --I was more peaceful then, but I wasn't able to give my feelings a name.²⁹

In the Parisian writings, Wagner generally used references to Goethe and Schiller to establish a common background with his readers, but as will be seen in Chapter Four, Goethe's *Faust* became a symbol of the entirety of German culture in "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche."

Failure and Success of the Early Influences

While composing the Overture to *Die Braut von Messina* and the *Faust* pieces, Wagner was working on a larger operatic subject based on *Frauentreue*, a poem published in 1823 in Leipzig as part of Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching's history of medieval chivalry, *Ritterzeit und Ritterwesen*. Wagner entitled his scenario *Die Hochzeit*, and described the eclectic prose sketch as "his blackest nocturnal epic."³⁰ Additional influences have been suggested for its libretto, Karl Lebrecht Immermann's *Cardenio und Celinde* first among them.³¹ Immermann had in turn been familiar with Hoffmann's tales and his writing had suffered from the devastating effects of his own *Shakespearomanie*.³² The work owed its dark hue to Heinrich Marschner's 1828 opera *Der Vampyr*, while Wagner gave its characters Ossianic names

reminiscent of *Werther*.³³ The conclusion was to have been arranged after that of *Die Braut von Messina*.³⁴

This profusion of sources indicates that Wagner was struggling with the new influences he had encountered as a student, but was not yet able to come to terms with them. He sought the advice of his sister Rosalie, whose approval he valued above all others, but she felt only revulsion for the gruesome plot.³⁵ To show his confidence in her judgment, Wagner destroyed his text. The introduction, chorus, and a septet are the only sections of the score which survive.

Wagner's failure to complete *Die Hochzeit* taught him lessons that ultimately confirmed Hoffmann's ideals. Writing of the "mysterious strength" of the "passionate but unexpressed emotions" in Büsching's history, Wagner admitted he had sketched a novella in which his pet musical mysticism played its inevitable part, at first entirely under the spell of the way Hoffmann treated such phenomena in his tales.³⁶ Wagner's initial impulses regarding *Die Hochzeit* had been literary, but he could not yet sustain the effort of fashioning his own complete opera libretto and setting it to music. To succeed in this task, he was forced to limit the number of influences employed in *Die Feen*, his next work for the stage.

Wagner had begun work on this opera by the summer of 1833, remembering Hoffmann's repeated recommendations of Carlo Gozzi as a perfect mine for librettists. Gozzi's *fiabe* rarely move outside the realm of allegory, and their characters consequently attain little psychological depth;³⁷ but as Hoffmann maintained in "Der Dichter und der Komponist," this was exactly the quality which allowed the librettist to intensify and specify in modern terms the significance of the material being adapted.³⁸

Wagner based the libretto of *Die Feen* on Gozzi's drama, "La donna serpente," the very tale Hoffmann brought to public attention in his essay. Wagner may have been aided by his uncle's translation of Gozzi,³⁹ but it was Hoffmann who influenced both Wagner's choice for his libretto and his treatment of the plot:

Wagner had undoubtedly been influenced by Hoffmann's story "The Poet and the Composer," in which the author protests against the feeble kind of romantic opera in which fairies, spirits, and wonders of all sorts make their appearance simply to amaze the ignorant among the audience: the true romantic opera would blend this fantastic world with that of real life, showing the reactions and interactions of the two--which is exactly what the youthful Wagner aims at in *Die Feen*.⁴⁰

Wagner, the Hoffmann devotee, attempted to follow this advice, depicting the two worlds and the causes and effects of their intermingling.

Die Feen was not derived exclusively from Gozzi, although Wagner's retention of the character names of the discarded *Die Hochzeit* must be considered a minor point. Of more significance is his incorporation of Act 2, Scene 1 of Shakespeare's *As You Like It* into Act 3 of his first complete opera. As clearly demonstrated by Rudolf Sabor in *The Real Wagner*, the scene and aria for Arindal, the story's hero, shares many details with a brief monologue spoken by a minor character (the First Lord) in Shakespeare's play.⁴¹ Wagner's imitation of Shakespeare, demonstrating the strength and longevity of an influence from the earliest years of his intellectual development, was coupled with Hoffmann's world of fantasy. This entwining of literary threads was mediated by Gozzi, himself a favorite of early Romantic writers and Shakespearean critics.⁴² The result was Wagner's first complete opera.

The concentrated interest in Romanticism which allowed Wagner to complete *Die Feen* was short-lived. Although it had been confirmed by Wagner's choices in reading material, the prose works of his youth, and the libretti of his student days and young adulthood, it had been slowly supplanted by another influence. The infatuation with Hoffmann and his Romantic trappings had given way to a new movement, the freedom and sensuality of *Das junge Deutschland*.

Young Germany

The division of German literary history into periods has generally occurred retrospectively, slogans and terms being applied to literature well after the termination of the group which produced it.⁴³ The term *Klassik*, the most obvious example, was invented late in the nineteenth century to contrast with the derisive *Romantik* designation applied to the early Heidelberg group composed of Clemens Brentano, Bettina (Brentano) von Arnim, and Johann Joseph von Görres. The slogan *Das junge Deutschland* was imposed by an arbitrary resolution of the German Diet in 1835 on a "literary coterie" of five authors.

They were: Heinrich Laube, whose five-volume novel *Das junge Europa* captured the inflamed sentiments of a new generation of Germans after the European uprisings in the late 1820s and early 1830s, particularly the Paris July Revolution of 1830; Karl Ferdinand Gutzkow, a prolific literary critic, novelist, and playwright; Ludolf Weinbarg, apparently the one to have done the most to earn the group its name by dedicating his *Aesthetische Feldzüge* of 1834 to "Young Germany"; Theodor Mundt, another literary critic, but also a successful historian; and finally, the young Heinrich Heine, whose *Französische Zustände*, written in Paris between December of 1831 and September of 1832, provoked a sensation in the pages of Augsburg's *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Though not singled out by the Diet, Ludwig Börne, actually a disciple of Romanticism, had some claim to inclusion in the movement. His *Briefe aus Paris, 1830-1831* caused as much of a furor as Heine's later reports. Similarly, Heinrich König produced novels that the Diet might have been inclined to ban as readily as Laube's.

Primarily a literary force, the movement's political views were "directed against Germany's feudal structure in favor of a rapidly emerging 'liberal' middle class."⁴⁴ Laube and his loosely associated "Young Germans" turned to France for solutions to the problems facing the sixty or more political city-states comprising Germany at the time.⁴⁵ They glorified the nationalist impulses they saw behind the July Revolution and reviled political tyranny and artificial restrictions on personal freedom. The movement as such was politically ineffective, the authors indicted by the Diet quickly making peace with the authorities, but artistic circles took notice of their efforts.

Das junge Deutschland believed in an intrinsic relationship between art and society, demanding that artists "fight against that which was old and withering away and promote that which was new and looked forward."⁴⁶ The previous generation of writers was ridiculed for its pedantry and hypocritical puritanism, while a new one was

urged toward unbridled sensuality and freedom from convention. Romanticism was relegated to the past.

Although Wagner first met Laube upon returning to Leipzig after the visit to Prague in 1832, the beginning of his active involvement with so-called "Young Germany" dates from January 21, 1834, when he again returned to Leipzig after the engagement in Würzburg. At the time, Laube was enjoying the fame garnered by his novel *Das neue Jahrhundert* (1830) and had begun work on *Das junge Europa*. His extroverted personality and skill as a publicist made their impression on Wagner. Laube "was forever trumpeting the virtues of a world religion centered on the enjoyment of life"⁴⁷ and promptly loaned Wagner his copy of Wilhelm Heinse's *Sturm und Drang* novel *Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln* as an example of his philosophy. Heinse's eroticism "had inflamed the imagination of most of the young men of the day,"⁴⁸ and Wagner was carried along in the currents of a new artistic spirit. For the rest of the decade, Laube and his intellectual circle came to play an important role in Wagner's daily life and thought.

The direct literary products of Wagner's conversion to this new "religion" began with the libretto to *Das Liebesverbot*, completed in 1836 during his tenure as conductor of the opera company at the Magdeburg Theater. While the source of the libretto may have been *Measure for*

Measure, and his decision to modify the action may have been consistent with Romantic policies toward revision of Shakespeare, Wagner's free treatment of the play conformed to his new outlook on life. Changing the setting from Vienna to sixteenth-century Palermo, he transformed the work's basically serious plot into a condemnation of moral hypocrisy and glorification of free love.⁴⁹

Two other opera texts of the 1830s affirm his continued involvement with the authors and ideals of the Young German movement. The first, *Die hohe Braut*, was sketched in Königsberg in 1836 and was derived from Heinrich König's novel of the same name. The book's political setting during the Franco-Italian conflict of 1793 had been the reason Laube had recommended the novel to Wagner.

The second text, *Männerlist grösser als Frauenlist oder Die glückliche Bärenfamilie*, dates from the autumn of 1836. Initially suggested by a tale from the *Thousand and One Nights*, the surface features of the text appear to be Romantic in conception. Disguises, a cloistered heroine, and a deceitful marriage contract would not have been out of place in one of Hoffmann's own *Märchen*, but Wagner modernized the setting and costumes and transported his characters from Baghdad to Germany. As Wagner conceived it, the fictionalized nuptial agreement was to have been read to

a company "of the élite of the aristocratic French émigres during the revolutionary period."⁵⁰

Wagner completed both text and music for only one opera during this period, *Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen*. He read Georg Nikolaus Baermann's translation of Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton's novel, *Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes* during the summer of 1837, but did not finish the music until 1840 when he was already in Paris.

Although based on an English work, the opera still proclaims the values of *Das junge Deutschland*. Wagner was attracted to the subject because of his admiration for the novel's hero, a benevolent demagogue who rouses the people of Rome to free themselves from their oppressors. *Rienzi* represents the final musical product of Wagner's early years. With its theme of political tolerance, it also brings "Young Germany's" artistic influence to a conclusion.

As the fruition of influences that were developed over a period of years, *Rienzi* occupies a position similar to that of *Die Feen*, although their musical styles are as different as the sources from which they sprang. *Die Feen* represents the completion of Hoffmannesque Romanticism while *Rienzi* bears witness to Wagner's conversion to an Italian style. Just as he had rejected Hoffmann's brooding, self-absorbed, fantasy world for the "twin virtues of love and revolution" of *Das junge Deutschland*,⁵¹ so he abandoned

Hoffmann's musical style for the lighter sensuality of Italian opera.

Wagner left a clear record of this change in musical aesthetics in groups of articles written for various journals during the 1830s. They reveal that the power of Laube and his "Young Germans" completely overwhelmed all previous influences in Wagner's prose writings. Goethe, Schiller, Shakespeare, the Greek classics, and even Hoffmann are totally absent from these essays. Their aesthetic point of view is consistent with Wagner's attempt to establish himself in Paris, but it is also a perspective that gradually became incompatible with his mature thought. The next fluctuation in Wagner's development occurred in Paris, and as the following chapters seek to demonstrate, it was one that was both crucial and permanent. For that demonstration to succeed, it now becomes necessary to examine Wagner's pre-Parisian essays.

Although Wagner's reviews from the 1830s may be construed as written confirmations of his practical work in the theater, the following examination makes no effort to use Wagner's essays as analytical tools for interpreting *Das Liebesverbot* and *Rienzi*. Few other composers have left as detailed a record of their aesthetic evolution as Wagner, and the essays from the 1830s would certainly be useful in a theoretical study of Wagner's music. The present study,

however, has been concerned with Wagner's literary formation, and the opera libretti have been used to trace Wagner's development when few other sources have been available. With the inception of Wagner's journalistic activity, reliance on his libretti will become less necessary since his essays clearly demonstrate the overwhelming influence of *Das junge Deutschland*. In succeeding chapters, references to prose scenarios which were written in Paris will be limited to establishing a context for critical writings or reinforcing points made in Wagner's reviews. Nonetheless, the essays of the 1830s do foreshadow Wagner's Parisian writings in ways which will be discussed in the following examination of Wagner's first journalistic experiments.

Pre-Parisian Essays of the 1830s

Wagner's earliest essays differ from those written in Paris in that each of them treats a single, specific issue. The first essay, "Die deutsche Oper," is an indictment of German composers and their conservative ways. Two articles for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, "Pasticcio" and "Aus Magdeburg," address the advantages of the Italian style of composing and singing. Reviews from Königsberg and Riga discuss Bellini's *Norma*, and two essays which remained unpublished during Wagner's lifetime, "Der dramatische

Gesang" and "Über Meyerbeers Huguenotten," examine the Italian style as cultivated by two different artists.

The sporadic production of articles over the course of five years also indicates that Wagner did not write them for the financial reasons which prompted many of the Parisian reports. Particular occasions, discussed in the context of each review, elicited strong reactions from Wagner. He responded by expressing himself through the medium of prose, just as he had from the time of his earliest writing to the period now under consideration.

"Die deutsche Oper"

Leopold Voss, proprietor of Leipzig's *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, offered Heinrich Laube the editorship of the widely circulated journal late in 1832. Laube commenced his duties with the new year and wasted little time in assembling his staff of contributors. He solicited an anonymous article from his friend Wagner a year later, and on June 10, 1834, "Die deutsche Oper" appeared in print. By July, the Prussian police had expelled Laube from Saxony. He and Wagner did not see each other again until they were reunited in Paris in 1839.⁵²

Wagner's first published article illustrates Laube's immediate and powerful influence. The review's first sentence decries the pedantry of

those old-German black-frosted demagogues who curled their noses at the results of modern reforms abroad with just as much contempt as our Teutomaniac music-savants now shrug their shoulders.⁵³

Conceding Germany's excellence in instrumental music, Wagner condemned German opera as "too intellectual and much too learned to create warm human figures."⁵⁴ He also rebuked members of the audience since they had to find consolation for not being able to understand Weber's *Euryanthe* "... in dubbing it astoundingly learned, and therefore paying it great respect. O this wretched erudition, the source of every German ill!"⁵⁵

"Die deutsche Oper" also reflects Wagner's new sensual philosophy of life. When contrasting the musicians of Bach's time with those of his own, Wagner concluded that by embracing "freer, kindlier" forms, composers of his generation had learned to live,⁵⁶ and he incited them to

clear ourselves a breathing space in the rubble that threatens to choke us, rid our necks of a good load of affected counterpoint, hug no visions of forbidden fifths and superfluous ninths, and become men at last.⁵⁷

Wagner then queried,

Why has no German opera composer come to the front since so long? Because none knew how to gain the voice [?ear] of the people, - that is to say, because none has seized true warm life as it is.⁵⁸

Wagner planned to do just that.

The remainder of the article summarily dismisses all German opera composers since Mozart. Wagner condemned Weber, whom he had previously venerated, and Louis (Ludwig) Spohr, because they "never understood the management of Song."⁵⁹ The music of Italy possesses freshness and spontaneity and Gluck had revitalized principles of dramatic truth in France, but neither country's influence should prevail. Germans "ought to recognize the true in both, and keep themselves from all self-satisfied hypocrisy."⁶⁰

Wagner had difficulty in later life accepting his own indictment of German opera. Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient's "incandescent characterization of Romeo" in performances of Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* in March of 1834 no doubt played a role in the writing of the review, but Wagner still felt compelled to rationalize his first report:

The influence exercised upon my judgment by these powerful impressions, the causes of which were a mystery to me, was revealed in the frivolous tone in which I tossed off a short review of Weber's *Euryanthe* for the *Elegante Zeitung*.⁶¹

Wagner established a pattern with his first essay, submitting articles anonymously or signing them with pseudonyms and later trivializing or completely ignoring his authorship of them. To a certain extent, the previous chapter has already shown this to be the case with the Parisian writings. It will also be a factor in the final

chapter's consideration of Wagner's treatment of the Parisian articles in the *Gesammelte Schriften*.

Essays for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*

The next article to follow this pattern was "Pasticcio," an article of disputed authorship which appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on November 6 and 10, 1834. The first reference to Wagner as the author of this essay was made by Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, the pioneer of Wagner biography. Glasenapp came to his decision regarding the essay because of two similarities between "Die deutsche Oper" and "Pasticcio."

The striking likenesses, found to be three in number by Ulrich Konrad,⁶² tend to confirm Glasenapp's theory. However, several factors cast suspicion on the authenticity of the article. The facts remain that, unlike Wagner's other contributions to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, there is no manuscript of "Pasticcio," no reference to the article in Wagner's later autobiographical writings, and no relevant correspondence between Wagner and Schumann, the journal's editor. Furthermore, Wagner's own travels and work in the theater in Magdeburg during 1834 would have prevented a personal delivery of the article to Leipzig.⁶³

Forced to conclude that Wagner's authorship cannot be proven until more source material comes forward, Konrad

hypothesizes that Gustav Nauenberg, one of the first contributors to the journal, wrote the essay.⁶⁴ The article's original by-line was "Canto Spianato," but the second part of the review is sketched with the logogram "Ng." Contributors to Schumann's journal frequently used pseudonyms, this one obviously of the type that abbreviated a family name. It may also be possible that the critique was penned by several authors, as its title suggests.

Regardless of who wrote "Pasticcio," it reveals something of consequence about Wagner's writing. If he wrote it himself, the article strengthens his reverence for the Italian style of Mozart, his laments for the state of German operatic writing, and his call to awaken a modern mode of composition that would avoid the pitfalls of nationalism.⁶⁵ He again took issue with "an archipatriarchal set which refuses the name of beauty to any but quite simple singing" and were "mannequins who were nothing but lay figures."⁶⁶ If Wagner did not write the article, comparing it to "Die deutsche Oper" only proves how much he had in common with other writers of the time, from the overall conception of opera in Germany, to reliance upon specific phrases ordinarily found in daily journalism. This immersion in his time is another indication of the powerful influence of *Das junge Deutschland*.

Of course, Wagner and Schumann had been acquainted before "Pasticcio" was published. Heinrich Dorn's claims to have introduced the two during the summer of 1829 cannot be true since Wagner did not even meet Dorn until the autumn of 1830. They did, however, encounter each other the following autumn, when Wagner was present at Friedrich Wieck's house for Schumann's performance of his own *Thème sur le nom Abegg varié pour le pianoforte*. A friendship of sorts existed between them during the years in Leipzig, but their separate social circles and dissimilar natures prevented any real comradeship from forming.

Wagner's employment in Würzburg, Lauchstadt, and Magdeburg kept him away from Leipzig during the summer of 1833 and the following winter, the period Schumann used to make plans for the *Neue Zeitschrift*. Even after its founding, Wagner showed little interest in the new journal, but with Laube temporarily distracted by the Prussian police, he may have been forced to seek other literary outlets. In a letter dated September 14, 1835, Wagner praised and entreated Schumann:

With your musical journal you have opened a fine arena for us, and I long to test my strength in it. I live here practically in a sanctuary and choke myself with all sorts of vile acts of the customs about.--But how it strengthens me! I offer myself to you with my heart and soul. Make use of me, I am fit for it, and for the time being, make me a

contributor to your journal, as long as it appears under your editorship.⁶⁷

Schumann responded to this plea by publishing "Aus Magdeburg," Wagner's critique of provincial life in general, and of the premiere of *Das Liebesverbot* in particular.

For this article, Wagner's cover letter to Schumann, dated April 19, 1836, prevents any suspicion regarding the authenticity of this document from arising. In the letter, Wagner's main concern was enthusiastic praise for himself, "a conductor full of fire and newly-wed Passion," and "a gifted artist [who] shaped the whole ensemble with great skill and imagination."⁶⁸ Rationalizing the conflict between his creative and critical duties, he stated:

With the best will in the world I could not avoid saying something about myself--firstly because in a musical report on Magdeburg I have to be mentioned anyway since I am music director here; secondly, it would be silly to suppress myself (since I don't deserve it), and the reason thirdly why I have written about my opera is that no one else will write about it and I would particularly like something to be said about it. It is terrible how one has to help oneself out! Not that I feel I have said too much about myself though. Still you will certainly see that my name must not be mentioned--not to anyone, otherwise woe is me.⁶⁹

Schumann complied with the request, publishing "Aus Magdeburg" anonymously on May 3, 1836.

The article itself is also self-serving in that Wagner vented his frustrations with the chaotic

circumstances of the premiere of his opera. It was to have been given for his benefit, but the theater management claimed the proceeds from the first performance to defray production costs. The inadequately rehearsed singers were anxious to leave Magdeburg at the end of a long season and improvised at will during the performance. The following evening, a backstage fracas among cast members led to the cancellation of the performance.⁷⁰

The theater management was blamed for the deplorable musical conditions in Magdeburg, but it was the indifferent audience that bore most of the brunt of Wagner's criticism:

Sometimes they really do play good music here; but the fact remains that not even the citizens of Magdeburg... notice it... The degree of indifference shown by the populace is surely unlawful.⁷¹

He praised his singers and instrumentalists before commenting on his own composition, making sure to point out the progressive nature of his music:

There is a great deal in it, and what I particularly like about it is that it all sings, it is so musical, tuneful, which I am afraid is more than can be said for our other German operas today.⁷²

The lively tone of "Aus Magdeburg" makes direct attempts to engage its readers. It is written in the first person, asks provocative questions, and sarcastically describes a conspiracy of spies and informers that controls the fate of any musical performance in the city. The

review's flippant manner compensates for its largely negative sentiments, extracting an absorbing narrative from what must have been, by Wagner's own account, a rather uninspiring performance.

Wagner's articles for the *Neue Zeitschrift* foreshadow the Parisian writings in several ways. They were published under pseudonyms, used the feuilletonistic style he was later to cultivate in the letters for the *Abendzeitung*, and gave Wagner the opportunity to express his frustrations with the obstacles he encountered, especially an unresponsive public. It would not be unreasonable to speculate that Schumann would have continued to publish articles with these qualities, although he might have exerted more editorial control than Wagner would have appreciated. Wagner's next contribution to the *Neue Zeitschrift* prevented the development of a closer rapport between editor and correspondent.

Wagner undoubtedly compromised his position at the *Neue Zeitschrift* a few weeks after the publication of "Aus Magedeburg," when he submitted an article attacking the critic Ludwig Rellstab, another early contributor to the periodical.⁷³ Rellstab had also written favorable reviews of several of Schumann's early piano compositions in the belle-lettres journal, *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*.⁷⁴ Schumann rejected Wagner's essay for its libellous content.

Wagner's conducting activities continued to be reviewed or publicized in the pages of the *Neue Zeitschrift* for several years to come, and his correspondence with Schumann remained fitful for its duration. Despite the inclusion of his name on the printed list of contributors, no other reviews by Wagner appeared in the journal until 1841, when his report about Rossini's *Stabat Mater* was published. This article began another episode in the erratic relationship between Schumann and Wagner, an incident that has already been described in Chapter One.

Bellini's *Norma*

Two reviews of Bellini's *Norma*, both dating from 1837, mark Wagner's next appearances as a journalist. The first, a detailed review of a March 8 performance in Königsberg, served as a model for the second, "Bellini: Ein Wort zu seiner Zeit," published in the *Riga Zuschauer* on December 7 (19), 1837.⁷⁵ The second essay served to publicize upcoming performances scheduled for Wagner's benefit as music director in the Baltic community. The occasion for the first review remains a mystery, although it was most probably written to promote Wagner's interests in the Königsberg theater or to stimulate enthusiasm among opera patrons who were indifferent to Italian opera.⁷⁶ No copies of the *Königsberger Zeitung*, where the review would

most likely have appeared, can be located; its authenticated manuscript is now at the Juilliard School and was first published in 1972.⁷⁷

The Königsberg appraisal concentrates almost exclusively on the performance of Henriette Grosser in the title role. Wagner noted her slow start in the recitative preceding "Casta Diva," and complained of equal emphasis of all syllables regardless of their dramatic weight. He had many suggestions to improve her portrayal, asking for *messaggi di voce* in a portion of her duet with Adalgisa, and intimating Grosser was destined to be a great singer provided she mastered *coloratura* techniques. He complimented a Fräulein Ackermann's Adalgisa⁷⁸ for her exemplary support of Grosser and concluded with a comment for the entire company:

I trust that much of the slackness and carelessness (of the opening night) will be omitted from repeat performances of this great opera, so that the whole will take on more energy.⁷⁹

The Königsberg report is unique among Wagner's early essays. "Die deutsche Oper" and "Pasticcio" are historical in nature, and both concentrate on the advantages of Italian methods of singing and composition. "Aus Magdeburg" devotes considerable attention to general musical conditions in provincial Germany, while later essays of the 1830s are also more theoretical or historical in nature. Consequently, the

review of the *Norma* performance is a particularly valuable document for evaluating Wagner's opinions of singers and productions. There were few opportunities for Wagner to write comparably detailed reviews of performances while he was in Paris. They would have been out of place in his novellas and feuilletons, and by the time he wrote his essays about Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre*, he was already concerned with the issues that were to preoccupy him for the rest of his career as a writer and composer.

The article's chief interest for Wagner's literary development, however, lies in the author's reworking of its ideas for "Bellini: Ein Wort zu seiner Zeit." Similarities between the reports are apparent from the outset, as the following comparison of the first sentence of the Königsberg report and the conclusion of the Riga essay indicates:

Königsberg Report

In this opera Bellini has indisputably soared to the greatest heights of his talent, and it is in every way a symptom of these days of Romantic extravagance and overexcitement with so-called piquant musical delights that nothing is to be deemed worthy of it...⁸⁰

Riga Report

--of this Bellini affords proof in his *Norma*, beyond dispute his most successful composition. Here where the poem itself soars up to the tragic heights of the ancient Greeks, this form, pronouncedly ennobled by Bellini, does but exalt the solemn, grandiose character of the whole.⁸¹

In both essays, Wagner supported Italian operatic form and related it to ancient tragedy, but in his second review, an

entire paragraph has been reduced to the succinct essentials of his view of Bellini's position in the evolution of opera.

It was the refinement of *Norma* that intrigued Wagner in the first essay:

How sober, noble, and grandiose are the ambience and the entire coloring--how simply magnificent the style! Yes, it is the style of this music that is the advantage, being of significance for our time of disorder and formlessness.⁸²

This passage recurred in the December essay, urging his countrymen to examine the advantages of the Italian manner:

If we would only consider the boundless disorder, the jumble of forms, periods and modulations, of many a modern German opera-composer, distracting our enjoyment of the single beauties strewn between, we often might heartily wish this frayed-out tangle put in order by that stable Italian form.⁸³

The Königsberg comments fail to specify what the significance of the Italian advantage might be, but Wagner leaves no doubt for his Riga readers:

As a matter of fact the instantaneous apprehension of a whole dramatic passion is made far easier, when with all its allied feelings and emotions that passion is brought by one firm stroke into one clear and taking melody.⁸⁴

One final comparison of the reviews shows how Wagner's views on Italian melody crystallized in the later essay. A rather vague passage in the March review requires readers to make a distinction:

It is conspicuous that the performance of such an opera must pose great difficulties for our German singers, since its first requisite is the Art of song, and we have only voices.⁸⁵

In "Bellini: Ein Wort zu seiner Zeit," the message is more emphatic: "Song, Song, and a third time Song, ye Germans! For song is once and for all the speech wherein man should musically express himself."⁸⁶

In addition to being more explicit in the second essay, Wagner made the most of another opportunity to attack "the fumes of prejudice and pedantry" that prevented German music connoisseurs from accepting French and Italian music.⁸⁷ He urged such musicians "to become men instead at last, glad, free, and gifted with every glorious organ for perceiving beauty, no matter the form in which it shows itself."⁸⁸ The sensual qualities of Laube and Heinse were obviously still remembered, even in Riga's northern climate. However, Wagner's newly found understanding of Italian melody did not survive the intemperate musical atmosphere of Paris. In his essays of the early 1840s, Wagner continued to promote the music of French composers such as Auber and Halévy, but Italian composers, particularly Rossini, fell into disfavor.

Wagner's reworking of ideas between these essays emphasizes his high regard for Italian opera during his years of provincial music directorships and represents the

culmination of ideas first expressed in "Die deutsche Oper." Wagner followed his own advice in *Das Liebesverbot* and *Rienzi* and saw himself as the German who would become the successor to Mozart by cultivating Italian style and modern forms. Furthermore, Wagner was consistent in his approach to Italian opera, as is indicated by his reworking of specific passages in his Bellini essays. Ernest Newman's assertion that Wagner "may have said a trifle more than he thought"⁸⁹ merely to generate interest in his own benefit performances does not reflect Wagner's unfailing esteem for the sensual qualities of Italian operas. Wagner felt that he was ready to conquer Paris as a German composer of Italian music.

Two Abstract Essays

"Der dramatische Gesang," another essay dating from Wagner's intendance in Königsberg, was not published during his lifetime. It appeared in the *Allgemeine deutsche Musik-Zeitung* in 1888, five years after Wagner's death. There are few clues as to the nature of the essay's origin, although its extravagant praise of Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient would suggest that Wagner may have hoped to rekindle his association with her after she had sung in performances in Würzburg and on a concert for his benefit in Magdeburg. Wagner had also been asked to conduct *Euryanthe* on short

notice,⁹⁰ an opera in which Schröder-Devrient excelled. Perhaps his inadequate production in Riga motivated him to write about the requirements for performing Weber's opera.

In "Der dramatische Gesang," Wagner reiterated his call to Germans to cultivate an inherently superior Italian melodic style and repeated his praise of French light opera, but he approached the problem from a singer's perspective.⁹¹ He claimed that the majority of German singers attempted operatic roles with insufficient vocal training, relying on their states of emotion (*Affekt*) to perform taxing rolls. As a result of this abuse, most German voices were ruined in a few years.

Wagner also suggested a method of acquiring natural flexibility and the power to modulate volume, indispensable vocal commodities Wagner found lacking in the singing he heard in Germany:

This requires study, and in view of our natural virtue of diligence and perseverance, it is astonishing and annoying that such study is seen as unnecessary, that we ought to be able to do everything by sheer stress of emotion.⁹²

Schröder-Devrient, the Romeo in the 1834 *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* which Wagner heard in Leipzig, and later the first Senta in *Der fliegende Holländer* and the creator of Venus in *Tannhäuser*, served as an example of this German diligence. Having nearly ruined her voice in Germany, she taught

herself to sing again while engaged at the Théâtre Italien in Paris. In "Der dramatische Gesang," Wagner stated that she was then at the height of her powers:

Go witness her Fidelio, her Euryanthe, her Norma, her Romeo; you would think she must be tired to death after such displays, and honestly, she herself declares that in earlier years exhaustion seized her every time, whereas she now could easily go through a part like these twice in one evening.⁹³

The soprano's singing not only embodied the practical advantages of Italian methods; her fame throughout Europe as a German singer, in addition to her notorious amorous escapades, made her an artistic symbol of the ideals of *Das junge Deutschland*.

The final essay from the 1830s, a draft of "Über Meyerbeers Huguenotten," was also written in Königsberg, although at one time, it was thought to have been written during Wagner's period in Paris. Julius Kapp believed it was a sequel to Wagner's first article in *La Gazette musicale*.⁹⁴ Because of Wagner's well-documented changes of opinion of Meyerbeer during the years in Paris, "there can be no question... that the article manifestly belongs to an earlier epoch."⁹⁵ Richard Sternfeld, the editor of the seventh edition of Wagner's collected writings, suggested that Wagner had written the article in Königsberg, justifying his dating of the article on the basis of its similarities to a letter Wagner wrote to Meyerbeer in

1837.⁹⁶ Wagner also wrote to Lewald at the same time, an indication that the essay may have been intended for *Europa*. By the time of its composition, Wagner's plans to emigrate to Paris were well underway, and perhaps a favorable article would have done more to endear him to Meyerbeer than his letters of supplication. In any case, the draft was not ready for publication when Wagner stopped working on it.

The clearly defined content of the article does not reflect its checkered past. Wagner stated his purpose at the outset:

Meyerbeer's music, especially his latest work *Les Huguenots*, has manifestly acquired such a solid and perfect consistency, that the duty of placing this music in its perspective in the history of music has finally arisen.⁹⁷

Wagner saw Meyerbeer as a link in a chain of German composers who rose above their country's musical limitations by absorbing outside influences:

Handel inhaled the breath of song in Italy and exhaled it in England, Gluck struggled for the triumph of French dramatic music in Paris, and finally Mozart must be regarded as the noblest exponent of the Italian school.⁹⁸

Early in Meyerbeer's life, his German training and technical mastery had allowed him to recognize "what his fatherland had denied him and what he had needed to take from abroad to luxuriate in the full enjoyment of his art."⁹⁹ His Italian travels and his arrival in Paris at the height of Napoleonic rule had led him to a universal

style, "free from the weaknesses of a single manner and certainly decided in all its preferences."¹⁰⁰ Wagner described the essential features of that style in the following passage:

How clear and simple, noble and self-controlled each main theme that begins and ends each number is; how discreetly and respectably the master lets the storm swell, so that in no way does he let flow a confused whirlpool, but an imposing flood.¹⁰¹

In order to attain this stylistic control, Meyerbeer had been forced to leave Germany. In fact, Wagner continued, "that Meyerbeer could remain here no longer, comfortably resting in the shadow of his fame--it is that--which must have culminated his development."¹⁰² Wagner obviously saw himself as the next link in the chain from Handel to Meyerbeer, and that he too would be forced to complete his artistic evolution outside of Germany.

As if to underscore his convictions, Wagner made one final attack on German pedantry, concluding that composers who resisted foreign influences willingly placed themselves in the background, only to be forgotten by the public. Their place in German concert life was already filled by the composers they had tried to resist. Opposing change had effectively eliminated opportunities for German composers.

To a certain extent, there are parallels between Wagner's final essay of the 1830s and his last two reports

from Paris. All of them focus on one composer and attempt to define that composer's role in the evolution of opera. "Über Meyerbeers Huguenotten," Wagner's last essay of the 1830s, represents the culmination of his willingness to absorb outside influences.

Conclusions

The years separating "Die deutsche Oper" and the Meyerbeer essay saw the confirmation of Wagner's preference for an operatic style combining elements of French and Italian origin. His broad appreciation of a universal operatic manner, repeated in every essay of the 1830s, resulted in part from his theatrical experiences; but by embracing the lighter style of Italian opera, he became a product of his time and remained susceptible to the powerful influences of "Young German" writers.

Because of Wagner's single-minded approach to one aesthetic issue of direct consequence to his work as a composer, the essays of the 1830s have an urgency that is often lacking in the Parisian essays. The brash, provincial qualities of "Die deutsche Oper" and "Aus Magdeburg" were tempered by the practical, cosmopolitan experiences of Paris. While he drifted from one theater directorship to another, Wagner had nothing to lose. In Paris, he had to

concern himself with the consequences of adverse criticism of powerful musical figures.

Many factors compensate for any loss of conviction entailed by Wagner's temperance. The musical life of Paris, richer than that of any major German center, gave the subject matter of Wagner's reviews a new variety. He was able to report on celebrated artists of the mid-nineteenth century, making his essays vital and memorable for modern readers. There are also diverse styles of expression in the Parisian writings which resulted directly from the early influences of the first twenty-seven years of Wagner's life.

The strong influences on Wagner's writing vied for prominence, one yielding to the other, depending on the nature of the musical event in question and the circumstances of the commission. The influences of Hoffmann, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller primarily exerted themselves in the novellas, while the influence of *Das junge Deutschland* prevailed in the feuilletons for the *Dresden Abendzeitung*, *Europa*, and the *Neue Zeitschrift*. Hoffmann came to dominate many of the narrative reviews, but in the feuilletons, Heinrich Heine usurped Laube's earlier authority. Whether Hoffmann or Heine would prevail became the all-consuming issue in Wagner's Parisian writings. The resolution of this conflict ultimately determined the course of his musical and literary development. Acutely aware of

the limitations in Riga and confident that he could meet the same cosmopolitan challenges Meyerbeer had conquered, Wagner's thoughts turned toward Paris.

1. Wagner, Biebrich, to Mathilde Wesendonck, Zürich, 9 June 1862, in Richard Wagner to Mathilde Wesendonck, 3d ed., trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: H. Grevel and Co., 1911), 303, quoted in Paul Bekker, Richard Wagner: His Life and his Work, trans. M. M. Bozman (New York: Norton, 1931; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971), 62.
2. Bekker, 62-63.
3. Ernest Newman, Wagner as Man and Artist (New York: Vintage Books, 1952; reprint, 1960), 182.
4. Wagner, My Life, 12.
5. Ibid., 15.
6. Westernhagen, 20.
7. Bekker, 1.
8. Wagner, quoted in Westernhagen, 21.
9. Wagner, "Autobiographic Sketch," in Rudolph Sabor, The Real Wagner (London: Andre Deutsch, 1987), 35.
10. Ibid., quoted in Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, Life of Richard Wagner, trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., Ltd., 1900; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 1:94-95.
11. Roy Pascal, introduction to Shakespeare in Germany: 1740-1815 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1937), 1. Christian Dietrich Grabbe used this term in the 1827 essay "Ueber die Shakespearo-Manie" to refer to the popularity of Shakespeare's plays among middle-class theater goers. Grabbe described the differences between critical and public perception of Shakespeare's plays.
12. Ibid., 24.
13. Ibid., 28.
14. Wolfgang Stellmacher, "Shakespeare als Rezeptionsgegenstand in der Zeit von Klassik und Romantik," in Auseinandersetzung mit Shakespeare, Publication of the Deutsche Bibliothek, ed. Hans-Günther Thalheim, no. 12 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), 12.

15. Martin Gregor-Dellin, Life of Richard Wagner, trans. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), 33.

16. Wagner, My Life, 17.

17. Wagner, "Autobiographical Sketch," in PW, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, and Co., Ltd., 1900), vol. 1, The Art Work of the Future, and Company, 22, quoted in Glasenapp, 4.

18. Wagner, My Life, 32.

19. Ibid., 62. There is some fabrication in Wagner's description. The performance referred to in this quotation was supposed to have taken place in Leipzig in 1829, but there are no theater records indicating Schröder-Devrient sang Leonore there at the time. Wagner did hear her sing Romeo in Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* in 1834. His selection of Schröder-Devrient and Beethoven's opera is indicative of his constant manipulation of his autobiographical sources.

20. Ibid., 126-27.

21. Ronald Jack Taylor, Richard Wagner: His Life, Art, and Thought (London: Paul Elek, 1979), 25.

22. Glasenapp, 104.

23. Ibid.

24. Gottlob Heinrich Adolph Wagner, ed., Il Parnasso italiano, ovvero: I quattro poeti celeberrimi italiani (Lipsia: E. Fleischer, 1826-33); quoted in Westernhagen, 20.

25. Wagner, quoted in Cosima Wagner's Diaries, ed. and annotated Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, trans. and with an introduction, postscript, and additional notes by Geoffrey Skelton (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), vol. 1, 1869-1877, 757.

26. Gregor-Dellin, 40.

27. Ibid.

28. Deathridge, "Work-List," in The New Grove Wagner, 182. A manuscript copy, not the autograph, of this composition is

dated 1832. It is assumed that the copy is a revised form of an earlier composition.

29.Wagner, Pravonin, to Theodor Apel, Heidelberg, 12 October 1832, in SB, 1:131.

30.Wagner, My Life, 68.

31.Bekker, 71.

32.Glen Tegai Hughes, Romantic German Literature (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1979), 121.

33.Gregor Dellin, 56; Westernhagen, 35.

34.Franz Muncker, Richard Wagner. Eine Skizze seines Lebens und Wirkens (Bamberg: Buchnersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1891), quoted in William James Henderson, Richard Wagner: His Life and his Dramas (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), 15.

35.Westernhagen, 36.

36.Wagner, My Life, 66.

37.Taylor, 39.

38.E. T. A. Hoffmann, "The Poet and the Composer," in Oliver Strunk, ed., Source Readings in Music History (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1965), vol. 5, The Romantic Era, 49.

39.Derek Watson, Richard Wagner: A Biography (London: J. M. Dent, 1979), 37-38.

40.Newman, Life of Richard Wagner, 1:102.

41.Sabor, 54-55.

42.Stellmacher, 24.

43.René Wellek, "Periodization in Literary History," in Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas, ed. Phillip P. Wiener (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 3:483.

44.Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 13.

45.Newman, Life of Richard Wagner, 1:122.

46. Werner Wolf, untitled preface to SB, 1:41.
47. Gregor-Dellin, 57.
48. Newman, Wagner as Man and Artist, 196.
49. Westernhagen, 40.
50. Wagner, My Life, 135.
51. Taylor, 42.
52. Wolf, 158.
53. Wagner, "On German Opera," PW, 8:55.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., 56.
56. Ibid., 57.
57. Ibid., 58.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 55.
60. Ibid., 58.
61. Wagner, My Life, 81.
62. Konrad, 219-20.
63. Ibid., 221.
64. Ibid., 222.
65. Wagner, "Pasticcio," in PW, 64, 65, 66.
66. Ibid., 63-64.
67. Wagner, Magdeburg, to Schumann, Leipzig, 14 September 1836, in Konrad, 281.
68. Wagner, "Aus Magdeburg," in Herbert Barth, Dietrich Mack, and Egon Voss, eds., Wagner: A Documentary Study (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 158-59.

69. Wagner, Magdeburg, to Schumann, Leipzig, 19 April 1836, in Barth, 158.

70. Wagner, "Das Liebesverbot," in PW, 7:17-18.

71. Wagner, "Aus Magdeburg," in Barth, 158.

72. Ibid., 159.

73. Plantinga, 28. Rellstab contributed a long article on Schröder-Devrient to the first volume of the Neue Zeitschrift in 1834.

74. Konrad, 226.

75. The Zuschauer was published in Soviet Russia where the Julian calendar was in use. 7 December 1837 is the Julian date, whereas 19 December 1837 indicates the Gregorian calendar date.

76. Glasenapp, 219-20; Friedrich Lippmann, "Ein neuentdecktes Autograph Richard Wagners: Rezension der Königsberger Norma Aufführung von 1837," in Musicae Scientiae Collectanea: Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum siebsigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1972 überreicht von Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden, ed. Heinrich Hüschen (Köln: Arno-Volk-Verlag, 1973), 377.

77. Lippmann, 377.

78. Wagner may have been referring to Sophie Ackermann, a mezzo-soprano employed at the theater in Weimar in the late 1810s and 1820s.

79. Wagner, "Rezension der Königsberger Norma-Aufführung von 1837," in Lippmann, 377.

80. Ibid., 374.

81. Wagner, "Bellini: A Word in Season," in PW, 7:67.

82. Wagner, "Rezension der Königsberger Norma-Aufführung von 1837," in Lippmann, 374.

83. Wagner, "Bellini: A Word in Season," in PW, 7:68.

84. Ibid.

85. Wagner, "Rezension der Königsberger Norma-Aufführung von 1837," in Lippmann, 374-75.
86. Wagner, "Bellini: A Word in Season," in PW, 7:68.
87. Ibid., 67.
88. Ibid.
89. Newman, Wagner as Man and Artist, 188.
90. Wagner, My Life, 127.
91. Wagner, "Der dramatische Gesang," in Sämtliche Werke und Dichtungen, ed. Richard Sternfeld (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911), 12:15.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., 17.
94. Julius Kapp, "Richard Wagner und Meyerbeer," Die Musik 10 (14 April 1911): 83.
95. Newman, Life of Richard Wagner, 1:223.
96. Richard Sternfeld, Anmerkung und Nachträge to Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 12:423. The letter in question is: Wagner, Königsberg, to Giacomo Meyerbeer, Paris, 4 February 1837, in SB, 1:323.
97. Wagner, "Über Meyerbeers Huguenotten," in Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 12:22.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., 27.
101. Ibid., 27-28.
102. Ibid., 24.

Chapter Three

Literary Poetic Elements in Wagner's Parisian Writings: The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann

Introduction

Temporarily overshadowed by the ideals of "Young Germany" in Wagner's essays of the 1830s, the influences which had culminated in *Die Feen* reemerged with fresh vigor during Wagner's Parisian residence. The importance that Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller had maintained in his earlier prose and stage works was reaffirmed in the Parisian writings, but it was the influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann that dominated much of Wagner's writing of the early 1840s.

Hoffmann's influence is evident primarily in the three novellas that Wagner wrote in Paris, "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven," "Ein Ende in Paris," and "Ein glücklicher Abend," vehicles which, like Hoffmann's own music criticism, cloak musical opinions in the guise of narrative prose. Detailed comparisons of passages in Hoffmann's writings and Wagner's novellas will establish specific aesthetic and stylistic correspondences between both authors' works. The comparisons will serve as the basis for the consideration of recurrent Hoffmannesque themes in Wagner's novellas. However, discussion of several of Wagner's less narrative reviews for *La Gazette musicale* and the *Dresden Abendzeitung*

is necessary, since they also harbor strongly Hoffmannesque traits. "Über deutsches Musikwesen," "Der Virtuos und der Künstler," "Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit," two of the Dresden reports, and both essays about *Der Freischütz* contain passages obviously derived from Hoffmann's work. The aim of the present chapter is to establish significant aesthetic and stylistic similarities between these novellas and essays by Wagner and the writings of Hoffmann.

Such a literary framework is to be defined by examining five themes which preoccupied Romantic writers and achieved quintessential expression in Hoffmann's work. The five themes are: (1) the supremacy of music among the arts; (2) the preeminence of instrumental music; (3) the world of Romantic illusion; (4) the duality between artistic solitude and companionship; and (5) the pantheism of nature.

The chapter will then document Wagner's renewed interest in Hoffmannesque material, which resulted primarily from his consideration of Hoffmann's tales as sources for opera libretti. Following a description of Wagner's work on *Der fliegende Holländer* and *Die Bergwerke zu Falun*, separate analyses of each of the novellas will present plot synopses, comparisons of specific passages by both authors, and descriptions of Wagner's use of the five Romantic, Hoffmannesque themes. The analysis of the novellas concludes with consideration of their reception.

The less narrative reviews will be analyzed with similar methods, excepting that synopses obviously are not needed. Reception of the essays is also not considered, since they received less attention when they were first published and had little effect on Wagner's reputation as a writer. An assessment of Wagner's references to Shakespeare, Schiller, and Goethe will be used to draw final conclusions concerning the recurrence of early influences in the Parisian writings.

German Romanticism in Literature

The themes of Romantic literature are rich and varied; their origin and development lie well outside the parameters of the present study. Among many approaches to the subject, *E. T. A. Hoffmann and Music*, by R. Murray Schaffer, *Romantic German Literature* by Glyn Tegai Hughes, and *Music in German Romantic Literature: A Collection of Essays, Reviews, and Stories* by Linda Siegel offer concise treatments of Romanticism in literature and its relation to music.¹ Wagner did, however, exploit motifs which were closely associated with the Romantic movement, particularly those cultivated by Hoffmann.² The selected topics do not pretend to represent a definitive listing of Romantic themes, nor are they all the subjects that Hoffmann addressed in his own work. Rather, they embody the

characteristics that Wagner inherited from Hoffmann and employed in his own novellas.

As a literary form, the novella was ideally suited to conveying Romantic themes. Although the early Romantic writers were inconsistent in using the terms *Märchen*, *Romane*, and *Novellen*, Tieck first justified the use of the term *Novellen* to describe the tales he was writing in 1829.³ As a genre, the novella was "particularly suited to deal with contrast, with the duality of life; perhaps at times it may resolve the contradictions of human existence."⁴ Its special attribute was a turning-point in its plot that made the story unique. The ordinary, familiar event suddenly emerged in a new light. A mundane incident was transformed into a marvellous phenomenon.

The principal themes of Romantic literature, i. e. the supremacy of music over other art forms, the belief in the ability of absolute music to reveal unknown realms, the conflict between illusion and reality, the duality of solitude and companionship, and the pantheism of nature, are developed with relentless consistency in Wagner's novellas. The plots revolve around marvellous transformations.

It is possible that Wagner inherited some of his concepts of the novella directly from Romantic writers such as Ludwig Tieck, Novalis, Friedrich von Schelling, and Ludwig Börne. His uncle, Adolf, was acquainted with Tieck,

and Wagner could have read Tieck's fragmentary novella, *Phantastus* as early as 1827, when he was a student in Leipzig.⁵ Wagner had also been pleased with Laube's introduction to the second volume of *Das junge Europa*, a critical review of contemporary philosophy commenting on works by Tieck, Bettina, Lenau, Immermann, Hoffmann, Jean Paul, and Adelbert von Chamisso.⁶ As a university student, Wagner had read some of Schelling's writings, although they would have been unlikely sources of influence. During the year in Riga, Wagner wrote Lewald, mentioning that Schelling's work had not appealed to him.⁷

Wagner also may have been familiar with basic Romantic ideals through Schumann's writings, but that seems unlikely because of the friction that existed between the two poet-musicians and Wagner's interest in the writers of *Das junge Deutschland* during the period of his first acquaintance with Schumann. Wagner later drew directly from Romantic authors for his theoretical writings of the Zürich period, and he certainly became familiar with Romantic theories in his reading of Arthur Schopenhauer,⁸ but until the time in Paris, Wagner's letters and autobiographical writings indicate that his familiarity with Romanticism was mediated almost exclusively by Hoffmann. Wagner's reacquaintance with Hoffmann's work in Paris substantially supports the idea that it was Hoffmann's tales that

reawakened influences which had been dormant in Wagner's writing during the late 1830s.

Renewal of Hoffmann's Influence

Other than the reminiscences of Hoffmann's "Das Majorat" cited in the previous chapter, Wagner did not mention that he actually read any of Hoffmann's tales during a period of five years. He quickly returned to the works of his favorite author upon his arrival in Paris. Wagner briefly mentioned this renewed contact with Hoffmann's writings in *Mein Leben*, remembering occasions when he read aloud from Hoffmann's stories to Minna and his friend Kietz.⁹ He also recorded the eccentricities of his neighbor and landlord, Monsieur Jadin, yet another "apparition from the world of Hoffmann's tales."¹⁰

But this reacquaintance with Hoffmann's work transcended merely congenial associations, since it changed the course of Wagner's career as a composer and writer. Three of the four subjects Wagner considered or used as opera libretti during his time in Paris were based primarily or partly on Hoffmannesque material. *Der fliegende Holländer*, the prose sketch for *Die Bergwerke zu Falun*, and *Tannhäuser* powerfully reflect Hoffmann's influence, whereas only Wagner's five-act scenario for *Die Sarazenin* was

inspired by another writer's work, Friedrich von Raumer's *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit*.

Wagner's derivation of opera libretti from Hoffmann's work, in addition to serving as the clearest indication of general parallels between the two authors, demonstrates an active renewal of Wagner's interest in Hoffmann's tales. The prose sketch for *Der fliegende Holländer*, completed in May of 1840, was the first work to reflect Wagner's renewed interest in Hoffmann. Wagner did not begin serious work on the opera until June of 1841, after *Rienzi* was accepted for performance at the Royal Court Theater in Dresden. The libretto and score were completed the following November, and the opera was accepted by the Hofoper in Berlin for performance in March of 1842.

Although based primarily on Heinrich Heine's inventive treatment of the legend of the Flying Dutchman, Wagner's version of the story differed from Heine's in one significant respect. The introduction of Erik's fearful dream, prophesying Senta's death, was Wagner's own invention.¹¹ Wagner returned to Hoffmann's world of fantasy at the one moment of departure from a more contemporary treatment of the tale, emphasizing the supernatural elements already present in the text.

Upon completion of *Der fliegende Holländer*, Wagner worked on a libretto based on Hoffmann's *Die Bergwerke zu*

Falun, a tale emphasizing the ability of dreams to express subjective feeling and foreshadow coming events.¹² The influence of Hoffmann's story, clearly evident in Wagner's essay, "Der Virtuos und der Künstler," will be discussed in connection with the less narrative reviews.

Wagner's adaptation of works by Hoffmann emphatically marked the renewal of affinities between the two composer-authors. Wagner had once again been attracted to material which emphasized the revelatory nature of dreams and concentrated on the psychological duality of its characters. After lying dormant during years of work in provincial German outposts, Wagner's interest in a contrast between the subjective and the objective had been reawakened by his Parisian experiences.

Wagner only completed a sketch for *Die Bergwerke zu Falun*, yet his interest in its central themes echoed throughout the libretto of *Tannhäuser*, begun during a holiday in Teplitz in June of 1842. In *Mein Leben*, Wagner attributed the opera's inspiration to a dramatic view of the Wartburg during his trip from Paris to Dresden, although it is certain that he had been considering the story since the winter of 1841-1842.¹³ Wagner forged the opera's plot from two of Hoffmann's tales, "Die Elixiere des Teufels" and "Der Kampf der Sänger," the latter being part of *Die Serapionsbrüder*.¹⁴ The theme of the artist's relation to

society, fully formed in "Der Kampf der Sänger," the dual nature of Hoffmann's Heinrich von Ofterdingen, and the story's motive of redemption were adopted in the new work. All three themes are found in Wagner's Parisian novellas.

By incorporating elements of Hoffmann's tales into the libretti that he worked on in Paris, Wagner verified an ongoing reading of Hoffmann's works and demonstrated his conscious absorption of them into his primary creative activity. A natural outcome of this aspect of his operatic work was the assimilation of Hoffmannesque literary devices and themes into his novellas.

The Novellas

The following discussion of Wagner's novellas begins with descriptions of their general features, including their narrative chronology and the attributes of their leading characters, a German musician who is referred to simply as R-, and his provocateur, the narrator. It will continue with separate analyses of each novella in the order in which they were published in *La Gazette musicale*. Each analysis will consist of a synopsis, comparisons of specific passages from works by both authors, and discussions of the five Romantic themes in the order of their previous presentation. Reflections on the reception of the novellas will conclude the analysis.

General Features: The Characters

The protagonist of all three novellas is a young, poetic, German musician who offers the following account of himself in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven:"

I was born in a town of medium size in central Germany. What actually I was intended for I no longer remember: I only know that the first time I heard a Beethoven symphony I caught a fever, fell ill, and when I recovered became a musician.¹⁵

In "Ein Ende in Paris," the narrator describes R- as "a good man and a true German musician. He had a tender heart... [and] a tender artistic conscience, and though he had no talent for intrigue, he was ambitious."¹⁶ R- earns his meager living by giving music lessons, supplementing his income by writing music. A publisher had rejected his piano sonatas, forcing him to compose gallops and potpourris, "albeit with such shame that... [he] could never bring [himself] so much as to glance at a work of Beethoven."¹⁷

Thus far, the novellas pass as thinly disguised autobiography. Like the German musician, Wagner had met with censure from Parisian music publishers and had earned his living through activities he considered beneath his calling. As the story progresses, autobiographical events continue to provide models for the events of "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven." Wagner undoubtedly drew upon his own trip to Vienna in 1832 for the novella's description of

R-'s journey through Bohemia, and his account of Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient's performance in *Fidelio*, although fictionalized, was based on Wagner's actual experiences with the soprano.

"Ein Ende in Paris," published less than a month after the last installment of "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven," drops all pretense of disguising autobiography. It chronicles the demise of a young, idealistic, German musician who encounters opposition from music publishers and important musicians in Paris. He lives in poverty and eventually becomes insane while writing quadrilles and gallops. A motif running through the novella is the faithlessness of the German's "magnificent Newfoundland dog,"¹⁸ an obvious reference to the loss of Wagner's own pet, Robber, as described in *Mein Leben*.¹⁹ The musician dies in an apartment in the Montmartre district where Wagner had pawned most of the valuables that he and Minna had brought with them from Riga. A philologist and a painter had attended R-'s funeral, clearly alluding to Samuel Lehrs and Ernst Benedikt Kietz.

"Ein glücklicher Abend," following the publication of the last installment of "Ein Ende in Paris" by more than eight months, contains few autobiographical references. Fashioned as a dialogue between R- and the narrator, the novella is comprised of a discussion of musical aesthetics

that is prompted by a performance of works by Mozart and Beethoven.

In itself, Wagner's use of an autobiographical character is Hoffmannesque. Although Hoffmann's work has been partly freed from biographical associations only in recent years, "there is no doubt that there are many autobiographical correspondences in [his] work."²⁰ The most famous of his autobiographical figures is Kapellmeister Kreisler, a musician who was forced to endure a social setting that was far from ideal. He was required to sit patiently while members of the nobility declared that Haydn's *Die Jahreszeiten* was boring and that Rossini and Vincenzo Pucitta were greater composers than Mozart and Beethoven.²¹ Like Wagner's German musician, Kreisler also had to teach music lessons, but Hoffmann represented Kreisler's pupils as reincarnations of the ideal woman. (The theme of the ideal woman, recurrent in many of Hoffmann's works, was developed in Wagner's operas, but it has no bearing on the Parisian writings.)

The narrator, the second principal character of the novellas, does not appear in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven." His brief preface to the story will be cited in its entirety as a specific comparison in the analysis of the novella. He serves as a foil for R-'s ideas in both of the other novellas. He considers himself sympathetic to his

friend's ideals, although he constantly reminds the German musician of practical matters. He and R- are close friends. R- summons him to his death bed and entrusts him with his literary bequest.

A third character of consequence is found in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" and "Ein Ende in Paris." He is an English gentleman, a musical dilettante who is the German musician's alter-ego. His conception of music is the antithesis of R-'s. He regards Rossini as highly as Beethoven and values money above the work of both composers. The Englishman's resemblance to one of Hoffmann's characters will be discussed in the analyses of the novellas.

General Features: The Narrative Chronology

The novellas' order of publication does not parallel their narrative sequence. "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" is set long before the other novellas. Its events occur while the German musician is quite young and has not yet attempted to earn his living in Paris. The conversation following the concert in "Ein glücklicher Abend" also takes place before R- took "that fatal trip of his to Paris."²² Since the German musician dies in "Ein Ende in Paris," it must be considered the final chapter in the cycle of novellas, even though it was published second.

The "posthumous" setting of the novellas complicates the discrepancy between the narrative sequence and the order of publication. As the narrator indicates in his preface to "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven," the German musician is already dead. The novella, supposedly R-'s memoirs, is being published at the narrator's instigation. The posthumous setting accounts for a sophisticated and ironic tone that might have been incongruous with the idealism of R-'s utopian journey.

"Ein Ende in Paris," told by the narrator, is prefaced by a description of R-'s funeral. Its order follows three successive encounters between the German musician and the narrator. A period of "days and weeks" separates their first two meetings, and their final encounter occurs two months after the second. The events transpire in a period of time "... well over a year."²³

"Ein glücklicher Abend," also told by the narrator, is in dialogue form and poses no problems in narrative sequence. The order of the analyses will follow the order of publication due to the close relation of the events of the two novellas that were published first.

"Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven"

Synopsis

The first novella chronicles the tribulations the German musician faces during his journey to Vienna. His sole purpose in life is to obtain an audience with Beethoven, the composer he venerates above all others. He has financed his journey by composing music suited to the taste of a bourgeois public. On his way to Vienna, he joins a group of travelling musicians in a performance of Beethoven's Septet in E-flat major, Op. 20. Their revelries are interrupted by the first appearance of the Englishman.

R- encounters the gentleman twice on the road to Vienna, and learns that he, too, is a musician on his way to meet Beethoven. Much to the Englishman's annoyance, R- declines an invitation to travel in style to Vienna and continues his journey on foot. Upon his arrival in the city, R- learns that Beethoven is a recluse and will not see visitors. R-'s every move is followed by the Englishman, but through great patience, R- succeeds in meeting his idol. The Englishman demands an introduction to Beethoven from the German musician, but Beethoven quickly dismisses the intruder. R- and Beethoven discuss musico-aesthetic issues raised by *Fidelio*, *Adelaide*, and the Ninth Symphony. Satisfied with the results of his journey, the German

musician prepares to return to Germany. He takes his leave of the Englishman, who is on his way to see Rossini.

Specific Correspondences

The beginning of "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" immediately suggests parallels to works by Hoffmann, setting a precedent for Wagner's reliance on Hoffmannesque constructs. Its preface is comparable to introductions to several of Hoffmann's stories:

Wagner

Shortly after the modest funeral of my friend R-, who recently died in Paris, I carried out the wish he expressed that I should write a brief account of his sufferings in the glittering metropolis. Among his literary remains I found the story of his journey to Vienna to visit Beethoven, told with considerable feeling. Therefore I decided to preface the account of my friend's sad end with these pages from his journal which deal with an earlier period of his life and will serve to awaken the reader's interest in him.²⁴

Hoffmann

... For the most part humorous essays, written as if quickly scribbled on the white backs of more notepages, found fortuitously by the true pupil of the unhappy Johannes, who made copies and put them together as unassuming products of a momentary inspiration.²⁵

... It was Bickert's posthumous papers that most engagingly occupied me in hours of leisure. Soon a few pages came to light that gave information of the catastrophe... in the manner of a diary.²⁶

As I once lingered a few days in this cloister, the worthy prior showed me the posthumous papers of Brother Medardus.²⁷

In the posthumous papers of Baron Wallborn...²⁸

Hoffmann's repeated use of posthumous narrations undoubtedly had its effect upon Wagner's novella, but more importantly, Hoffmann's musical opinions influenced Wagner's own views. Hoffmann referred to purely instrumental music as "the most romantic of all the arts--one might say, the only purely romantic art--for its subject is the infinite."²⁹ Wagner echoed precisely this sentiment when his Beethoven says, "imagine the instruments that convey the primal feelings--those wild feelings encompassing the infinite..."³⁰

One particular phrase used in the novella is of crucial importance in view of later developments in Wagner's career. He used the phrase "musical drama" for the first time in his dialogue between R- and Beethoven:

[Beethoven] Anyone who composed a true musical drama would be written off as a fool...
 [German musician] And how would you go to work on such a musical drama?³¹

As frequently as Wagner later exploited the term, he did not invent it. Hoffmann referred to such a form in "Der Dichter und der Komponist," the essay Wagner had taken so seriously before basing his libretto for *Die Feen* on Gozzi's "La donna serpente." Hoffmann's novella, really a portion of *Die Serapionsbrüder*, is cast as a dialogue between Beethoven (Ludwig) and Ferdinand, Beethoven's "dearly beloved academic friend."³² When Hoffmann's Beethoven states his demands for an opera libretto, Ferdinand's reply is "yet it will, I

think, be difficult to form the musical drama to your specifications."³³ Wagner devoted his career as a composer to overcoming the obstacles Hoffmann had predicted.

Music as a Holy Art

In Hoffmann's writings, the Romantic belief in the supremacy of music among the arts evolved into the theme of music as a holy art. The sacred nature of music was repeatedly emphasized by Hoffmann, who endowed it with the ability to express

... the idea of the highest and holiest spiritual power, kindling an inner spark of life, speaking audibly in tone..., the highest expression of creative existence in all of nature.³⁴

Hoffmann's conception of music as "a most pure, holy, and devout art,"³⁵ provided a literary motif for "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven." The very title of the novella implies that Vienna is the Mecca of a sacred journey, but all doubts are dispelled when Wagner's German musician discloses that "no Mussulman yearned more ardently to visit the shrine of the Prophet than I did to enter the room wherein Beethoven dwelt."³⁶ The musician refers to Beethoven's apartment as a sanctuary,³⁷ reinforcing Wagner's use of the imagery of piety.

Wagner's autobiographical character also indulges in ritualistic behavior throughout the novella. He fasts and

prays, ignoring the sensuality of Vienna in proper ascetic manner. He writes Beethoven a letter explaining how he had "worshipped" him and had "sacrificed" two years of his life to the composition of gallops to finance his journey.³⁸ While delivering the letter, he utters a silent prayer. He responds to Beethoven's favorable reply by falling to his knees and thanking heaven for granting him "this wonderful boon."³⁹

Attending a performance of *Fidelio*, Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient's incandescent interpretation of Leonore overwhelms the crusader, who swears that he prostrated himself "before the genius who had led [him], like Florestan, out of the darkness of tyranny into the light of freedom."⁴⁰ For Wagner's pilgrim, "it was as though the heavens had opened."⁴¹

It is not surprising that a novella entitled "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" relies on religious metaphors, but Wagner's use of such imagery is not merely an isolated example of his emphasis of the sacred nature of musical art. His short stories about the German musician continue to develop this theme regardless of differing treatments of character and subject.

The Romantic World of Illusion

"Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" includes an autobiographical sketch of the German musician. The first fact offered about R- is that his absorption in the music of Beethoven was radical in its effect:

To steep myself in the depths of his genius became my sole delight; so much so, that I came to imagine that his genius had entered into me, that I formed part of it, a tiny part, on the strength of which I began to build great ideas of myself--in short, to become what most people would call mad.⁴²

R- identifies closely with his idol and recognizes him immediately in a Viennese *Biergarten*, but he is left powerless after their first encounter. His "whole consciousness was paralysed--paralysed by the memory of what I had had to endure when Beethoven shot me that parting glance."⁴³ Prior to the disastrous meeting, R- had "stood there like one turned to stone" when the adversarial Englishman had announced his intent to visit Beethoven.⁴⁴

Confronted with the prospects of reality, the German musician retreated into a world where conscious sensation was temporarily suspended. At times, this could lead to heightened artistic awareness, but on this occasion, R-'s fixation with a single purpose resulted in momentary inability to achieve his goal.

Upon hearing that Beethoven will receive him, R- regains his awareness, but he declares that his joyful realization was accompanied by the antics of a madman:

Sinking to my knees, my eyes blinded with tears, I thanked Heaven for granting me this wonderful boon. Then I sprang to my feet and in a transport of joy danced madly round and round the little room.⁴⁵

"Madly" is also the adverb used to describe R-'s final actions during his assault on Beethoven's lodging.⁴⁶

Once he overcomes the obstacles posed by his English antagonist, R- is fully able to discuss musical topics with his revered Beethoven. He leaves Vienna with his "heart uplifted and ennobled."⁴⁷ Transfigured, the character completes a passage between two states of madness to an enriched state of aesthetic awareness. For Wagner, as for Hoffmann, illusion and madness intensified artistic experiences encountered in the immeasurable realm of music. Wagner's use of madness is Romantic, inspiring artistic perception and separating the true artist from society, personified in this case by the Englishman.

Contrast between Artistic Solitude and Companionship

"Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" creates a dynamic polarity between the conflicting impulses that were typical of Romantic attitudes toward society. From the outset, R-'s biographical introduction to the novella alludes to a gap

between artists and the public they serve. He mentions that he lived in an attic while earning a modest livelihood, "though his bread was very dry and his alcohol very watery (they were earned by giving music lessons, which [did] not bring in much in those parts)."⁴⁸ R- is proud of his poverty, convinced that his "toilsome pilgrimage on foot... could not but lead to a happiness unknown to one who made the journey in pride and luxury."⁴⁹ Isolation and deprivation would enrich his artistic experience.

Wagner's Beethoven shares the German musician's humble social status and solitude, living in "a queer looking house" just opposite from the "rather inferior looking inn"⁵⁰ in which R- lodged during his stay in Vienna. Beethoven makes no social pretensions, but his outward appearance does not put his visitor at ease:

His clothes were untidy and informal; he wore a red woollen stomach-band; his long dark-grey hair was dishevelled; his expression gloomy and unfriendly.⁵¹

The reason for Beethoven's mannerisms is, of course, his deafness. R- is aware of the isolation the affliction causes, but notably, he associates it with poverty:

To be poor and joyless, one's only solace one's sovereignty in the realm of sound, and have to say: 'I cannot hear.' In a flash I understood why Beethoven looked as he did.⁵²

Wagner's character could not empathize with Beethoven's deafness, but the fabrication of a bond of poverty places

the two on common ground. Wagner's ploy allows his German musician to subdue an overwhelming reverence for Beethoven, and the two artists can discuss musical aesthetics.

The novella contrasts separation from society with companionship, personified by a band of Bohemian musicians that R- encounters in his travels. R- takes great pleasure in their spontaneous rendition of Beethoven's Septet, and describes their unpretentious interpretation:

What a delight it was! Here on a Bohemian country road, ... a performance of Beethoven's great piece by a band of dance musicians playing with the purity, precision and depth of feeling of the finest virtuoso.⁵³

The first appearance of the Englishman briefly interrupts their music making, but they immediately regain their spirit of fellowship. The German musician embraces his friends, offers to attach himself to them, but takes his leave after learning they do not plan to continue to Vienna. Their friendship is obviously immediate and earnest.

The second encounter with the Englishman abruptly terminates the convivial atmosphere. Initially, the German musician is seduced by the Englishman's musical aptitudes, receiving the following response to his inquiry as to whether music is his new friend's profession:

For some time he did not answer. When at length he spoke the words came slowly. He was, he would have me understand, a man of substance. It was evident my question had offended him.⁵⁴

The Englishman's response creates social barriers between them, preventing the formation of the camaraderie that arose between R- and the Bohemian musicians. The same impediment prevents the Englishman from establishing a rapport with Beethoven, or, for that matter, recognizing the possibility of the existence of that type of artistic fellowship.

Pantheism of Nature

In all of the novellas, perhaps the clearest indication of Wagner's involvement with Romantic pantheism occurs in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven," when the Viennese master himself declares:

Instruments represent the primal organs of Creation and nature; their expression can never be clearly defined and formulated since they convey the primal feelings as they first issued forth from the chaos of the Creation, perhaps even before there was any human heart to hear and feel.⁵⁵

Instruments could capture the elusive essence of nature and provide a link between man and a divine spirit that existed everywhere. Wagner's Beethoven expresses sentiments consistent with the Romantic conception of the relation between instrumental music and nature.

"Ein Ende in Paris"

Synopsis

"Ein Ende in Paris," the next installment in the "cycle" of novellas about the young musician, describes events that preceded the funeral referred to in the introduction to "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven." The narrator prefaces the novella with a eulogy for his friend and mentions that the Englishman had attended the funeral.

As the story begins, the narrator discovers that his "old friend R-" is living in Paris.⁵⁶ R- could no longer endure his miserable existence in the German provinces and has come to Paris to "realise the modest portion of ambition with which the Almighty--no doubt mistakenly--has charged [him]."⁵⁷ The narrator raises objections to all of R-'s plans, including the acceptance of grand and comic operas at the major operatic institutions of Paris and writing music to flatter the "throats of famous singers."⁵⁸ R- cannot be discouraged, and, in great agitation, leaves his friend.

The two characters meet again on the Champs Élysées. In a state of inspired madness, R- mistakes a puppet show for a reenactment of *Don Giovanni*. He runs toward the stage, thinking one of the puppet characters is a soprano who will recognize his genius and promote his career. The narrator restrains the German musician, who manages to break

away only when the Englishman rides by on a horse, followed by a "magnificent Newfoundland dog."⁵⁹

The final meeting between the two friends occurs at R-'s deathbed. He acknowledges the defeat of his idealistic plans and describes how the Englishman had stolen his dog from him. He summons his final strength to proclaim his artistic Credo and expires. The narrator mourns R-'s death, but it is the Englishman who has the final say:

It's damned unpleasant for me that that gentleman died before I had a chance to pay him for his dog!... However I'll make amends by spending the fifty guineas for the dog on a gravestone for the worthy gentleman.⁶⁰

Specific Correspondences

Wagner's description of the destitute composer during the meeting on the Champs Élysées demonstrates persistent use of Hoffmann's imagery, especially when compared with a portrait of the mad painter Leonhard, an "apparition" from the unfinished biography of Kapellmeister Kreisler:

Wagner

Meanwhile I had time to examine him more closely. God, in what condition I found him. I don't want to speak of his clothing, but his countenance. One was miserable and unkempt, but the other was fearful. The open free expression was completely gone;--lifeless and stiff, his eyes stared

Hoffmann

... Down tumbled a man in ragged clothes with unruly hair. It was Leonhard, who stared at me with fearful, sparkling eyes. Deathly pale, gaunt, his countenance could hardly be recognized.⁶²

blankly, his pale gaunt
cheeks, marked with
sinister dark red blotches,
spoke not only of sorrows,
but of hunger.⁶¹

The climax of "Ein Ende in Paris," the musician's
Credo commencing with the exclamation "I believe in God,
Mozart, and Beethoven,"⁶³ extends an analogy Hoffmann had
made between spirituality and musical chords:

Wagner

I believe that in death I
shall attain the highest
bliss--that in my life on
earth I was a dissonant
chord, which death shall
resolve in purity... I
believe in a Day of
Judgement upon which all
who dared to exploit this
chaste and noble art...
will be fearfully punished.
On the other hand I believe
that the souls of Art's
true disciples will be
transfigured in a shining
heavenly fabric of glorious
harmony.⁶⁴

Hoffmann

Love, the harmony of all
spirituality in nature...
expresses itself in
chords... and so the chord
becomes the harmonious
image and expression of the
spiritual community, the
union with the eternal, the
ideal, that reigns over us
and certainly encircles us.
Music must therefore be
most pure, holy, and
devout, becoming clear only
as an expression of this
love, disregarding and
disdaining all
worldliness.⁶⁵

Other minor correspondences reveal further similarities
between Hoffmann's work and Wagner's novella:

Wagner

Every deeply committed soul
is following a star: Why
shouldn't his star be a
lucky one?⁶⁶

Hoffmann

You shall be my guiding
star, you I shall follow.⁶⁷

"Ha, I knew it! My evil
genius," my companion burst
out furiously.⁶⁸

Ha, I knew it! My evil
genius.⁶⁹

O, my premonition was all
too justified.⁷⁰

Ha, my premonition didn't
deceive me.⁷¹

Wagner's Englishman, a performer on both the flute and the French horn, is modelled on a character in Hoffmann's "Die Elixiere des Teufels." At a gathering at an inn, an Englishman named Ewson narrates a story entitled "Die Passion der Flötenbläserei." Wagner apparently created his young musician's nemesis by combining the narrator and the principal character of Hoffmann's tale.⁷² Both authors' flutists were incompetent performers, Hoffmann's "managing... to botch another passage that he had practiced one hundred times in a row every day for three years,"⁷³ while Wagner's played scales "excruciatingly."⁷⁴ The preceding specific similarities and the general correspondences between the principal characters of novellas by both authors indicate Hoffmann's unmistakable influence upon "Ein Ende in Paris."

Music as a Holy Art

"Ein Ende in Paris" cultivates a darker view of the Romantic theme of the supreme position of music in the arts, focusing on the fanaticism the German musician develops before his demise. Resigned to his fate, he narrates the events bringing him to his death bed:

Impervious to the outside world, I
unconsciously went wherever my tottering legs

carried me. They brought me up to the top of Montmartre, and I bade the hill of the martyrs welcome and resolved to die upon it. I, too, was dying for a faith and so I could think of myself as a martyr, though nobody had persecuted me--only hunger.⁷⁵

Finding refuge in the narrow side streets of that quarter, surrounded by papers and scores, R- lies in solitude, "resolved to die in the name of God and good music."⁷⁶

The German musician overcomes submissiveness in one glorious moment of defiance, spending his final energy in proclaiming his Credo:

I believe in God, Mozart and Beethoven, likewise in their disciples and apostles; I believe in the Holy Ghost and in the truth of the one and indivisible Art... I believe that whoever has steeped himself in its holy joy must dedicate himself to it forever and can never deny it.⁷⁷

Music is the one and indivisible Art that blesses all men and takes martyrs for its holy cause.

Mozart and Beethoven

Wagner set Mozart and Beethoven above all other composers in "Ein Ende in Paris." In addition to invoking both composers in his Credo, the German musician speaks of a "veritable cult of Beethoven," and his companion acknowledges that the name of "Beethoven is idolised in Paris."⁷⁸ R- also refers to Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in the wildly Hoffmannesque fantasy of the puppet show:

Punch, the law-breaker, who is he but Don Juan? And that cat, that magnificent, terrifying, white cat, is she not the living image of the Commandant on horseback?⁷⁹

At the end of the novella, just after the musician dies, the narrator questions the reader, "who knows what was lost forever when that humble mortal perished? Was he a Mozart-- a Beethoven?"⁸⁰ Wagner's repeated references to both composers set a precedent for "Ein glücklicher Abend," a novella with striking parallels in Hoffmann's works. Specific points of comparison in the analysis of the third novella will demonstrate that Wagner inherited his reverence for both composers directly from Hoffmann.

The Romantic World of Illusion

Just as "Ein Ende in Paris" develops darker aspects of the theme of music as a holy art, it intensifies the madness encountered in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven." The three elements of paralysis, madness, and transfiguration function in a similar manner in the second novella, but the narrative sequence complicates their presentation.

The German musician's naive plans for conquering the Parisian music world illustrate the first stage of his madness, one in which he "begins to build great ideas of himself."⁸¹ R- is convinced of his prospects for success:

I'll get my songs performed and then I might have the good fortune that others have had:

some modest little composition will be heard
by one of the directors of the Opéra and he'll
be so carried away by my talent that he'll
commission an opera on the spot.⁸²

The narrator cannot believe that his friend is so gullible, asking, "do you really go round with such crazy ideas?"⁸³

R-'s delusions lose their innocence during his next meeting with the narrator, the scene of the previously described puppet show. Consisting mostly of the German musician's "ravings,"⁸⁴ their chance rendezvous ends when, in mid-thought, R- insists on knowing the whereabouts of his dog. With the demand, "the madman's voice [rises] to a shriek," and he wrests himself free of the narrator's restraint "with maniacal strength."⁸⁵ In his frenzied state, R- wants his dog to sing in his opera, taking the place of the Commandant-cat. The "glorious portamento of her supernatural chromatic scale" would guarantee the acceptance of his operas on the stages of Paris.⁸⁶

At this point in the story, Wagner's autobiographical projection is still capable of action, although it is deranged. In fact, an intermediate stage of incapacity occurred between the two encounters. From his deathbed, R- narrates how he lost his battle with bureaucracy in the waiting rooms of Parisian salons, publishing houses, and theater offices. Confronted with harsh reality, his

illusions had been crushed. His response to the destruction of his fantasies was again one of passive recognition:

In those waiting-rooms... I dreamt away a whole year of my life... Through it all, piercing my heart, throbbing through every nerve, I seemed to hear the wailful ghostly tone of an oboe. Until, after a wilder, more oboe-haunted dream than ever, I suddenly awoke one day to find I had gone mad.⁸⁷

Dreams and ghostly apparitions robbed the character of his ability to react to the outside world, his complete demoralization graphically depicted in these terms:

I staggered out of the room to the entrance of the building and collapsed on the pavement outside... How long I lay there on the pavement, unconscious of the kicks I got from passers-by, I have no idea.⁸⁸

In his wretched condition, he encounters the "abominable Englishman," and concedes, "I had steeled myself to meet a demon of the underworld; it was another matter to have to face this apparition of the upper world."⁸⁹ Challenged by his archenemy, now a successful composer of music for the salons, the German musician retreats to a subconscious world, but even there, terrible dreams haunt him.

At precisely this point in the narrative, when R- has described the acute paralysis of his consciousness, he interrupts his reminiscence and resumes the narration of the events that led him to his deathbed. He takes no credit for his decision to die in the name of Art, admitting that the choice to live or die was really no longer his. Proclaiming

his final Credo, he passes through successive stages of madness and paralysis to an enlightened state of awareness, the pattern demonstrated in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven."

Wagner's use of madness, dreams, and illusion in the novellas discussed thus far clearly conforms to the Romantic concept of visions leading to a higher, transcendental unity. The association of ghostly daydreams and supernatural music eventually became a central principle of Wagner's later theories of drama,⁹⁰ but the Parisian novellas already demonstrate nascent forms of Wagner's mature thoughts.

Contrast between Artistic Solitude and Companionship

Wagner again addressed the duality of artistic solitude and companionship in "Ein Ende in Paris," beginning with the painful admission that only a few mourners attended the German musician's funeral.⁹¹ Before his death, R- had withdrawn to his Montmartre garret, "impervious to the outside world."⁹² Both events obviously emphasize solitary aspects of the Romantic polarity, but one passage reveals that even in his most morbid moment, R- is aware of both sides of the contrast:

Oh, happy the sailor who goes down in a storm!
No, it was into a swamp, into a morass that I
sank. This swamp, dear fellow, surrounds all
those proud glittering temples of art, towards
which earnest, zealous fools like me trudge,

as though there salvation were to be won. Happy the light-hearted! With a single well-executed *entrechat* they skip over the swamp and there they are. Happy the rich! Their well-trained horses need only the prick of a golden spur and over they go. But woe to the enthusiast who mistakes the swamp for a flowery meadow, falls in and becomes a meal for frogs and toads.⁹³

Common sailors, zealous fools, and enthusiasts are compared and contrasted with the light-hearted and the rich, again creating a clear division between artists and their companions on the one hand and (high) society on the other.

Pantheism of Nature

Several minor references to nature occur in "Ein Ende in Paris," although only one occurs at a crucial juncture of the plot. Just before the events on the Champs Élysées, Wagner resorted to ominous natural images:

It was autumn: here and there a leaf was falling and above the Elysian splendour loomed a grey sky.⁹⁴

The unusually short initial sentence interrupts the narrator's lengthier ruminations on the fate of his friend, while the odd juxtaposition of "Elysian splendour" and a looming grey sky creates a disturbance that clearly anticipates the German musician's hysteria. With a simple technique, Wagner produced a dissonance foreshadowing the decisive events that follow.

"Ein glücklicher Abend"

Synopsis

The final episode in Wagner's trilogy, "Ein glücklicher Abend," is cast as a dialogue between two musical enthusiasts. Attending an outdoor concert, R- and the narrator hear an orchestra play symphonies by Mozart and Beethoven and discuss their responses to the performance. The narrator sometimes provokes R- with presumptions about the nature of music, but the conversation ends in agreement. The topic of program music receives special attention.

Specific Correspondences

Wagner immediately created a setting for his characters similar to one from Hoffmann's *Serapionsbrüder*:

Wagner

It was a lovely evening in spring. Already the heat of summer could be felt in the currents of warm air which at every breath stirred and enchanted us as though they were sighs of passionate love. We were following the crowd which was pouring into the public gardens.⁹⁵

Hoffmann

Ludwig and Euchar strolled through a garden in a beautiful park. It was Sunday. The twilight began to fall; the evening wind passed murmuringly through the bushes which breathed freely in faint sighs as they recovered from the heat of the day.⁹⁶

Wagner then seated his characters far from the orchestra, a vantage point Hoffmann's figures also prefer in the short story "Ritter Gluck:"

Wagner

We arrived and took our usual place at a table under a large oak tree, a place at the furthest possible distance from the idle crowd and which we knew from experience had the particular merit of being the one where the music could be most distinctly heard... We had chosen a place from which we could hear the orchestra's every nuance without being distracted by the sight of the players.⁹⁷

Hoffmann

Near the country... there were more small round tables and garden chairs; here one can breathe the air freely, observe the comings and goings... It is removed from the din of the orchestra.⁹⁸

After providing his two devotees with the same setting and seating in which Hoffmann placed Gluck and his companion, Wagner also had them listen to some of the same music:

Wagner

Many beautiful things were played, among them Mozart's symphony in E flat and Beethoven's in A.⁹⁹

Hoffmann

... He played the andante from Mozart's sublime E flat major symphony, and on the wings of song all love and joy roused and raised themselves in my highest jubilation of life.¹⁰⁰

Again most significantly, Wagner appropriated the literary techniques from several of Hoffmann's tales, but he also relied on Hoffmann's musical aesthetics to resolve the conflicting opinions of his characters:

Wagner

It is an eternal truth that music begins where speech ends.¹⁰¹

Hoffmann

... That is the very wonderful secret of music, that it opens an inexhaustible source of expressive means where poor speech is exhausted.¹⁰²

Ultimately, Wagner's heavy reliance on Hoffmann's stories led to the expression of views that were held by the early Romantics, to the development of the musical mysticism that had been cultivated nearly forty years before Wagner wrote the Parisian novellas.

Music as a Holy Art

Wagner's treatment of instrumental music in "Ein glücklicher Abend" reiterates views presented in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven," but Hoffmann's influence is especially apparent on this occasion. Wagner's character expresses himself as passionately as any of Hoffmann's:

Wagner

... Painters and poets, drawing as they do their stuff from the appearances of everyday life, are bound to shape their works more definitely and specifically than the instrumental composer, whose sphere is the immeasurable realm of the unearthly, and whose medium that most immaterial of all stuffs, tone.¹⁰³

Hoffmann

Instrumental music... interweaves us in a beautiful and transfiguring way with the idea of the supernatural, the unearthly.¹⁰⁴

Wagner shared Hoffmann's faith in a musical work's ability to transfigure its listeners, providing an example of that power with the Beethoven symphony heard in "Ein glücklicher Abend." After the concert ends, both the narrator and his good friend R- say nothing until the audience has dispersed. Wagner's narrator realizes, "a mood such as that into which [they] had been thrown is so holy that one is bound to seek to prolong it as long as possible."¹⁰⁵

The two musical enthusiasts, in addition to seeking to prolong the "holy" mood following a concert, refer to the Mozart and Beethoven symphonies they heard as "these holy works" and "two works which seem to have been created by the god of an exalted and contemplative joy."¹⁰⁶ As the chief celebrants of the rites of music, the two composers

express a clear human consciousness of happiness as the goal of existence, and in both this expression is beautifully and revealingly interwoven with a sense of something higher beyond this earth.¹⁰⁷

Before the two companions end their discussion, R- intones a prayer with the following benediction:

And not once but three times I want to hail music and her high priests. Let God, say I, be eternally praised, the God of joy and happiness who created music!... Amen.¹⁰⁸

The Role of Instrumental Music

The Romanticists' belief in the power of instrumental music to express intangible emotions, already established in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" and "Ein Ende in Paris," is affirmed in "Ein glücklicher Abend." The German musician maintains that composers compromise this special power by attempting to represent mundane events:

One is dragging the musician down from his lofty position when one demands that he suit his inspiration to the appearances of everyday life. And the instrumental composer would be betraying his mission and exposing his weaknesses were he to attempt to transfer the limited proportions of worldly appearances into the sphere of his own art.¹⁰⁹

Continuing his conversation about "the nature and significance of exalted instrumental works," R- concludes that "the impulses and inspirations behind an instrumental composition must be of a kind which could only originate in the soul of a musician."¹¹⁰ Thus instrumental composition maintains a monopoly on the creation and expression of immeasurable, unearthly emotions.

In addressing the issue of program music, Wagner qualified his stance when R- declares:

However finished and rounded the proportions of the purely musical structure of a Beethoven symphony, however perfect and indivisible in a higher sense such a work may be, it does not follow that its imprint on the heart of the listener is a uniform one.¹¹¹

R- would allow listeners to form spontaneous, non-musical impressions of an instrumental work, but would disapprove of any preconceptions imposed by outside sources. (Wagner singled out the "sophisticated townsfolk who write for musical journals and spread stupid nonsense."¹¹²) Wagner's character condemns tone-painting in every case, "except when it is a question of reproducing some purely musical phenomenon."¹¹³ R- refuses to compromise the exalted status of instrumental music in Romantic thought.

Mozart and Beethoven

Both Wagner and Hoffmann included Beethoven and Mozart in their pantheons of instrumental composers, as already shown in excerpts from works by both authors. Hoffmann considered Mozart to be a Romantic composer and described his music in mystical terms:

Mozart leads us into the heart of the spirit realm. Fear grips us, but without tormenting us, so that it is more a presentiment of the infinite. Love and melancholy resound with beautiful spirit voices; night descends with bright purple lustre and we are drawn with indescribable longing towards the shapes that beckon us to fly through the clouds to their ranks and join the eternal dance of the spheres.¹¹⁴

This view differs markedly from his impression of Beethoven, whose instrumental music "opens... the realm of the colossal

and the immeasurable..., moves the lever of fear, of horror, of terror, of pain."¹¹⁵

In "Ein glücklicher Abend," the narrator distinguishes between the two composers in similar terms:

... In Mozart's music the language of the heart is formulated as a graceful longing, whereas in Beethoven's the longing is a daring, high spirited endeavour to grasp the infinite. Mozart's symphony is dominated by awareness of sensibility, Beethoven's by a bold consciousness of strength.¹¹⁶

R- agrees with his friend in principle, but defines Beethoven's relationship to Mozart:

Beethoven infinitely expanded the form of the symphony. He discarded the proportions of the traditional periodic structure, wrought to their highest beauty by Mozart, in order that his turbulent, daring, and yet at the same time reflective, genius might be free to take wing in realms to which it alone could penetrate... Mozart was Beethoven's point of departure.¹¹⁷

The two Beethoven symphonies discussed in "Ein glücklicher Abend," the "Eroica," and the Seventh, are the subject of further discussion in the area of program music.

R- admits that a composer's "profound feelings of suffering or elation may be occasioned by external events."¹¹⁸ The subject of a work resulting from an external source is a musical feeling, not a program of surface events. In the case of the "Eroica," Wagner's autobiographical character refuses to accept a programmatic interpretation of the score:

Does it possess a single feature directly bearing upon the career of the hero, who at that time had not even reached the pinnacle of his glory? For my part I am content to admire it as a gigantic monument of art, and to be strengthened by the exaltation I feel whenever I hear it. I leave to others, more learned, the task of deciphering the battles of Rivoli and Marengo from the secret hieroglyphics of the score.¹¹⁹

R- also rejects the depiction of a peasant wedding as a program for Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. In the years following the Parisian sojourn, Wagner modified his views. His programmatic interpretations of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, the *Corolian Overture*, and the "Eroica" became influential appraisals of some of the seminal compositions of the nineteenth century.¹²⁰

The Romantic World of Illusion

No fatalistic mechanisms blacken the tranquillity of "Ein glücklicher Abend," yet references to the illusory features of music are not entirely absent from its pleasant dialogue. Outward aspects of the performance are of less importance to R- on the occasion of this meeting. The "inner music which always resounded through him" creates a mood in which he is "capable of being enchanted by the very worst performance of a favourite work."¹²¹ Such moods are rare, possessing him only when his "whole inner being" is in harmony with his "bodily state." Hoffmann's "inner spark of

life,"¹²² hidden from ordinary perception, has clearly resurfaced in Wagner's work.

Other references to the Romantic world of illusion occur in "Ein glücklicher Abend," including the narrator's description of his friend as a "fantasist," and the striking Hoffmannesque parallel previously discussed, where the "immeasurable realm of the unearthly" is the specific domain of the instrumental composer.¹²³

Contrast between Artistic Solitude and Companionship

By concentrating on the companionship R- and the narrator enjoyed before their encounters in Paris, "Ein glücklicher Abend" serves as a balance with the emphasis of solitude found in "Ein Ende in Paris." In one of the German musician's rare moments of congeniality, he responds to his friend's query as to the nature of his feelings during the concert they had just heard:

I felt the balmy warmth of a lovely spring evening and imagined that I was sitting with you under a big oak tree and gazing up at the starry sky through its branches. And I felt a thousand other things of which I cannot speak. There you have it.¹²⁴

These are, in fact, the actual events of the story. The German musician is keenly aware of sharing his experience with his friend, and their similar feelings enable them to

enter into their dialogue about musical aesthetics. The discussion leads the narrator to this conclusion:

We agree as we always do whenever we touch upon the deepest questions of art. Were we to accept those crude fallacies you have been denouncing then, simply for that reason, we would be forfeiting the right to call ourselves true musicians, however feeble our talents.¹²⁵

The German musician, as always, has the final say, shedding the reserve he previously had shown regarding his feelings:

I want to sing the praises of joy and happiness--and of courage, which steels us to struggle against our fate--and of victory, through which we attain a higher awareness of the triviality of common things--and of love, which rewards courage--and of friendship, which maintains faith--and of hope, which marries itself to our dreams.¹²⁶

The narrator praises an artistic brotherhood, while R- includes friendship among the virtues he exalts. Both express sentiments in keeping with the Romantic duality between artistic solitude and companionship.

Pantheism of Nature

"Ein glücklicher Abend" provides poised images of spring and life as a counterweight to the harshness and funereal allusions of "Ein Ende in Paris." Its opening has already been cited as a comparison to part of Hoffmann's *Die Serapionsbrüder*, but in this context, it is worth noting that a natural phenomenon, "currents of warm air," are

likened to breaths which "stirred and enchanted" R- and his friend "as though they were sighs of passionate love."¹²⁷

After the performance, R- places nature and music on equal terms, exclaiming, "but today--praise be to God, who created the season of spring and the art of music!"¹²⁸ The "balmy warmth of a lovely spring evening" gradually recedes as the night air grows colder,¹²⁹ signalling the end of conversation, bringing the final novella to its conclusion, and balancing the use of pantheistic imagery in the cycle of stories about the German musician.

The Novellas: Summary

The three Parisian novellas exhibit all five Romantic themes in varying proportions. "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" emphasizes music as a holy art and the contrast between solitude and companionship. "Ein Ende in Paris" is dominated by the theme of madness and illusion, and "Ein glücklicher Abend" examines the role of instrumental music in detail. All three acknowledge Beethoven and Mozart as undisputed masters of the art. Each novella uses pantheistic imagery in a different manner, although nature is not the central theme in any of the three. The novellas are quintessential representatives of their genre, but as numerous specific comparisons disclose, Wagner inherited his legacy directly from Hoffmann.

Reception of the Novellas

What little notoriety Wagner acquired during the stay in Paris resulted from the novellas. The concert produced by Schlesinger for subscribers to *La Gazette musicale* found audiences more familiar with the author of "Une visite à Beethoven: épisode de la vie d'un musicien allemand" than with the composer of the *Columbus Overture*.¹³⁰

Both critical and popular opinion favored the novellas. Wagner claimed in *Mein Leben* that Berlioz had praised "Un musicien étranger à Paris" in the pages of the *Journal des Débats*.¹³¹ As the following passage from Berlioz's review indicates, it was "Une Visite à Beethoven" that had been noticed:

Already it was only a few weeks ago that the season opened with the concert sponsored by *La Gazette musicale*, that tireless journal which supplies its subscribers with clever critical articles, charming novellas (for a long time one will read the one by Monsieur Wagner entitled "Une Visite à Beethoven"), quite striking portraits of the gods and goddesses of song, music that is a bit of a melange, it is true, and concerts.¹³²

Berlioz is also reported to have shown Heine "Un musicien étranger à Paris," who reputedly said that E. T. A. Hoffmann could not have done it better.¹³³ As late as 1865, the year he began to dictate *Mein Leben*, Wagner continued to take pride in this recognition, boasting of the acclaim the novellas had brought him.¹³⁴

In 1906, Bernard Shaw, an ardent admirer of Wagner's music and the author of *The Perfect Wagnerite*, began to write *The Doctor's Dilemma*, modelling a portion of the play on the German musician's Credo. The death soliloquy of Shaw's Louis Dubedat, an painter with questionable morals but undisputed artistic skill, resembles the final utterance of Wagner's hero:

"Ein Ende in Paris"

"And now," the dying man resumed after a pause compelled by his growing weakness, "a last word regarding my faith. I believe in God, Mozart, and Beethoven, likewise in their disciples and apostles; I believe in the Holy Ghost and in the truth of the one and indivisible Art;... I believe that all men are blessed through Art... May such a lot be mine."¹³⁵

Doctor's Dilemma

And now it's all over, there[']s an indescribable peace. (He feebly holds his hands and utters his creed): I believe in Michael Angelo, Velasquez, and Rembrandt; in the might of design, the mystery of color, the redemption of all things by Beauty everlasting, and the message of Art that has made these hands blessed. Amen. Amen.¹³⁶

Contemporary accounts and Shaw's admiration indicate that the novellas were widely accepted in Wagner's own time. Later appraisals, however, have raised objections against them. In "Wagner and the Romanticism of E. T. A. Hoffmann," Linda Siegel suggests:

Wagner never equalled Hoffmann as a music critic, although he attempted to imitate his style in several of his own literary works. One need only compare "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" with "Ritter Gluck" to see how miserably he failed.¹³⁷

One basis for Siegel's comparison is the length of the aesthetic discussions in Wagner's short story. She claims that "Wagner... is too verbose when it comes to interjecting his views, and the conversations with Beethoven are overly long to the point of dullness."¹³⁸

In Wagner's own edition of the *Gesammelte Schriften*, the longest reply Beethoven makes to the German musician runs to just over three hundred words and occupies less than a page of printed text.¹³⁹ The passage in question discusses the combination of instruments, representing "the primal organs of Nature and Creation," and the human voice, the "clear, definite sensibility of the human heart." It is certainly the climax of the novella and clearly indicates the course Wagner was to follow in his music dramas. After twenty pages of narrative prose, such a passage should not be considered "overly long to the point of dullness."

"Ritter Gluck" is, by all standards, a work of great musical significance and highest literary quality, but much of its success relies on its sense of mystery and suspense. The encounter between its two principle characters allegedly occurs twenty-two years after Gluck's death, leaving the reader to wonder whether the eccentric title character is a ghost, a bizarre imposter, or even an hallucination of the story's narrator. Hoffmann developed this ambiguity superbly, arousing and sustaining the reader's interest

while inserting musical information at crucial moments in the narrative.

Wagner preferred direct methods. Having provided his readers with several serialized installments of narration emphasizing Beethoven's authority and importance, the conclusion of "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" capitalizes on previously aroused interest. Wagner's opinions thereby gain an integrity that his own name would not have produced. The exploitation of Beethoven's name may be cause for complaint, and it is for this reason that objections may be raised against the novella. R- overcomes his reverence for Beethoven all too quickly and engages in conversation with his idol as an equal.

The relationship between R- and Beethoven differs from the association between Hoffmann's characters in "Der Dichter und der Komponist." Ferdinand, Hoffmann's narrator, poses no threat to the Master's authority. As Beethoven's conservative, "dearly beloved academic friend," he answers several of Beethoven's three-hundred-word monologues with "indeed," "quite so," and "exactly."¹⁴⁰ Hoffmann's patronizing tone may be more respectful, but Wagner's style is more direct and explicit.

Susanne Langer, in her seminal work, *Philosophy in a New Key*, recognized the explicit quality of "Ein glücklicher

Abend." In examining the topic of significance in music, Langer advanced the following hypothesis:

... If music is really a language of emotion, it expresses primarily the composer's *knowledge of human feeling*, not how or when that knowledge was acquired; as his conversation presumably expresses his knowledge of more tangible things, and usually not his first experience of them.¹⁴¹

Numerous composers and theorists have subscribed to this "most persistent, plausible, and interesting doctrine of meaning in music,"¹⁴² including Schumann, Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz on the practical side, and Hermann Kretschmar, Eduard von Hartmann, Albert Schweitzer, and André Pirro on the theoretical side; but Wagner's novella provided Langer with "what may be the most explicit rendering of the principle:"¹⁴³

What music expresses, is eternal, infinite and ideal; it does not express the passion, love, or longing of such-and-such an individual on such-and-such an occasion, but passion, love or longing in itself, and this it presents in that unlimited variety of motivations, which is the exclusive and particular characteristic of music, foreign and inexpressible to any other language.¹⁴⁴

This passage defines anew the meaning invested in music by the Romantics. Wagner's new explicit quality, although still coupled with the development of Romantic themes, separates Wagner's novellas from Hoffmann's and is responsible for their lasting value as documents of the development of Wagner's aesthetic point of view.

Another fundamental difference between Wagner and Hoffmann is the final disposition of both of their autobiographical characters. The events of Hoffmann's unfinished biography of Kapellmeister Kreisler lead toward the ultimate dissolution of its hero, just as Hoffmann's own inconstant lifestyle, full of sudden changes of fortune, ended in irreconcilable contradictions and tortured aimlessness. Wagner's hero avoids these pitfalls through sheer force of will and clear knowledge of his artistic goals. Although Wagner himself was in no position to predict his future course of action, events proved that he was to emulate the optimism and faith of his early autobiographical character. It is the strength of his convictions that prove to be another rewarding aspect of Wagner's Parisian novellas.

Hoffmann's Influence in the Less Narrative Reviews

In his less narrative Parisian writings, Wagner also frequently adopted Hoffmannesque passages. Specific correspondences between writings by both authors will precede a discussion of the five Romantic themes. Passages from individual essays are examined under thematic headings.

Specific Correspondences

The first essay Wagner contributed to *La Gazette musicale*, "Über deutsches Musikwesen," includes a description of a scene of domestic music making. A father and his three sons, deeply immersed in a new string quartet by a local school master, play "with... understanding and fervour."¹⁴⁵ Even as amateurs, they manage to produce an effect identical with one portrayed by Hoffmann:

Wagner

Go to that place, I say,
and listen to the music of
that composer and it will
move you to tears.¹⁴⁶

Hoffmann

Hadn't the honest Rose
thoroughly studied... the
Dessauer March and
"Blossoming, lovely
violet," playing them so
beautifully that her mother
was moved to tears?¹⁴⁷

"Der Virtuos und der Künstler" draws conspicuously on
Die Bergwerke zu Falun:

"Der Virtuos und der
Künstler"

An ancient legend tells of
a priceless jewel whose
dazzling sparkle suddenly
bestows upon the fortunate
mortals who behold it every
spiritual gift and all the
happiness of a contented
mind. But it lies buried
deep under the earth.¹⁴⁸

Die Bergwerke zu Falun

A mysterious old miner
appeared... and told of
enticing and marvellous
things..., wondrous riches
which, hidden to ordinary
eyes, reveal themselves
only to the eye of the
initiated, showing him how
a far greater joy is to be
found at the center of the
earth than on the
surface.¹⁴⁹

Elis, the hero of Wagner's sketch, searches for the happiness predicted in the legend, abandoning his lover to hunt for a magnificent stone hidden in the depths of a mine:

Listen to me, my beloved angel. When we have this precious stone and look into it with mutual love and clear eyes, we shall behold how our hearts are intimately fused with the strange veins of the stone.¹⁵⁰

Disaster is predicted in the essay and the prose sketch:

"Der Virtuos und der Künstler"

Prose Sketch for *Die Bergwerke zu Falun*

Another miner... plunged into the giddy depths, and the whole mine collapsed on top of him with a mighty crash as though the end of the world had come.¹⁵¹

Suddenly a terrific crash is heard followed by muffled thunder: the mineshaft in the background has sunken considerably, the entrance has caved in!¹⁵²

The striking parallels between Wagner's essay and his prose sketch for a libretto based on Hoffmann's tale indicate that Wagner had remembered *Die Bergwerke zu Falun* earlier than he admitted in *Mein Leben*.¹⁵³ As was often the case, Wagner attempted to conceal his involvement with an external catalyst by trivializing its effect on his work.

Nine months after he completed the "Bergwerke" sketch, Wagner included lighter elements of Hoffmann's fantasies in an article for the *Dresden Abendzeitung*:

Wagner

Living just opposite me is Henri Vieuxtemps. He saw me returning home ill and, friendly soul that he is, he came over, bringing his violin. He sat down beside my bed and played me something, free of charge. I fell into a pleasant slumber and heard in my dreams some lyrical outpourings by Goethe.¹⁵⁴

Hoffmann

... Diagonally across from me lived the concertmaster, who had a quartet every Thursday, from which I heard the gentlest tones during the summer, since in the evening, when everything was quiet on the streets, it played near an open window. I would sit on the sofa and listen with closed eyes and be quite full of bliss.¹⁵⁵

The preceding comparison not only displays continued resemblance to Hoffmann's forms and imagery, but also indicates the revival of another influence of Wagner's early youth. By selecting Goethe as the author inspired by Vieuxtemps's playing, Wagner provided an example of how his early literary development influenced the Parisian essays.

One final passage from the report to the *Abendzeitung* on the Parisian premiere of *Der Freischütz* needs no comparison to verify the return of Hoffmann's influence in the criticism from this period. It addresses Wagner's "German fatherland" and appeals to readers who have shared his literary and musical background:

Must my heart not go out to a people that loves *Der Freischütz*? That still believes in fairy tales? That still, having reached man's estate, responds with sweet shudders to the mysteries before which it trembled when its heart was young? Delightful dreamers, with your devotion to forests and evening hours, to moon and stars and clocks in village steeples striking seven! Happy the man who understands

you, who can share your raptures, who can believe and feel and dream with you!¹⁵⁶

Surely Wagner was referring to Hoffmann's fairy tales, and it was Hoffmann's shudders, mysteries, dreams, and raptures that still caused Wagner to tremble.

Music as a Holy Art

Although the theme of music as a holy art reaches its final stage of evolution in the three novellas, Wagner did not neglect it entirely in his traditional, journalistic essays. Addressed to the Parisian public, "Über deutsches Musikwesen" presents the same outlook as the short stories while defending the solemn musical attitudes typical of one of his countrymen:

... Nothing is more natural than that music should be part of his thinking and feeling, and that far from regarding it as a mere entertainment he should approach it in a religious spirit as one of the holiest things in his life. He thus becomes a devotee--and the deep pious devotion which infuses his understanding and practice of the art is the thing which mainly characterises German music.¹⁵⁷

The sanctity of music was paramount in Wagner's conception of the art, making him a true disciple of Hoffmann and an ardent practitioner of the Romantic faith.

The Role of Instrumental Music

No passage could make Wagner's position concerning the status of instrumental music clearer than the following one from "Über deutsches Musikwesen:"

If it is true that in every art there is a genre which best represents its characteristic essence, then in the case of music that genre would certainly be instrumental music... In instrumental works music attains its highest significance and is brought to its most perfect development. In this realm, free from every alien cramping influence, the artist is in a position to achieve the ideal of art in the most direct way...¹⁵⁸

Mozart and Beethoven

Wagner's opinion of the music of Mozart and Beethoven stemmed from Hoffmann's great reverence for the two composers, but the novellas offer few insights into Wagner's knowledge of technical or historical aspects of their music. Two of the less narrative reviews, "Über deutsches Musikwesen" and "Über die Ouvertüre," aid in determining some of the features that may have consistently attracted Wagner to the music of both composers.

In "Über deutsches Musikwesen," Wagner described Mozart as a "supreme, divine genius," credited him with learning "the most difficult theoretical aspects of his art in early childhood," and raised "his colossal genius... above all other masters of whatever art in any century."¹⁵⁹

To this point, Wagner remained faithful to Mozart's image as perceived by Hoffmann and the early Romantics. However, Wagner embellished historical fact with a biographical description of the composer he honored:

He was poor and needy; he shyly rejected ostentation and worldly advancement. This artist, who was modest to the point of bashfulness and so lacking in ambition that he neglected his own interests, achieved the incredible...¹⁶⁰

The distortion of Mozart's character conformed completely to Wagner's idea of the pattern that German musicians followed in making their careers. Wagner again, no doubt, saw himself as the next composer in an unbroken line of impoverished German artists, affirming the autobiographical allusions of the novellas and his stance in "Über Meyerbeers Huguenotten."

Part of the pattern that Wagner perceived was the mastery of foreign idioms, as Wagner maintained in a discussion of the universality of Mozart's music:

He assimilated foreign art in order to elevate it to the realm of the universal. His operas were written in Italian since at that period this was the only acceptable language for singing. Yet, in that he cut out all the weaknesses of the Italian style and ennobled its best features by infusing them with his native German thoroughness and strength, he brought forth something entirely novel and unprecedented.¹⁶¹

Remaining consistent with his previous attitudes toward a mixture of artistic contributions to a complete, unified

work, Wagner offered the following reasons for the success of *Die Zauberflöte*:

It was based on a fantastic fairy tale and stocked with wonderful fairy-tale apparitions and a good dose of hearty comedy... The divine magic that pervades the whole work from the most popular song to the most solemn hymn! The versatility, the range!¹⁶²

In addition to considering Hoffmannesque traits (fairy tales and divine magic) essential to the founding of a national operetta, the passage focuses on combining features of independent traditions within an artistic whole. By assimilating foreign styles into a universal musical language, Mozart convincingly incorporated dramatic and musical elements of contrasting nature into a "masterpiece of unsurpassable perfection."¹⁶³

The views expressed in "Über deutsches Musikwesen" connect the Parisian essays with the articles of the 1830s, particularly "Pasticcio" and "Die deutsche Oper." In both of his earlier reviews, Wagner had urged composers to reject national styles and embrace a universal idiom.

Wagner saw a link between Mozart and Beethoven in "Über die Ouvertüre," maintaining that Mozart raised the overture from its former position as a dramatic prologue to the status of an independent tone-piece. Wagner cited the overture to *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* as the prototype of a form that departed from the model of the Baroque

sinfonia.¹⁶⁴ He also referred to the overtures to *Die Zauberflöte*, *Le nozze di Figaro*, and *La clemenza di Tito* as examples of self-sufficient musical structures, and included "the marvellously thrilling passage of the last bars" of the overture to *Don Giovanni* in this category,¹⁶⁵ despite its direct link to the first scene of the opera. Wagner adopted Mozart's type of "peculiarly pregnant termination to the introductory tone-piece"¹⁶⁶ in the Paris version of *Tannhäuser*, all four music operas of the *Ring des Nibelungen*, *Tristan und Isolde*, *Die Meistersinger*, and *Parsifal*.

Mozart and Gluck, "the creators of the perfect form of overture,"¹⁶⁷ provided models for Beethoven, the third composer that both Hoffmann and Wagner included in their musical pantheons. Wagner argued that the *Egmont* and *Coriolanus* overtures provided evidence of Beethoven's debt to his predecessors. However, Beethoven departed from the perfect form in *Fidelio*. In the *Leonore Overture No. 3*, "... the work... is no longer an overture, but the mightiest of dramas in itself."¹⁶⁸ Throughout his career as a composer, Wagner preferred Mozart's methods to Beethoven's, but significantly, he believed that both composers avoided depiction of distinct events of the opera plot and evoked specific dramatic qualities through purely instrumental

means. Wagner's opinion is in harmony with Hoffmann's faith in the transcendent powers of instrumental music.

The World of Romantic Illusion

Several less narrative reviews refer to fantasies and dreams in a specifically Romantic sense. The following passage from "Über deutsches Musikwesen" most clearly explains the significance of musical illusion by justifying the German composer's predilection for instrumental composition:

Here, where he can give rein to his dreams and fantasies, where his imagination is not restricted to the expression of a single specific passion, where he can lose himself in the great realm of indefinite feeling--here he feels himself free and at home.¹⁶⁹

Again, Wagner associated illusion and fantasy with freedom, certainly an autonomous, if not enlightened condition comparable to states achieved by R- in the novellas.

Less notable are Wagner's references to Hoffmann's fairy tales in the introduction to his report to the *Abendzeitung*, dated November 5, 1841,¹⁷⁰ the "adorable German reverie" and "*Schwärmerei*" mentioned in the review of the Paris production of *Der Freischütz* submitted to the same periodical,¹⁷¹ and the remark about "romantic unknown regions" in the review of Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre* for the *Abendzeitung*.¹⁷² These allusions are developed in a

significant manner only in the Halévy essay, but they nevertheless indicate Wagner's preoccupation with Romantic themes outside the confines of narrative forms.

Conflict between Artistic Solitude and Companionship

Two essays refer to the conflicting impulses between the individual and society, the opening of "Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit" articulating the issue concisely:

When I am on my own and my mind is full of musical noises which at last fuse into a melody revealing to me the essence of my being, ... then I often tell myself what an utter fool I am not to be content to stay alone with this marvellous experience, what an utter fool to go rushing out with it to that horrible amorphous mass, the public.¹⁷³

Creative acts, realized in moments of solitude, are compromised when forced into public arenas. The urge of the genius to communicate meets with self-denial and artistic sacrifice as soon as the doors to popular success are opened. Again, a dichotomy is confirmed.

Finally, Wagner's third report for the *Abendzeitung* addresses artistic isolation, informing its readers that Berlioz "has every reason to claim the right to figure prominently" in the report,¹⁷⁴ although the composer's music is performed only once or twice a year in concerts under his own direction. "Berlioz's isolation is, however, not confined to these external circumstances."¹⁷⁵

Wagner attributed the conflicting impulses found in Berlioz's personality and music to a struggle between French characteristics and Berlioz's reverence for Beethoven. The strain had directed his compositions "outwards in search for common points of contact in extremes."¹⁷⁶ Wagner identified Berlioz's search with the German Romantic duality of solitude and society:

A German prefers to withdraw from social life in order to seek the sources of his inspiration inside himself, whereas the Frenchman looks for inspiration to the remotest reaches of society.¹⁷⁷

The report maintains that Berlioz's own artistic impulses tend toward Germanic exploration of the "profoundest and most mysterious depths of his inner being," but the "demands and peculiarities of the people to whom he belongs, and whose sympathies he shares, oblige him to express his thought only on the immediate surface."¹⁷⁸

Wagner concluded that "Berlioz appears to enjoy his position of isolation and strives obstinately to maintain it."¹⁷⁹ Berlioz's tendencies worked against him, since "he [had] no friend whose advice he would respect, no friend whom he would even permit to point out the occasional flaws in his work."¹⁸⁰ Again, the proper sort of companionship would have supported artistic efforts.

Pantheism of Nature

In the article preparing the Parisian public for *Der Freischütz*, Wagner provided an exemplary description of *Waldeinsamkeit*, the characteristic, German Romantic preoccupation with nature:

I almost think I should have to begin with that "Wood," which you surely do not know. The "Bois" is something quite different, almost as different as your "rêverie" from our susceptibility (*Empfindsamkeit*). Indeed we are a singular nation: "Through the woods and through the meadows" will move us to tears, whilst we can look with barren eyes on a fatherland split into four-and-thirty princedoms. You who only kindle into real enthusiasm when it is a question of "la France," to you this certainly must seem a weakness; but just that weakness must you share in, if you are rightly to understand our "durch die Wälder, durch die Auen."¹⁸¹

German "weakness" was responsible for essential aspects of the opera's score. Without an understanding of this feeling, the Parisian public had no chance of comprehending Weber's masterwork. This was because Wagner considered the link between music and nature central to the work itself:

Thus the legend of the "Freischütz." It seems to be the poem of those Bohemian woods themselves, whose sombre aspect lets us grasp at once how the lonesome forester would believe himself, if not the prey of a daemonic nature-power, at least irrevocably subject to it. And that is just what constitutes the specifically German character of this and similar sagas.¹⁸²

Only amid people who shaped the legend would a composer have written an opera based on the subject. Only with an understanding of the relationship between music and nature would the composer's efforts have been appreciated. Endowing nature with the power to shape a national character, in addition to emphasizing its demonic, mysterious properties, confirms Wagner's inheritance of the theme of pantheism from the *Frühromantiker*.

Other Early Influences

Isolated references to Shakespeare, Schiller, and Goethe supplement the recurrence of Hoffmannesque themes in evaluating the reemergence of influences present in Wagner's early development. The three authors were important for Wagner's first prose works, but their influence was absent from his published writings of the 1830s. Each reference to one of the three authors has particular importance in its article, providing additional insight into Wagner's evolving conception of music.

Shakespeare

Returning to "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven," the German enthusiast, as already mentioned, asks Beethoven how a composer would go about working on a "musical drama." Beethoven's response is terse: "As Shakespeare wrote his

plays."¹⁸³ Elaborating on his cryptic rejoinder, Beethoven lists criteria for the creation of such works, ones which "would be considered as great and serious as instrumental music."¹⁸⁴ In contrast to orchestral instruments, the human voice "represents the human heart, the separate sensibility, limited, but clear and definite."¹⁸⁵ A union of the two elements on equal terms would increase the expressive powers of both:

The voice would have a beneficial effect upon the instruments' expression of the struggle of primal feeling in that it would set it within the framework of a definite, unifying course; ... The voice would be infinitely strengthened and expanded by gathering to itself those primal feelings: for now its former vague awareness of the highest would be transformed into a God-like consciousness.¹⁸⁶

Such a union demanded poetry that would not be overshadowed by its musical setting. Shakespeare's dramas provided poetry that met this criterion.

Even Schiller's *An die Freude* fails to meet Shakespearean standards, Wagner's Beethoven describing it as "a very noble uplifting poem, of course, yet a very long way from expressing what in this case no poem in the world could possibly utter."¹⁸⁷ With Beethoven's final pronouncement, Wagner affirmed the Romantic belief in the power of instruments to express the ineffable.

Wagner again referred to Shakespeare in his second report to the *Abendzeitung*, describing his mock sympathy for

members of the Parisian audience who agonized over the imminent departure of the Italian Opera Company:

My glance, directed sorrowfully upwards, lighted on Shakespeare... He looked at me grimly, as if he had just finished writing *King Lear*, and said: "Bold Saxon, do you think we English don't also want to be amused?"¹⁸⁸

In this case, the reference provides a bit of humor and establishes the article's generally sarcastic tone. But it also juxtaposes *King Lear*, a work Wagner considered a masterpiece, with Italian opera, a genre he regarded as merely amusing entertainment. In this manner, Shakespeare symbolizes a standard that Wagner did not frequently encounter in Parisian musical circles.

Schiller

When Schiller's writing emerged from Shakespeare's shadow, it fared well in the Parisian writings. Two references to Schiller's poetry indicate Wagner's familiarity with the writer's verses. The first draws a moral from society's treatment of the genius, who time and again leaves his isolated sanctuary to seek public ridicule:

And everything is back again where it was before, for as the poet has said: "*Alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden*" (Every fault committed upon this earth avenges itself).¹⁸⁹

The poet is Schiller,¹⁹⁰ but in this case, unlike the example of *An die Freude*, Wagner found the words adequate to convey the intended sentiments.

In another passing reference to Schiller, Wagner invoked the poet's name to chastize Germans who had forsaken the music of Germany, "the favoured nation to whom God let a Mozart and a Beethoven be born,"¹⁹¹ for the pleasures of Hérold and Adam:

Were I more than me, were I one of those happy
ones whom Schiller sings in his hexameters,
you should hear at once the oath I swore when
the Frenchmen laughed at your piety toward
Zampa and *Fra Diavolo*.¹⁹²

Intended for a German-language periodical, the allusion merely provides a common point of reference for author and reader. Those of whom Schiller sings are heroes. Wagner's task, defending *Der Freischütz* while denouncing French light opera, is thereby elevated to heroic status.

Goethe

It would be presumptuous to claim that clear influences from Goethe's writing could be found in the Parisian essays. As early as 1800, Goethe was recognized as the greatest living German writer, possibly the greatest German writer ever to have lived. His masterpieces in several genres (*Faust*, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, and *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*) were central to any aspiring

writer's literary background, yet in some ways they exerted an inhibitory effect on young authors. When Goethe died in 1832, a generation of young German writers had been laboring under the weight of his work, reputation, and authority. Wagner could hardly have claimed to be an exception to this rule, nor would he have been the writer most capable of coming to terms with Goethe's dominating influence.

Nevertheless, his profound admiration for someone who was considered "one of the greatest living human beings in the world" manifested itself in the Parisian writings.¹⁹³ By evoking "some lyrical outpourings by Goethe,"¹⁹⁴ Wagner provided his German readers with readily identifiable images based on a mutual literary background:

I wandered through his [Goethe's] fields and meadows, I drank at his springs and breathed his fragrant air. My eyes gazed up into the clear ether and there, in broad daylight, I saw in the middle of the sky a divine star which penetrated my being like the blessed eye of Mozart himself.¹⁹⁵

In this instance, the supreme genius of German literature is compared with his musical counterpart. Like Mozart's music, Goethe's writing possesses the capacity to transfigure those who can grasp its inner essence. It is not a case of parallels existing between some work by Goethe and Wagner's essay, but rather a method of relying upon past literary influences to enhance the communication of musical information. Goethe and Mozart, joined by Vieuxtemps,

provide an antidote to the emptiness of musical life that Wagner was observing and experiencing in Paris.

The method is similar to one used in "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche." The essay mentions literary figures merely to create a particular atmosphere without actually using their specific methods:

There is nothing more boring on this earth than to be a German in Paris. Being German is fine when you are at home, where there is *Gemütlichkeit*, Jean Paul and Bavarian beer; where you can spend hours disputing about Hegel's philosophy or Strauss's waltzes.¹⁹⁶

Comparable to this evocation is Wagner's citation of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* as a work admired throughout German-speaking Europe.

While none of these passages from Shakespeare, Schiller, and Goethe indicates direct literary influence in Wagner's Parisian essays, together they do show that Wagner consciously tailored his articles to the specific journals publishing his work. The references which rely on points of contact between author and reader occur primarily in critiques written for German periodicals.

The one reference to Shakespeare in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" presumes upon the Parisian audience's memory of the revelatory performances of the English Shakespeare company which performed at the Odéon in Paris during 1827. Immortalized in Berlioz's memoirs,¹⁹⁷ the performances

affected French audiences as profoundly as *Shakespearomanie* had influenced the German literary consciousness.

In mentioning Schiller in the same novella, Wagner assumed that French audiences recalled performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony given at the Conservatoire under the regime of Johann Friedrich Kittl. The other reference to Schiller that appeared in the pages of *La Gazette musicale* is plainly aphoristic. The remaining citations of the three previously discussed authors occur in the pages of the *Abendzeitung* or *Europa*, indicating that Wagner consciously chose to appeal to his German-speaking readers through the literary background he shared with them.

The remaining references to these and other literary figures in the body of the Parisian writings designate authors as sources of opera libretti. They are generally not the subject of critical judgments and need not be discussed here.

Conclusions

Long after Wagner's first Parisian experiences, influences that were prominent in his early writings still permeated his works. His monumental framework for an art work of the future, in particular, drew upon fundamental artistic aesthetics of the Romantics Kleist, Novalis, Tieck, Jean Paul, and certainly E. T. A. Hoffmann. He frequently

referred to Shakespeare in his theories of drama. The significance of these writers for Wagner's mature works has been the subject of considerable scholarly and popular interest, but the Parisian writings also bear the stamp of this indomitable force.

Hoffmann prevailed as a lifelong influence in Wagner's creative activity. As late as 1867, the year of the completion of *Die Meistersinger*, Wagner relied on Hoffmann's "Meister Martin der Kufner und seine Gesellen" for his libretto. Thematic and textual correspondences between Hoffmann's tales and other libretti by Wagner have been well documented,¹⁹⁸ and attention has also been devoted to Hoffmann's influence on Wagner's later prose works.¹⁹⁹

Rediscovery of old art, as well as its value for stimulating the art of the present, were cardinal points of Romanticism. It is in this sense that Wagner's reliance on Hoffmann, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller should be interpreted. Wagner retained the spirit of works by these authors and added new expression to their forms without shattering the original models.

All of the influences between works by the four authors and Wagner's essays prove his familiarity with their works, but most importantly they establish an essential relationship between the world of the Romantics and Wagner's

own ideal world. The rich declarations found in Wagner's Parisian novellas, rooted in the words of his powerfully influential predecessors, consistently demonstrate their author's new, aesthetic developments.

Wagner's novellas and essays clearly illustrate that Wagner's adoption of Hoffmann's literary techniques led to a similarity, and in many cases an identity, of thought about music. With the belief in music as a supernatural, unearthly communication from beyond the material world, Wagner embraced the musical aesthetics developed in Hoffmann's own tales and critical writings. He then brought this aesthetic outlook to bear on the themes of his own work in the literary genre of the novella and in traditionally journalistic essays. In doing so, he provided a link between the Romanticism of the earliest years of his century and his own later prose writings and musical compositions. In turn, Wagner's works influenced later Romantic composers such as Richard Strauss, Gustav Mahler, and the young Arnold Schoenberg. The French symbolists also inherited the ideals of the *Frühromantiker* from Wagner. Arrigo Boito was a disciple of Wagnerian musical aesthetics as well. By adopting Hoffmann's ideals and techniques and maintaining interest in the themes of early nineteenth-century writers, Wagner insured that Romanticism survived the vicissitudes of musical and literary tastes of the mid-nineteenth century.

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3. Hughes, 37.
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6. Strobel and Wolf, note to Wagner, Magdeburg, to Theodor Apel, Leipzig, 27 December 1835, in SB, 1:253.
7. Wagner, Riga, to August Lewald, Stuttgart, 12 November 1838, in SB, 1:350.
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17. Wagner, "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven," in WWfP, 66.
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19. Wagner, My Life, 188-89.
20. Hughes, 112-13.
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22. Wagner, "A Happy Evening," in WWfP, 178.
23. Wagner, "Death in Paris," in WWfP, 84, 90.
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27. Hoffmann, "Die Elixiere des Teufels," in E. T. A. Hoffmanns gesammelte Schriften (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1872), 6:8, quoted in Bülow, 47.
28. Hoffmann, "Kreisleriana," in Fantasiestücke in Calots Manier, 2:301, quoted in Bülow, 47.
29. Hoffmann, "Beethoven's Instrumental Music," trans. R. Murray Schafer, in Schafer, 83.
30. Wagner, "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven," in WWfP, 80.
31. Ibid., 79-80.
32. Hoffmann, "The Poet and the Composer," in Strunk, 43.
33. Ibid., 49.

34.Hoffmann, "Der Magnetiseur," in E. T. A. Hoffmanns sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 1:144, quoted in Bülow, 58.

35.Hoffmann, "Vierter Abschnitt," in E. T. A. Hoffmanns gesammelte Schriften, vols. 1-4, Die Serapionsbrüder, 2: 159, quoted in Bülow, 47.

36.Wagner, "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven," in WWfP, 65.

37.Ibid., 77.

38.Ibid., 74.

39.Ibid., 75.

40.Ibid., 76.

41.Ibid.

42.Ibid., 65.

43.Ibid., 74.

44.Ibid.

45.Ibid., 75.

46.Ibid., 77.

47.Ibid., 83.

48.Ibid., 65.

49.Ibid., 68.

50.Ibid., 70.

51.Ibid., 87. The short, but accurate, description of Beethoven may be attributed to Dessauer, whom Wagner had visited in Prague.

52.Ibid.

53.Ibid.

54.Ibid.

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57.Ibid., 85.

58.Ibid.

59.Ibid., 94.

60.Ibid., 102.

61.Wagner, "Ein Ende in Paris," in Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen von Richard Wagner, 4th ed. (Leipzig: C. F. W. Siegels Musikalienhandlung, 1907), 1:124-25.

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66.Wagner, "Death in Paris," in WWfP, 91.

67.Hoffmann, "Prinzessin Brambilla," in E. T. A. Hoffmanns gesammelte Schriften, 9:170, quoted in Bülow, 53.

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75. Ibid., 100.
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87. Ibid., 96.
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91. Wagner, "Death in Paris," in WWfP, 84.
92. Ibid., 99.
93. Ibid., 96.
94. Ibid., 91.
95. Wagner, "A Happy Evening," in WWfP, 178.
96. Hoffmann, "Ein Fragment aus dem Leben dreier Freunde," in E. T. A. Hoffmanns gesammelte Schriften, vols. 1-4, Die Serapionsbrüder, 1:128, quoted in Bülow, 56.

97. Wagner, "A Happy Evening," in WWfP, 178.
98. Hoffmann, "Ritter Gluck," in Fantasiestücke in Calots Manier, 1:10, quoted in Bülow, 57.
99. Wagner, "A Happy Evening," in WWfP, 179.
100. Hoffmann, "Ritter Gluck," in Fantasiestücke, 1:72, quoted in Bülow, 58.
101. Wagner, "A Happy Evening," in WWfP, 181.
102. Hoffmann, "Der Dichter und der Komponist," in E. T. A. Hoffmanns gesammelte Schriften, vols. 1-4, Die Serapionsbrüder, 1:93, quoted in Bülow, 58.
103. Wagner, "A Happy Evening," in WWfP, 183.
104. Hoffmann, "Prinzessin Brambilla," in E. T. A. Hoffmanns sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, 15:40, quoted in Bülow, 58.
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106. Ibid., 180-81.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid., 188.
109. Ibid., 183.
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113. Ibid., 183-84.
114. Hoffmann, "Beethoven's Instrumental Music," trans. R. Murray Schafer, in Schafer, 84.
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145. Wagner, "German Music," in WWfP, 38.
146. Ibid.
147. Hoffmann, "Kreisleriana," in Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier, 1:60, quoted in Bülow, 64.
148. Wagner, "The Virtuoso and the Artist," in WWfP, 51.
149. Wagner, "The Mines of Falun. Sketch for an Opera in Three Acts," in Weiner, 210.
150. Ibid., 214.
151. Wagner, "The Virtuoso and the Artist," in WWfP, 52.
152. Wagner, "The Mines of Falun. Sketch for an Opera in Three Acts," in Weiner, 214.
153. Wagner, My Life, 213. Wagner's prose sketch is dated 5 March 1842. *Mein Leben* does not refer to Hoffmann's story until after Wagner's return to Paris in the autumn of 1841. "Der Virtuos und der Künstler" was published a year earlier on 18 October 1840.
154. Wagner, "Farewell Performances," in WWfP, 125.
155. Hoffmann, "Ritter Gluck," in Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier, 2:358, quoted in Bülow, 67.

156. Wagner, "Der Freischütz," in WWfP, 138.
157. Wagner, "German Music," in WWfP, 40.
158. Ibid., 41.
159. Ibid., 45.
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161. Ibid., 46.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid., 47.
164. Wagner, "On the Overture," in PW, 7:155.
165. Ibid., 156.
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167. Ibid., 155.
168. Ibid., 157.
169. Wagner, "German Music," in WWfP, 41.
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174. Wagner, "Berlioz and Liszt," in WWfP, 129.
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Chapter Four

Wagner and the Feuilleton: The Influence of Heinrich Heine Introduction

In sharp contrast to Wagner's Hoffmannesque novellas, his reports for the Dresden *Abendzeitung* and essays for *Europa* and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* are representative of the style of the Parisian feuilleton from the middle of the nineteenth century. The present chapter aims not only to relate Wagner's essays to this tradition in terms of their general content and style, but also to establish specific points of comparison between the critiques in question and the music criticism of Heinrich Heine. Significant points of aesthetic similarity and contrast will be established by examining specific musical issues, works, personalities, and performances that were subjects of commentaries by both authors. Analysis of Heine's literary methods and Wagner's adoption of them reinforces parallels found in both authors' journalistic activity. The examination will also be concerned with the development of Wagner's musical aesthetics and literary style.

Relevant source material, namely Wagner's autobiographical writings, justifies this comparison,

despite the complications their author introduced during the process of editing his *Gesammelte Schriften*.¹ To begin the investigation, a brief characterization of the feuilleton and a summary of its historical context sets the background for Wagner's own work.

Historical Context and Stylistic Features of the Feuilleton

A literary definition of feuilletonism does not lie within the compass of this study,² but a description of a few salient features of this form of music criticism must be kept in mind during the present discussion. Historically, *feuilles* date from the earliest days of the French Revolution, when bulletins containing strong political content and reflecting editorial bias were circulated.³ In January of 1800, feuilletons became a regular feature of the *Journal des Débats*, which regularly reserved space for a column on the arts for the duration of its publication.⁴

As was the case with many other French literary products of the first half of the nineteenth century,⁵ it was not long before the feuilleton was imported into Germany. By the end of the first quarter of the century, the style had already made its impact on literary criticism, first becoming noticeable in the writing of Ludwig Rellstab.⁶ His work in the pages of the *Vossische Zeitung*, *Berlin und Athen*, and the music journal which he founded,

Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst, firmly established feuilletonism in German language periodicals.

In terms of their prominent characteristics, both French and German feuilletons exhibit an "... engaging, witty manner of expression..., frequently associated with negligible technical knowledge, inevitably leading to superficiality and subjectivity."⁷ Such a combination of critical assets and liabilities also "... makes external personal description and digression into indiscretion... the order of the day."⁸ Rarely does such an article focus on a single issue. Typically, it reports the events of a day, or several days without drawing its various subjects into a unified whole. This "immediate sense of the present, the single point in history which counted for anything,"⁹ ultimately leads to the concept of the feuilleton as "an idea in tune with its times."¹⁰

Popular accounts of the history of music criticism traditionally have designated one man as the founder of feuilletonism in music--Heinrich Heine.¹¹ As has already been suggested, his work is not without significant precedent, but it may be successfully demonstrated that

... Heine as a music critic (and above all as a writer of prose) absorbed the characteristic features of the feuilleton, and thus, if one wants, gave musical feuilletonism its first wings through his personal literary achievement.¹²

This achievement also conforms to the model of feuilletonism in that only one of Heine's critiques, a review from 1831 entitled "Ferdinand Hillers Konzert," confines itself to a single subject. A comparative examination of Wagner's critical letters and Heine's own reports will introduce additional evidence of the bona fide nature of Heine's feuilletonism. First, however, it is necessary to examine the reasons for suspecting Heine's influence in Wagner's writing, which become apparent from Wagner's autobiographical writings, *Mein Leben*, the *Autobiographische Skizze* of 1842, *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde* of 1851, as well as the Dresden *Abendzeitung* letter bearing Wagner's date of July 6, 1841.

Biographical Evidence of Heine's Influence

Wagner first became acquainted with Heine's writing through the recommendation of one of his student companions during his Leipzig studies.¹³ By that time, roughly coinciding with Heine's emigration to Paris in 1831, Heine's *Reisebilder* (*Nordsee*, I and II) and the *Buch der Lieder* had been published. These volumes, representing Heine's breakthrough to fame, have little in the way of critical or musical content, yet they disturbed some commentators with their "...ego-centered posture, the disrespectful wit, the,

for the time, occasional risqué passages, or the explicitness of the social and political animadversions."¹⁴

While Wagner was composing and producing *Das Liebesverbot*, he became better acquainted with Heine's early Parisian writings in the pages of Laube's *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*.¹⁵ In *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde*, Wagner did not name the works he read, but they were undoubtedly those that Heine later incorporated into the *Französische Zustände*, the first part of *Der Salon*, and the *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der neuern schönen Literatur in Deutschland*.¹⁶ At that time Wagner also probably read Heine's version of *Der fliegende Holländer*, one of the selections in the *Salon*.¹⁷

Laube introduced Wagner to Heine when all three German artists were living in Paris. The most objective account of what was very likely their first encounter appears in the memoirs of the painter Friedrich Pecht, who created a colorful impression of the meeting with his personal description:

Good comrade that Laube always was, he soon introduced us to Heine. The occasion was a dinner at Brocci's, a famous Italian restaurant in the Rue Lepelletier, opposite the Grand Opéra... Laube was just the man to prick Heine from the blasé indifference of his first greeting... and [draw] him to a perfect shower of witty rejoinders,--which he generally appeared to have studiously prepared beforehand. Under this hail of meteors, Wagner also thawed out of silence, and

displayed that curious elasticity of his, that rarest faculty of complete detachment from the cares and worries of his daily life.¹⁸

During the course of the evening, Wagner described his hazardous journey from Riga to Paris and his hopes for operatic success on the French stage. Laube recorded Heine's reaction: "Heine, else so immovable, folded his hands in pious horror at this assurance of a German's."¹⁹

During the period of these casual relations, Wagner provided a musical setting for a French translation of Heine's *Die Grenadiere*, an early poem reflecting its author's "youthful Bonapartism."²⁰ Thus Wagner experienced Heine's presence on personal, musical, and literary levels.

This influence ultimately led to Wagner's own admission in *Mein Leben* that he had fulfilled his obligations to the *Dresden Abendzeitung* with a hodgepodge of material, "... seasoned... in the piquant style made popular in recent journalism by Heine."²¹ Shortly after Wagner had begun his correspondence with the *Abendzeitung*, Lewald commissioned a series of articles for *Europa*, for which Wagner wrote "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche" and "Pariser Amusements." In them, Wagner "... gave vent, in Heine's fashion and employing all kinds of stylistic tricks, to [his] disappointments and [his] contempt for Parisian life in general."²²

Before he left Paris, Wagner acknowledged his debt to Heine in the *Abendzeitung* letter of July 6, 1841, defending the poet from a scandalous report published in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*.²³ Wagner's praise of Heine's character includes the following comments about Heine's writing:

Whenever a young German takes up his pen, he attempts--successfully or unsuccessfully, consciously or unconsciously--to imitate Heine, for never before has a style, emerging so suddenly and with the unexpectedness of a lightning flash, dominated the scene so irresistibly.²⁴

Wagner obviously numbered himself among the young Germans who consciously attempted to imitate Heine, although Wagner's later unfavorable criticism of his own articles indicates that he did not think his attempts had been successful. Wagner's renunciation of the work that was influenced by Heine is the first of two factors which play an important role in comparing the critical writings of Wagner and those of Heine. The second is the similarity of Heine's views to those of other contemporaneous feuilletonists.

Factors Impeding the Comparison of Feuilletons by Heine and Wagner

Wagner's Denial of Heine's Influence

Given Wagner's personal acquaintance with Heine and his candid admission of conscious imitation of Heine's style

in his own writing, it would appear to be a simple matter to establish Heine's influence in Wagner's Parisian essays. A more thorough examination of Wagner's autobiographical writings makes the suppression of this influence obvious. Such an examination complicates the issue, yet it is a necessary part of a complete study of Heine's influence in Wagner's early literary accomplishments.

Wagner still credited Heine in the original version of the *Autobiographische Skizze* as the source for *Der fliegende Holländer*.²⁵ Wagner's familiarity with Heine's version of the legend is confirmed in a letter of August, 1843 to Ferdinand Heine, an influential advocate of Wagner's music during the years in Dresden.²⁶

By 1851, the year of publication of *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde*, Wagner's version of the opera's evolution had changed considerably. Wagner implied that Heine's scenario was an adaptation of a play that had been produced in Amsterdam.²⁷ Attempts to identify a Dutch play with a scenario similar to Heine's, for the purpose of confirming Wagner's suggestion that Heine was not the one who provided the form for the substance of the legend, have failed.²⁸ Wagner was already avoiding any admission of reliance on Heine in his work.

The process of eliminating Heine's influence from his work continued in Wagner's editorial manipulation of the

Autobiographische Skizze in the *Gesammelte Schriften* of 1871-1873.²⁹ The systematic removal of Heine's influence from Wagner's work was completed with the account of the genesis of *Holländer* in *Mein Leben*. Wagner made absolutely no mention of Heine as a source of inspiration.³⁰

Two causes may be cited for this gradual development, besides Wagner's general proclivity for rewriting his biography. The first is Wagner's reaction against Heine's antipathy toward him after his departure from Paris, a factor of more importance than may be generally recognized. The second, and strongest, is Wagner's anti-Semitism.

The first motive again involves *Der fliegende Holländer*. In the *Autobiographische Skizze*, Wagner claimed that in proposing to draft a sketch for the opera's libretto, he "obtained the consent of Heine himself,"³¹ although Heine later saw no necessity for altering it for production on the stage.³² Wagner had reluctantly sold the sketch to Pillet, who had it adapted as a libretto for Pierre Louis Philippe Dietsch, the future conductor of the scandalous Paris Tannhäuser. Dietsch used Wagner's scenario to compose *Le Vasseau-fantôme, ou le maudit des meres*. Heine disapproved of Wagner's setting in a review for the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* dated March 26, 1843.³³ Heine also sharply criticized Wagner's own version of *Der*

fliegende Holländer when it was premiered on January 2, 1843.³⁴

Not one to relent from pursuing a course such as this one, Heine returned to the subject of the *Holländer* in his preface to the libretto for the ballet *Die Göttin Diana*, published in 1854:

The fable of my pantomime is substantially given in the first part of my *Salon*, from which many a maestro Bartholomew has stolen many a pint of new wine.³⁵

Heine, who died in 1856, expressed nothing more ascertainable on the subject of Richard Wagner.³⁶

Heine's rejection of Wagner's setting of *Der fliegende Holländer* would certainly have been sufficient to provoke a lifelong, hostile reaction from someone with Wagner's rancor for critics,³⁷ but Wagner's well-documented anti-Semitism is generally cited as the cause of his treatment of Heine in his autobiographical writings and the *Gesammelte Schriften*.³⁸ While the virulence of Wagner's anti-Semitic beliefs cannot be underestimated, reducing the deterioration of the relationship between the two men to a manifestation of Wagner's bigotry would be a simplification of a complex issue.

Wagner always wanted people to make sacrifices for him, even during the years in Paris. A letter from Minna

Wagner to Apel, dated October 20, 1840, uses precisely those terms:

If you can make a great sacrifice for Richard, and as quickly as possible, God will reward you for it, if Richard's grateful heart and my prayers should be too weak for that.³⁹

Apel, blind since 1838, was in no position to help Wagner, and Wagner terminated their friendship.⁴⁰ The same was true of Heinrich Laube. After years of friendship, Wagner did not support Laube's efforts to become intendant of the Munich Hoftheater in 1867. Partially in retaliation, Laube wrote a harsh review of *Die Meistersinger*, and a year later, Wagner ended their association.⁴¹

Jews who made sacrifices for Wagner were treated less harshly. As already mentioned, Wagner regarded his friendship with Lehms as one of the most beautiful of his life. Lehms had done all that was possible within his limited means to help the Wagners. Halévy was also remembered with affection in Wagner's autobiography.⁴² The conductor Hermann Levi, who was instrumental in promoting Wagner's works throughout Europe, also escaped Wagner's condemnation, albeit at great personal cost.⁴³

Wagner had undoubtedly approached Heine for loans during the years in Paris, although Heine was in no position to help Wagner, even if he had been inclined to do so.⁴⁴ Wagner believed that Heine had been indifferent to his

needs, and the harsh criticism that followed Wagner's departure undoubtedly provided Wagner with a motive for turning against Heine. Heine had not made personal sacrifices for Wagner, and he probably would have been censured regardless of his religious background. The fact that Heine was a Jew was not the only factor which led to Wagner's condemnation of him in "Das Judentum in der Musik," perhaps the most controversial essay Wagner ever wrote.⁴⁵

On September 3 and 6, 1850, under the pseudonym of K. Freigedank, Wagner's anti-Semitic tract appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. In addition to having categorically described "... the Jew altogether incapable of giving artistic enunciation to his feelings and viewpoints through talk,"⁴⁶ Wagner specifically addressed the case of Heine in the following, well-known tirade:

When our poetry became a lie, when it seemed everything except a true poet might emerge from the wholly unpoetic way of our life, then it was the office of a highly gifted Jewish poet to bare that lie with fascinating taunts. ... He [Heine] was the conscience of Judaism just as Judaism is the defaming conscience of our modern civilization.⁴⁷

In 1869, Wagner published the essay under his own name through the company of J. J. Weber of Leipzig. It was also included in the fifth volume of the first edition of the *Gesammelte Schriften*. The essay and its multiple reprintings led Wagner to deny any previous artistic

reliance on Heine. Accordingly, the foregoing changes in the autobiographical literature were instituted.

Wagner's own manipulation of sources and the perpetuation of the practice in secondary biographical literature postponed, but did not prevent, the discovery of the extent of Heine's influence in the libretti of Wagner's musical works.⁴⁸ It is now recognized not only in *Holländer*, but also in *Tannhäuser*, *Tristan und Isolde*, the *Ring*, and even *Parsifal*.⁴⁹ Such precedents will form the basis for the examination of Wagner's editorial manipulation of the Parisian writings, undertaken in the concluding chapter of the present study. The temptation to observe Heine's influence because of Wagner's admission of it on one hand, and to ignore it because of his denial of it on the other, may easily prejudice a comparative evaluation of their criticism.

The Contemporaneous Press

The factors discussed above are not the only ones affecting such a comparison. Because of the very contemporary, it might even be said dated, character of judgments typically found in most feuilletons, many concordances of subject matter may exist between Wagner's writing and that of Heine. This does not necessarily allow such parallels to be attributed to Heine's influence on

Wagner. In fact, congruent judgments between the two writers under consideration "... may quite often conform with half a dozen other voices of the press."⁵⁰

During the 1830s and 1840s, well over a half a dozen regularly published Parisian journals each employed several writers and correspondents as writers of *feuilletons*. Among many others, major contributors to the most prestigious journals are listed below:

Constitutionnel: Louis Véron.

La France musicale: Castil Blaze, Joseph Louis d' Ortigue, Adolphe Charles Adam, Heinrich Heine.

Journal des Débats: Hector Berlioz (concert critic), Jules Janin (opera critic).

Monde Dramatique: Josef Mainzer.

National: Josef Mainzer.

Revue Étranger: François-Joseph Fétis.

Revue des deux Mondes: Henri Blaze de Bury (son of Castil).

Contributors to Schlesinger's *Revue et Gazette musicale* have already been listed in the first chapter of this study. Parisian letters to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* were written by Theodor Hagen, Josef Mainzer, Stephen Heller, and Auguste Gathy. Wagner may also be included in this last group of writers by virtue of his two contributions to Schumann's journal in 1841 and 1842.

An overview of Wagner's limited associations with all of these critics is not vital to this study, but Wagner was

aware of the activities of his journalistic peers.

Indications that he took note of their work may be found in a special report for the *Abendzeitung*, which describes the reaction of the Parisian musical establishment to the Opéra production of *Der Freischütz*:

Logic is the Frenchman's consuming passion, and consequently it informs all their judgments. However conflicting the newspaper reports, none of them neglected in this case to base their opinions on the most logical premises even if this must often have proved difficult... But it was M. Berlioz in the *Journal des Débats* who contrived things best... Everyone was touched when, in an ensuing issue of the journal, M. Berlioz's colleague, Jules Janin, graciously took the trouble of reviewing the *Freischütz* production himself... Other journals reacted differently according to their own special brand of logic..., but the most logical of all was to be found in the *Charivari*.⁵¹

In the Dresden report dated December 25, 1841, a reference to Scribe's long-awaited comedy, *Une Chaîne*, confirms Wagner's interest in contemporaneous criticism:

The success appears to be complete, particularly when I compare the verdicts in the different journals, all of which are in Scribe's favour with the exception of that of J. Janin...⁵²

In its admission of the influence of Heine's "piquant style," the previously cited passage from *Mein Leben* supplies additional evidence of Wagner's attention to the daily musical press. In it he also indicated that newspaper

stories and personal conversations were sources of material for his reports.⁵³

The breadth of the critical circle surrounding Wagner and his self-admitted reliance upon it may obscure his dependence on qualities unique to Heine's writing. However, these factors and Wagner's later denial of Heine's influence do not impede the recognition of qualities generally associated with the feuilleton. Establishing these general traits in Wagner's reports must necessarily precede definition and discussion of traits directly attributable to features unique to Heine's music criticism.

General Features of Feuilletonism in Wagner's Reports

Coverage of Multiple Events

Perhaps the most striking feature of the first Dresden report, dated February 23, is the number of topics it discusses. It begins with a rather breathless description of Parisian life, includes a paragraph on the reinterment of Napoleon's remains in Paris on December 15, 1840, and proceeds to discuss a variety of musical topics. They include: predictions of the longevity of Meyerbeer's rule at the Opéra; the domination of operatic repertory by *Robert le Diable* and *La Favorite*; the rivalry of two singers, Sophie Löwe and Rosine Stoltz; a duel between Pillet and Schlesinger that resulted from the antagonism

between the two sopranos; the concert sponsored by *La Gazette musicale*; the declining state of the Opéra-Comique with a few comments on the "French School" of composition; the Théâtre Italien; Vieuxtemps and his Parisian debut at the Conservatoire; and finally, the procession of the *bouef gras* through the streets of Paris.

All but two of the Dresden reports display this discursive style, a quintessential feature of the *feuilleton*, and even they ultimately digress from the predominant topic. The first of them, the third report dated May 5, focuses on Berlioz in its discussion of the composer's character, his status in the Parisian musical community, his activities as a conductor, and his collaboration with Liszt for the Beethoven memorial concert on the very date of the report. After exhausting this rather single-minded approach, Wagner added comments about Cherubini, the directors of the various operatic institutions in Paris, the *clagues* at the Opéra, and the *concert monstre* which celebrated the baptism of the Comte de Paris.

Wagner also limited himself to a single topic in the eighth letter for the *Abendzeitung*, dated December 1. Although it is considerably shorter than the other reports and is primarily concerned with a formal description of *L'Hémicycle*, a mural by Paul Delaroche, Wagner found space

at the end of the article for the previously mentioned comments about Scribe's *Une Chaîne*. Even in his most narrowly focused critiques, Wagner displayed the many-faceted approach of feuilletonism.

Humor

Humor, another standard feature of the feuilleton, also finds expression in Wagner's reports. In the seventh article, dated November 5, Wagner abruptly ended his account of operatic prospects for the forthcoming season with a joke borrowed, as the author admitted, from another journal.

At the recent wedding of Jules Janin, Herr Chateaubriand was among the guests; the bridegroom begged him for his blessing, which he refused with the following words: "All that I have blessed, has fallen." Now the *Charivari* tells us that no sooner had these words been heard, than from all the ends of France, from every town, from every village, one cry went up to the far-famed writer: "Chateaubriand, we implore thee, bless the governmental system! O bless the ministry."⁵⁴

Humorous anecdotes are not particularly common in the Dresden reports, but Wagner inserted one in "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche." It is introduced as the purported exchange of experiences between two Germans living in Paris, although the contrived nature of the anecdote would indicate that Wagner included it exclusively for its

entertainment value. The "experience" narrates the tale of a grocer returning home after serving in the national guard:

He discovered his wife trying to conceal her lover. The grocer drew his sword and was about to run the lover through when his wife threw herself at his feet with the cry, "Unhappy man, would you kill the father of your children?"⁵⁵

Apparently, the well known story was already popular in Wagner's day.

When Wagner artificially introduced humor into his reports, he was not particularly successful. An ironic tone served him better when he commented on musical events or his personal circumstances. Frequently, Wagner maintained a sardonic manner of expression in shorter, self-contained remarks, which also characterized the Parisian feuilleton. A typical example occurs in the sixth report to Dresden, in reference to a much anticipated new opera by Halévy:

People say that Mme. Stoltz has fourteen numbers to sing in it, and therefore advise the composer to insist on a skilled physician being in constant attendance.⁵⁶

The soprano survived the premiere of *La Reine de Chypre*, the opera in question.

Wagner's own desperate situation quite frequently became the subject of his terse comments. Wagner related that in Narcisse Girard's new operetta, *Les Deux voleurs*, the repeated thefts of diamonds and a gold watch were accomplished "... with such truth to life that the whole

audience involuntarily fumbled for its diamonds and watch; I was the sole exception."⁵⁷ Of course Wagner had long since sold his own valuables or pawned them without hope of redeeming his credit receipts.

Further examples of this glib, witty style occur throughout Wagner's reports, but since their actual musical substance is quite thin, it would seem that additional discussion of Wagner's use of humor may be reserved for comparison of his use of sarcasm with Heine's literary wit. The foregoing examples sufficiently demonstrate the presence of the characteristic humor of the feuilleton in Wagner's writing.

Scandal

"Digression into indiscretion" is another salient feature associated with the feuilleton in Michael Mann's description of the genre. Scandals occasionally involved feuilletonists themselves, but more frequently, an indiscretion became the subject of a report. However, Wagner became directly involved in a scandal involving Heine and Salomon Strauss, whose wife Heine had slandered in his book, *Ludwig Börne: Eine Denkschrift*.⁵⁸ In retaliation for Heine's defamation of his wife, Strauss placed paid inserts in newspapers asserting he had struck Heine in public, and the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* reported that Heine had

made no effort to defend himself.⁵⁹ The affair eventually involved a number of parties, including Wagner, "who owed Heine a favor and wrote an article defending him against Strauss."⁶⁰ Despite Wagner's direct involvement with one of the parties, he remained a model of discretion while reporting on the scandal.

To Wagner's credit, he resisted discussion of the personalities involved in this brouhaha, refusing to name any party except Heine. He upbraided his German readers for their "... maiming of a talent which, with happier tending would have rivalled the greatest names in [their] literature."⁶¹ He claimed that no one had tried to ascertain the facts or listened to Heine's version of the event. He then appealed to his readers to avoid condemning one party on the unsupported statement of another. Despite Strauss's claims to the contrary, Wagner asserted that there were no competent witnesses who observed the event itself. This stance proved to be defensible, given that Heine later extracted from the "eyewitnesses" admissions that they knew of the matter only through hearsay.⁶² (Heine retracted his statements in 1846, claiming disingenuously that he had been misinformed about the character of Jeanette Wohl, the woman married to Strauss.⁶³)

A different, less serious uproar presented Wagner with the opportunity for the direct expression of his

opinion on the subject of scandals in the daily press. In the discussion of the Théâtre-français in the sixth Dresden letter, dated November 5, Wagner mourned the lengthy absence of one of the house's most popular actresses, Elisa Rachel.⁶⁴ In an earlier report for the *Abendzeitung*, dated April 6, he had related that a salary dispute or rumors of the actress's "advanced state of consumption" had possibly led to repeated announcements of her "last performance."⁶⁵ The real reason for her imminent retirement, in Wagner's delicate phrasing, was "... the need of seeking a hermit's blessing on a bond that woke the troubles of maternity too early in her."⁶⁶

After reflecting on the adverse effect Rachel's departure would have had on Racinian tragedy, Wagner explicated his own perspective on such matters:

To my sorrow I perceive that I am on the verge of defiling the threads of my correspondence, in themselves somewhat loose, with a stray piece of scandal. Preserve me God from such a thing! Yet at least it will show you that there are scandals-of-state in Paris as well; a discovery of a certain weight to anyone who thinks himself at first quite unregarded in this odiously big city, but sees the prospect thereby opening out of his being someday raised, himself, into the subject of a scandal. And in truth, it is no small feat to reach that point.⁶⁷

Wagner recognized that indiscretion had a value in the press and regarded it as a commodity which necessarily served as a measure of success. Such digressions were an

accepted part of Parisian criticism. Wagner did not make his reputation as a journalist by exploiting them, yet his occasional use of them must be considered another indication of his conformity to the tradition of feuilletonism. During the years he lived in Paris, Wagner ironically never attained the notoriety which would "raise" him into scandal. Twenty years later, with the infamous premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Paris, he would reach that point. (An additional scandal is discussed later in the present chapter with reference to Wagner's article about Rossini's *Stabat Mater*.)

Relationship with the Reader

A final characteristic associated with the feuilleton is its "engaging manner."⁶⁸ In the sense that Wagner generally wrote in the first person and directly addressed the reader, his style in the Dresden reports may be regarded as "engaging." Wagner began his first correspondence to the *Abendzeitung* by making his own circumstances clear:

You have asked me for news from Paris: me, a poor German musician, for news from a city of endlessness, glitter, and dirt. For a while I was puzzled, hardly knowing upon what terrain to cast myself in order to answer your wish most superbly.⁶⁹

He maintained personal contact with the reader throughout his reports, declaring, "... I will confine myself for the

present to relating you just this and that from the surface of our art-world."⁷⁰

Wagner's commentary is peppered with ordinary conversational expressions, including "as you probably know," "would you believe," and "should you wish;" his constant use of the first person led him to write, "I foresee," "I have made an interesting discovery," and "I impart to you,"⁷¹ but he reserved the plural, "we," for references to the members of the musical community of Paris. Thus he wrote, "we soon shall have all such undertakings musically accompanied, much in the same way as the reinterment of the remains of the July victims," and "we shall soon get a hearing of Halévy's last grand opera."⁷² Such passages are indicative of Wagner's use of the plural form. In this sense, he does not identify himself with the reader, whom he always addresses in the second person (using the formal *Sie* as opposed to the familiar *ihr*). Wagner thereby maintained a permanent separation between his readers in Dresden and himself in Paris.

His reports usually end with a personal closing, often referring to events which he promised to describe in the next letter. The conclusion of the second report is typical:

I observe... that I again have chattered much, but without touching on many a weighty point whose discussion is more imperative than

anything else in the world. I therefore must refer you once more to a future communication.⁷³

This dismissal of his "imperative" correspondence with the *Abendzeitung* does not deny the fact that Wagner consciously chose to describe the events of the day in the manner of the day. The discussion of numerous contemporary events in each report, the use of humor, the flirtation with scandal, and a direct involvement with his readers clearly indicate that the reports for Dresden embody the "spirit of the feuilleton."

The preceding discussion is by no means an exhaustive analysis of feuilletonism in Wagner's Parisian writing, but it is sufficient to serve as the basis for the contention that the reports from 1841 have much in common with other critical writing of the period. It now becomes necessary to compare individual reviews by Wagner and Heine to determine the extent of Heine's influence in Wagner's Parisian essays. The comparison emphasizes aesthetic similarities and differences between their reports, reserving a stylistic comparison for a separate discussion.

A Comparative Study of Individual Reports

The logical starting point for discovering parallels between Wagner and Heine would be to examine their reports on the same topics. During 1841, when Wagner's daily

literary activity consisted primarily of writing reports for Winkler in Dresden, the two critics wrote about the same events or personalities seven times. The subjects of these essays are: (1) the return of Napoleon's remains to Paris on December 15, 1840; (2) the three recitals given by Liszt in April and May of 1841; (3) descriptions of Anton Schindler; (4) the Parisian debut of Vieuxtemps; (5) the concert sponsored by *La Gazette musicale*; (6) performances of *Giselle*, or *Les Willis*, a ballet based on a scenario by Heine; and (7) the performance of Rossini's *Stabat Mater* by members of the Théâtre Italien. Wagner also wrote about three other topics Heine had previously addressed. Heine's earlier writings may have provided models for Wagner's essay about the painter Paul Delaroche, passages in the special report for the *Abendzeitung* about *Der Freischütz*, and the previously mentioned procession of the *bouef gras*. A comparison of all ten of the topics should help to define the type of influence Heine exerted on Wagner, although it requires examination of "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche," "Pariser Amusements," and Wagner's report on *Der Freischütz* as well as the Dresden letters.

Le corps de l'empereur

Heine and Wagner repeatedly referred to Napoleon in cultural reports to Germany. In a letter dated January 19, 1832, Heine had spoken of the fanatical respect Napoleon enjoyed with the French,⁷⁴ a theme he continued to develop when he described the impending Napoleonic celebrations in reports of May 14, 20, and 30, 1840.⁷⁵ Heine barely mentioned the actual events of the ceremony in his report of January 11, 1841, but an earlier report describes the inspirational effect that the announcement of the reinterment evoked.⁷⁶ Heine emphasized the nationalist sentiments of this event, which "... made a dreamlike, fairy-tale impression on the new generation."⁷⁷ His broad, historico-political view of Napoleonic ideals contrasted bygone days and ideals with the new ideas of the time.⁷⁸

Unlike Heine, Wagner used repeated references to the event to ridicule French customs and attitudes, and he contrasted the spectacle and pomp of the ceremony with individual isolation and poverty. In the first report for the *Abendzeitung*, Wagner portrayed the reinterment ceremony as just one of many activities that Parisians used as an excuse for outward display. He would have included the renovation of the Hôtel de Ville and the repairs to the city's fortifications in a facetiously proposed history of Parisian music, because he foresaw "... that before long all

such things will be done to the accompaniment of music--as witness the reburial of the victims of the July Revolution and the return of the *cendres de Napoléon*."⁷⁹

Having lowered the ceremony to a mundane level, Wagner ridiculed the French for adhering to rigid protocol:

Incidentally, since the day it was learnt that the national hero had been disinterred still more or less in tact, the *cendres* are now referred to, with strict accuracy, as *le corps de l'empereur*, and that delightful Dantan caricature, in which M. Thiers can be seen holding a box containing the ashes of Napoleon under his arm, has suddenly disappeared.⁸⁰

National spectacle again serves as a backdrop for an individual drama in "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche." The essay describes the declining circumstances of a German scholar who is determined to deny the existence of the soul and to explain *Faust* to the French. The narrator, another German living in Paris, ponders the fate of his compatriot. He learns that the *Faust* scholar is ill and is living at the Pitié hospital, one of the city's charitable institutions. He accidentally encounters his friend on a memorable occasion:

And then came 15 December, the day on which Napoleon's ashes were brought to Paris... God chose on this day to present the Parisians with appallingly cold weather. I stood freezing... on a raised stand in the Place des Invalides and thought with envy of my friend, whom I imagined to be wrapped in the warm blankets of the Pitié. But the unhappy man had... decided to observe with his own eyes the laying to rest of the imperial remains in Paris..., for otherwise he might have felt impelled to deny the reality of this burial in

the same way he denied the existence of the soul.⁸¹

Wagner patterned his fictional character on Hermann Pfau, a Leipzig student companion, although the autobiographical implications are clear. The scholar's poverty and the prostitution of his artistic talents just to survive reflect Wagner's own circumstances. Broad political perspective is subordinated to individual struggle.

Wagner's third reference to the ceremony, occurring in "Rossini's *Stabat Mater*," an article published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on December 28, 1841, also diminishes the importance of the event. Although Mozart's *Requiem* was performed, Rossini's work had been suggested for the service, giving Wagner a pretext for comparing the sacred music of Rossini and Mozart. Once again, political conditions were of secondary importance to another issue, in this case a discussion of musical aesthetics. In all three instances, Wagner and Heine held different views on the same event. Wagner's concern with aesthetic issues continued to dominate his feuilletons.

Le serviteur du public

During the thirteen years Heine worked as a critic in Paris, his opinion of Liszt varied considerably. In 1837, Liszt's ingenious virtuosity made Heine laugh.⁸² The

pianist "... stormed all too madly over the ivory keyboard."⁸³ In 1844, after an episode implicating Heine in an attempt to blackmail Liszt,⁸⁴ Heine took the pianist more seriously. He sneered at Liszt's charitable ways and suggested that Liszt's success in the concert hall resulted from the favor he enjoyed with women.⁸⁵ Heine referred to Liszt as "the Scourge of God for all the pianos of Érard... which convulse, wail, and bleed under his hands."⁸⁶

In 1841, however, when Wagner and Heine were reviewing the same performances, Heine's praise of Liszt knew no bounds. A panegyrical portion of his letter of April 20 includes favorable comments on both Liszt's character and his playing:

Yes, the genial one, or the Genius, is again here, and gives concerts which exercise a magic which is well-nigh marvellous. Beside him all pianists vanish--excepting Chopin, the Raphael of the piano... When Liszt plays, one no longer thinks of mere difficulties subdued, the piano disappears, and music reveals itself.⁸⁷

"Despite his geniality," Heine continued, "Liszt encounters opposition here in Paris."⁸⁸ One of Liszt's adversaries was Wagner, as the second and third letters for the *Abendzeitung* reveal. Both reports dwell peevishly on Liszt's financial success, a sore point for Wagner, in view of his circumstances. The letter of April 6 includes comments about Liszt's recital on March 27, 1841:

He appeared alone: nobody else played or sang. The tickets cost twenty francs each, and he earned a total of ten thousand francs, with no expenses. He is soon to give another concert. What assurance!... I am speaking of course of the speculative aspect; his playing is so assured... that it's not worth wasting a word on that.⁸⁹

Only a month later, Wagner harped on the same theme, arguing that although Liszt and Berlioz are "friends and brothers, ... there is a difference between them; Liszt earns money without expenses, whereas Berlioz has expenses but earns nothing."⁹⁰ Wagner most clearly expressed his personal reaction to the first recital in this declaration:

On this particular day I developed such a violent headache, such agonizing twitchings of the nerves that I had to go home early and lay myself to bed.⁹¹

It would appear that Wagner and Heine were again in disagreement except for the fact that both conceded that Liszt was the ideal interpreter of Beethoven. In his report to Augsburg on the musical season of 1841, Heine informed his readers that Liszt was preparing a recital for the benefit of the monument to Beethoven, unequivocally stating:

This composer must indeed correspond most closely to the taste of a Liszt; for Beethoven carries spiritual art to that melodious agony of all which is perceptible...⁹²

Wagner wrote of Liszt's abilities as a Beethoven interpreter in two Parisian articles. In "Der Virtuos und der Künstler," Wagner distinguished between two types of

virtuosos. The first is pictured "... holding high revel at his keyboard, running leaping, gliding, melting, caressing, swooning, ... the public hanging on every finger."⁹³

Wagner concluded that "with this sort of virtuoso obviously you can have nothing to do."⁹⁴

Without referring to Liszt by name, Wagner made it clear that Liszt was not to be confused with the first type of virtuoso. Liszt belonged to the second kind:

For after all there are other virtuosos, some of them fine artists, famous for their performances of great works, to whom indeed, in the chaos of present day music-making, the public owes its knowledge of these works. Here is a placard announcing a recital to be given by such a one, and, yes, thereon the name of Beethoven! We take our seats and truly it is Beethoven who appears... Yes, Beethoven is there, sinewy and forceful...⁹⁵

Wagner scolded the audience of "elegant ladies" and "lively gentlemen" for demanding the gallops and potpourris usually included on virtuoso programs, but he also warned the virtuoso to resist the temptations of financial success that such compositions promised. Since Liszt included two of his most popular display pieces on the program, fantasies on *Guillaume Tell* and *Robert le Diable*, the concert was ruined for Wagner. His concluding remarks are insightful:

I understand the dreadful necessity which today still exacts gallops and potpourris from one who would proclaim the genius of Beethoven, so, while I could not but admire this virtuoso, I cursed his virtuosity.⁹⁶

Wagner developed this sentiment in the third Dresden report in a reference to the concert for the Beethoven monument. Wagner believed that Liszt's success allowed him to play benefit concerts without hardship, although Wagner realized that fame was both a blessing and a curse:

Yet how many things would Liszt do if he were not a famous man--or rather if people had not made him famous! He would now be a free artist, a little god, instead of being what he now is--the slave of a tasteless, virtuoso-worshipping public.⁹⁷

The concert, scheduled to include only works by Beethoven, ended when the virtuoso-worshipping public demanded the fantasy on *Robert le Diable* as an encore. Wagner considered it a point in Liszt's favor that he spat out the words, "*Je suis le serviteur du public; cela va sans dire,*" before he reluctantly honored the request.

Wagner's astonishingly mature judgement of Liszt's relationship with the public pointed toward Liszt's eventual artistic development. While Wagner was initially repelled by Liszt's popularity, he regarded Liszt more highly as a result of the Beethoven concert. He came to have the same opinion as Heine, but only through his own artistic experience. Heine exerted no influence in shaping Wagner's opinion. Heine eventually condemned Liszt, while the friendship between Liszt and Wagner became one of the most celebrated artistic associations of the nineteenth century.

L'ami de Beethoven

Descriptions of Anton Schindler reveal strong parallels between Heine and Wagner.⁹⁸ Both writers referred to his grim outward appearance and mentioned that the Parisians regarded his relationship with Beethoven with suspicion. They also recorded that he was a subject of mirth among his acquaintances in the city. However, despite general similarities, it is doubtful that Heine's description influenced Wagner's. Wagner wrote his letter two weeks before Heine wrote his, making it more likely that both writers either met Schindler personally or acquired information from the "small papers." In the cases of both authors, a personal acquaintance is possible, but remains unconfirmed in biographical sources.

Leon ou grison

Wagner's laudatory comments on the playing of Henri Vieuxtemps fully contrast with Heine's unfavorable judgment of the Belgian virtuoso. This is a curious opposition, granted that the violinist was sponsored and promoted by *La France musicale*, the journal publishing many of Heine's articles in their French versions. In reviewing the concert organized by the journal's editors, the Escudier brothers, Heine rendered the following opinion of Vieuxtemps:

La France musicale... shone in its concerts by the co-operation of the Italian singers and of the violinist Vieuxtemps who is regarded as one of the lions of the musical season. Whether there is a real king of beasts under the shaggy coat of the lion, or only a little ass, I will not take it on me to decide. To tell the truth, I cannot agree with the extravagant laudations which are lavished on him, for it does not seem he had climbed so very high on the ladder of art.⁹⁹

Wagner wrote glowingly of Vieuxtemps in the first two of the *Abendzeitung* reports, concluding the first with an account of the violinist's debut:

... Let me tell you of the arrival of a great new talent, ... the violinist Vieuxtemps... He made his appearance here in the first concert of the Conservatoire and played a big new concerto of his own composition. Both his concerto and his playing were greeted with enthusiasm by a very knowledgable audience... His success, together with his composition, ... constitute a musical event of great significance.¹⁰⁰

In part, Wagner's generous praise stems from the fact that Vieuxtemps rejected the traditionally virtuosic *airs variés* and *polaccas guerrieras* favored by many concert violinists of the time. Wagner warned such virtuosos to "... bow down low before this stripling and follow his example--otherwise within five years you will all be dead and forgotten."¹⁰¹

The second Dresden report describes a second concert given at the Conservatoire in which a performer failed to heed Wagner's warning:

This man was the violinist Heinrich Ernst, who is an excellent player in his way. At the

Conservatoire there were no complaints about his virtuosity, but the same audience that had just heard Vieuxtemps's concerto could not refrain from showing its displeasure with Ernst's concertino, thereby giving this otherwise popular virtuoso a lesson.¹⁰²

Wagner hailed Vieuxtemps as a "creator of a new epoch--an epoch of such lasting worth that it will raise standards in all the branches of art."¹⁰³ History has not vindicated Wagner's enthusiastic praise, but he clearly did not accept Heine's judgment of this "lion" of the musical season of 1841.

Adelaide and Johanna Sophie Löwe

The concert that Schlesinger produced on February 1, 1841 was catered to the tastes of subscribers to *La Gazette musicale*, many of whom were Germans.¹⁰⁴ The program at the Salle de Musard included Wagner's own *Columbus Overture* and Beethoven's extended song, *Adelaide*. Both Heine and Wagner reported on the occasion to their respective journals, focusing on the performance of soprano Johanna Sophie Löwe.

After Heine established the circumstances of the event and rebuked Vieuxtemps for cancelling his appearance on the concert, he described Löwe's mixed success:

She sang admirably, pleased all the Germans, and completely failed with the French. As for this last misfortune, I would assure this admirable singer, for her own consolation, that it was her merits or excellences which stood in the way of a success.¹⁰⁵

Wagner was more enthusiastic in the first report to Dresden, failing to see the division discovered by Heine, but specifying his reasons for admiring Löwe's talents.

On her first appearance in a concert of the *Gazette musicale* she had... a triumphant success ... On all sides it was acknowledged that she would prove a distinct asset here, since besides enormous vocal agility she possesses a beautiful voice, which is unfortunately not the case with the existing prima donnas.¹⁰⁶

It would again appear that Heine had exerted little influence on Wagner despite their concordant opinions of the talent of the performer. However, Wagner's third letter for Winkler took a new position. It became obvious that Löwe had not sustained her "triumphant success." Wagner again advanced reasons for her decline in popularity:

Her choice of songs has certainly been unfortunate. If one made allowances the first time for *Adelaide*, a composition which is not really suited to her talents, one did begin to feel surprise when she continued to sing this song practically to the exclusion of everything else. It was in vain that she sought to relieve the monotony of her public appearances with Graun and his like... The French found these interminable old-fashioned roulades too foolish for words, and I must confess... that I found myself reduced to laughter by them. So what could one expect from the Parisians who do not believe in anything--not even in Graun?¹⁰⁷

In this instance, Heine's report had just been published in Paris, giving Wagner access to a French version of the text just when he was writing his own report. As Wagner's

frequently bitter complaints about French audiences suggest, he was not insensitive to the different preferences of French and German audiences. On this particular occasion, he may have been reminded of the difference by Heine.

Les Willis

In the report of July 6, Wagner reviewed the ballet *Giselle* by Adam, emphasizing that the scenario for the choreography had been provided by "a German poet, Heinrich Heine."¹⁰⁸ Wagner certainly had read the version of the legend of the *Willis* as it appeared in the *Florentinische Nächte*,¹⁰⁹ and Wagner's synopsis reflects Heine's form of the story:

It is set, or rather danced, in Silesia, not far from Breslau. This is the saga of the Willis--maidens who died of thwarted love now rise from their graves at midnight in order to dance all men who approach them to their deaths.¹¹⁰

In itself, Wagner's summary indicates nothing more than his familiarity with Heine's story. Wagner, however, projected the action of the ballet into Parisian life, ridiculing the dance "mania" that had seized Paris since the mid-1830s.¹¹¹ According to Wagner, the French considered the Silesian location to be an exotic one.¹¹² The locale was the only thing that allowed them to take the story seriously. No one in Paris could believe such a tale since "... every

spectator at masked balls... can see for himself, no Frenchman has ever been danced to death, or ever will be."¹¹³

Heine had previously suggested the same social parallel in *Der Salon*, likening Parisian women to the dancing wraiths:

This thirst to enjoy life, as if in the next hour death already called from the bubbling source of pleasure, or as if this source would already be exhausted in the next hour, this haste, this fury, this madness of the Parisian women that shows itself especially at balls, always reminds me of the dead dancers we call the Willis.¹¹⁴

In view of Wagner's familiarity with Heine's *Florentinische Nächte*, his application of the legend to Parisian society was probably influenced by Heine.

The judgments of both authors do not coincide regarding Adam's music, although Wagner's comments are so perfunctory as to be of little value to this comparison:

Incidentally, the ballet is like all the rest: good dancing, beautiful scenery, agreeable music. This time the music is provided by M. Adam, the man who wrote *Le Postillon de Lonjumeau*.¹¹⁵

Heine waited until the following season to comment on the music:

Does the music correspond to the oddly-wonderful subject of the ballet?... No... Yet what [Adam] gives is worthy of renown, and he maintains a distinguished place among the musical composers of the French school.¹¹⁶

Heine and Wagner shared one opinion of the Parisian dance "mania," but not of Adam's music.

Rossini's *Stabat Mater*

During Heine's career as a critic in Paris, he always distinguished the performances at the Théâtre Italien from all other Parisian activities.¹¹⁷ Unfamiliar with the works of Bellini and disparaging in his comments about Donizetti, Heine found the sensual beauty of the musical idyll above all in Rossini's operas.¹¹⁸ The *Stabat Mater* was yet another successful realization of this ideal of musical sensuality, its "naive expression" conveying the "most profound thought."¹¹⁹

As the following passage from his report to Augsburg indicates, the subject matter of the text is not compatible with musical settings of a grandiose nature:

This subject is of such a tremendous power of pain and sublimity, that it rises above the most heroically grand or most pathetically extensive means of representation. For this reason the greatest artists have in painting, as well as in music, always made charming with as many flowers as possible, the transcendent terrors of the passion, and softened its bloody earnestness by playful tenderness, as Rossini did when he composed his *Stabat Mater*.¹²⁰

Wagner adopted an opposing aesthetic point of view in his article, "Rossini's *Stabat Mater*," published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on December 28, 1841. He maintained

that the piety of Rossini's music is a "false virtue." According to Wagner, its sensual elements were contrived to flatter the tastes of upper-class, Parisian dilettantes who cloaked their insatiable appetites for the vocalism of Italian opera under the pretext of Rossini's piety.¹²¹

Wagner made no specific comments about the performance of the first six movements of the *Stabat Mater* at the Salle Herz on October 31, 1841, described by Heine as "the great, remarkable event of the... season."¹²² Nor did he refer to any particular qualities of the work itself, implying he did not attend the performance and was not familiar with the score. His report contrasts features of Mozart's *Requiem* with general characteristics of Rossini's music and attempts to establish and explain the indifference of the Parisian dilettantes toward Mozart's music. It also ridicules Rossini's inspiration for the score in a fictional, comic narrative.

Heine and Wagner expressed antithetical views on Rossini's music, suggesting that Heine had no influence on Wagner's opinion. However, parallels found in their assessments of the *Stabat Mater* are significant. Because Heine's report was not published in Augsburg until April 15, 1842, it would appear that Heine might have been attempting to refute some of Wagner's assertions about Italian music. Heine's report addresses five issues mentioned by Wagner,

allowing the possibility that the *Neue Zeitschrift* article was one of the targets of Heine's invective.

Both writers commented on a peculiar piety indigenous to Berlin. In part, Heine's review is a response to "the severe criticisms which have, from a North German point of view, been raised against the great master."¹²³ Heine tersely paraphrased these "very limited and erroneous ideas" regarding sacred music: "The execution is too worldly, too sensuous, too playful for its spiritual subject; it is too light, too agreeable, too entertaining."¹²⁴ For Heine, the German reaction was sufficient to "indicate most strikingly the originality and depths of [Rossini's] genius."¹²⁵

Wagner attributed the overwhelmingly favorable reception of the *Stabat Mater* to the desire of "the Paris world of quality" to cultivate "the ardour [that] has been catered-for in Berlin by philosophic Pietism."¹²⁶ In this way Parisian "high society" would not be "left behind" in European intellectual developments. Heine regarded "Berlin falsehoods of faith" as "mere mockery in the historical grand style," and "pious hypocritical grimacing."¹²⁷

The second of the points that Heine may have been addressing was Wagner's mockery of Rossini's inspiration for the composition. Dwelling on the fact that Fernandez Varela, a Spanish minister, had commissioned the *Stabat Mater*,¹²⁸ Wagner made the following observation:

The earliest stimulus to carry out his expiation [to write church music] seems to have come to him in Spain; where Don Juan found the amplest, choicest opportunities for sin, Rossini found the spur to penance.¹²⁹

By linking Rossini's music to the sensuality associated with Spain and the licentious nature of Don Juan, Wagner considered Rossini's setting of the *Stabat Mater* to be incompatible with his critical ideal of sacred music. This was exactly the "North German view" that Heine had opposed.

In defense of Rossini's piety, Heine drew attention to the religious pictures of the Spanish School, in which fulness of outline and of colour prevails; yet no one will deny that these Spanish pictures breathe the most vigorous Christianity.¹³⁰

Heine associated Rossini's music with a different type of Spanish sensuality, one more compatible with the qualities he found in the *Stabat Mater*.

Both writers also referred to Mendelssohn's oratorio, *Paulus*, as a point of comparison with Rossini's work. With an uncharacteristic directness of judgment, Heine declared:

I find the *Stabat* of Rossini more truly Christian than the *Paulus* of Felix Mendelssohn, which is praised by the adversaries of Rossini as a model of Christian style.¹³¹

Conversely, Wagner praised Germany for "... laying bare its heart to the musical gospel according to Felix Mendelssohn," while Parisians commissioned "exquisite *Ave Marias* or *Salve Reginas* from their first quadrille-composers."¹³²

Wagner's respect for Mendelssohn's religious work is confirmed in his article about Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre*, published in installments in *La Gazette musicale* the following spring. In it, Wagner stated that Mendelssohn's "type of intellect, of imagination... reveals a pious quietude that breathes from his religious works."¹³³ In 1843, Wagner still considered the oratorio a masterwork.¹³⁴ Mendelssohn later became another target for Wagner's anti-Semitism, although Wagner's animosity resulted, in part, from the continual conflict between his publicly proclaimed thesis of a union of verbal and purely musical motives and his privately maintained symphonic ambitions.¹³⁵

Heine also seems to have responded to Wagner's lengthy discussion of the publication of the *Stabat Mater*, the subject of yet another musical scandal. Varela's heirs had sold the manuscript to the French publishing house Aulagnier, much to Rossini's displeasure. Rossini persuaded another publisher, Eugène Troupenas, to wait until he had composed four additional numbers for the work and sold him the whole for six thousand francs.¹³⁶ Wagner dwelled on Rossini's mercenary attitude, while Heine dismissed the entire affair by relying on "... the eternal grace and charm of Rossini, his imperturbable serenity, which no impresario and no music-dealer could destroy or even disturb."¹³⁷

The final point Wagner and Heine had in common is their discussion of Italian singers. Heine again championed the cause of the Théâtre Italien when reviewing the first complete performance of the *Stabat Mater* on January 7, 1842:

As regards the first performance..., I need say nothing more than the Italians sang. The hall of the Italian Opera seemed to be the fore-court of heaven, in which sainted nightingales were sobbing, and the most fashionable tears flowing freely.¹³⁸

For Heine, the singing of the Italians justified the value of whatever they performed, but for Wagner, "fashionable tears" were the key to Rossini's success. As he wrote to Schumann, "since the Italians sing it, it must be good--it is the fashion."¹³⁹ With deeper insight, he asked the same editor, "does Rossini make fashion or does it make him?"¹⁴⁰

By asking this rhetorical question, Wagner placed himself in direct opposition to Heine's lifelong devotion to Rossini and Italian sensualism. In doing so, he rejected the aesthetic principles of his earliest essays, "Die deutsche Oper," "Pasticcio," and the articles about Bellini's *Norma*. Heine remained loyal to the ideals of "Young Germany," whereas Wagner's infatuation with Italian opera was a passing phase in his musical development. The preceding comparison of reports on the *Stabat Mater* reveals a major change in Wagner's musical aesthetics, making his

article for the *Neue Zeitschrift* one of the most important of the Parisian essays.

The shift in Wagner's opinion, together with the possibility that Heine's report was a response to Wagner's article, are indications that their relations were already deteriorating by late 1841 or early 1842. Although the two critics were never particularly close friends, the friction caused by Wagner's profit from the sale of the *Holländer* scenario, the awkwardness surrounding Heine's solicitation of aid from Wagner in the Strauss scandal, and Wagner's continual disagreements with Heine in musical matters may be considered important factors that contributed to the disintegration of their relationship. While these factors are still of less importance than Wagner's anti-Semitism, the rift between the two writers would appear to have begun during the period of their active involvement with daily journalism.

Delaroche

The eight reports that Heine wrote about the exhibition of 1831 have long been regarded as some of his finest critical work.¹⁴¹ Written in September and October of that year, they were later incorporated into the first part of the *Salon*, where Wagner undoubtedly became familiar with them. In them, Heine devoted considerable attention to

paintings by Paul Delaroche, an academic painter known for his depiction of historical subjects. Wagner described the unveiling of *L'Hémicycle*, a new mural by Delaroche at the École des Beaux Arts, in the letter for the *Abendzeitung* dated December 1, 1841.

Wagner's description of the formal characteristics of the painting reveals some correspondences with Heine's essays. Although the writers described different paintings, both dwelled on Delaroche's skill in representing authentic period dress. Heine marvelled at the overall brilliance of detail and color in Delaroche's depiction of the death of Cardinal Mazarin, but found some anachronisms in the costumes of the various groups of figures depicted in the painting.¹⁴² Wagner based Delaroche's mastery in the artist's skill in depicting the contrasting dress of figures of five different centuries.¹⁴³

Wagner's report ultimately lacks the broad historical sweep found in Heine's criticism. Although Heine believed that Delaroche had "no great predilection for the past itself," the painter succeeded in representing and illustrating its spirit, in "writing history in colours."¹⁴⁴ Wagner found nothing so momentous in Delaroche's mural. He marvelled at the artist's skill, but deferred passing judgment to a qualified authority.

The comparison of essays about Delaroche illustrates the same point as the comparison of the reports on the reinterment of Napoleon's remains. Describing the imperial ceremony, Wagner subordinated political causes to musical issues. In the report about Delaroche, Wagner summarized aspects of the mural's formal design but avoided discussion of historical perspective. Heine's article might have influenced Wagner by suggesting topics worthy of attention, but it is more plausible that, if anyone influenced Wagner's essay, it was the painter Kietz, whom Wagner credited in the second sentence of the report.¹⁴⁵

The *bouef gras*

Wagner concluded his first letter for the *Abendzeitung* with the following description of the climax of the pre-Lenten Carnival, the procession of the *bouef gras*:

... The *bouef gras*, the fatted ox which, according to French seasonal custom, has been dragging its great weight laboriously through the streets of Paris ever since yesterday, and will today, so I am reliably informed, dance on the Pont Neuf to a quadrille especially composed by Musard.¹⁴⁶

In its satirical tone, the passage is reminiscent of Heine's own description of the procession, originally published in a report of March 25, 1832.¹⁴⁷ Heine was not impressed by the *bouef gras*, claiming "a German would have laughed at the insignificant creature whose immensity was here so generally

admired."¹⁴⁸ He noted the many caricatures of the procession appearing in smaller journals and celebrated the *bouef gras* as the only institution to have survived the Revolution. Again, Heine created a social satire where Wagner mocked French musical life.

The "Jungfernkranz"

On June 7, 1841, Weber's *Der Freischütz* was performed at the Opéra with recitatives composed by Berlioz. A ballet, choreographed to Berlioz's orchestration of Weber's *Aufforderung zum Tanz*, was interpolated in the first act. Anticipating disaster, Wagner wrote a preview article for *La Gazette musicale* to prepare Parisian audiences for the performance. Heine took no notice of the event in any of his reports to Augsburg that year, yet Wagner's essay clearly reflects Heine's influence.

In his letter to Berlin of March 16, 1822, Heine had written about the popularity of one of the opera's numbers, "Die Jungfernkranz," or "The Bridal Wreath Song." The narrator of the report catalogues all the hours of the day he hears the opera's most famous tune:

Early in the morning the school children, twittering the "Jungfernkranz," march past my window. An hour hardly passes and the daughter of my landlady starts up with her "Jungfernkranz." I hear my barber sing the "Jungfernkranz" on the stairway. The little washerwoman comes "with lavender, myrtle, and

thyme"... When I sit down to eat dinner, it is droned by the singer Heinsius as dessert. I am choked with "violet silk" all afternoon. Here a blind man fiddles it, there a cripple grinds it out on a barrel organ. Kaspar's song and the hunting chorus are occasionally roared out by a drunken troupe of students or soldiers, but the "Jungfernkranz" is permanent... Yes, I think the dogs already howl it in the street!¹⁴⁹

Wagner certainly had this passage in mind when he wrote about the "ever-childlike ditty of the 'Jungfernkranz':"¹⁵⁰

In admiration of the accents of this pure and pregnant elegy his [Weber's] countrymen of the North and south united; from the adherents of Kant's "Criticism of Pure Reason" to the readers of the Vienna "Journal des Modes." The Berlin philosopher hummed: "The bridal wreath for thee we bind"; the Police-director repeated it with enthusiasm: "Through the woods and through the meadows"; whilst the court-lackey hoarsely sang: "The joy of the hunter." ... The Austrian grenadier was marched to the tune of the hunting chorus... and the Jena students fired off the mocking chorus at their tutors... From one end of Germany to the other, the "Freischütz" was heard, sung, and danced... And you too, you promenaders in the Bois de Boulogne, have trilled the music of "Freischütz": the barrel-organs have sounded out the hunting chorus on the boulevards.¹⁵¹

Heine dispatched the popularity of the "Jungfernkranz" with ironic distance while Wagner revelled in its pervasiveness. Clearly the manner of expression Wagner used in his description owes its form, even its wording, to Heine, but in his musical aesthetic, Wagner rejected Heine's attitudes.

Comparative Evaluation: Summary

Two conclusions may be drawn from the preceding comparison of individual letters and essays. First, when Heine and Wagner reported on the same events, personalities, or music, few agreements in aesthetic judgment resulted. The two critics brought radically differing perspectives to their descriptions of the Napoleonic ceremony on December 15, 1841 and the paintings by Delaroche. They fundamentally disagreed about Vieuxtemps, Adam, and Rossini, and their attitudes toward *Der Freischütz* were not entirely reconcilable. They agreed that Liszt was a formidable interpreter of Beethoven, but they did not concur in their general impression of the virtuoso as an artist. There existed some congruent judgments regarding Schindler, the concert of *La Gazette musicale*, and the *bouef gras*, but Wagner's change of opinion on the reception of *Adelaide* was the only modification of an aesthetic judgment. For Heine, music criticism was a vehicle for social satire. For Wagner, musical aesthetics were of paramount importance. The priorities of the two writers prevented them from agreeing on issues of musical concern.

Secondly, in places where Heine's influence is discernible, it generally manifests itself in a formal or stylistic manner. The parallel between Parisian society and the libretto for *Les Willis*, the satirical tone of the

procession of the *boeuf gras*, and above all the vivid account of Parisian obsession with the "Jungfernkranz" indicate that Wagner found a means of expressing himself in Heine's own fashion. The following examination of aspects of the celebrated "Heinesche Manier"¹⁵² reveals that Heine's stylistic influence in Wagner's feuilletons is only marginally more significant than the aesthetic influence.

The Heinesche Manier

In his authoritative study of Heine's music criticism, Michael Mann defines four characteristics which distinguish Heine's criticism from that of his contemporaries. Other writers have also suggested that two of these characteristics are features unique to Heine's style. They are: (1) "bewildering mockery" or "intense satire;"¹⁵³ (2) the literary technique of the extended metaphor,¹⁵⁴ corroborated by Gerhard Müller¹⁵⁵ and René Wellek;¹⁵⁶ (3) musical art as a metaphor for political conditions,¹⁵⁷ corroborated by Müller;¹⁵⁸ and (4) the attempt to reconcile opposing social, historical, and artistic tendencies.¹⁵⁹ The following discussion will describe or provide examples of these characteristics. It will also examine their occurrence in Wagner's essays.

Mockery and Satire

Many leading musical figures of the mid-nineteenth century took note of Heine's caustic satire. Schumann, Wagner, and Berlioz remarked on its intensity in their writings, and Berlioz and Meyerbeer were among the many composers who felt the sting of Heine's pen.¹⁶⁰ Some of his most devastating mockery took the form of descriptions of prominent musical personalities. The following sketch of Louis Gouin, Meyerbeer's personal secretary, demonstrates Heine's excessive sarcasm. Furthermore, it provided Heine with the opportunity to consider Spontini's charge that Meyerbeer was a musical plagiarist:

Notwithstanding the angular and clumsy exterior, the tile-red face, the low forehead, the greasy black hair of M. Gouin, suggesting a grazier or drover more than a musical composer, there was still much in his conduct which was very suspicious indeed, which rendered it probable that he was really the author of the operas of Meyerbeer. He has often spoken of *Robert le Diable* and of the *Huguenots* as "our operas,"... and when a *bravura* is applauded, he quite forgets himself, and bows to every side as if to thank the public.¹⁶¹

Gouin's employment as a postal official made it very unlikely that Meyerbeer would have borrowed any musical material from his own secretary. Heine ridiculed Spontini, pilloried Gouin, and cast suspicion on Meyerbeer simultaneously.

Wagner may not have sustained such multi-levelled satire in his own writing, but his description of "the mighty Scribe" is weighted with a very direct sense of sarcasm. He began his characterization with a hymn to the influential librettist:

To Thee, high God of pen and paper, creative
genius without a peer, Autocrat of all the
theatres of Paris, Man of the exhaustless
rents, Ideal of productive force in weekly
numbers, to Thee resound my reverent lay.¹⁶²

Wagner then stated that the hymn would need scores of verses to "enumerate a host of inomissible appellatives,"¹⁶³ but spared his readers the pleasure. In Wagner's description, Scribe's salon is the Opéra, his library the Théâtre Français, his music studio the Opéra-Comique, but most of Scribe's work is done at home over breakfast:

Go visit him... in the morning and you'll be astonished. You behold him in a most elegant silk dressing gown at a cup of chocolate, ... but think you he's really resting with that chocolate? Look round, and you'll observe that every corner of the charming room, each chair, divan, and sofa, is filled by a Parisian author or composer. With everyone of these gentlemen he is engaged in weighty business...¹⁶⁴

Wagner's description of Scribe ends with the contention that "anyone who would write an opera without his aid would rush upon a certain doom."¹⁶⁵ Wagner scorned Scribe's facile success and jeered at all the members of the musical establishment who flattered the librettist's authority.

Wagner's scathing description of Rossini's inspiration for the *Stabat Mater* also owes something to the sarcastic style of the "Heinesche Manier." Wagner explained that Rossini stopped composing after the completion of *Guillaume Tell* because "... he felt penitent and meant to compose church music."¹⁶⁶ Of course, Wagner thought it took a lengthy period of time for Rossini to seek and find forgiveness for the many musical sins he had committed in his operas, but that Rossini was finally granted absolution in Spain. Wagner's improbable account of the journey Rossini made to Spain in 1831 with his banker friend Alexandre Aguado rises to Heine's level of parody:

They were sitting at ease in a well-appointed chariot, and admiring the beauties of nature, --Herr Aguado was nibbling chocolate and Rossini was munching pastry. Then it suddenly occurred to Herr Aguado that he really had robbed his compatriots of more than was proper, and smitten with remorse, he drew the chocolate from his mouth;--not to be behind such a beautiful example, Rossini gave his teeth a rest, and confessed that all through life he had devoted too much time to pastry. Both agreed it would well beseem their present mood to stop their chariot at the nearest cloister, and go through some fit act of penance.¹⁶⁷

Such contrition does not go unrewarded in Wagner's rendition of the story. The prior of a monastery exacts the *Stabat Mater* from Rossini as penance, and the two travellers continue their tour. Wagner not only succeeded in ridiculing both Rossini and Aguado, he also criticized

Rossini's music for lacking substantial content. Wagner's ideas of Rossini giving "his teeth a rest" and his lifelong devotion to "pastry" allude to Rossini's early retirement from composition and the time he had spent writing operas.

Wagner's article also contains a merciless lampoon of the French audience that had assembled to hear the Mozart *Requiem* performed by regular singers of the Théâtre Italien. In the following passage, Wagner described the Parisian women's initial reaction to music that differed from standard Italian operatic fare:

With the most touching lack of prejudice they accommodated themselves to everything: they heard Rubini and Persiani,--they melted away; --and just as at the Opéra, they lisped: "c'est ravissant!"¹⁶⁸

Their true reaction surfaced after the concert, when the dilettantes attempted to study the score:

It has plenty of *colorature*! One tries them, --but: "Good Heavens! It tastes like physic!" --"They're fugues!" "Powers above! Where have we got to?" "How is it possible?" "This can't be the right thing!"¹⁶⁹

The situation resolved when music publishers calmed "the anguish of these pious ladies' hearts" with works by Clapisson, Thomas, Monpou, and Musard, works Wagner felt were imminently well suited to dilettante tastes.¹⁷⁰

Such "fashionable musicians" later believed that Rossini's *Stabat Mater* would provide the key to the *Requiem*:

At last, then, is this mysterious class of composition about to be made presentable for salons of the higher dilettanti!... At last will *they* be able, too, to boast of singing *fugues*; and these fugues will be oh! so charming and adorable, so aërial!¹⁷¹

In the entire sequence, Wagner ridiculed Parisian musical tastes, disparaged Rossini's music, and cast the music publishing establishment in an unfavorable light. The sustained humor and the caricatures of musical celebrities demonstrate that the pervasive and multi-faceted sarcasm of Wagner's *feuilletons* reaches the level of Heine's "bewildering mockery" and "intense satire."

Extended Metaphor

Heine's metaphorical method is the fundamental literary technique of his music criticism.¹⁷² One of the most often cited passages from the *Salon* portrays Meyerbeer as a conductor who, rather than commanding conventional orchestral forces, incites members of the musical press to extol his fame:

He winks, and all the violins of praise begin to fiddle as if for a wager; he lays his finger on the left side of his nose, and all the *feuilleton flageolets* flute their sweetest flatteries; and there are also unheard-of ante-diluvian wind instruments, trumpets of Jericho, and aeolian harps not yet invented, stringed instruments of the future, the application of which indicates the most extraordinary and tremendous talent for instrumentation...¹⁷³

Not a writer given to fantasy without some point of departure based in reality, Heine provided clues for deciphering his metaphorical symbolism. Thus the members of "Flageolet-Feuilleton" section of Meyerbeer's orchestra exhibit characteristics of known Parisian critics, Berlioz (unheard of antediluvian wind instruments), Wagner (harps not yet invented), and Liszt (stringed instruments of the future) among them.

Another of Heine's extended metaphors may help illustrate his use of the technique. In 1844, Rossini returned to Paris for surgery, giving Heine the opportunity to compare Rossini's weakened physical condition with the deterioration of the exterior of the Opéra. In Heine's fictionalized account of the visit, Rossini dines at Brocchi's restaurant and notices the decay:

The great Opera-House... is not remarkable for brilliant luxury; it has rather the appearance of an extremely respectable stable, and the roof is flat. On this roof stand eight great statues which represent the Muses. A ninth is wanting, and that one is, unfortunately, the Muse of Music... Poetic souls positively declare that poor Polyhymnia threw herself off the roof in desperation at the miserable singing of Monsieur Duprez and Madame Stolz (sic)... Should this thing go on much longer, the other daughters of Mnemosyne will also throw themselves off, so that it will soon be dangerous to pass of evenings along the Rue Lepelletier. As for the bad music which has raged like a disease for some time past in the Grand Opera, I had really rather never mention it.¹⁷⁴

As far as Heine was concerned, musical decay began at the Opéra when Rossini retired from composing. Again a real event inspired symbolic representation of a musical concept.

The following discussion of three passages from Wagner's essays illustrates his adoption of Heine's literary technique. Heine's influence may be perceived in: (1) the description of events befalling the *Faust* scholar in "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche"; (2) Wagner's dream of the "Black Knights" in the second Dresden letter; and (3) the mining narrative at the beginning of "Der Virtuos und der Künstler."

Faust Sacrificed

Much of "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche" follows a German immigrant's struggle for daily survival in Paris. He is the embodiment of German culture:

He understood all of Goethe's *Faust* from the Prologue in Heaven to the Chorus Mysticus at the end. He could write prescriptions and conduct lawsuits as well as any man; On top of that he could copy music, and produce proof that men have no souls.¹⁷⁵

These talents do not prove valuable in Paris, and after a series of calamitous experiences, the character accepts the offer of a boutique owner's widow, who would support him only if he would marry her. In exchange for financial security, he is obliged to assume domestic duties which

interfere with his self-proclaimed mission in life-- explaining *Faust* to the French. In order to survive, the German has to renounce his culture and calling.

This metaphor functions on two levels. The first and most obvious of them reflects Wagner's own circumstances during the period in Paris. As was the case with the character in his story, Wagner's circumstances forced him to engage in activities that interfered with his chosen work. On another but no less obvious level, the allegory subordinates *Faust* to working-class, bourgeois values. The best known work in the history of German letters is compromised, while its interpreter serves meals and tends children so a shop owner is able to make money. The scholar's situation again relates to a point emphasized in previously cited passages, the subjugation of German music to dilettante tastes.

It need only be recalled that Wagner based his character on Hermann Pfau to strengthen the metaphor's affinity with Heine's method. Pfau had visited the Wagner's in Meudon during the summer of 1841, although Wagner noted in *Mein Leben* that his former student companion had been "hanging about" Paris for a period of months.¹⁷⁶ Actuality led to symbolic representation in metaphors used by both Heine and Wagner.

The Black Knights

In the second report to the *Abendzeitung*, Wagner told the story of how he had once witnessed a travelling theater company's performance.¹⁷⁷ As the play began, confusion on the stage made it obvious that one of the main characters was missing. The manager of the troupe called for a pair of black knights who entered with the cry, "Aha, you'll pay for that," and fought each other furiously. The missing character returned, but whenever the stage action faltered, the knights reappeared.

Wagner's report associated the tale with the Opéra production of *Don Giovanni*. The singers, dancers, and stage technicians of the company "sang, danced, and produced with so much enthusiasm," that Wagner declared he had fallen asleep.¹⁷⁸ During his nap, Wagner dreamt of the two knights and thought he had been awakened by the "ear-splitting sounds of their blood-curdling shouts."¹⁷⁹ He soon realized the intrusion of the knights into his dream paralleled events of the performance. The singer of the title role had become indisposed, and the overture to *Guillaume Tell* had been substituted for the finale of the opera. The "ear-splitting sounds" were the strains of the overture, and the "blood-curdling shouts" were the cheers of the audience.

Again the metaphor is based on an actual event, the Opéra performance, and again, the symbolism is not difficult to interpret. It is valuable, however, as a convenient method of succinctly characterizing a performance. Later in the report, Wagner discussed Liszt's recitals, mentioning that the black knights had returned again.¹⁸⁰ Liszt had performed an arrangement of the same Rossini overture.

Mining for Jewels

Wagner's "Der Virtuos und der Künstler" begins with the legend of a priceless jewel which possessed the power to endow its beholders with "every spiritual gift and all the happiness of a contented mind."¹⁸¹ Buried beneath the earth, it could be perceived through chaos and rubble only by a privileged few. The passing of time also obscured the gem from general view. "A humble miner from Salzburg" and another "from the Siebengebirge near Bonn" were the only ones capable of perceiving the jewel in recent times.¹⁸²

The crudity of Wagner's metaphor is admitted as soon as the story is complete:

Perhaps the whole legend together with the ensuing fable can be understood in an allegorical sense. Its meaning would be easily grasped if the magic jewel were held to represent the *genius of music*. Then the names of the two miners would not be difficult to guess. As for the mass of rubbish and rubble that covers them, it lies all around,

cluttering the path whenever we attempt to get through to them.¹⁸³

This direct, explicit acknowledgement distinguishes Wagner's metaphors from those of Heine. Wagner provided immediate interpretation, whereas Heine only offered clues. In "Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche," Wagner explicitly mentioned "the inner struggle between material comfort and a higher calling."¹⁸⁴ Finally, in the case of the black knights, Wagner revealed the meaning of his metaphor:

Since then I have often encountered these black knights again, particularly on artistic occasions, and I must confess they always fill me with deep horror whenever I see them, sometimes at the most unexpected moments, before my eyes.¹⁸⁵

In every case, Wagner explained his analogy. This quality of explicitness, distinguishing Wagner's from Heine's metaphors, is also present in Wagner's novellas. Dispensing with the ambiguities of metaphorical constructions is comparable to openly realizing the latent romantic meaning of Hoffmannesque passages.

The metaphor of the jewel also demonstrates that Wagner adopted Heine's means of expression, but found the substance for his metaphors elsewhere. As previously discussed in connection with Wagner's adaptation of *Die Bergwerke zu Falun*, the subject of Wagner's sketch was borrowed from Hoffmann's tale. Wagner found the technique

of expression in Heine's prose, but the substance of his material in Hoffmann's novella.

Musical Art and Political Conditions

Throughout his critical career, Heine developed the thesis that art and politics were inextricably linked. In his *Briefe aus Berlin* of 1822, he associated political conditions which affected the Gluck-Piccini controversy with circumstances surrounding the conflict between Weber and Spontini.¹⁸⁶ In 1837, he divided the entirety of Parisian musical life into three categories: one of social presence (Meyerbeer), one of middle-class materialism (applied to a myriad of composers in individual essays), and one of aesthetic idealism (Liszt, Berlioz, and Chopin). He later created another political metaphor by representing Rossini as "aristocratic" and Meyerbeer as "the voice of the people."¹⁸⁷ Ultimately, Heine presented musical art as a metaphor of political conditions.

It is tempting to impose such an ordering on Wagner's feuilletons, but as has already been demonstrated by examination of the reports about the reinterment of Napoleon's remains and even the report about Delaroche, Wagner did not subscribe to Heine's broad, all-encompassing view. To be sure, the reports are not completely lacking in socio-political references. A reference to Louis Adolphe

Thiers, a foreign minister who was forced to resign from office in October of 1840, and a comment that Berlioz has an undeniable talent for popular composition indicate a degree of awareness of social and political factions.¹⁸⁸ His description of Scribe, whose death would mark the passing of a type of art as powerful as the "Napoleonic sway," also suggests the beginning of the development of Wagner's own political and social theories. These passages attest to the emergence of Wagner's political perspective, but they do not suggest a widespread, systematic evaluation of music on a purely political basis. It was not until 1848, the year in which Wagner wrote "Entwurf zur Organisation eines deutschen National-theaters für das Königreich Sachsen," that he began to view the theater as a mirror of a reactionary society.¹⁸⁹ Consequently, there is little indication of this aspect of the "Heinesche Manier" in Wagner's Parisian essays.

Reconciliation of Opposites

Heine frequently paired musicians together in an attempt to reconcile the opposing trends he perceived in musical developments. Spontini and Weber, Rossini and Meyerbeer, Liszt and Thalberg, and later, Rossini and Mendelssohn were compared and contrasted in order to address

contemporary musical and political issues. The resolution of conflict is the goal of Heine's essays.

In this case, Wagner adopted little if any of Heine's technique. If he did draw two composers together, as in the previously mentioned case of Berlioz and Liszt as "friends and brothers," it is on the basis of similarities they shared, not on the evidence of irreconcilable differences between them. In the case of Rossini and Mozart, Wagner made his preference clear without trying to resolve conflicts between composers. Mozart's *Requiem* embodied his musical aesthetic; Rossini's *Stabat Mater* did not.

This particular feature of Heine's style proved unsuitable for Wagner's emerging critical perspective. His opinions had become clearly defined during his stay in Paris, and he was primarily concerned with expressing them explicitly. He preferred stating his views directly rather than using Heine's more ambiguous methods. Wagner's preference is articulated in the comparison of his own manner of expression with the "Heinesche Manier." Satire and metaphor, if made explicit, served Wagner's purposes. An all encompassing political perspective and an urge to harmonize opposing musical tendencies did not.

Wagner did successfully reconcile opposing characteristics in his operas and music dramas. In *Der fliegende Holländer*, the Dutchman must decide between

redemption and compassion. In *Tannhäuser*, the title character must decide between sensuality and spirituality, personified by Venus and Elizabeth, respectively. Elsa cannot resolve the conflict between a solemn vow and her fatal curiosity in *Lohengrin*. In *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, Wotan refers to himself as "licht Alberich," while the real Alberich is "schwarz." Hans Sachs must resolve his complex feelings toward Eva in *Die Meistersinger*. Kundry, Amfortas, and Parsifal must come to terms with the opposing features of their own personalities in Wagner's final music drama. In each case, the action of the opera depends on the resolution of an interior conflict.

Heine's influence was not solely responsible for every aspect of the intricate psychological developments of Wagner's operatic characters, but he was one of many writers Wagner drew upon to write his libretti for the "Kunstwerke der Zukunft." Wagner appropriated from Heine that which suited his own ends, much as he would in later years with the philosophy of Schopenhauer. Heine's influence did not emerge immediately in the Parisian writings, but remained dormant until Wagner found a use that was appropriate for his own purposes.

Conclusions

Wagner's feuilletons, particularly those published in the Dresden *Abendzeitung*, display characteristics typical of the journalistic genre. Their discussion of numerous issues, humor, digressions into scandals, and personal, engaging style make them exemplary representatives of a tradition in criticism. Wagner was certainly indebted to the critics who wrote for journals in Paris for the success of his efforts in the genre, although he may never have acknowledged Parisian reviewers by name in his writings.

Despite Wagner's admission of Heine's influence, detailed examination of individual reviews establishes that Wagner's debt to Heine was of little consequence in matters of musical judgment. The two writers rarely shared the same critical convictions, although Heine's methods of presentation influenced the style, literary technique, and general tone of Wagner's reports. The mockery and satire Wagner attempted to use in his feuilletons, as well as their extended metaphors, are hallmark features of the "Heinesche Manier."

If Wagner's feuilletons are to be evaluated solely as imitations of Heine's work, they must be considered products of a lesser quality. Wagner's sarcasm was not as sharp as that of Heine, or for that matter, of Berlioz. Wagner himself admitted that his metaphors were crude. Wagner did

not develop Heine's broad socio-political outlook in the Parisian writings, nor did he attempt to draw together widely diverging points of view into one broad perspective. In each case, Wagner was not yet ready to develop techniques that Heine had perfected in years of critical activity, to say nothing of his work as a poet and author of fiction. Wagner may have been flattering himself when he consciously admitted to having imitated Heine. His imitation was only partially successful and reflected the style of the genre more than the work of Heine.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that Wagner's work in the genre is without value. The worth of Wagner's feuilletons lies in their directness, clarity of thought, and occasionally, their brilliance of style. In places where Heine's meaning was originally obscure or where it has become dated for modern readers, Wagner's reports are still definite in their meaning and offer modern readers a glimpse into the world of Parisian music as seen through the eyes of a stubborn, idealistic Romantic. The feuilletons are not valuable for their imitative qualities, but for what they reveal about Wagner and the music and cultural life of Paris in the 1830s and 1840s.

As purely literary products, it must be conceded that Heine's reports established a great tradition whereby non-specialists were considered qualified to write about music.

Bernard Shaw, among others, followed Heine's tradition. Conversely, Wagner's reports offer a specialist's perspective on matters of musical aesthetics. Socio-political references are present, but only to provide a background for discussion of musical issues. Even literary features are of secondary importance, an assessment that is certainly true of Wagner's later prose writings. During the period of Wagner's exile in Zurich, around 1850, his style changed drastically, becoming "almost unendurable" by the time of his contributions to the *Bayreuther Blätter* from 1878 onwards.¹⁹⁰ Modern readers do not read *Oper und Drama*, for example, as a purely literary work, but as one of the important statements of Wagner's career and as one of the influential musical documents of the nineteenth century. Unlike his theoretical writings, Wagner's feuilletons do not occupy a central position in his literary work, but they do form a crucial chapter in his development. In contrast to the ideas expressed in the essays of the 1830s, the aesthetic principles voiced in them represent permanent changes in their author's artistic evolution.

Throughout his reports, Wagner expressed himself on subjects of vital musical importance. He renounced the Italian sensuality he had glorified in earlier essays, established a firm opinion of virtuosic display, satirized Parisian musical life, and reaffirmed his preference for

German music and culture. Regardless of Wagner's later denunciation of Heine, the influence of his fellow German exile should not be underestimated. Using Heine's means, he established a basis for his later writings and compositions. Affecting Wagner's critical writing as they did, Heine's work and presence provided a foil for Wagner's own developing aesthetics of music and played an important role in preparing Wagner for his return to Germany.

1. Wagner's manipulation of the Parisian writings in his *Gesammelte Schriften* is discussed in the concluding chapter of the present study.
2. Two studies devoted entirely to the definition and history of the feuilleton in Germany are: Ernst Meunier and Hans Jessen, Das deutsche Feuilleton: ein Beitrag zur Zeitungskunde (Berlin: C. Duncker, 1931); and Werner Rahmelow, "Zu den Anfängen des feuilletonistischen Stiles," chap. in Untersuchungen an Heine (Hamburg: H. Shimkus, 1936).
3. Dorothy Veinus Hagen, "French Musical Criticism between the Revolutions" (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois, 1965), 119.
4. Shelagh Elizabeth Aitken, "Music and the Popular Press: Music Criticism in Paris during the First Empire" (Ph. D. diss., Northwestern University, 1987), 28.
5. René Wellek, A History of Modern Criticism, vol. 3, The Age of Transition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 194-96.
6. Mann, 16.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 20.
10. Hagen, 119.
11. Mann, 22.
12. Ibid.
13. Wagner, My Life, 45.
14. Sammons, 126.
15. Wagner, "A Communication to my Friends," in PW, 1:294.

- 16.Karl Richter, "Absage und Verleugnung: Die Verdrängung Heinrich Heines aus Werk und Bewußtsein Richard Wagners," in Musik-Konzepte: Die Reihe über Komponisten, eds. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, vol. 5, Wie antisemitisch darf ein Künstler sein? (Munich: Text und Kritik, 1978), 6.
- 17.Bülow, 104.
- 18.Friedrich Pecht, Aus meiner Zeit (Munich: Verlagsanstalt für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1894); quoted in Glasenapp, 275.
- 19.Heinrich Laube, preface to Wagner, "Autobiographische Skizze," quoted in Glasenapp, 275.
- 20.Sammons, 14.
- 21.Wagner, My Life, 198.
- 22.Ibid.
- 23.Jacobs and Skelton, note to Wagner, "Wonders from Abroad," in WWfP, 161.
- 24.Wagner, "Wonders from Abroad," in WWfP, 161.
- 25.Wagner, "Autobiographische Skizze," in Richard Wagners gesammelte Schriften, ed. Julius Kapp (Leipzig: Hesse und Becker, 1914), 1:54.
- 26.Wagner, Teplitz, to Ferdinand Heine, Dresden, early August, 1843, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 114.
- 27.Wagner, "A Communication to my Friends," in PW, 1:299.
- 28.Ellis, note to Wagner, "A Communication to my Friends," in PW, 1:299; Richter, 10.
- 29.Wagner, "Autobiographic Sketch," in PW, 1:17.
- 30.Wagner, My Life, 162.
- 31.Wagner, "Autobiographic Sketch," in PW, 1:17.
- 32.Richter, 8.
- 33.Heine, "The Musical Season of 1843," in The Works of Heinrich Heine, trans. Charles Godfrey Leland, vol. 4, The Salon or Letters on Art, Music, and Popular Life (London: William Heinemann, 1893), 392.

34. Ibid., 394.

35. Heine, preface to The Goddess Diana, in The Works of Heinrich Heine, vol. 6, Germany, 381-82.

36. Richter, 9.

37. Newman, Wagner as Man and Artist, 35-40.

38. Virtually every major biography of Wagner addresses the issue of Wagner's anti-Semitism (See Gregor-Dellin, 206-09, 382-83, 461-62, and 465-68; Newman, Life of Richard Wagner, vol. 2, 1848-1860, 603-13; Westernhagen, 567-71). Specialized studies of the subject may be found in Alan David Aberbach, The Ideas of Richard Wagner: An Examination and Analysis of His Major Aesthetic, Political, Economic, Social, and Religious Thoughts (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), 270-83 and 296-305; Kapp, "Richard Wagner and Meyerbeer," 79-94; Richter, 5-15; and Joan L. Thomson, "Giacomo Meyerbeer: the Jew and his Relationship to Wagner," Musica Judaica: Journal of the American Society for Jewish Music 1 (January, 1975): 54-86.

39. Christine Wilhelmine Wagner, Paris, to Theodor Apel, Leipzig, 28 October 1840, quoted in Newman, Life of Richard Wagner, 1:300.

40. Spencer and Millington, glossary of names to Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 959.

41. Newman, Life of Richard Wagner, 1:274-75. Laube's actions were not motivated entirely by revenge. Wagner's retreat from progressive views undoubtedly influenced Laube's criticism.

42. Wagner, My Life, 206.

43. Westernhagen, 571-72. Levi's father, a prominent rabbi in Giessen, as well as many of Levi's close friends, found it difficult to accept Levi's rationalization of Wagner's anti-Semitism. Levi had even considered being baptized in order to be allowed to conduct *Parsifal*.

44. Sammons, 218-24 and 278-85.

45. Gregor-Dellin, 382. When Wagner prefaced "Das Judentum in Musik" with a new introduction in 1868, some 170 replies were published within weeks of its appearance.

46. Wagner, "Das Judenthum in der Musik," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 33 (3 September 1850): 104.
47. Ibid., 33 (6 September 1850): 111.
48. Glasenapp's distortion of the relationship between Wagner and Heine during the years in Paris is one of the more tendentious episodes in his biography of Wagner. See Glasenapp, Life of Richard Wagner, 275-76.
49. Gerhard Müller, "Heine über Wagner: drei Sätze zu Friedrich Dieckmann," in Musik und Gesellschaft 36 (January 1986): 51.
50. Mann, 127.
51. Wagner, "Der Freischütz," in WWfP, 152.
52. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 7, in PW, 8:167.
53. Wagner, My Life, 198.
54. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 6, in PW, 8:164.
55. Wagner, "Traps for Unwary Musicians in Paris," in WWfP, 33.
56. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 5, in PW, 8:153.
57. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 1, in PW, 8:146.
58. Sammons, 239-40.
59. Sammons, 239-41.
60. Sammons, 242.
61. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 4, in PW, 8:147.
62. Sammons, 241.
63. Ibid., 240.
64. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 5, in PW, 8:149.
65. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 2, in PW, 8:120.
66. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 6, in PW, 8:163.

67. Ibid.
68. Mann, 16.
69. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 1, in PW, 8:108.
70. Ibid., 110.
71. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," nos. 1, 3, 6, 1, 1, and 1, in PW, 111, 137, 154, 110, 112, and 112.
72. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," nos. 1 and 5, in PW, 111 and 153.
73. Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 2, in PW, 8:131.
74. Bülow, 109. Heine's report was later incorporated into the *Französische Zustände*.
75. Ibid. The reports in question were later published in *Lutezia*.
76. Heinrich Heines sämtliche Werke, ed. Adolph Strodtmann, vol. 5, Reisebilder (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1876), 187, quoted in Bülow, 109-10.
77. Ibid.
78. Bülow, 110.
79. Wagner, "The Opéra Lies Dying," in WWfP, 110.
80. Ibid.
81. Wagner, "Traps for Unwary Germans in Paris," in WWfP, 27-8.
82. Mann, 72.
83. Heine, "Ueber die französische Bühne: zehnter Brief," in Heinrich Heine: Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke, ed. Manfred Windfuhr, vol. 12/1, Französische Maler, Französische Zustände, Über die französische Bühne, ed. Christiane Giesen (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1980), 288.
84. Mann, 107-10; Newman, Life of Richard Wagner, 1:276.
85. Heine, "The Musical Season of 1844," in The Salon, 429.

- 86.Ibid., 415.
- 87.Heine, "The Musical Season of 1841," in The Salon, 332.
- 88.Ibid., 333.
- 89.Wagner, "Farewell Performances," in WWfP, 124.
- 90.Wagner, "Berlioz and Liszt," in WWfP, 133.
- 91.Wagner, "Farewell Performances," in WWfP, 125.
- 92.Heine, "The Musical Season of 1841," in The Salon, 334.
- 93.Wagner, "The Virtuoso and the Artist," in WWfP, 54.
- 94.Ibid.
- 95.Ibid., 55.
- 96.Ibid.
- 97.Wagner, "Berlioz and Liszt," in WWfP, 133.
- 98.Heine, "The Musical Season of 1841," in The Salon, 337;
Wagner, "Farewell Performances," in WWfP, 127.
- 99.Heine, "The Musical Season of 1841," in The Salon, 337.
- 100.Wagner, "The Opéra Lies Dying," in WWfP, 115-16.
- 101.Ibid., 116.
- 102.Wagner, "Farewell Performances," in WWfP, 126.
- 103.Ibid., 125.
- 104.Newman, The Life of Richard Wagner, 1:284.
- 105.Heine, "The Musical Season of 1841," in The Salon, 341-42.
- 106.Wagner, "The Opéra Lies Dying," in WWfP, 113.
- 107.Wagner, "Berlioz and Liszt," in WWfP, 135-36.
- 108.Wagner, "Wonders from Abroad," in WWfP, 158.
- 109.Bülow, 118.

110. Wagner, "Wonders from Abroad," in WWfP, 158.
111. Mann, 74. *Tanzwut* was the term used by contemporary German commentators.
112. Wagner, "Wonders from Abroad," in WWfP, 158.
113. Ibid.
114. Heinrich Heines sämtliche Werke, vol. 3, Romancero, 110, quoted in Bülow, 118.
115. Wagner, "Wonders from Abroad," in WWfP, 158.
116. Heine, "The Carnival in Paris," in The Salon, 351.
117. Mann, 62.
118. Ibid., 63. Mann identifies Heine's conception of the musical idyll as a musical work evoking the quality of rural or pastoral life.
119. Heine, "Rossini and Mendelssohn," in The Salon, 364.
120. Ibid., 365.
121. Wagner, "Rossini's Stabat Mater," in PW, 7:143.
122. Heine, "Rossini and Mendelssohn," in The Salon, 365.
123. Ibid., 351.
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid.
126. Wagner, "Rossini's Stabat Mater," in PW, 7:143.
127. Heine, "Rossini and Mendelssohn," in The Salon, 364.
128. Rossini composed the first six numbers of the *Stabat Mater* on commission from Varela, whose heirs later inherited the manuscript.
129. Wagner, "Rossini's Stabat Mater," in PW, 7:146.
130. Heine, "Rossini and Mendelssohn," in The Salon, 366.
131. Ibid.

- 132.Wagner, "Rossini's Stabat Mater," in PW, 7:143.
- 133.Wagner, "Halévy and La Reine de Chypre," in PW, 7:189.
- 134.Wagner, "Sketch for The Apostles' Love Feast," in PW, 8:279.
- 135.Dahlhaus, "Theoretical Writings," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 81.
- 136.Ellis, note to Wagner, "Rossini's Stabat Mater," in PW, 7:189.
- 137.Heine, "Rossini and Mendelssohn," in The Salon, 368.
- 138.Ibid.
- 139.Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 9, in PW, 8:173.
- 140.Wagner, "Rossini's Stabat Mater," in PW, 7:143.
- 141.Charles Godfrey Leland, preface to Heine, The Salon, 94.
- 142.Heine, "The Exhibition of Pictures of 1831," in The Salon, 64.
- 143.Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 7, in PW, 8:166.
- 144.Heine, "The Exhibition of Pictures of 1831," in The Salon, 62.
- 145.Wagner, "Letters from Paris, 1841," no. 7, in PW, 8:160.
- 146.Wagner, "Farewell Performances," in WWfP, 116.
- 147.Bülow, 109. Heine's report was later incorporated into the collection known as the *Französische Zustände*.
- 148.Heine, "English Aristocracy--Perier and Canning," in The Works of Heinrich Heine, vol. 7, French Circumstances, 132-33.
- 149.Heine, "Briefe aus Berlin: Zweyter Brief," in Heinrich Heine. Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke, ed., Manfred Windfuhr, vol. 6, Briefe aus Berlin, Über Polen, Reisebilder I/II, ed. Jost Hermand, 21.
- 150.Wagner, "Der Freischütz," in PW, 7:175.

151.Ibid., 175-76.

152.Wagner, Mein Leben, erste authentische Veröffentlichung, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich: List, 1963), 209.

153.Mann, 41.

154.Ibid., 43.

155.Müller, 49.

156.Wellek, A History of Modern Criticism, vol. 3, The Age of Transition, 200.

157.Mann, 64-5.

158.Müller, 49.

159.Mann, 32.

160.Ibid., 41.

161.Heine, "Spontini and Meyerbeer," in The Salon, 322-23.

162.Wagner, "Parisian Amusements," in PW, 8:79.

163.Ibid.

164.Ibid., 80.

165.Ibid., 81.

166.Wagner, "Rossini's Stabat Mater," in PW, 7:146.

167.Ibid.

168.Ibid., 144-45.

169.Ibid., 145.

170.Ibid.

171.Ibid., 149.

172.Mann, 43.

173.Ibid.

174.Heine, "The Musical Season of 1844," in The Salon, 409.

175. Wagner, "Traps for Unwary Musicians in Paris," in WWfP, 26.
176. Wagner, My Life, 198.
177. Wagner, "Farewell Performances," in WWfP, 120-21.
178. Ibid., 120.
179. Ibid., 121.
180. Ibid., 124.
181. Wagner, "The Virtuoso and the Artist," in WWfP, 51.
182. Ibid., 52.
183. Ibid., 53.
184. Wagner, "Traps for Unwary Musicians in Paris," in WWfP, 29.
185. Wagner, "Farewell Performances," in WWfP, 121.
186. Mann, 25.
187. Ibid., 64.
188. Wagner, "The Opéra Lies Dying," and "Berlioz and Liszt," in WWfP, 110 and 133.
189. Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 31.
190. Dahlhaus, "Theoretical Writings," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 69.

Chapter Five

Three Final Considerations

Introduction

The final chapter of the current study addresses two issues that have been mentioned previously. The first of them concerns the articles that Wagner wrote about Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre*. While a detailed discussion of the articles was not appropriate to either of the two preceding chapters, it is nevertheless important for a study on Wagner's Parisian writings, since the Halévy essays have been acknowledged as essays foreshadowing Wagner's later artistic development.¹ The analysis of the articles follows the order of their publication and emphasizes the aesthetic principles that Wagner set forth in them. It also notes the revision of ideas that occurred between the publication of the "Bericht über eine neue Oper" in the *Abendzeitung* from January 26 to 29, 1842 and the appearance of the final installment of "*La Reine de Chypre* d'Halévy" in *La Gazette musicale* on May 1, 1842.

The second topic of discussion concerns the versions of the Parisian writings published in Wagner's edition of the *Gesammelte Schriften* of 1871-1873. The general contents of the edition are examined with reference to the Parisian

articles and the specific changes that Wagner instituted are listed. Wagner expressed his thoughts about the contents of his collected writings on several occasions before he made a final decision regarding the disposition of the Parisian writings. "Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit" and "Der Virtuos und der Künstler" are examined in detail, since the versions that were originally published in *La Gazette musicale* differ radically from the forms in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. Wagner's manipulation of the Parisian writings demonstrates that he used them to strengthen his image as a specifically German artist.

Final conclusions about the general nature of Wagner's Parisian writings and their value to the field of music criticism complete the chapter and end the study.

Halévy and *La Reine de Chypre*

Jacques-François-Fromental-Elie Halévy was born in Paris on May 27, 1799. His musical talent was evident at an early age, allowing him to enter the Conservatoire in 1811. Cherubini became Halévy's mentor and exerted a powerful influence in guiding the career of his protégé. In 1827 Halévy became a professor at the Conservatoire, and two years later, he was appointed *chef du chant* at the Opéra, a post he held for sixteen years. During Wagner's Parisian sojourn, Halévy began serving as the instructor of advanced

composition at the Conservatoire. In later years, his pupils included Charles Gounod, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Georges Bizet.²

Halévy composed a number of moderately successful operas for the Théâtre Italien and the Opéra-Comique during the 1820s, but the greatest success of his life was *La Juive*. It received its premiere at the Opéra on February 23, 1835 and nearly rivalled Meyerbeer's operas in popularity in ensuing years.³ Throughout his career, Halévy was fortunate to collaborate with the leading librettists of the era. Although Scribe wrote the libretto for *La Juive*, Halévy's frequent collaborations with Saint-Georges resulted in some of his most fruitful works.

La Juive made a tremendous impression on Wagner when he heard it performed in Dresden during the summer of 1837.⁴ Wagner's enthusiasm for Halévy's work is reflected in the Parisian essays about *La Reine de Chypre*, a grand opera in five acts with a libretto by Saint-Georges.

Wagner acquired a thorough familiarity with Halévy's opera while he was producing a vocal score and various other arrangements of the opera's most popular numbers for Schlesinger's publishing company. Between December 24, 1841 and January 18, 1842, Wagner mentioned the opera in letters to Winkler, Schumann, and Ferdinand Heine, although he did not refer to the arrangements that Schlesinger had

commissioned until he wrote the publisher on January 21 of that year.⁵ Wagner assured Schlesinger that a piano reduction of the score was already well on its way to completion.

In *Mein Leben*, Wagner stated that "the arrangement of Halévy's score was an incomparably more interesting piece of hack work than the shameful labor at Donizetti's *Favorite*," another opera that Schlesinger's company had published.⁶ Wagner's work as an arranger piqued his curiosity, and after a long absence from the Opéra, he returned to the Rue Le Peletier for a performance of *La Reine de Chypre*, which received its premiere on December 22, 1841.

The first article that Wagner wrote on the subject, the "Bericht über eine neue Pariser Oper," appeared in the *Abendzeitung* in four consecutive installments from January 26 to January 29, 1842. The introduction to the article implies that Wagner attended the first performance, although it is largely a colorful, fictionalized account of the anxious reactions of members of the audience during the performance. Following the narrative prologue, Wagner employed a straightforward manner for discussions of the requirements for an opera libretto, the strengths and weaknesses of Saint-Georges's libretto, as well as Halévy's style. The conclusion of the article refers to the opening

narration. The analysis of the article will conform to its narrative sequence.

Without mentioning people by name, the report describes several of the prominent musical celebrities whom Wagner encountered during his stay in Paris. They are: Pillet, who "has had to spend forty thousand francs... on the mounting of this opera, so he naturally is all agog to see what he will gain thereby;" Schlesinger, a gentleman "with black hair and a never resting eye," who has "already... paid the composer thirty thousand francs for the new score;" and Wagner himself, "a young musician... with pale cheeks and a devouring look in the eyes," who is guaranteed employment as an arranger if the opera is a success.⁷

The report also describes a troupe of German theater directors, each of whom plans to be the first to produce the new opera in Germany. The description of the directors serves as a transition to the central argument of the report--a discussion of the relationship between the opera composer and the librettist. The narrator of the report asks the German bureaucrats why they are interested in a French opera:

What has it got to do with you and your like?... Why do you present no German operas? 'Because they are so boring.' Why are they boring? 'Because our best composers never get anything but bad librettos.'⁸

The narrator then discusses his requirements for a good German librettist. If such a writer lacks "a gift for poetry and emotions both deep and sensitive," then skill must provide the qualities necessary for a good libretto.⁹ Skill could be acquired by reading "newspapers, novels, and other books, and above all..., the book of history."¹⁰ The narrator argues that the use of such sources would result in vivid, lifelike characters and a plot with action.

The fault of most German librettists, the report maintains, is a willingness to dispense with action in order to provide a "lyrical, preternaturally lyrical, indeed practically meaningless" setting for the composer's purely musical impulses.¹¹ To avoid this shortcoming, Wagner's narrator urges librettists to ignore musical considerations:

If only you could realise how much wiser you would be not to bother yourself about the composer at all, but simply to do your utmost to write, scene by scene, a real, heartfelt drama. In this way you would make it possible for him to compose some really dramatic music, instead of (as now) obstinately denying him the opportunity.¹²

According to Wagner, the libretto to *La Reine de Chypre* displays the qualities suggested by the preceding comments. Its story is based on an historical subject from the fifteenth century. The plot revolves around a dispute between Venice and the French Lusignan dynasty over possession of Cypress. Wagner's report describes the action

of the opera, act by act, and scene by scene, concluding that Saint-Georges has provided a libretto "as good as... any one could ever hope to find:"¹³

It is full of action which... grips, excites and entertains--touching when it should be and terrifying when terror is called for; it offers the composer all sorts of opportunities to display his skill... M. Halévy has fully succeeded in doing this.¹⁴

Wagner was particularly interested in the refined style that Halévy cultivated to achieve success in the new opera:

His music is appropriate, full of feeling and in some places even impressive in its effect. Gracefulness, which I had not previously noted among Halévy's talents, is apparent in the many opportunities for song that the libretto so richly provides, and above all I was struck by a welcome tendency toward simplicity in the treatment as a whole.¹⁵

Wagner was referring primarily to Halévy's treatment of the voice, which eschews the vocal ornaments that are typical of Donizetti's style. Again he was rejecting Italian vocal manner for a simpler, more declamatory method of dramatic presentation.

Wagner did have some reservations about the opera, particularly Halévy's approach to the orchestra:

Halévy's handling of the orchestra has... turned out much less well. If we are to give up the modern way of using brass instruments (though God knows why we should) we should also by rights have to abandon the style of composition which called for it.¹⁶

Wagner decided that the treatment of the brass in *La Reine de Chypre* did not meet the standards set by *La Juive*, and he predicted that following such a course would ultimately do "damage to [Halévy's] own style of composition."¹⁷

Even at an early stage of his career, Wagner conceived of using the brass in a way that differed from contemporary practices in orchestration. The high range of the trumpet parts in the *Columbus Overture* was one of the criticisms brought against the composition, although Wagner claimed that objections were raised because German and French trumpeters used different techniques and equipment.¹⁸ In the course of his career as a composer, Wagner radically transformed the conception of stage music, postulating the equality of drama and symphonic accompaniment. The review of Halévy's opera indicates that Wagner had begun to develop strong convictions about the role of the orchestra in opera. He would later realize his conception in his music dramas.

Wagner also objected to Saint-Georges's insertion of "rhapsodies about the 'lovely land of France,'" passages that were calculated to please Parisian audiences even though they created gaps in the action of the plot.¹⁹ Wagner facetiously proposed adapting the stage action to various locales, doubting the same effect would be created by "'Hail, thou lovely land of Bavaria.'" In the opera,

French nationalist sentiments are expressed in a duet after two rival choruses have proclaimed the glories of Venice and Cypress.²⁰ The duet concludes the third act. Wagner felt that the duet unnecessarily diminished the flow of the drama and weakened the work's structure.

Wagner then summarized his assessment of the opera, stating that if it did not "reach the heights of *La Juive*," it was not due to "any decline in the composer's creative powers, but rather to the lack of a compelling overall quality of the libretto."²¹ Saint-Georges's work, "as good as any one could every hope to find," was apparently not good enough for Wagner. Ultimately, Wagner believed that only the composer could provide the ideal libretto for an opera. Wagner was already anticipating comments made in *Oper und Drama*, written in 1850 and 1851.²²

The report ends with a warning to the German opera directors who attended the premiere:

Should the time ever come when you will be obliged to stretch out loving arms to receive healthy German babies, do not be angry with me for having brought them into existence.²³

Wagner had already "fathered" such a "baby." *Der fliegende Holländer* was completed only two months before the report was written.

In the second article on Halévy's opera, Wagner dropped all fictional pretexts and addressed issues that

directly concerned his own artistic development. Only after a long discussion of a theoretical nature did he criticize the opera itself. In both sections of the article, Wagner developed many of the ideas that he had expressed in the earlier report.

Wagner began the essay by calling for a sympathetic accord between the talents of the composer and the librettist, although he visualized only one ideal solution to the problem that was inevitably created by the conflicting impulses of two creative artists: "But to obtain a perfect work, it would be necessary that [an] idea should come at like time to the musician and the writer."²⁴ As in the first article, Wagner believed that the source of the idea was "tradition or history," but he conceded that the simultaneous apprehension of one thought by two artists was impractical to realize.²⁵ Even if it were hypothetically possible, the mutually exclusive roles that Wagner assigned to the poet and the composer would have prevented the composition of a "perfect opera:"

To the poet belongs the faculty of giving clear and definite form to what reveals itself to his fancy. But what weaves the charm of the ineffable around the poetic conception, what reconciles reality with the ideal,--the task of seizing that belongs to the musician.²⁶

Later in the article, Wagner affirmed the Hoffmannesque ideals of the preceding passage in two similar statements:

(1) It is reserved for Music alone, to reveal the primal elements of the marvels of human nature, in her mysterious charm our soul is shown this great, unutterable secret.²⁷

(2) For as soon as we are carried away from ourselves, from our sensations and impressions of the hour, from the habitual sphere where our existence passes, and transported to an unknown region, yet with full retention of our faculties,--from that moment we are under the spell of what is called Romantic poetry.²⁸

Wagner's opinion of the duties of operatic collaborators, together with his notion of the privileged status of music among the arts, conform to Hoffmann's ideals as expressed in "Der Dichter und der Komponist." As was the case in Wagner's feuilletons, it was Hoffmann's influence that was confirmed in Wagner's final Parisian essays.

Wagner also returned to a thesis that he had developed in the criticisms of the 1830s as well as in the Parisian writings. He called for a dramatic type of melody that was free of all traces of national origin:

When melody expresses purely human sentiments, it must not bear the traces of a French, Italian, or any other local origin. These sharp-cut national nuances distort the melody's dramatic truth, and sometimes destroy it entirely.²⁹

Wagner then chastized members of the "French School" for their imitation of "fashionable Italian composers" and called them cowards for "aping foreign mediocrities."³⁰

Again the ideals of *Das junge Deutschland*, particularly the veneration of all things Italian, were cast aside.

Having clarified his aesthetic point of view in general terms, Wagner turned to *La Reine de Chypre*. As in the first essay, the libretto met Wagner's criteria for musical adaptation:

... The poet has had the singular good fortune to give the constituent elements of his action a colour such as the musician would wish for... The drama is founded on a conflict between human passions and nature.³¹

The remainder of the article summarizes the opera's plot, noting moments when Halévy was particularly successful in developing or surpassing the poetry of the libretto.

In Wagner's opinion, the score patently demonstrated "the diversity, the universality of Halévy's style."³² The main theme of the love duet in the first act conformed to Wagner's ideas of "dramatic melody:"

With all its grace and tenderness, and not withstanding that it is perfectly clear and seizable all at once, the melody is quite exempt from mannerism;... Its notes are disposed in such a manner that no one could name its land of origin, whether French, Italian, or what not.³³

Halévy's melodies were supported by an "extremely moderate use... of the orchestra."³⁴ As in the first article, Wagner praised Halévy as the master of a "matchless art whose simpleness of means but heightens its merit."³⁵ While Halévy "purposely and palpably limited his means, he

succeeded in obtaining a great variety of effects."³⁶ Wagner's work as an arranger during the period of the article's composition led him to reverse his original, unfavorable opinion of Halévy's orchestration. The enthusiasm for Halévy's skill was long-lived. An orchestral effect in *La Reine de Chypre* may have influenced the "Tarnhelm" motive in the *Ring des Nibelungen*.³⁷

Wagner compared Halévy's work to Auber's comic operas throughout the essay. At the time of Wagner's report, Auber was sixty years old and had been accused of suffering a decline in his creative powers.³⁸ Wagner defended Auber, but only within the limitations of the French national style. Auber's "tendency to underline the rhythmic construction of the periods" lent his music a clarity that allowed the instantaneous apprehension of a musical thought.³⁹ Wagner believed that such a characteristic was one of the essential qualities of dramatic music, but that Halévy developed it through superior means:

The distinctive feature of Halévy's talent is its intensity of thought, its concentrated energy, ... its non-conventional rhythms.⁴⁰

Wagner maintained that Auber's music was perfectly suited to the ballet and had practically defined the repertory of the Opéra-Comique. Very late in his career, Wagner again subscribed to the same opinion of Auber in a special article written after the composer's death in 1871.⁴¹ Halévy's

operas, however, provided a model in "the province of the musical drama."⁴²

The crucial phrase "musical drama," first uttered by Wagner's Beethoven in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven," recurs in the articles about *La Reine de Chypre*. Between the writing of the novella and the essays about Halévy, Wagner had developed specific concepts for his musical dramas: the roles of the librettist and the composer became more clearly defined; orchestration had to reflect dramatic action; ornamental, Italian vocal style was rejected in favor of one free of traces of national origins; periodic structure was supplanted by non-conventional rhythm.

By closely examining Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre*, Wagner defined some of the characteristics he regarded as essential to dramatic music. Wagner's hopes for a merely successful opera were transformed into criteria for an ideal music drama. *Das Liebesverbot* and *Rienzi*, products of the influence of *Das junge Deutschland*, were cast aside. Visions of a new type of opera, beginning with *Der fliegende Holländer* and *Tannhäuser*, replaced them. The essays that Wagner wrote about the opera summarized his work as a critic during the years in Paris, reflecting Wagner's change of direction as a composer and presaging the course of his musico-aesthetic development.

The Parisian Writings in the *Gesammelte Schriften*

General Features

The first edition of Wagner's collected writings, edited by the author himself, appeared in nine volumes from 1871 to 1873. During that time, Wagner was engaged in intense personal, musical, literary, and administrative activity. He married Cosima on August 25, 1870, only five weeks after her divorce from Hans von Bülow. *Siegfried*, the third installment in the *Ring* tetralogy, was completed in Tribschen in February of 1871. In the same month, Wagner purchased a plot of land for the building of Wahnfried, the first and only home he ever owned. The foundation stone for the Festspielhaus in Bayreuth was laid in May of 1872, and *Mein Leben* was printed privately between 1870 and 1875.⁴³ The publication of the *Gesammelte Schriften* was only one of many concerns that demanded Wagner's attention during the early years in Bayreuth.

Nevertheless, Wagner devoted a great deal of care to the editing of his collected writings and stated his purpose in publishing them in the introduction to the first volume:

Whether the most unusual efforts will succeed in helping my artistic works to a true life ..., I leave to the decrees of fate; yet I believe I shall supplement these efforts, if ... I take care that at least the labours of my pen shall share in an advantage common to all literary products, that of lying clearly and comprehensively before the public.⁴⁴

Thus, Wagner viewed his writings as aids to interpreting his compositions. Editorial decisions were based on the effect that they might have had on the perception of his musical works. Purely literary considerations were of secondary importance.

The editorial policies that Wagner implemented in the *Gesammelte Schriften* affected the final form of the Parisian writings, especially if two earlier plans that concerned the novellas and essays are considered. On January 5, 1865, Wagner received a letter from his patron, King Ludwig II of Bavaria, requesting a compilation of Wagner's prose works for the royal library. Wagner responded the following day, assuring the king of his desire to fulfill the request and listing the contents of the proposed edition in a long postscript which began with the following passage:

Many years ago I intended to collect and publish my writings in an edition which I later abandoned but for which I had drawn up the following programme.⁴⁵

The third volume was to consist of works that were written in Paris:

1. "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven." (Novella.)
2. "The End of a Musician in Paris." (Novella.)
(Both printed in the *Abendzeitung* in 1840.) [sic]
3. "Le Freischutz." (in the same place.)
4. "A Happy Evening." (Manuscript--in the possession of Frau Mathilde Wesendonck in Zurich.)
5. "Parisian Amusements." (Lewald's *Europa* 1840.)
[sic]
6. "Rossini's *Stabat Mater*." (1840.) [sic]
7. "Virtuosity & free Art." (in French: *La Gazette*

musicale 1840.)

8. Letters from Paris. (*Abendzeitung* 1840-41.)
[sic]⁴⁶

Wagner might have had plans for a collected edition of his writings for some time, but the careless dating of the Parisian essays indicates the letter to Ludwig II was hastily written.

Wagner again referred to the publication of an edition of the collected writings in the *Braunes Buch*, a diary he kept for the years 1865-1882. In the entry of April 26, 1868, Wagner developed a different order for a complete edition of his writings. The first volume would have contained eight essays dating from the years in Paris:

Two Novellen: A Pilgrimage to Beethoven
The End of a Musician in Paris
A Happy Evening
Virtuoso and Artist
Rossini's *Stabat Mater*
Concerning German Music
Performance of *Der Freischütz* in Paris
Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre*.⁴⁷

Wagner replaced the reports for the *Abendzeitung* and "Pariser Amusements" with "Über deutsches Musikwesen" and the article about Halévy that had been published in the *Abendzeitung*. Wagner informed King Ludwig of the new plan in a letter dated the day after the entry in the diary, but when Wagner finally assembled the *Gesammelte Schriften*, the order changed again.

In July of 1871, during another stay in Triebtschen, Wagner wrote the preface to the first volume of the edition. Under the heading, "Ein deutscher Musiker in Paris: Novellen und Aufsätze, (1840 und 1841)," the following works from the Parisian period were listed:

Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven
 Ein Ende in Paris
 Ein glücklicher Abend
 Über deutsches Musikwesen
 Der Virtuos und der Künstler
 Der Künstler und der Öffentlichkeit
 Rossinis *Stabat Mater*⁴⁸

Four additional essays were listed without a subheading:

Über die Ouvertüre
 Der Freischütz in Paris. (1841.)
 1. Der Freischütz. An das Pariser Publikum
 2. Le Freischütz. Bericht nach Deutschland
 Bericht über eine neue Oper. (*La Reine de Chypre* von Halévy.)⁴⁹

Wagner retained all of the essays mentioned in the *Braunes Buch* and added "Über die Ouvertüre," "Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit," and the *Freischütz* essay that was published in *La Gazette musicale*. "Pariser Amusements" and the reports for the *Abendzeitung* were excluded, even though Wagner referred to them in the letter that he sent to Ludwig in 1865. Wagner also failed to include the article about Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, "Pariser Fatalitäten," the "Extrablatt aus Paris," and the article about *La Reine de Chypre* that was published in *La Gazette musicale*.

In itself, Wagner's selection indicates that he was attempting to shape his literary image. The letters for the *Abendzeitung* and the two essays for *Europa*, writings that Wagner considered products of the "Heinesche Manier," were excluded from the edition. In view of Wagner's earlier plans to publish them in the third volume of the edition that was planned in 1865, his actions must be interpreted as deliberate manipulations of the Parisian writings.

In 1865, Wagner planned a systematic edition of his collected prose works in which essays would have been grouped according to subject matter. The articles for the *Abendzeitung* and *Europa* would have been well suited for inclusion in a volume devoted to Parisian issues and French music. However, the final plan for the *Gesammelte Schriften*, like the one in the *Braunes Buch*, was based on a chronological presentation of Wagner's writings. As Wagner admitted in the introduction to the *Gesammelte Schriften*, it was his intention that the edition would reflect his artistic development.

The first two entries in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" and "Ein Ende in Paris," are recognizably autobiographical. In them, the young German musician maintains lofty ideals in the face of adversity. The third and fourth entries, "Ein glücklicher Abend" and "Über deutsches Musikwesen," sustain the idealism of the

first two novellas while focusing on German music and German musical aesthetics. Both "Der Virtuos und der Künstler" and "Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit," the next two entries, reject virtuosity in vocal and instrumental music and urge both composers and performers to refrain from catering to superficial public tastes. The article about Rossini's *Stabat Mater* spurns Italian style and points to Mozart as a model for German composers. "Über die Ouvertüre" discusses works by Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber, and develops Wagner's opinion of Gluck as a composer who single-handedly revitalized a declining French style.⁵⁰ Both of the *Freischütz* essays capitalize on the Germanic qualities of Weber's opera. The Halévy essay that Wagner included is the one that was published in the *Abendzeitung*. It sarcastically dismisses the Parisian musical establishment and emphasizes Wagner's concern with returning to Germany. It shows no indication of his daily involvement with French music and culture during the years in Paris. In short, every Parisian essay that Wagner included in the *Gesammelte Schriften* emphasizes his German heritage and his development as a distinctively German composer.

If the essays that were excluded from the chronological ordering of the *Gesammelte Schriften* had been incorporated into the edition, they would have weakened the image Wagner tried to create. None of the essays from the

1830s was included, despite Wagner's reference to "Die deutsche Oper" in *Mein Leben*.⁵¹ As demonstrated in Chapter Two of the present study, the essays from that period reflect the influence of *Das junge Deutschland* and promote Italian methods of composition and vocal style. Wagner could not reconcile his earliest essays with his later development, and thus excluded them from the *Gesammelte Schriften*.

Similarly, the feuilletons that Wagner wrote for the *Abendzeitung* and the two essays that Laube published in *Europa* demonstrate Wagner's active involvement with contemporary musical and cultural issues in Paris. Since the articles contain detailed accounts of Parisian life, theatrical news, and operatic gossip, they indicate that Wagner attempted to become a member of the Parisian musical establishment. In *Mein Leben*, Wagner viewed the years in the city as a period of personal deprivation and artistic isolation. The novellas support such a perspective, while the feuilletons provide evidence of the importance of the experience for Wagner's artistic evolution. Accordingly, the *Gesammelte Schriften* does not include essays which would have compromised the image of Wagner as a German artist who had developed without the influence of foreign styles. Moreover, Wagner's characterization of them in *Mein Leben* as products of the "Heinesche Manier" eliminated them from the

edition for the reasons cited in the previous chapter of the present study.

Wagner also excluded the article about *La Reine de Chypre* that was published in *La Gazette musicale* because it would have demonstrated a strong foreign influence in his work. The article's serious examination of works by a French master, as well as its open endorsements of Halévy's "dramatic melody" and techniques of orchestration, were incompatible with the image of independent artistic development that Wagner wished to create in both his autobiography and the collected writings.

Two articles that Wagner excluded remain to be considered, although neither the "*Stabat Mater* de Pergolèse, arrangé pour grande orchestre avec chœurs par membre des Académies de Boulogne et de Saint-Petersbourg" nor the "*Extrablatt aus Paris*" offer additional evidence of his manipulation of the Parisian writings in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. The *revue-critique* of Lvoff's arrangement of Pergolesi's score was not published between 1871 and 1873, even though the views Wagner expressed in it are compatible with the ideas found in "*Über die Ouvertüre*" and "*Über deutsches Musikwesen*." Wagner apparently thought that the short article offered no additional insight into his development, or that it was of little consequence in and of itself. Wagner had never seriously intended the "*Extrablatt*

aus Paris" for publication in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, and he should certainly not be held accountable for Schumann's editorial license.

In general terms, it becomes obvious that Wagner chose to reprint only the Parisian essays that suited his purposes. Between 1865 and 1875, Wagner completed the dictation of *Mein Leben*, re-writing his biography in accordance with the image he wished to project.⁵² A detailed examination of the Parisian essays, as published in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, supports the contention that Wagner regarded the editing of his prose works as yet another method of rewriting his biography.

Specific Editorial Decisions

The following listing of the eleven Parisian articles that were included in the *Gesammelte Schriften* presents the editorial changes which Wagner instituted while compiling the edition. The listing includes the following information: (1) the German title of the article as printed in the *Gesammelte Schriften*; (2) a cross reference to the section entitled Origin of the Texts in Chapter One of the present study; (3) the changes Wagner instituted as they occur in the order of the text; and (4) comments about the significance of the variants. The listing follows the order of the articles in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. In the cases

of "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" and "Ein Ende in Paris," differences between the versions that appeared in *La Gazette musicale* and the *Abendzeitung* are discussed, since Wagner incorporated the Dresden versions of the articles into the collected edition.

1. Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven
(Origin of the Texts, No. 4)

(a) Wagner added the following passages to the prologue of the novella for its publication in Dresden:

... unless he happens to be Kapellmeister to a court-theatre or the like.

At least, I beg thee, plague especially our political dreamers, the madmen who are breathless to unite our Germany beneath one sceptre:--think of it, there would be but one Court-theatre, one solitary Kapellmeister's post! What would become of my prospects, my only hopes; which, even as it is, but hover dim and shadowy before me--even now when German royal theatres exist in plenty.

... were there a thousand royal theatres in Germany.⁵³

(b) In the French version of the article, the following paragraphs are missing:

Without this daily prayer of mine I begin nothing, and therefore not the story of my pilgrimage to Beethoven!

In case this weighty document should get published after my death, however, I further deem needful to say who I am; without which information much therein might not be understood. Know then, world and testament-executor!⁵⁴

They replaced one short sentence:

The adoption of this daily prayer should tell you that I am a musician and that I am a German.⁵⁵

(c) Also missing from the French version is another reference to the inheritor of his literary bequest:

O honoured world and testament-executor.⁵⁶

(d) The following sentence occurred in *La Gazette musicale*:

I was interrupted suddenly by what seemed to be the whistling of an accompaniment to one of my gallops.⁵⁷

It was replaced by the following passage in the *Abendzeitung*:

I only remember that to my utter shame I suddenly became aware that I was whistling one of my galops...⁵⁸

The change is of some literary significance. Wagner's reference to an invisible whistler is Hoffmannesque in character. Since "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" was published with "Ein Ende in Paris" in consecutive issues of the *Abendzeitung*, Wagner may have wished to reserve the most obvious supernatural qualities for the second novella.

(e) The passage describing Schröder-Devrient as Leonore in *Fidelio* is substantially different in the two versions of the novella. Two passages were omitted from the *Abendzeitung*:

In truth, *Fidelio* was created as the product of a great deal of labour and was achieved only through many revisions; but this is shown especially in that the author of the second libretto offers the musician more occasions to develop his brilliant genius.

Who today does not recognize the European reputation of the singer who bears the double-name of Schröder-Devrient?⁵⁹

(f) A simple reaction to the performance of *Fidelio* occurred in *La Gazette musicale*:

For my part, I was entranced in heavenly raptures.⁶⁰

The sentence was expanded in the *Abendzeitung*:

I was transported, and adored the genius who had led me--like Florestan--from night and fetters into light and freedom.⁶¹

(g) Wagner expanded a condemnation of Italian vocal style for the *Abendzeitung*; the bracketed portion of the following passage did not occur in *La Gazette musicale*:

But why should not vocal music, as much as instrumental, form a grand and serious genre, [and its execution meet with as much respect from the feather-brained warblers as I demand from and orchestra for one of my symphonies.]⁶²

The passage added in the version for the *Abendzeitung* is another indication of Wagner's progress in formulating an early concept of the music drama as well as his distaste for Italian vocal style.

(h) One final difference exists between the two Parisian-era versions of the novella, due most probably to the work of Duesberg, Wagner's translator. The version in *La Gazette musicale* reads as follows:

Whilst the human heart is sovereign in matters of complex emotions, it is strengthened and expanded by infinite and delightful presentiments, welcoming this intimate revelation of the supernatural world with rapture and conviction.⁶³

The same passage in the *Abendzeitung* presents a different shade of meaning:

Whilst the human heart itself, taking up into it those primordial feelings, will be immeasurably reinforced and widened, equipped to feel with perfect clearness its earlier indefinite presage of the Highest, transformed thereby to godlike consciousness.⁶⁴

The preceding changes in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" indicate that Wagner revised the novella for

publication in the *Abendzeitung*. He included several clauses directed toward German readers, but the changes were not of great literary, aesthetic, or stylistic consequence. Wagner published the *Abendzeitung* version of the novella in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, adding only a passage describing Beethoven as sitting "with his hands crossed over his stick."⁶⁵ There was no manipulation of the novella's text in the collected writings.

2. Ein Ende in Paris
(Origin of the Texts, No. 6.)

The variants between "Un musicien étranger à Paris" and "Ein Ende in Paris," as published in the *Abendzeitung*, are far less extensive than in the case of "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven." Two passages that appeared in the French version were edited for publication in the *Abendzeitung*. Their length prevents them from being quoted in their entirety.

(a) The first of them describes R-'s concern that, because he is a German composer, his operas might be denied production at the Théâtre Italien.⁶⁶ The narrator replies that he has thought the same thing for years and that R- should find a mentor who would provide recommendations to the person who controls the company--the prima donna.⁶⁷

(b) The second passage is a paragraph in which the narrator states that he refrained from divulging his true convictions, fearing that he would discourage his friend's "chimerical plans."⁶⁸

(c) The French version also contains a passage recommending that the reader remember the narrator's previous observations. It occurs at the beginning of each of four paragraphs.⁶⁹

(d) The version in the *Abendzeitung* is identical to the one in the *Gesammelte Schriften* with the exception of the deletion of one phrase. The difference is again marked by brackets in the following passage:

True, I had never come across him in the haunts of artists [for I am more of a banker than a note engraver] or met a creature who knew anything about him.⁷⁰

With the preceding change, Wagner eliminated an implication that the narrator was prosperous, but again,

there is no significant evidence of Wagner's manipulation of the novella's text in the *Gesammelte Schriften*.

3. Ein glücklicher Abend
(Origin of the Texts, No. 18)

(a) Wagner clarified the chronology of the novellas in the *Gesammelte Schriften* by including the phrase, "not dead in Paris, yet," in the description of R-.⁷¹

(b) Wagner also expunged a footnote that appeared in *La Gazette musicale*. It drew the reader's attention to the performance of Berlioz's *Grande symphonie funèbre et triomphale* for the ceremony that honored the victims of the July Revolution.⁷²

Other than these minor changes, Wagner republished the original text from the *Abendzeitung*. The original manuscript is no longer extant. A copy of a manuscript, not in Wagner's hand, is located in the Richard-Wagner-Archiv in Bayreuth.

4. Über deutsches Musikwesen
(Origin of the Texts, No. 1)

Wagner added four footnotes to the original text of the first essay for *La Gazette musicale*.

(a) The first of them comments cynically on Wagner's youthful idealism: "One sees that the author was young, and not yet acquainted with our elegant modern music-Germany."⁷³

(b) In the second note, Wagner responded to the essay's characterization of the period in which German composers cultivated the Italian vocal style as a "mournful chapter in the history of German music."⁷⁴ Wagner's note states that "it would seem that in our days this grief and shame have been happily overcome."

(c) Wagner addressed his earlier, unfavorable opinion of *Euryanthe* in the third note. He stated: "One would think my friend [i. e., Wagner] would have learned in time to express himself more guardedly on this point."⁷⁵ The note creates a non-sequitur in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, because it undoubtedly refers to Wagner's first published essay, "Die deutsche Oper." Wagner condemned Weber's opera in 1834 and dismissed the essay in *Mein Leben*, but without access to

both essays and/or the autobiography, the footnote is rather cryptic.

(d) The fourth footnote is a reaction to the comments in the essay about Auber's *La Muette de Portici*. Wagner described the opera as the "apex of the modern French school, and... the hegemony of the civilised world."⁷⁶ Wagner added the following comment, which indicated the repudiation of his endorsement: "Mephistopheles: 'You already speak quite like a Frenchman.'"⁷⁷

(e) Wagner also edited the penultimate paragraph from the essay. In it, he praised Meyerbeer as "another German successor to Handel and Gluck."⁷⁸

Wagner's alterations of the original text were minor, although they do draw attention to significant changes in his musical aesthetics. Weber's work was restored to an important position, while both Auber and the Italian style suffered a clear loss of status. Personal motives caused Wagner to remove the reference to Meyerbeer. (Wagner's most severe anti-Semitism was directed against Meyerbeer. The breach between the two composers widened when Wagner returned to Paris in January of 1850. The overwhelming success of Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète* has been suggested as the "moving force" behind Wagner's essay, "Das Judentum in der Musik."⁷⁹ After Wagner wrote the essay, Meyerbeer became a scapegoat for much of Wagner's anti-Semitic invective.)

5. Der Virtuos und der Künstler (Origin of the Texts, No. 3)

Three premises may be advanced for the existence of two radically different variants of "Der Virtuos und der Künstler."

(1) The version in the *Gesammelte Schriften* may have been written between 1871 and 1873, a hypothesis suggested by the difference in style that exists between it and the first two Parisian essays. Wagner overcame a certain timidity that marked "Über deutsches Musikwesen" and the review of Lvoff's arrangement of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*. He stated his views candidly, asked his readers questions, and directed their attention to specific musical issues. He used the subjunctive tense much less frequently than in previous essays. The premise is not supported by Wagner's reference to Liszt's concert of April 20, 1840 and the use of material based on *Die Bergwerke zu Falun* in the introduction to the essay. Wagner's comments about the

treatment of the voice are similar to remarks in "Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Beethoven" and the reviews of *La Reine de Chypre*.⁸⁰

(2) The second possibility is that Monnais, acting as the editor of *La Gazette musicale*, protected the interests of the Italian singers at the Opéra by excising most of Wagner's unfavorable criticism of them from the essay. In the version in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, Wagner's comments about Lablache, Rubini, and Giulia Grisi require over three pages of text. Only Lablache is mentioned in the French version of the article.⁸¹ Wagner praised Lablache's interpretation of Leporello and was saddened by the audience's failure to appreciate his admirable talents.

(3) The third scenario is that Wagner may have rewritten the essay in 1841 for publication in the *Abendzeitung*. There is no support for this hypothesis in Wagner's correspondence, nor is there an extant manuscript of the essay available for verification of any of the three possibilities.

It is most likely that the version published in *La Gazette musicale* is not complete and that Monnais did edit the review to suit his designs.⁸² Wagner also undoubtedly added material to the essay, either in 1841, or during the editing of the *Gesammelte Schriften*. The differences between the two versions are too great to be quoted in their entirety. A general comparison yields the following results:

(1) Wagner retained the material from *Die Bergwerke zu Falun* without significant alteration.

(2) Wagner distinguished between two types of virtuosos in both versions of the article, but the account in the *Gesammelte Schriften* replaces a discussion of the virtuoso's relation to society⁸³ with the comparison of a virtuoso's concert with a witches' Sabbath.⁸⁴

(3) Wagner's comments about the Italian singers are abbreviated in *La Gazette musicale*.

On the basis of these general observations, it is not unreasonable to speculate that Wagner retained the original version of the introduction to the essay in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. It is also very probable that he used much of his original material for the discussion of the Italian singers. His description of Rubini's performance of "Il mio

tesoro intanto" from *Don Giovanni* is too detailed to support the opinion that Wagner fabricated it thirty years after the fact.⁸⁵ It is very likely, however, that Wagner rewrote the middle of the essay to strengthen his stance against virtuosity and virtuosos. Again, he used an essay to support a view in keeping with his image as the "Master of Bayreuth."

6. Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit
(Origin of the Texts, No. 8)

The French form of this essay is only one quarter of the length of the version in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. The first paragraphs of both versions are the same, but the French account has only three more paragraphs. Several passages indicate the body of the article was written in Paris. Wagner referred to an article by Berlioz that appeared in the *Journal des Débats* two months before Wagner's essay was published. Berlioz claimed that if he were rich, he would spend all his money to assemble an orchestra at the site of the ruins of Troy. There he would conduct the "Eroica" symphony.⁸⁶ Wagner commended Berlioz's extravagance.⁸⁷

Wagner may have expanded the central section of the essay, but unless more source material becomes available, specific issues must remain open questions. There is a manuscript in the Richard-Wagner-Archiv in Bayreuth; however, it is the one that served as the model for the version in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. The original manuscript from the Parisian period is not extant.

7. Rossinis Stabat Mater
(Origin of the Texts, No. 21)

For the *Gesammelte Schriften*, Wagner eliminated only Schumann's editorial note, "from a new correspondent," the initials "H. V.," and the following verses by Rückert, which Schumann used as a preface to the article:

Of all our evils 'tis the sorriest token
How wide the spurious has spread its rule,
That e'en the genuine with false shame is spoken.⁸⁸

Wagner's opinion of Rossini in 1841 was entirely consistent with his later views, making no alterations necessary for including the essay in the *Gesammelte Schriften*.

(a) The second paragraph of Wagner's essay about concert and operatic overtures discusses Handel, a composer rarely mentioned in Wagner's writings. The French and German versions differ slightly, but it is obvious that the following comment originated with the *Gesammelte Schriften*:

How little these musical introductions could be regarded as real preparations for a necessary state of mind, we may see by Handel's overture to his *Messiah*, whose author we should have to consider most incompetent, had we to assume that he actually meant his tone-piece as an introduction in the newer sense.⁸⁹

Even if "tone-piece" and "newer sense" are not interpreted as references to the "tone-poem," the assessment of Handel was softened in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. In the original article, Wagner referred to him as "a composer who was ignorant of the techniques... for creating successions of fresh nuances."⁹⁰ Since Wagner wanted to emphasize his German heritage, he changed the passage about a German predecessor.

(b) A minor editorial decision changed "these two great composers" to "Gluck and Mozart."⁹¹ Each composer is the subject of a separate paragraph, and Wagner merely clarified which two composers he meant.

(c) Wagner edited two insignificant epithets from his description of the overtures to *Guillaume Tell* and *Zampa*. Both passages referred to enthusiastic public reaction to the overtures.

(d) Two portions of the description of the *Leonore Overture No. 3*, marked in brackets in the following quotations, are missing from the French version of the essay:

... You shall not find in all the musical tissue one single spot that could in any way be brought into direct relation with the action's course; [unless it were its introduction, borrowed from the ghost-scene-- though in that case we should have expected to meet the allusion at the piece's end, and not at its beginning.]

Beethoven has given us a musical drama...,
[but a drama, be it said, in the most ideal
meaning of the term.]⁹²

Both passages support Wagner's conception of Beethoven as a dramatic composer, even though Wagner's ideas about the subject in 1841 actually needed little in the way of reinforcement.

(e) The French version contains a simple sentence:
Like a blessing, it [music] accomplishes the
work of redemption.⁹³

The version in the *Gesammelte Schriften* expands the thought:

Higher, higher and ever fuller swells the
soul, its might redoubled by the blessed
resolve; it is the evangel of redemption to
the world.⁹⁴

Wagner either restored a Hoffmannesque passage that had been present in the original version of the article, or he could not resist an opportunity to "wax poetic" while editing the article for the *Gesammelte Schriften*.

(f) A passage in the French version declares that composers relinquish their independence when they allow foreign influences to intrude upon their art.⁹⁵ Although such a statement remained consistent with Wagner's later views, Wagner replaced it with recommendations of the "purely musical" aspects of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte* and the *Leonore Overture No. 3*.

(g) Two passages in the final paragraph of the essay vary slightly in the different versions of the article. In 1840, Wagner believed that the conflict of programmatic and purely musical elements was perfectly resolved in a "sublime apotheosis" in a dramatic overture. In 1871, he considered Beethoven's *Egmont* and *Coriolanus* overtures to be embodiments of such a resolution.⁹⁶ Wagner used more specific examples in the version of "Über die Ouvertüre" in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, although he did not change his basic point of view.

9. *Der Freischütz*. An das Pariser Publikum
(Origin of the Texts, No. 9)

(a) Wagner changed the opening of the synopsis of the scenario for *Der Freischütz* in the *Gesammelte Schriften*. In

the version published in *La Gazette musicale*, the passage describes the "sombre, demonic... melancholy of the formidable forests of Bohemia."⁹⁷ In the version in the collected writings, Wagner emphasized the mythological aspects of the legend:

And that is just what constitutes the specifically German character of this and similar sagas: a character so strongly tinged by surrounding nature, that to her we must ascribe the origin of a demonology that in other races, emancipated from a kindred influence, springs rather from the cast of their society and its prevailing religious, or so to say, its metaphysical views.⁹⁸

In itself, the alteration does not indicate a change in Wagner's aesthetic point of view. However, Wagner ultimately wished to diminish the importance of historical factors in his life's work, while emphasizing the significance of myth in his creative development.⁹⁹ The revision of the essay allowed him to comment on the role of myth in German society.

(b) In the following passage about Weber, the bracketed portion was absent from the French version:

If he rightly seized the keynote of the popular poem submitted to him, [and if he felt the power to make his music call into full mystic life what here was hinted by a characteristic action,] he also knew that from the first mysterious accents of his overture to the ever-childlike ditty of the "Jungfernkranz" his folk would thoroughly understand him in its turn.¹⁰⁰

(c) In the version published in *La Gazette musicale*, the term *Empfindsamkeit*, translated by Ellis as "susceptibility," was rendered as "a powerful spiritual existence."¹⁰¹ Both phrases were contrasted with the term *rêverie*.

(d) The bracketed clause was not present in the French version of the following quotation:

"Through the woods and through the meadows" will move us to tears, whilst we can look with barren eyes on a fatherland split into four-

and-thirty princedoms. [Ye who only kindle
into real enthusiasm when it is a question of
"la France,"] to you this certainly must seem
a weakness.¹⁰²

(e) In the paragraph containing the preceding quotation, specific references to Adam's *Le Postillon de Lonjumeau*, *Robin des bois* (the version of *Der Freischütz* that had been produced at the Conservatoire during the 1830s), and the Académie Royale de musique are missing from the version in *La Gazette musicale*. The contemporary nature of the references suggests that the passages in question were edited from the report for publication. Wagner may have simply restored them during the editing of the *Gesammelte Schriften*. The original manuscript is in private possession. A photocopy of it is located in the Richard-Wagner-Archiv in Bayreuth.

10. *Le Freischütz*. Bericht nach Deutschland
(Origin of the Texts, No. 13)

Wagner made only two alterations in the second essay about *Der Freischütz*.

(a) In the first of them, Auber's *Fra diavolo* replaces *Le Postillon de Lonjumeau* as an opera honored in Germany. Wagner's change reflected contemporary operatic tastes.¹⁰³ He then substituted a couplet that refers to Adam's opera for a passage that was published in the *Abendzeitung*:

(*Abendzeitung*)

Approach your faithful
shepherd, hither turn!

(*Gesammelte Schriften*)

Hé! to and fro, *Postillon*
de Lonjumeau!¹⁰⁴

(b) The second alteration is a footnote in which Wagner compared the Parisian reception of *Der Freischütz* to the occasion of the Parisian premiere of *Tannhäuser* twenty years later:

It is easy to see that the author then mistook the character of the Paris Grand Opéra, making it beneath its dignity to deal with what it calls "Féeries" and abandons to the Boulevard-théâtres. On the occasion of the performance of *Tannhäuser* I suffered no less myself from this demureness, than the *Freischütz* had to bear with in its day.¹⁰⁵

Neither alteration indicates a change in aesthetics or style, but the footnote again establishes a link between Wagner and his self-projected image as a German artist.

11. Bericht über eine neue Pariser Oper. (*La Reine de Chypre* von Halévy)
(Origin of the Texts, No. 23)

Wagner made three changes in the text of the last Parisian essay that he wrote for the *Abendzeitung*. Two of them were minor stylistic alterations.

(a) In the original version of the report, Wagner described Franz Lachner, Kapellmeister of the Royal Court Theater in Munich in 1841, as "der brave Lachner." In the *Gesammelte Schriften* he was simply Kapellmeister Lachner.¹⁰⁶ Wagner also doubled the 1500 francs Lachner supposedly paid Saint-Georges for a libretto. The alteration does not reflect a significant change in aesthetic judgment; rather, it is an indication of the deteriorating relations between the two men during the course of Lachner's intendantship of the Theater. In 1868, Wagner had used his personal influence with Ludwig II to replace Lachner, who had not always supported Wagner's interests in musical decisions.

(b) Wagner amended his praise of Halévy in the following passage from the *Abendzeitung*:

In this Herr Halévy has fully succeeded; his music is noble, feeling, in many places new and elevating.¹⁰⁷

In the *Gesammelte Schriften*, "noble" was replaced by "decorous," and "new and elevating" was changed to "even most effective." Wagner's generally high regard for Halévy was weakened by his cautious choice of wording. Again, he reduced the value of an important influence from a foreign source.

(c) The most significant alteration of the essay is the omission of a reference to Meyerbeer. In the following quotation about *La Reine de Chypre*, the bracketed portion was eliminated from the *Gesammelte Schriften*:

... The Parisian Grand Opéra may congratulate itself on the birth of this work[, for it is decidedly the best that has appeared on its boards since Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*].¹⁰⁸

In 1842, it served Wagner's interests to mention Meyerbeer in a favorable light. Meyerbeer had been instrumental in arranging the production of *Der fliegende Holländer* in Berlin and of *Rienzi* in Dresden, where the report appeared. In 1871, Wagner had already thought of Meyerbeer as an archenemy for at least twenty years. Any complimentary remarks about his former "mentor" had no place in the collected writings.

The Parisian Writings in the *Gesammelte Schriften*: Summary

Many of the changes that Wagner made in the Parisian writings during the editing of the *Gesammelte Schriften* are individually of minor importance to the perception of his evolution as an artist. The changes that had been made in the 1840s for publication of the essays in the *Abendzeitung* usually indicate no more than Wagner's journalistic flexibility, while annotations and variations in style demonstrate his active interest in the Parisian writings during the publication of the *Gesammelte Schriften*.

However, a number of significant changes collectively suggest that Wagner did indeed use the early essays to reinforce an image he wished to project. By eliminating passages that were incompatible with his views as a mature artist, Wagner created the impression of his independent evolution as a musician. By introducing new material, he was able to foreshadow developments that did not occur until well after the years in Paris.

The preceding listing of Wagner's alterations of the essays from 1841 and 1842 is only the starting point for a

full investigation of the manipulation of the relevant sources. Such a study would face serious obstacles. There is no authentic edition of the writings, and the extant source material is an unreliable foundation for the assessment of Wagner's work as a writer.¹⁰⁹ Despite the wealth of information pertaining to Wagner's artistic development, scholarly analysis and interpretation of his writings has begun only in recent decades.¹¹⁰ As demonstrated by the preceding overview, a complete examination of the various versions of the Parisian writings would meaningfully contribute to the Wagner literature.

Final Conclusions

Richard Wagner, the editor, was not the same man as Richard Wagner, the young Parisian music critic. Thirty years separated the publishing of the literary work of a lifetime and the writing of short essays and novellas for the daily press. During that time, Wagner proved his genius as an artist and continued to write about the issues that he faced as a composer and librettist. He also developed a character that allowed him to be obdurate in personal friendships, unprincipled in his business transactions, and irresponsible in fulfilling his commitments.¹¹¹

Modern readers may approach the Parisian writings with the character of the mature Wagner in mind, and they

may be disappointed with their findings. Certainly the megalomania, the obsession with Teutonism, and the virulent anti-Semitism that Wagner developed over the course of the years were the products of deeply rooted psychological mechanisms,¹¹² and it would be possible to detect germinal forms of these traits in the writings. Such an interpretation, however, would waste the opportunity to evaluate the most important aspects of Wagner's criticism.

The articles from the years in Paris present a vivid picture of their author as he idealized himself. In the autobiographical novellas, Wagner portrayed the conflict between the keenness of his ambition and the misery of his existence. The essays and feuilletons extended the autobiographical discord into a purely musical sphere of activity. In them, Wagner challenged the formidable operatic machinery of Paris. He may have failed as a reformer in 1841, but he persevered until he realized his artistic vision. The Parisian writings bear testimony to their author's compulsive preoccupation with his work for the operatic stage.

The writings offer a perspective on the Parisian musical milieu that is not always encountered in criticism of the period. It is an outsider's view, and it is not a flattering one. It was a materialistic, hedonistic Paris that seemed to offer Wagner prospects for success, but he

learned that opportunity was scarce and failure could be found in all quarters. Wagner did not vent his frustration with bitterness or undisguised animosity, but with mockery and wit. The impression that emerges is a lively and perceptive chronicle of personalities and events in a society dominated by a prosperous bourgeoisie. Although Wagner the composer tried to enter Parisian artistic circles, Wagner the journalist was committed to musico-aesthetic ideals that prevented entry into the musical establishment. Wagner the critic, like Wagner the man, remained a foreigner in the Paris of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the first stay in Paris, Wagner viewed his work in music criticism as a chance to promote his own causes, comment on issues of immediate importance to his struggles as a composer, and question the tastes of a society he perceived as being musically corrupt. In this regard, he was not unlike the other composer-critics of the first half of the nineteenth century, Schumann, Berlioz, and Liszt foremost among them. Wagner maintained professional standards that were in keeping with the attitudes of the time, and he accepted the responsibilities that his peers associated with critical authority.

As a writer of prose, Wagner demonstrated stylistic flexibility in his contributions to four different journals.

He willingly adapted to the formats of periodicals with dissimilar editorial biases and readerships. The successful professional rapport that he developed with editors of the publications demonstrates his reliability during the early stages of his journalistic career. In later years, Wagner complained bitterly whenever he was obliged (or, more accurately, felt that he was required) to write articles, treatises, or even books instead of operas or music dramas.¹¹³ While he was a critic, he responded to his duties with professionalism and, on occasion, enthusiasm.

In part, Wagner's flexibility must be attributed to his proclivity for absorbing diverse influences. During the first thirty years of his life, Wagner's aesthetic attitudes were inconstant. He showed literary promise as a young student, although he always required a model. The Greek classics, Shakespeare, and above all, E. T. A. Hoffmann inspired Wagner's youthful efforts as a dramatist, only to be cast aside for the works of the group of writers known as *Das junge Deutschland*.

Wagner's first critical work bears witness to the powerful influence of the movement that was headed by Heinrich Laube. In the essays of the 1830s, Wagner began to develop two important concepts that matured in the Parisian writings. He experimented with the feuilletonism that he cultivated in the reports for the *Abendzeitung*, and he

started to conceive of a type of melody that was free from all nationalistic mannerisms. The latter concept recurred in the Parisian writings, eventually becoming the dramatic melody that was discussed in the essays about Halévy's *La Reine de Chypre*.

Both streams of influences vied for prominence in the criticisms of the early 1840s. Wagner imitated Hoffmann's style in the three Parisian novellas, although a permanent adoption of Hoffmann's Romantic aesthetics of music must be considered more significant than any stylistic mimicry. Wagner chose Mozart and Beethoven as musical models and rejected the Italian sensualism that was a central principle of the philosophy of *Das junge Deutschland*. Hoffmann's influence is also prominent in Wagner's historical essays and the feuilletons for the *Abendzeitung*. Conversely, when Wagner consciously chose to emulate the writing style of Heinrich Heine, an author intimately associated with *Das junge Deutschland*, little important musico-aesthetic influence resulted. In the case of Richard Wagner, it must follow that style was an aspect of the man, but style was not the man himself.

From a purely literary point of view, Wagner may not have experienced comparable successes in his imitations of Hoffmann and Heine. The novellas have been regarded highly by prominent authors and music scholars, whereas the

feuilletons have been largely neglected. Nevertheless, the different literary modes that Wagner used in the Parisian writings created a style that is unmatched in his subsequent literary output. Ernest Newman's characterization of Wagner the critic retains the validity it had when it was first written in 1933:

He never wrote better than at this period of his life: his pen has a speed and a variety of rhythm that it lost in later years when the burden of thought in him was too great for his literary faculty to carry in comfort.¹¹⁴

Wagner owed the variety to Hoffmann and Heine--the writers he consciously imitated.

When Wagner assembled his collected writings in 1871, he chose to shape them to conform to an image that he had cultivated for twenty years. Hoffmann, the prototype for German poet-composers, was viewed as an acceptable model for imitation. Heine, possibly the most gifted writer of his generation, had been disowned by his native country and was well on his way to being eradicated from the German national consciousness. Wagner had already renounced Heine's influence in "Das Judentum in der Musik," although the unpleasant relationship between the two critics during Wagner's Parisian sojourn would probably have been sufficient reason for Wagner to have repudiated his reliance on Heine, regardless of the anti-Semitism of the essay. Furthermore, Wagner would not have wished to acknowledge the

depth of his earlier involvement with contemporary Parisian concerns in the belletristic essays that he had modelled on Heine's critical writing. Accordingly, Wagner eliminated any traces of Heine's work in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, temporarily succeeding in the efforts to portray himself as a distinctively German artist. The manipulation of the Parisian writings was instrumental in Wagner's success.

In the final analysis, the years that Wagner spent in Paris affected his future as a writer about music, as a composer, and as a man. The essays written during the early 1840s, in all their variety and impulsiveness, provide insight into the period in which they were written and the development of one of the most important composers of the nineteenth century. Because of what they say about their time and their author, Richard Wagner's Parisian writings are indispensable to an appreciation of the Wagner literature and occupy a position of distinction in the literature of music criticism.

1. Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 24.
2. Hugh Macdonald, "Halévy, Fromental," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 8:44.
3. Ibid.
4. Glasenapp, 281.
5. Wagner, Paris, to Theodor Winkler, Dresden, 24 December 1841; to Winkler, Dresden, 4 January 1842; to Robert Schumann, Leipzig, 5 January 1842; to Ferdinand Heine, Dresden, 18 January 1842; to Maurice Schlesinger, Paris, 21 January 1842, in SB, 1:581, 563, 570, 581, 582.
6. Wagner, My Life, 206.
7. Wagner, "Halévy's Reine de Chypre," in PW, 7:207.
8. Wagner, "A First Night at the Opéra," in WWfP, 165.
9. Ibid., 166.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., 167.
12. Ibid., 168.
13. Ibid., 173. Berlioz, too, devoted a great deal of attention to the opera's plot, not only in the review of *La Reine de Chypre*, but in most of his opera reviews.
14. Ibid., 175.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., 176.
18. Wagner, My Life, 192.
19. Wagner, "A First Night at the Opéra," in WWfP, 174.

20.Hector Berlioz, "First Performance of La Reine de Chypre," Journal des Débats 42 (26 December 1841): 1, quoted in Howard Robert Cohen, "Berlioz on the Opéra" (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1973), 235-36.

21.Wagner, "A First Night at the Opéra," in WWfP, 176.

22.Wagner, "Opera and Drama," in PW, 1:56-58.

23.Wagner, "Halévy and La Reine de Chypre," in PW, 8:176.

24.Ibid., 175.

25.Ibid., 176.

26.Ibid.

27.Ibid., 179.

28.Ibid., 182.

29.Ibid.

30.Ibid., 190.

31.Ibid., 193.

32.Ibid., 189.

33.Ibid., 194.

34.Ibid., 195.

35.Ibid., 198.

36.Ibid., 200.

37.Ellis, note to Wagner "Halévy and La Reine de Chypre," in PW, 8:187.

38.Wagner, "Halévy and La Reine de Chypre," in PW, 8:187.

39.Ibid., 183.

40.Ibid., 187.

41.Wagner, "Reminiscences of Auber," in Prose Works, vol. 5, Actors and Singers, 37-56, most notably 37-38, 42-43.

42. Wagner, "Halévy and La Reine de Chypre," in PW, 8:189.
43. The final version of *Mein Leben* appeared in 1911.
44. Wagner, author's introduction to PW, 1:xv.
45. Wagner, Munich, to King Ludwig II of Bavaria, Munich, 6 January 1865, in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 630.
46. *Ibid.*, 631.
47. Wagner, The Diary of Richard Wagner: 1865-1882 (The Brown Book), ed. Joachim Bergfeld, trans. George Bird (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1980), 131.
48. Wagner, Inhaltsverzeichnis to Richard Wagners Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen, 1:viii.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Wagner, "On the Overture," in PW, 7:155-56, 161-62.
51. Wagner, My Life, 81.
52. Although a critical interpretation of *Mein Leben* is one of the many tasks that remains incumbent upon Wagner scholars, many of Wagner's autobiographical reconstructions are mentioned in Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 5, 7, 8, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26-27, 28, 30-31, 39, 41, 45.
53. Wagner, "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven," in PW, 7:21, 22-23, 23. Passages from the French versions of Wagner's articles are published in parallel passages in Ellis's edition of the Prose Works. In several cases, most notably "Der Virtuos und der Künstler," and "Der Künstler und die Öffentlichkeit," the French versions are published in their entirety. For the clarity and the convenience of bibliographical citations, Ellis's translations are used for the comparison of differing versions of the articles.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, 35.

- 58.Ibid.
- 59.Ibid., 36.
- 60.Ibid.
- 61.Ibid.
- 62.Ibid., 41.
- 63.Ibid., 42.
- 64.Ibid.
- 65.Ibid., 32.
- 66.Wagner, "An End in Paris," in PW, 7:49.
- 67.Ibid. The passage may allude to Rosine Stoltz, Pillet's mistress. The reference might have been unsuitable for Wagner's Dresden readers, who were not familiar with the intrigues at the Opéra.
- 68.Ibid., 50.
- 69.Ibid., 49, 50, 51, 52.
- 70.Ibid., 55.
- 71.Wagner, "A Happy Evening," in PW, 7:70.
- 72.Ibid., 79.
- 73.Wagner, "On German Music," in PW, 7:87.
- 74.Ibid.
- 75.Ibid., 99.
- 76.Ibid., 100.
- 77.Ibid.
- 78.Ibid., 101.
- 79.Deathridge, "Life," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 34.
- 80.Wagner, "The Virtuoso and the Artist," in PW, 7:115.

81. Wagner, "Du Métier de virtuose et de l'indépendance des compositeurs," in PW, 7:131.
82. Ellis, translator's preface to PW, 7:xiv.
83. Wagner, "Du Métier de virtuose et de l'indépendance des compositeur," in PW, 7:128.
84. Wagner, "The Virtuoso and the Artist," in PW, 7:112.
85. Ibid., 119-20.
86. Berlioz, "Feuilleton du Journal des Débats," Journal des Débats 42 (28 January 1841): 1-2.
87. Wagner, "The Artist and the Publicity," in PW, 7:139-40.
88. Friedrich Rückert, quoted by Robert Schumann as a preface to Wagner, "Rossinis Stabat Mater," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 15 (28 December 1841): 205, quoted in PW, 7:142-43.
89. Wagner, "On the Overture," in PW, 7:154.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., 156.
92. Ibid., 158, 159, 159.
93. Ibid., 160.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., 163.
96. Ibid.
97. Wagner, "Der Freischütz: to the Paris Public," in PW, 7:174.
98. Ibid.
99. Dahlhaus, "Theoretical Writings," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 79-80.
100. Wagner, "Der Freischütz: to the Paris Public," in PW, 7:175.
101. Ibid., 176.

102.Ibid., 176-77.

103.Ellis, note to Wagner, "Le Freischutz: Bericht nach Deutschland," in PW, 7:188.

104.Wagner, "Le Freischutz: Bericht nach Deutschland," in PW, 7:188.

105.Ibid., 197.

106.Wagner, "Halévy's Reine de Chypre," in PW, 7:210.

107.Ibid., 220.

108.Ibid., 222.

109.Dahlhaus, "Theoretical Writings," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 68.

110.Several studies which have begun to address the problems involved in studying Wagner sources include: Egon Voss, ed., Richard Wagner: Schriften eines revolutionären Genies (Munich: Langen Müller, 1976), 316-17; Carl Dahlhaus, "Chronologie oder Systematik? Probleme einer Edition von Wagners Schriften," in Wagnerliteratur-Wagnerforschung: Bericht über das Wagner-Symposium München 1983, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Egon Voss (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1985), 127-30; Klaus Kropfinger, "Oper und Drama: Die Schrift und ihr Kontext," in Wagnerliteratur-Wagnerforschung: Bericht über das Wagner-symposium München 1983, 131-37; Thomas Spencer Grey, "Richard Wagner and the Aesthetics of Musical Form in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Ph. D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1988).

111.Charles Osborne, introductory note to Richard Wagner: Stories and Essays (London: Peter Owen, 1973), 7.

112.Spencer and Millington, introductory essay to "Indigence in Paris: Recognition in Dresden, 1839-1849," chap. in Selected Letters of Richard Wagner, 52.

113.Dahlhaus, "Theoretical Writings," chap. in The New Grove Wagner, 68.

114.Newman, Life of Richard Wagner, 1:312.

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