

# The Tetralogy of Richard Wagner: A Mirror of Androgyny and of the Total Work of Art

Jean-Jacques Nattiez

## Wagner as myth-maker

Richard Wagner has long been recognized as one of the first composers of the modern era to have brought authentic myth to opera house stages. Leaving behind the realm of history (explored in *Rienzi*) and then that of legend (*Der fliegende Holländer* [*The Flying Dutchman*], *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*) he turned to the world of myth with *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (*The Ring of the Nibelung*), a four-part work staged over four days,<sup>1</sup> inspired by the *Eddas* and the *Nibelungenlied*, to which, in all probability, he had initially gained access through the anthology of German myths compiled by Jakob Grimm.<sup>2</sup> This link with the mythic universe is so strong that Claude Lévi-Strauss did not hesitate to see in Wagner ‘the undeniable originator of the structural analysis of myths . . . it is a profoundly significant fact that the analysis was done in the first instance *in music*’.<sup>3</sup> Our intent here, however, is not to debate this intriguing – and provocative – assertion by the famous anthropologist. Rather, the aim is to go beyond the first-level myth related by the *Ring* tetralogy – the creation of the world, the majesty and collapse of the gods, the rise of man and the return to the state of nature – in order to examine the extent to which these four operas contain *also* the origin myth of music and of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the ‘total work of art’ to which Wagner aspired, founded upon the androgyne myth that united poetry with music, respectively considered as the manifestations of the male and female principles.<sup>4</sup>

The analysis proposed here is based upon two observations:

(1) When considering Wagner’s creative activity between October 1848 and November 1851, it is clear that he was compiling works of two different types. On the one hand were the artistic works: the prose sketches and libretto for the *Ring* tetralogy, as well as preparatory work for *Jesus von Nazareth* and *Wieland der Schmied* (*Wieland the Smith*), projects that were ultimately never finished. But also there were theoretical works, from *Die Kunst und die Revolution* (*Art and Revolution*) to *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde* (*A Communication to My Friends*). Yet this does not tell the

Copyright © ICPHS 2005

SAGE: London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi, <http://dio.sagepub.com>

DOI: 10.1177/0392192105059472

whole story either. A careful examination of the chronology of this short period reveals that we are literally dealing with 'intersecting works'. After producing the preparatory summary of the *Ring* in October 1848, followed in the next few months by the libretto for *Siegfried's Tod* (*The Death of Siegfried*, first version of the later *Götterdämmerung*) and the rough drafts of *Jesus von Nazareth*, Wagner wrote *Die Kunst und die Revolution* (*Art and Revolution*), published in July 1849, then *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (*The Work of Art of the Future*) in September 1849. But immediately thereafter, between November 1849 and January 1850, he turned back to his planned opera *Wieland der Schmied*, for which he compiled two prose sketches. In August 1850 he was concurrently working on his repellent *Das Judentum in der Musik* (*Music and the Jews*) along with the musical sketch of the opening section of *Siegfried's Tod*. In January 1851 the writing of *Oper und Drama* (*Opera and Drama*) was completed before he turned back to the *Ring* project in May–June 1851 with the poem *Der junge Siegfried* (*The Young Siegfried*), the first version of the later *Siegfried*. In the following two months (July–August 1851) came the final essay of this period, *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde*, before, in November, he made sketches for the libretti of *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre*. After constructing the poems for these (June–November 1852) and publishing the complete libretto of the four operas (February 1853) he began upon the musical composition of the whole work on 1 November 1853.

Of course, there is nothing new in saying that Wagner's theoretical writings of this period took the *Ring* as an 'illustration' of his theory of the total work of art, the concept of which was laid out in the important essays of 1849–51. But his spirit is so holistic and all-encompassing that one is justified in suspecting the existence of a more intimate connection between the theoretical writings and the substance of the *Ring* tetralogy itself. And are not the above-mentioned works and texts intermeshed over such a short period of time that one might expect the boundary between theoretical writing and poetic text to have become indistinct?

(2) Our second observation provides an initial illustration of this. What do we find at the end of *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*? The theoretical discussion stops, and, without transition or explanation, Wagner immediately launches into a myth, that of *Wieland der Schmied*. What purpose does relating this tale serve after all the theoretical argument? A literary theorist would immediately detect here an example of the briefest and most concentrated form of metaphor: juxtaposition. And doesn't Wagner himself invite us to interpret the plot of *Wieland* as a metaphor for the substance of his essay by explicitly comparing his hero to the poet? 'O sole and glorious Folk! This is it, that thou thyself hast sung. Thou art thyself this Wieland! Weld thou thy wings, and soar on high!'<sup>5</sup> But the comparison does not end there. In the libretto for *Wieland*, in building the character of Schwannhilde, Wagner makes use of images similar to those found in *Oper und Drama* to characterize music. But if we add that *Wieland* quite clearly prefigures the character of Siegfried, as Schwannhilde does that of Brünnhilde, we are led to an obvious conclusion and an equally obvious question: (i) that the *Wieland der Schmied* project constitutes a linkage between the theoretical writings and the artistic works, and (ii) what happens if we yield to the temptation of seeing Siegfried, by transferred analogy, as the incarnation of poetry and Brünnhilde as that of music?

Indeed, it is not stretching things too far to propose a re-reading of the *Ring* on the

basis of these observations. Firstly, because it is not rare for a theoretical issue to be explicitly evoked within Wagner's operas: *Tannhäuser*, for example, foregrounds two separate concepts of lyric poetry, while *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (*The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*) contrasts the attitudes of both the 'ancients' and the 'moderns' when an innovative genius appears. Furthermore, if we go by remarks made in *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde*, the character of Lohengrin may readily be understood as an embodiment of the solitary poet. Certainly, Wagner is not the only modern artist to make the process of artistic creation itself the subject of a work of art: consider various poems by Baudelaire, or else Proust's *A la Recherche du temps perdu* (*Remembrance of Times Past*), which relates the struggles of the Narrator to compose the very book we have in front of us. Closer in time, Federico Fellini's *8½* has Guido, the director's alter ego, never managing to fully complete the film that we are actually watching. So why not reinterpret Siegfried and Brünnhilde from a similar perspective?

In actual fact, seeing Siegfried as the embodiment of poetry and Brünnhilde as the incarnation of music is shown to be an even less arbitrary interpretation when Wagner's theoretical writings for the period under discussion are examined. By superimposing these texts upon the opera, it is possible to reconstitute a mythic history of western art as a drama in three acts.

**Act I.** In the beginning, among the ancient Greeks, a primordial unity reigned, linking man with both nature and art. Tragedy expressed the profound oneness wherein were juxtaposed the divine and the human, as the poet with the theatre. It was the reign of the complete man, at once actor, singer and dancer, an age where no distinction was made between performer and audience. Tragedy's component elements made manifest the intimate fusion of dance, music and poetry as three sisters dancing closely intertwined. The component elements of the art-form, gesture, versification and music, were similarly integrated in fundamental unity.

**Act II.** But then came the barbarian hordes, sweeping across this world of liberty and passion. To be sure, the figure of Christ embodied values of truth, but soon the message became distorted, and Christian doctrine, with its disdain for the physical body, immured women in convents and estranged humanity from nature. Love gave way to self-concern. Tragedy broke up and was supplanted by comedy, speculative philosophy and the entertainments of the arena. The Jewish money-lender appeared, Hermes was replaced by Mercury. Only the well-to-do could afford the theatre. The arts, too, became separate one from another: dance, poetry and music branched off on their own. Even their constituent elements became separated: words were divorced from music which was no longer conceived of as part of poetry. Throughout this barren period, only a few rare geniuses shed any illumination: Shakespeare, Bach, Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven . . .

**Act III.** But then the light of a restored unity began to break through the gloom: the French Revolution would break the enslavement to wealth and bring man back into communion with Nature. The new theatre would celebrate the death of God, and after looking to Apollo, then Jesus, Wagner would advance the name of Siegfried. The work of art of the future, made possible by the transformed State, would see the

three muses of dance, poetry and music unite again. *Oper und Drama* expressly addresses the rediscovered unity of the poetic and the musical: the alliterative forms of poetry borrow from music, while music borrows from poetry when entrusting the orchestra with the task of giving substance to myth. In more precise terms, as set out in a letter to Uhlig in December 1850, Wagner emphasizes that the essential concept of his essay lies in this idea: that the union of poetry and music signifies the union of the masculine with the feminine. In *Oper und Drama*, he wrote: 'The impetus necessary to the poetic intellect, in this its poesis, is therefore Love; and that the love of man to woman . . . The necessary bestowal, the seed that only in the most ardent transports of Love can condense itself . . . this procreative seed is the poetic Aim, which brings to the glorious loving woman, Music, the Stuff for bearing'.<sup>6</sup> Which leads to the crucial question: by whom will 'the poet' be represented? Initially (in *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*), Wagner saw the 'Volk' as fulfilling this role. In *Oper und Drama* he is more openly specific in his question: 'Should we imagine the poet and the musician as two separate persons or as one and the same?' But we should not be deceived: he intended himself to be the poet of the future, the poet-redeemer and, even more, the androgyne poet who, by combining within one being the essence of poetry and music, would finally reconstitute the lost unity of the original state, that which prevailed prior to the rupture of the masculine from the feminine.<sup>7</sup>

It is this myth of the total work of art, grounded, as we have observed, in the structure of the androgyne myth (loss of the primordial unity – rediscovery of that unity at the end of the age to come) and brought to fruition by the fusion of the two gender-symbolic components of opera – music and poetry – through the power of an androgynous creator who is at once poet and musician. Such a figure appears not only in Wagner's theoretical discussions, but also implicitly in the libretto of the *Ring*. Nevertheless, the point should be made that there is no intention to seek to interpret the totality of the *Ring* libretto on the basis of this proposition. We are simply proceeding from the idea that Wagner the theorist and Wagner the poet constitute a single creative entity and hence that, at certain specific points in the cycle, one can form a bridge between his aesthetic theory and the plot development of the tetralogy. Indeed, a reconsideration of Wagner's theoretical ideas as we have reassembled them might well call to mind the similar arching movement which spans the whole *Ring* cycle, from ring lost to ring restored, from the union with nature destroyed to that union rediscovered. Let us consider, then, the main developments of the mythic tale.

### How the Tale of the Ring develops

1. At the opening of *Das Rheingold*, we hear a chord of E flat major gradually built up over 138 bars. First there is the octave, then the fifth, then the third and finally the second. This introduction reaches a climax with the saturation of the octave. The analogy with the acoustic resonance of the fundamental is obvious. The beginning of the *Ring* thus also represents the beginning of music, something which Thomas Mann well understood, as one of the most remarkable texts devoted to the tetralogy makes clear:

For the bottom of the Rhine . . . was none other than the world's original state of innocence, untouched as yet by greed and evil curse – and by the same token it was *the beginning of music itself*. And it was not just the music of myth that he, the poet-composer, would give us, but the very myth of music itself, a mythical philosophy and a musical poem of Creation, the story of the growth from the E flat major triad of the deep-flowing Rhine into a richly structured world of symbols.<sup>8</sup>

2. The curtain rises and we hear Woglinde singing, but not just at random. She is singing in the pentatonic scale (*Fa-mi**b**-do-si**b**-lab-mi**b**-lab-si**b**-lab-do-lab-do-fa-mi**b**-do-lab . . .*). Now, in the still primitive ethnomusicology of the 19th century, the pentatonic was emblematic of the music of the *Naturvölker* (the creatures of nature). After the birth of music comes the birth of song. It is worth noting that Alberich marks the voice of one of the Rhinemaidens as a singing voice: 'Holder Sang/singt zu mir her' (A sweet song sounds in my ear). In an opera, if you want to indicate that someone is really singing, you have to say so, and at this point the libretto is particularly clear.

3. The elements of the primordial unity of art, set against a virgin nature, are thus all present. The three Rhinemaidens dance in unison, as allegories of poetry, dance and music, just as the three muses of *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* do. To demonstrate this analogy, we take as reference a brilliant article by Tibor Kneif<sup>9</sup> who brings in a philosophical proof of this through a close comparison of the texts. Set within the general framework of our hypothesis, the analogy takes on even greater relief.

4. But, as in the theoretical works, things will soon go awry. The villain, the thief, the spirit of gold-lust is incarnate in Alberich, and since Adorno we know that he symbolizes the Jew.<sup>10</sup> Comparison of the terms used by the Rhinemaidens to refer to Alberich with the description of the Jew in *Das Judentum in der Musik* is sufficient to prove the proposition. We will be excused for not quoting directly here. In that essay, Wagner shows a certain indulgence towards Mendelssohn, but it steadily becomes apparent that the essay's real target is Meyerbeer: 'A widely-renowned Jewish composer of our time has introduced his productions to a section of our public whose confused musical taste, though he may not have caused it, has certainly proved profitable to him.'<sup>11</sup> Thus, Alberich/Meyerbeer comes to upset the harmony reigning among the Rhinemaidens. By snatching the ring from the river, Alberich not only destroys the balance of the primordial state of nature, he also introduces a mercantile motive into art. From this point of view, the duet between Alberich and Flosshilde, who is expressly declared to be singing, is musically surprising: for a few moments we are confronted with a veritable breach of style. An explicit quotation from one of Meyerbeer's operas would be impossible to integrate with the musical style and flow of *Das Rheingold*, and Wagner was too shrewd a composer not to know that. Thus, what this curious interpolation reveals is a parody of the Meyerbeerian 'grand-opera' style that was all the rage in Paris in the 1840s. This may be clearly seen if we compare this sequence from *Rheingold* with the Valentine–Raoul duet from Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*. Thus, Alberich/Meyerbeer attempts to lure away the Rhinemaiden/musician into the perversion that is the opera of pure spectacle. Once the gold has been stolen, the former unity of the three sisters of poetry, music and dance has henceforth been destroyed.

5. Let us now take a leap forward to the second act of *Siegfried*. The hero is about to bring about two deaths which, if the basic thesis of our reading is accepted, will

appear closely linked. First, Siegfried slays Fafner, the dragon. But is 'dragon' the right term? If we reread Wagner's libretto along with his theoretical texts, or the drafts for the definitive poem of the tetralogy, we find that never does the composer write *der Drache* (the dragon). Instead he chooses *der Wurm* (the worm). In truth, on the occasion of the first performance of *Siegfried* in Munich, Wagner complained about the representation of the monster as a dragon instead of a worm.<sup>12</sup> Why, though, had Wagner intentionally changed the legendary tradition over this point? Perhaps because, biologically, worms are hermaphrodite. It is pertinent to observe that, in the depiction of the serpent of the Garden of Eden, as painted by Hugo van der Goes, for example, it is explicitly shown to be androgynous.<sup>13</sup> Siegfried kills Fafner because androgyny obstructs a coming-together with woman. Siegfried must be fully masculine in order to meet Brünnhilde. In the same way, Brünnhilde must be stripped of all her male accoutrements, the breastplate and the helmet, at the moment of her meeting Siegfried. Just prior to slaying Fafner, Siegfried the poet has heard the song of the *Walddogel*, the bird of the forest, but he has not understood it. Analogies between music and birdsong are nothing new, but it takes on a particular significance here. It is only after having dipped his fingers in the monster's blood and lifted them to his lips that he is able to decode the meaning of this melody. We are observing his *semanticization*: in contact with human speech, pure instrumental music, symbolized by the flute, becomes filled with meaning. The Wagnerian *leitmotiv* does not function otherwise. It is the voice of a soprano that enables Siegfried the poet to understand the femininity of the music, and thus to comprehend how to discover Brünnhilde.

6. But first, Siegfried kills Mime. Why? Mime is Alberich's brother, hence a Jew as well. That indeed is something we also hear *in the music*: the dissonant grace notes which inflect Mime's whimpering song of emotional pleading – '*Das ist nun der Liebe / schlimmer Lohn! / Das der Sorgen / Schmächtlicher Sold!*' (Here is love's miserable reward, the wretched wage for so much care) – parody the characteristics of Jewish music such as Wagner had described in his anti-Jewish essay where he spoke of: 'the yelping chants of the synagogue'. In the first act, Mime had tried to pass himself off as an androgyne. '*Ich bin dir Vater / und Mutter zugleich*' (I am both father and mother to you). But Siegfried is not to be won over: he cannot accept that Mime is in any way a father to him. '*Dass der mein Vater nicht ist / wie fühl' ich mich drob so froh!*' (That this creature is not my father makes me feel so glad). Siegfried cannot be a Jew. What relation there is between this scene, with its refusal of Jewishness, and the myth of the work of art of the future will be something we will return to shortly.

7. For the moment, Siegfried has discovered Brünnhilde. Might we interpret her as the embodiment of music? Here again, the libretto makes clear that Brünnhilde is singing: '*Deiner Stimme Singen hör' ich süß,*' says Siegfried, '*doch was du singend mir sagst, staunend versteh' ich nicht*' (I hear your voice sweetly singing, yet what you tell me in your song, astonished I comprehend not), for the language of music is not always accessible to the poet.

And then comes the great moment when union is – temporarily – restored between poetry and music, between the essences of male and female. We are not the first to interpret this scene in an androgynous context.<sup>14</sup> Awakening Brünnhilde, Siegfried urges her to assume her womanliness: '*Erwache, sei mir ein Weib!*' (Awake,

be thou a woman for me!) For her part, she tries to persuade him that she is his anima, the female aspect of his being (just as she embodied the female aspect of Wotan in the second act of *Die Walküre*): 'Du selbst bin ich / wenn du mich Selige liebst' (Thyself am I if you but love me in my bliss).

There is documentary evidence from Wagner himself to confirm this androgynous interpretation of the scene. In a letter to Röckel dated 25 January 1854, he writes notably: 'The true human being [der wirkliche Mensch] is at once man and woman.' And a little further on: 'Siegfried himself (the solitary man) is not a fully formed human being [Mensch]: he is but half of one; it is only when joined with Brünnhilde that he becomes the Redeemer; one alone can do nothing.' The poet-redeemer will be both poet and musician. Further, in a letter prior to 24 August 1851 once more to Röckel, he had written categorically: 'Siegfried passes through the fire and awakens Brünnhilde – the woman – for the most passionate love embrace . . . In all our ardent discussions we have already touched on this subject: we are not what we can and should be until . . . the woman in us has been awoken.'<sup>15</sup> The poet will impregnate the music, aspiring to create union with it. But . . .

8. Siegfried falls in love with Gutrune. It should be noted that, during rehearsals for the tetralogy in Bayreuth in 1876, Wagner had openly drawn the link between the role of Gutrune and 'the French comic-opera style'<sup>16</sup> which he described as the archetype of frivolous music. Pierre Boulez perfectly understood that this was an allusion to Auber, composer of *La Muette de Portici*<sup>17</sup> (*The Dumb Girl of Portici*), and indeed it is possible to show that, when Gutrune joins Siegfried in Act II, scene 2 of *Götterdämmerung*, the first lines of her musical role are a quotation from the music accompanying the lovers' procession of Elvire and Alphonse in the chapel scene of *la Muette* (Act I, No. 4). Once again, Wagner is making reference to Parisian grand opera, the type of music with which the poet can do anything except create a great work. Siegfried the poet will in effect die. From the domestic point of view, he dies as a result of infidelity. An anthropologist would no doubt advance the interpretation that he died because of exogamy, given that, in the *Ring*, the only positive form of love is incest – by which Siegfried was born – that is to say, the most intimate form of relationship, structurally speaking. Our analysis is that Siegfried dies because of his forgetfulness: the poet forgets the music (Brünnhilde) with which he could have constructed the work of art of the future.

9. At the last, Brünnhilde rejoins her true husband, Siegfried, in the flames of the funeral pyre. With the exception of the *Meistersinger*, all Wagnerian dramas end with the sacrifice of the woman. For Wagner's androgyny is not the androgyny of equality, like that which infuses our contemporary era under the influence of feminism, but an androgyny where the male principle absorbs and destroys the female principle, where the poet lays hold of music for the benefit of his own personal enterprise. In musical drama, the music is always the servant of the drama.

\*

Hence it is no doubt this fundamental aspect of Wagner's concept of androgyny, dominated in effect by the male, which permits an explanation of the curious concomitance between this androgyny and the anti-Semitism noted earlier. We have

here two extreme forms of totalizing, not to say totalitarian, thought. For woman is perceived as an obstacle to the spiritual oneness of the human being, just as, for Wagner, the Jew was an obstacle to the unity of the German nation and, for Marx, an obstacle to the universality of the proletariat. Mime has to die: imbued with Jewishness, he has wanted to pass for both mother and father of Siegfried. But Siegfried and Brünnhilde also will die, because it is impossible for man and woman to become united totally, to rediscover Plato's primordial oneness of the androgyne.

Yet this is not to say that Wagner failed with this concept, far from it. For if biological androgyny belongs to the world of utopia, the creative artist has the opportunity of magically bringing to birth a work in which the male and female principles of poetry and music are fused, so engendering a total work of art which will grant its author a revenge over death through an eternal posterity. To the extent that, one day, Wagner will be able to say to himself, as Wotan does to Fricka, '*Vollendet das ewige Werk*': the total, eternal work of art is done!

Jean-Jacques Nattiez  
Faculty of Music, University of Montreal  
Translated from the French by Colin Anderson

### Notes

1. Note that the Ring cycle is made up of four operas: a prologue, *Das Rheingold* (*The Rhinegold*), and three three-act works: *Die Walküre* (*The Valkyrie*), *Siegfried*, and *Götterdämmerung* (*Twilight of the Gods*)
2. See Berton (1986 : 14–19).
3. Lévi-Strauss (1970: 15).
4. In this article I am summarizing the arguments developed in Nattiez (1990). A first version of this paper was published in Nattiez (1987: 44–9).
5. Wagner (1995: 213).
6. Wagner (1993: 236).
7. In this article we will not cover the origin of the androgyne concept in Wagner. Though, as is shown in Giese (1919), androgyny formed part of the 'Zeitgeist' of the first half of the 19th century, we believe that the androgyne myth found in Plato's *Symposium* could well be the more direct source for Wagner's treatment of it. Plato's dialogue is often quoted by Wagner, as attested by the *Diary* of his second wife Cosima, particularly in reference to the aesthetic arguments advanced there by Diotima. But it is characteristic that in *Mein Leben*, which, we recall, was dictated by Wagner to his wife, he quotes this dialogue in the context of a discussion of the comedies of Aristophanes (München, List Verlag, 1963, p. 356). And, in the *Symposium*, it is Aristophanes who advances the myth of the androgyne.
8. Mann (1985: 189).
9. Kneif (1969: 297–306).
10. See Adorno (1981: ch. 1).
11. Wagner (1973: 36).
12. C. Wagner (1977: 78, 3 April 1878).
13. For a reproduction of this painting see for instance Leach (1962: 30–5).
14. See Donington (1963: 207–16), or J. Azouvi (1977: 116).
15. Wagner (1894: 44, 54, 20).
16. Porges (1896: 84).
17. Boulez (1980: 35).



## References

- Adorno, Theodor W. (1981) *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone. London: NLB.
- Azouvi, J. (1977) 'Siegfried ou la quête de l'unité' in *Siegfried, L'Avant-scène Opéra*, no. 12, Nov.–Dec.
- Berton, Jean-Claude (1986) *Richard Wagner et la "Tétralogie"*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Boulez, Pierre (1980) 'À partir du présent, le passé', in *Histoire d'un Ring*. Paris: Laffont.
- Donington, R. (1963) *Wagner's 'Ring' and Its Symbols*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Giese, Fritz (1919) *Der romantische Charakter, 1: die Entwicklung des Androgynproblems in der Frühromantik*. Langensalza: Wendt und Klauwell.
- Kneif, Tibor (1969) 'Zur Deutung der Rheintöchter in Wagners Ring', *Archiv zur Musikwissenschaft*, no. 4: 297–306.
- Leach, E. (1962) 'Genesis as Myth', in *Discovery*, vol. xxiii (May): 30–5.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1970) *The Raw and the Cooked*, trans. John and Doreen Weightman. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Mann, Thomas (1985) 'Richard Wagner and *Der Ring des Nibelungen*' (1935), in *Pro and Contra Wagner*, trans. Allan Blunden. London: Faber & Faber.
- Nattiez, Jean-Jacques (1987) 'Le Ring comme histoire métaphorique de la musique', in Leroy R. Shaw, Nancy R. Cirillo and Marion S. Miller (eds), *Wagner in Retrospect: A Centennial Reappraisal*, pp. 44–9. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Nattiez, Jean-Jacques (1990) *Wagner androgyné*. Paris: Christian Bourgois.
- Porges, H. (1896) *Die Bühnenproben zu der Bayreuther Festspielen des Jahres 1876*. Leipzig: Verlag von Siegismund und Volkening.
- Wagner, Cosima (1977) *Die Tagebücher [Diaries]*, vol. II (1878–83). Munich: Piper Verlag.
- Wagner, Richard (1894) *Briefe an August Röckel [Letters from Richard Wagner to August Röckel]*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel.
- Wagner, Richard (1973) *Judaism in Music*, in *Richard Wagner, Stories and Essays*, selected, ed. and intro. Charles Osborne. London: Peter Owen.
- Wagner, Richard (1993) *Opera and Drama*, trans. William Ashton Ellis. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Wagner, Richard (1995) *The Art-Work of the Future*, trans. William Ashton Ellis. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.