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Curt von Westernhagen
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CURT VON WESTERNHAGEN

WAGNER

A BIOGRAPHY

TRANSLATED BY MARY WHITTALL

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PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

When Ernest Newman published the first volume of his *Life of Richard Wagner* in 1933 he justified the undertaking on the grounds that during the previous twenty years 'so much new and vital first-hand matter has come to light that one's old conception of the story has had to be modified at a hundred points' (p. vii). Since his final volume appeared in 1946 another thirty years have passed, during which a new perspective has opened on the Wagner phenomenon, and a wealth of new material has become available.

I must say at once that the importance of Newman's *Life* as the standard work has in no way been diminished. There are many delicate issues which can be presented with sufficient detail and thoroughness only in a work of so large a compass. Outstanding in this respect is his treatment of the 'Nietzsche affair': no one should forgo the pleasure and instruction of reading his chapters on that subject. I am equally sure that Newman himself would have welcomed my additions to the tale.

The bibliography of the present work gives some idea of the variety of publications that have appeared since 1946. I will confine myself here to mentioning those that contain documentary material of biographical importance. Foremost among them are the Burrell Collection, consisting almost entirely of letters, previously known only through the inadequate and misleading *Catalogue of the Burrell Collection* (London, 1929), and the second volume of Max Fehr's *Richard Wagners Schweizer Zeit*. Then there are Cosima's intimate letters to Judith Gautier, and two other collections which, though published before 1946, escaped Newman's net: her letters to Gobineau, published in the *Revue Hebdomaire* in 1938, and the second volume of her letters to Nietzsche (1871–7), which appeared

in 1940. The edition of Wagner's complete correspondence in chronological order is planned to be in fifteen volumes in all; the three volumes published to date go up to 1851 and contain some new documents, but for the most part they republish, as far as possible in their original form, letters that have appeared in print before. As well as these collections, a number of isolated letters have been published which have helped to correct misconceptions (or worse) that had been current for decades: for instance the three letters from Nietzsche to Cosima discovered in 1964 by Joachim Bergfeld, and the letter from the philosopher's sister Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche to Frau Overbeck, published by Erich F. Podach, in which Elisabeth admits that she did not dare call on Wagner when she was in Bayreuth for *Parsifal* in 1882, thereby giving the lie to her touching story of her 'farewell visit' and Wagner's heart-rending message for Nietzsche. (EFWN, p. 279) This more than confirms Newman's suspicions about 'Elisabeth's false witness', yet innocents still rely on her testimony even today.

Podach was the first Nietzsche scholar to take account of the findings of Wagnerian scholarship as well, among other things the documents from the Wagner Archives that I published in the appendix of my book *Richard Wagner. Sein Werk, sein Wesen, seine Welt* (1956), which included Wagner's correspondence with Nietzsche's doctor, Dr Otto Eiser of Frankfurt am Main, and the three short letters Nietzsche sent to Cosima–Ariadne at the onset of his madness (the one commonly circulated before that date was apocryphal and was based, according to Podach, on an oral communication of Elisabeth's). Podach's own publications have been of the greatest importance to the reassessment of the popular Nietzsche–Wagner legend, notably his *Friedrich Nietzsches Werke des Zusammenbruchs*, containing authentic texts of *Nietzsche contra Wagner* and *Ecce Homo* based on the original manuscripts in the Nietzsche Archives, and his *Ein Blick in Notizbücher Nietzsches*, which includes an analysis of Nietzsche's 'Ariadne' fantasies.

International interest was aroused in 1976 by the publication of a letter Wagner wrote to his American dentist Dr Jenkins, on 8 February 1880, discussing his idea of emigrating to the United States. It gave rise to my article 'Wagner's Emigration Utopia', in the Bayreuth Festival programme for *Götterdämmerung* in 1976.

Newman lamented in the mid-1930s: 'It is a thousand pities that his brother-in-law Brockhaus [actually Heinrich, the brother of his

brothers-in-law] confiscated his library on his flight from Dresden: the mere titles of some of the books might have told us a good deal we should like to know about Wagner's reading and thinking.' (NLRW, II, p. 51) In 1966, through the kind cooperation of the publishing firm of F. A. Brockhaus of Wiesbaden, I not only had access to that library (which they have now presented to the Richard Wagner Foundation in Bayreuth) for my own use, but also published a catalogue of it, with commentary, for the use of others. I have also had the opportunity to consult the unpublished manuscript catalogue of the Wahnfried library, and so familiarize myself with the books Wagner read in his later years, from the Upanishads to the works of his 'great eccentric' contemporary, Thomas Carlyle.¹ As a result I have been able to incorporate in my biographical account of the events of Wagner's life a parallel history of his intellectual life.

Other interesting documents have been published in G. Leprince's *Présence de Wagner* and Martin Vogel's *Apollinisch und Dionysisch*, while the iconography has been enriched by Willi Schuh's *Renoir und Wagner* and Martin Geck's *Die Bildnisse Richard Wagners*, an anthology of portraits including the one painted for King Ludwig by Friedrich Pecht, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

New material in the field of Wagner's compositions ranges from exercises dating from his teens, done for his teacher Theodor Weinlig – including a four-part vocal fugue 'Dein ist das Reich' and a sonata in A major with a fugato in place of a scherzo (published by Otto Daube) – to the 1850 'Washington Sketch' for *Siegfrieds Tod* (published by Robert W. Bailey), the composition sketch of thirty bars that did not, in the end, go into *Tristan*, and my own study, with numerous musical examples, of the composition sketches for the *Ring*.

In the last year or two considerable attention has been focused for various reasons on Cosima's diaries. Carl Friedrich Glasenapp, the friend of my own youth in Riga, had the complete manuscript in front of him in 1907–9, when he was writing the sixth volume (838 pp., published 1911) of his *Das Leben Richard Wagners* and was preparing the fifth edition of Volume V (416 pp., published 1912), though he did not actually identify the diaries as his source. A copy he made of them at the time is no longer in existence. He wove his extracts from the diaries into his text in indirect speech, only very

occasionally giving verbatim quotations between quotation marks, and confined his selection to the realm of ideas and art, but Richard Graf du Moulin Eckart also cited more personal events in the first volume of his life of Cosima (1929), such as her last interview with Hans von Bülow. In his preface Du Moulin writes: 'I cannot forget how she even made her diaries available to me for my work . . . Naturally I made the fullest use of them [pp. 422–999 of his book], although it will never be possible to exhaust their riches. But they afforded the basis of the depiction of her unique relationship to Richard Wagner and of the light in which his wife regarded his genius.' Du Moulin here pinpoints the value of his extracts: they are the 'basis', the primary source of any biography, and they already reflect the 'riches' that a complete edition of the diaries can only enhance.

Eva Chamberlain, Richard and Cosima's younger daughter, made a selection of 'entries from Mama's diaries for Maestro Toscanini' (15 April 1874 to 30 January 1883), amounting to 130 quarto pages of Wagner's observations about his own work and about literature, music and life in general. The same selection was published, with some unimportant differences, by Hans von Wolzogen in *Bayreuther Blätter* between 1936 and 1938.

My own quotations from the diaries are taken from these three sources. (In the case of the *Bayreuther Blätter* extracts I compared the printed text with Eva Chamberlain's original manuscript.) At the time of writing, the first volume of the complete edition of the diaries has appeared (CT, I, covering the years 1869–77 – and see the Postscript to the Preface, below), and in general it confirms the reliability of the earlier selections; they may contain occasional minor errors in interpretation or the decipherment of Cosima's handwriting, but CT itself is not faultless in that respect. Some of Wagner's remarks on his compositional procedures at the time when he was writing *Parsifal*, which are given in exactly the same form in BBL and CT, were obviously misunderstood and wrongly taken down by Cosima herself; where quoted here they have been corrected, without comment, after comparison with the score.

CT can make a valuable contribution to the dating of letters which have previously been uncertainly or mistakenly dated: one instance is the correspondence between Wagner and Catulle Mendès, immediately before and after the Siege of Paris, where the precise dating is of some importance.

It should be emphasized that Glasenapp and Du Moulin did not

overlook or deliberately suppress anything of biographical importance in their use of the diaries. Since Cosima wrote them expressly and intentionally for her children there was never any question of their containing any 'sensations'. On the other hand, if one compares the accounts of certain episodes where the details are of the essence (such as the Munich productions of *Rheingold* and *Walküre*) in the diaries and in the biographies, the latter are unquestionably superior in being able to draw on a wider range of documentation.

The diaries are fascinating precisely because of their subjective limitations: the reader feels as though he or she were actually present, from the night and its dreams, through the morning and its work to the evenings spent reading and making music. There is, however, no overlooking the fact that the underlying mood of the diaries stems from Cosima and not Richard. Even actual facts are given a surprising colouring for being seen through her eyes. For instance, though she records a large number of the nonentities who called at Wahnfried she does not even mention Anton Bruckner's visit in September 1873; he is referred to only once, apropos of Wagner's running through his Third Symphony on 8 February 1875, when she calls him the 'poor organist Bruckner from Vienna'.

If the diaries were our only source we should never have heard about Wagner's extraordinary love affair with Judith Gautier and all its fantasies. The only reference is in the entry for 24 December 1877, when Cosima notes that the purchase of Christmas presents in Paris for herself had given rise to a lengthy correspondence between Richard and Judith. The true character of the correspondence cannot have remained a secret from her, but she had the good sense to say nothing whatever about it, in the certainty that it was a passing fancy that would die down of its own accord.

On the other hand it is disappointing to find so little about Nietzsche's visits to Tribschen and Bayreuth. By contrast, her numerous letters to him are a mine of information. Nietzsche's French biographer, Charles Andler, has a shrewd comment on this: 'Cosima Wagner, entre les deux hommes, supérieurement coquette, attisait à son insu leur rivalité.'

The earlier published extracts failed me in only one instance: they do not refer to Wagner's acquaintance with Gustav Nottebohm's edition of Beethoven's sketches for the Choral Symphony, and his recognition of the parallels with his own way of working. 'Richard says it's similar for him, it's almost never possible for him to use

something in the form in which he first wrote it down, it's like a mark to indicate that one has got something in one's head, but quite different, and so one finds it eventually.' (CT, I, p. 917) The comment confirms the thesis I advanced in *The Forging of the 'Ring'*.

The case of Wagner's Brown Book, published entire for the first time in 1975, is rather different. This diary-cum-notebook kept by Wagner from 1865 to 1882 was intended for Cosima's eyes only, and it was started at a moment when their relationship had reached its crisis. Its private nature is emphasized by the fact that Eva Chamberlain thought fit to paste over five sides (which have now been uncovered again) and to cut out and destroy seven further pages (fourteen sides).. Since it was published by my own publishers, Atlantis Verlag of Zürich, I have been able to add some valuable material from it to the English and the second German editions of this biography, thanks to the cooperation of Atlantis Verlag and the editor, Joachim Bergfeld.

I would like at this point to avert one possible misunderstanding: if I have spoken hitherto exclusively of the biographical value of documentation, it does not mean that I am a champion of the current fashion for so-called 'documentary biographies' or 'studies'. Their alleged greater 'objectivity' is deceptive: the subjective answerability of the compilers begins with the selection of material, indeed with the selection of the sources, for the general reader is not in the position to judge the reliability or credibility of the witnesses.

In addition, there is something I like to call the 'counterpoint' of facts, which is particularly pertinent to an account of the life and work of Wagner. One need do no more than contemplate the events of a two-year period such as 1856–7: the completion of *Die Walküre*, the prose scenario of *Die Sieger*, the conception of a new ending for *Götterdämmerung*, the start of the composition of *Siegfried*, the first musical ideas for *Tristan*, the prose scenario of *Parsifal*, the text of *Tristan* and the composition sketch of the first act, the first Wesendonk songs – surely no one can believe that a reversion to a primitive chronicle method could begin to give an adequate idea of the strains and tensions, both personal and artistic, that are concealed behind those dates and facts!

Finally I must refer to an element in this book which Giulio Cogni, in his review of the Italian edition, called (perhaps a little grandiloquently) the 'valore artistico del volume'.² I would like to

think that the 'valore artistico' consists above all in the mastery of the immense quantities of material. I have spotlighted elements in the first half of Wagner's life, of which he left a perceptive and reliable account in *Mein Leben*, in a series of essay-like chapters, and then adopted a narrative sequence of epic scenes as the means of giving an impression of the second half in its entirety, so far as the limitations of space permitted.

The reader may be puzzled by the absence of one thing: the raised eyebrows of the moralist. As Furtwängler once observed, a complaint about 'Wagner's bad character' is a normal part of the ritual.³ Nor was Wagner the first: 'They would all like to be shot of me,' Goethe said to Eckermann two years before his death, 'and as there's nothing they can touch in my talent, they have a go at my character instead.' Schopenhauer's comment on that particular school of Goethean biography was that because a great mind and spirit had made the human race an incomparable gift they thought they were justified in 'dragging his moral personality before their judgement seat'.⁴

My own intention, by contrast, is to display the personality complete with its inner contradictions, its *creative polarity*, and to leave judgement to the reader. This is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that, of the four academic disciplines Goethe's Faust lists with such disgust (philosophy, medicine, law 'and, alas', theology), my own life has been spent in medicine, the one least likely to predispose its practitioners to moralizing.

Curt von Westernhagen

Preetz/Holstein. May 1977

POSTSCRIPT TO THE PREFACE

The second volume of Cosima Wagner's diaries was published in July 1977, shortly after the second German edition and the English edition of this biography had both gone to press. As the editors point out in their preface, it differs from the first volume in two important respects: in its greater depth and detail – the period from 1 January 1878 to 12 February 1883 occupies no fewer than 1081 pages (whereas the first volume covers nearly ten years) – and in the stronger light this greater length throws on the personality and attitudes of Cosima herself. From a detailed record of the activities of Richard Wagner, the diaries become the intimate chronicle of their married life; the change is reflected even in the style, especially of such epic passages as the months in Palermo. On the other hand, the account of the vicissitudes attending the rehearsals and the performances of *Parsifal* suffers from the lack of the broader, general lines a more detached narrator might have given.

Although these daily notes were inevitably written in haste, they are stamped with Cosima's own personal style, as we know it from her letters to Chamberlain and Nietzsche, even if they never aspire to the elegance of her correspondence in French with Gobineau and Judith Gautier. Her own sympathies and antipathies are more strongly in evidence than in her earlier volume, not only in the expression of her anti-Semitic and anti-French feelings – in the latter one recognizes the renegade – but also in her attitude towards individuals in Wagner's life. Even in the Munich period his friends had the sense that she was cutting him off from direct contact with others, which was perhaps the outcome not so much of a real dislike on her part as of a conscious lack of gregariousness.

This is particularly obvious in her treatment of the women

Wagner knew, especially Minna and Mathilde Wesendonk. The fact that Wagner had made Mathilde Maier a formal proposal of marriage (conditional on Minna's death) on 25 June 1864 inspired Cosima to commemorate religiously each anniversary of that 28 November 1863 in Berlin when she and Wagner had 'vowed to belong only to each other', in order to assert her own prior claim on him.

As for Wagner's last romance, with Judith Gautier, Cosima certainly knew of it by 27 January 1878, at the very latest. Writing to Judith on that day, after joking about the 'fâcheries' they were both experiencing in their attempts to translate *Parsifal*, she went on a little more seriously: 'Cependant vous savez bien, méchante, que toutes les questions ne sont pas vidées, mais motus, je compte sur vous pour prendre un bel élan de confiance, digne de vous et de notre amitié!'

I do not believe that the apostrophes to 'suffering – O my old companion' in her entries in the diary in 12 and 14 February 1878 have anything to do with that, however, but rather express the effect on her of three letters from Bülow (29 December 1877, 14 and 17 January 1878) which, after two years of silence, reopened her old wound, the trauma of her guilt towards him. (The letters are referred to in DMCW, I, pp. 816f., but for the full texts one must go to NBB, pp. 516–20.)

She had nothing to fear from Judith: 'Vous avez trouvé un ami digne de vous [Benedictus], "ce que l'on rêve et ne trouve pas", me disiez-vous ici.' (26 February 1878) The correspondence between the two women continued until 1893, conducted for the most part on terms of cordial friendship. Nevertheless, Cosima found it advisable to shield Richard from seeing too much of Judith during her visits to Bayreuth in 1881 and again, for *Parsifal*, in 1882 – and to say as little about them as possible in her diary. She mentions the presence of Mathilde Maier, and the delight with which Wagner greeted her, at the dinner for the artists and other friends on the day after the dress rehearsal (CT, II, p. 984), but it is left to an impeccable witness, Friedrich Eckstein, who made the pilgrimage from Vienna to Bayreuth on foot, to tell us in all innocence that Wagner's neighbour at table was a young woman in a linen sailor's blouse with a bright red neckerchief, who laughed a great deal and chattered to the Meister in melodious French.

Quite apart from such retouching, one must always bear in mind, when reading memoirs, that everyone involved in a conversation

hears – and records – something different. The classic case is the different records of conversations with Goethe made by Eckermann and by Chancellor von Müller, on the frequent occasions when both were present at the same time. There is a striking example in Wagner's case, too. Ludwig Schemann's account of a conversation on the afternoon of 31 May 1882, when Hans von Wolzogen was also present, is cited in Chapter 31 of this book. It made an indelible impression on Schemann, because he sensed that what Wagner said was a testament. He ended his account: 'Wagner had become increasingly sad, he prolonged our leavetaking, bade us farewell over and over again and accompanied us right to the front door. I may have seen him grander and more overpowering on other occasions, but never nobler.' The reader should set that, and the rest of the account on pp. 579–80, against what stuck in Cosima's memory:

31 May 1882. A visit from Dr Schemann and Wolzogen rather upset Richard, he came back to Cherubini and said people ought to exercise much more criticism. 'You bury your noses in books, and all the time there's so much that needs doing. Military band music, for instance: am I to endure it that my son, or someone like Stein, will have to march to that music? Conservatories, concert organizations, they all need taking in hand, but instead of that we just nibble at I don't know what.'

There is material evidence, in the form of some of Cosima's notebooks preserved in the Richard Wagner Museum in Bayreuth, which makes it all the more appropriate to compare her practice with that of Eckermann, who wrote up his records of Goethe's conversations from notes taken on the spot. In April 1972 *Fränkischer Heimatbote*, the monthly supplement of Bayreuth's daily newspaper *Nordbayerischer Kurier*, published an article about one of these notebooks, describing it as the 'original manuscript of Cosima Wagner's last diary'. Now that the texts of the diaries are available in full, we can see that this document was not one of the actual diaries but the 'second notebook' which Wagner gave Cosima on 26 October 1882 in the Piazza San Marco, after he had been on an independent shopping expedition. (CT, II, p. 1033; the 'first' notebook was presumably the one 'with a swallow on it' that he gave her the day before.) He wrote an inscription on the first page:

Gemeines Karnickel
 für Tages-Artikel!
 Mach mich nur schlecht,
 dann geschieht mir recht!
 Adieu! – Oh!
 26. Oct. 1882.
 R. W. Ges. Schr. T. II.

(‘A common “carnicle” for the daily article! Make me out to be bad, it’ll only serve me right! Adieu! Oh! 26 October 1882. R. W. Collected Writings, Vol. II.’)

The sense of this curious ‘dedication’ is that Wagner, possessing little Italian, had spoken French in order to make his purchase, referring to the notebook as ‘un carnet’; perhaps by way of an Italian word of his own imagining (‘carnuccio’?) he ended up with the German word ‘Karnickel’ (which means a ‘rabbit’ in the zoological sense but also a ‘donkey’ of the human variety). ‘Article’ has the same range of meaning in German as in English, so a ‘daily article’ is not only an article for daily use but suggests here that he knew perfectly well that Cosima would use the notebook for her daily ‘piece’ about him in her diary – which is probably also the point of the reference to his ‘collected writings’. It’s a typical piece of Wagner’s punning light verse.

The next entry on the same page is in pencil and in Cosima’s handwriting: ‘27ten Freitag. Gute Nacht trotz Kaffee. Gespräch kath. Kirche, Professoren über lieben.’ (‘27th, Friday. Good night in spite of coffee. Conversation Catholic church, professors on dear’ [i.e. ‘on the dear Lord’].) These are the topics that provide the substance of the entry in her diary for that date. (CT, II, p. 1033)

A second facsimile accompanying the *Fränkischer Heimatbote* article gives her notes for what became the entries for Wednesday and Thursday, 27 and 28 December 1882. A line has been drawn across the page from bottom left to top right, as if to signify that it is finished with. The article also includes facsimiles of the two drawings Paul Zhukovsky made of Wagner in the same notebook on 10 and 12 February 1883 (cf. Martin Geck, *Die Bildnisse Richard Wagners*, p. 157).

There can be no doubt that this notebook contains the original notes from which Cosima wrote up her diary from 27 October 1882 to 12 February 1883. That it was not the first such notebook is

demonstrated by Cosima's reference to her 'little notebook' on 14 October 1882 (CT, II, p. 1024); the editors' note at this juncture is somewhat perfunctory (p. 1278). It would be interesting to compare the text of the notebooks with that of the diaries. It might well reveal a subjective bias on Cosima's part. As a 'well-informed Frenchwoman' remarked, 'elle n'est pas pour rien la fille de Madame d'Agoult'. (Ludwig Schemann, *Lebensfahrten eines Deutschen*, pp. 135f.)

That is not to deny the positive value of Cosima's use of preliminary notes in writing up her diaries; it is the guarantee of the accuracy of her dating of events, which, as we shall see, is of crucial importance on some occasions.

The editorial annotation and comment in this second volume of Cosima's diaries are lavish and, in the main, exemplary. It includes an appendix of errata from the first volume.

C.v.W.

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C.v.W.

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M.W.

SUMMARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

With a key to the abbreviations employed in the text

A comprehensive bibliography appears at the end of Vol. II.

- BB Bülow, Hans von, *Briefe*. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1899–1908
- BBL *Bayreuther Blätter*. Monthly, later quarterly periodical, ed. by Hans von Wolzogen. Chemnitz, later Bayreuth, 1878–1938
- CT Wagner, Cosima, *Die Tagebücher*, ed. by M. Gregor-Dellin and D. Mack. 2 vols. Munich, 1976–7. (See the Preface and its postscript, above)
- CWFN *Die Briefe Cosima Wagners an Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. by E. Thierbach. 2 vols. Weimar, 1938–40
- DMCW Du Moulin Eckart, Richard Graf, *Cosima Wagner. Ein Lebens- und Charakterbild*. 2 vols. Munich, 1929–31
- EFWN Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth, *Wagner und Nietzsche zur Zeit ihrer Freundschaft*. Munich, 1915
- FHKF Herzfeld, Friedrich, *Königsfreundschaft. Ludwig II. und Richard Wagner*. Leipzig, 1939
- FWSZ Fehr, Max, *Richard Wagners Schweizer Zeit*. 2 vols. Aarau, 1934–53
- GLRW Glasenapp, Carl Friedrich, *Das Leben Richard Wagners*. Definitive edn, 6 vols. Leipzig, 1905–12. (Modern reprint, Wiesbaden and Liechtenstein) (First edn, 2 vols, 1876–7)
- JKWF Kapp, Julius, *Wagner und die Frauen*. Final edn, Berlin–Wunsiedel, 1951. (First edn, 1912; numerous subsequent edns)
- KLRW König Ludwig II. und Richard Wagner, *Briefwechsel*, ed. by Otto Strobel. 5 vols. Karlsruhe, 1936–9
- LJG Wagner, Richard and Cosima, *Lettres à Judith Gautier*. ed. by Léon Guichard. Paris, 1964
- LWVR Lippert, Woldemar, *Richard Wagners Verbannung und Rückkehr 1849–62*. Dresden, 1927
- ML Wagner, Richard, *Mein Leben*. 1st authentic edn. Munich, 1963. (First edn, 1911)
- MMCW Millenkovich-Morold, Max, *Cosima Wagner. Ein Lebensbild*. Leipzig, 1937

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- MWKS Morold, Max, *Wagners Kampf und Sieg, dargestellt in seinen Beziehungen zu Wien*. 2 vols. Zürich, Leipzig, Vienna, 1950 (First edn, 1930)
- NBB Bülow, Hans von, *Neue Briefe*, ed. by R. du Moulin Eckart. Munich, 1927
- NLRW Newman, Ernest, *The life of Richard Wagner*. 4 vols. New York, 1933–46. (There are some discrepancies between the pagination of the New York printing and the London edn of 1933–47. The author's references are to the New York edn, which is also that reprinted, London and Cambridge, 1976)
- RWAP *The letters of Richard Wagner to Anton Pusinelli*, ed. by E. Lenrow. New York, 1932
- RWBC Wagner, Richard, *Briefe. Die Sammlung Burrell*, ed. by J. N. Burk. Frankfurt am Main, 1953. (*Letters of Richard Wagner: The Burrell Collection*, ed. with notes by John N. Burk, was first publ. in New York, 1950, with the documents in translation. The German edn has the documents in the original and the editorial matter in translation. Page references in the present work are to the German edn, and quotations from the documents are newly translated for the sake of stylistic consistency)
- RWGB *Richard Wagners Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. by J. Kapp and E. Kastner. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1914
- RWGS Wagner, Richard, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, vols 1–10. 4th edn. Leipzig, 1907 (Reprint, Hildesheim, 1976)
 – *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*. Vols 11–16. 6th edn. Leipzig, n. d.
- RWSB Wagner, Richard, *Sämtliche Briefe*, ed. by G. Strobel and W. Wolf. Leipzig, 1967– (See below, Vol. II, p. 617)
- SERD Richard Wagner, *Skizzen und Entwürfe zur 'Ring'-Dichtung*, ed. by Otto Strobel. Munich, 1930
- SRLW Röckl, Sebastian, *Ludwig II. und Richard Wagner*, 2 vols. Munich, 1913–19
- TWLF Tiersot, Julien, ed. *Lettres françaises de Richard Wagner*. Paris, 1935