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Life of Richard Wagner

Volume IV

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LIFE OF RICHARD WAGNER.

LIFE OF RICHARD WAGNER:

BY

WM. ASHTON ELLIS

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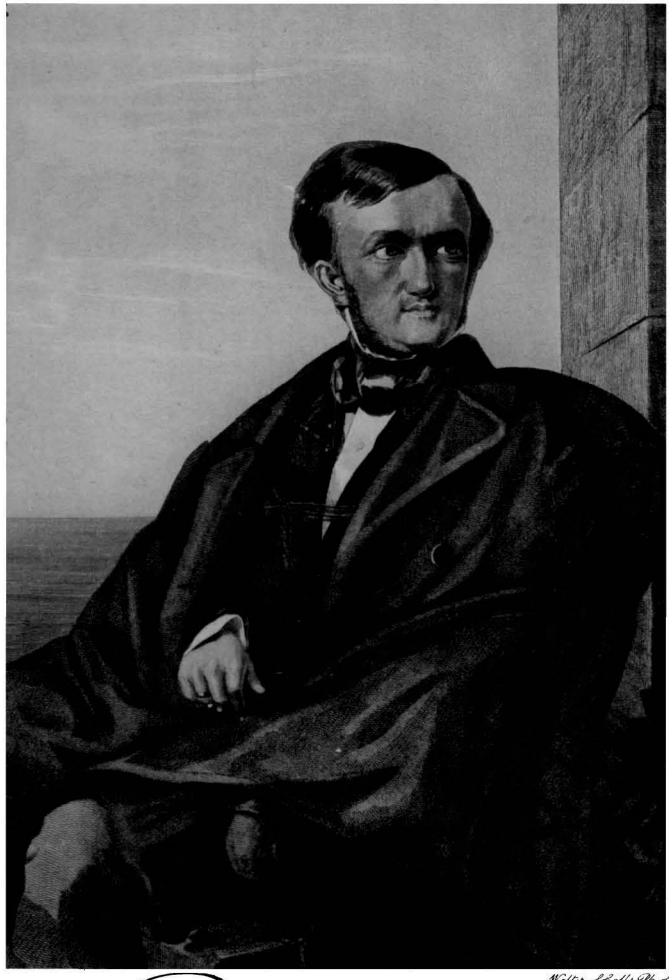

Walter L. Colls, Ph. Le

Richard Wagner

LIFE OF RICHARD WAGNER:

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WM. ASHTON ELLIS

VOL. IV.

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PREFACE.

I HEREBY warn a small percentage of my critics—with the majority I have little fault to find of late—that any complaint about a whole volume being devoted to but two years might conceivably goad me into devoting the next to a bare six months. I do not want to punish the rest of my readers by such extreme reprisals, though insular bias might consider Wagner's only Philharmonic season the most exciting epoch in his life, just as it has lately gone into transports over the mere tidings of the discovery of a manuscript which can hardly prove of much intrinsic moment—his *Rule Britannia* overture. The London episode of 1855, little more than a waste of time to Wagner, was not particularly creditable to ourselves; accordingly I can scarcely regret that lack of space prevents my fulfilling a past intention of rounding off the present volume therewith; it will better comport with a less prominent position. Thus it is only incidentally that I have crossed the line dividing 1854 from 1855, and the said "two years" are, after all, scant measure; but it is not every year in the life even of a Wagner that offers so gigantic a subject as the poem, or half the composition, of DER RING DES NIBELUNGEN, and I trust the really gentle reader will not be too severe on me for having done my best to open up new glades therein. In other respects, moreover, I can remember no twelvemonth that has brought with it so large a mass of fresh biographic material, as that which has elapsed since publication of my volume iii. From North,

South, East and West, the most interesting details of Richard Wagner's life, inner as well as outer, have come in an almost continuous downpour, ending with his absolutely priceless letters to Mathilde Wesendonk, published but a month ago (in German, of course, though I have hopes of a speedy Englishing). From all which it will be easily understood that I feel bound at last to omit from my title-page Herr Glasenapp's name: it may relieve his mind to be freed of all responsibility for some of my conclusions and remarks; whilst I cannot honestly conceal the truth that very few of the ensuing pages are based, even for facts, on my esteemed precursor's work, accurate though that is. Later on, perhaps, we shall fall into line again, as I cannot imagine anything more authoritative, illuminating and exhaustive, than *his* recent fourth volume (dealing with the years 1864 to 1872); meanwhile I must content myself with hearty thanks for many a valuable reference and indication. Thanks also I owe, and gratefully do I tender, to two personal friends, the one of whom has helped by procuring me various modern foreign publications, the other by making ample extracts from more ancient ones: as Wagner himself once said, They know whom I mean.

WM. ASHTON ELLIS.

Horsted Keynes,
July 1904.

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LIST OF MORE FREQUENT ABBREVIATIONS USED IN VOL. IV.

B. Bl., or *Bayr. Bl.*,	stands for	*Bayreuther Blätter.*
B. h. Ztgn	„	*Briefe hervorragenden Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt—i.e.* "Letters of eminent Contemporaries" &c.
D. j. S.	„	*Der junge Siegfried.*
Gtdg	„	*Götterdämmerung.*
Holl.	„	*Der fliegende Holländer.*
Loh.	„	*Lohengrin.*
M. W.	„	*Musical World*, London.
N. Z.	„	*Neue Zeitschrift.*
P.	„	*Richard Wagner's Prose Works.*
Rh.	„	*Das Rheingold.*
S.	„	*Siegfried.*
S. Tod	„	*Siegfried's Tod.*
Tannh.	„	*Tannhäuser.*
W.-L.	„	Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt.
Wlk.	„	*Die Walküre.*

1853
TO
1855

Doch möcht' er den Ring sich errathen,
der macht' ihn zum Walter der Welt!

(SIEGFRIED, act ii.)

I.

"RING" EDITIONS AND REVISIONS.

Der Ring des Nibelungen *privately printed, Feb.* 1853.—*Later editions; how and where they vary.*—Rheingold: *Erda's "All that is, endeth!"—Variants in* Die Walküre; *original Wotan-Fricka scene.*—Siegfried: *the lesson in Fear, and its alteration; 'strophic' test and the Wanderer-Mime scene.*—Siegfried's Tod: *newly-discovered fair copy of* 1849; *remarkable gloss at its end. The unrecovered* 1850 *replica; did it form the basis of an* 1851 *revision? Internal evidence of such revision in acts ii and iii of* Götterdämmerung.—*A drama that had grown.*

Ihr Welten, endet euren Lauf!
Ew'ge Vernichtung, nimm mich auf!
DER FLIEGENDE HOLLÄNDER.

Nacht der Vernichtung neble herein!
SIEGFRIED.

WITH the ballad of the "Flying Dutchman" ringing in his head, and "Walhall's burning" on his lips, we left our lonely hero "staring at the lamp": a subject worthy of the greatest Symbolical painter, though stained glass alone could fully realise the values of the three varieties of light. Between the two unearthly visions the dull monotony of that prosaic lamp. Yet from out its vacuous shell what shapes are these that rise as from the wizard's crystal? "Pay good heed to my new poem—it comprises the world's beginning and end!"

A splutter, an ominous gurgle: with the helplessness of its old 'moderator' type, the lamp calls aloud for re-winding. Hé presto! the tone is changed. "My next job must be to write its music for the Frankfort and Leipzig Jews—it's the very thing for them!"

How is one to deal with a man who plays such pranks with one's emotions?—Nay, look closer, and you'll see 'tis no levity, but the irony of Wagner's whole position. The vastest drama

ever penned now lies before him, printer's black on paper-maker's white: will it ever see the light of other than mere reading lamps? Will its Rhinegold some day fall within the clutches of the modern Alberich?

Something similar must have passed through Wagner's mind while yearning for a death that certainly was "not to strike him on a sickbed" when he met it thirty long years hence, almost to the day. For it is on the 11th of February 1853 that he is writing, at the close of a letter accompanying the "poem of his life" on its way to friend Liszt. "Here you have a whole heap of new stuff of mine"—the letter begins—"My poem is finished, you see, and though not yet set to music, set up in printer's type; and all at my own expense, just for a few copies which I mean to bestow on my friends as a legacy in advance, lest I die in the midst of my work. Those who know how I am off, will think me most extravagant again, of course: be it so! The outer world behaves so shabbily towards me, that I haven't the least envy to copy it. So, with a certain quaking comfort—and secretly, not to be talked out of it—I have had this limited edition printed; and you're the first to whom I send a parcel."

With the author's objections to a public issue, at this stage of the work's existence, I will deal next chapter. For the moment it will suffice to quote from a letter to F. Heine which approximately dates the poem's preparation for the printer. Evidently writing on the last morning of 1852, Wagner says: "You know what an obstinate brute I am. Well, I have just finished my big Nibelungen poem, and mean to make a fair copy of the scrawl, so that my friends may share some sort of taste of it. That will take another full month, as I can devote no more than three hours a day to such a task at present. Finished it must be, however, before I proceed to anything else; otherwise I shall have no peace."

But a little way can the fair-copying have progressed—maybe to the end of *Rheingold*—when the poet was smitten by that staggering blow recorded at the close of last volume, the death of his chief epistolary confidant, unequalled Uhlig. The utter prostration caused by this "irreparable loss" would leave small energy for application of the final file, such as we may assume to have been contemplated in the original allowance of a "full month." Consequently, the remainder of the fair-copying would

become far more of a mechanical or automatic function, and we thus have yet another factor to account for occasional discrepancies still remaining in the "two Siegfrieds."

Though the last two sections of the *Ring* alone demand some critical elucidation, it will be more convenient to dispose once for all of the various editions of the entire poem, now that it has taken its earliest step beyond its author's study. For which reason I had better hang out a warning that this chapter is intended neither for the novice in the first flush of a fine hearing, nor for the High-priest who proclaims Wagnerian Drama a "revelation" too sacred to be accepted otherwise than with padlocked mouth. Long may the first preserve his youthful receptivity untroubled by searchings of the why and how! As for the second, we may pension him off with the reminder that Wagner himself implicitly submitted the poem of the *Ring des Nibelungen* to critical judgment apart from its music, when he issued it to "the reading public" in 1863 (*P.* III. 282-3), and once again in 1872 as part and parcel of his Collected Literary Works—*Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (*ibid.* 261, 263-4, 273). A work gradually added to, as I have shewn to be the case with this tetralogy, is not likely to be so unassailable in all its proportions and interconnections as the product of a single creative impulse, such as *Tristan und Isolde*. Here, accordingly, we have to be on our guard not so much against the moribund belittlers of Wagner's genius, as against those superior persons who would elevate into a shibboleth what is really nothing but a heedless excrescence or an overlooked survival, and who extort mysterious meaning from an obvious slip. The inner history of the poem, then—not its putative "inner meaning"—is what may profitably occupy the Wagner-biologist, after demonstration of its outer

To clear the ground, let us first come to an agreement as to what we shall accept as our standard 'text'—in the German, I mean. Perhaps it has never occurred to you, that, quite apart from the question of misprints, there may be a difficulty in determining which edition of the German RING is to be taken as the authoritative. Yet such a difficulty has to be faced; for the author himself set his seal on *two* several versions, by incorporating with his *Gesammelte Schriften* a text that differs in a thousand minutiæ from that embodied in the orchestral

score.* These two versions we may designate, without much fear of misapprehension, as the "classical" and the "acting" editions. By which of them are we to abide, when quoting a line that may present slightly different readings in the two?

Let that question bide a moment, since the list has to be swelled by two other versions which can hardly claim the author's imprimatur, yet are far more widely circulated than those just mentioned: I mean the "vocal," alias "complete pianoforte" score, and the so-called "textbook." By the nature of things, these are the more popular forms where expense or portability has to be considered. Will either of them serve our purpose? Not unreservedly, at present. The "vocal scores" are in process of revision, I believe, but meanwhile remain at partial variance alike with the "classical" and the "acting" edition.† The "textbooks" differ from all three, though a quite recent edition has made commendable efforts to approach perfection, and *very nearly* agrees with the words in the orchestral score.

Which of these four co-existent types shall we adopt for our criterion? As *Der Ring des Nibelungen* is no mere literary poem, not for a moment should we hesitate in pinning our faith to the "acting" version, i.e. to the text of the full score, published with the author's approval but a short while after the "classical" edition

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* By then the vocal setting had been entirely completed, and the whole of the orchestration sketched out.—Anyone desirous of pursuing an exhaustive comparison of the 1872 edition with the score, will find in the *Bayr. Bl.* of 1897 a most carefully drawn up series of tables by Herr Max Zenker, covering twelve pages of double columns, and setting forth the variants of upwards of 840 different lines in the whole tetralogy. The majority of them, of course, are very slight, consisting of an added or elided "i" or "e," the transposition of a couple of words, and so on; others are distinct improvements in euphony or style.

† The latter part of this statement I make on Herr Zenker's authority (*loc. cit.*), but it should be qualified by the remark that, wherever I have consulted Klindworth's engraved vocal score of *Rheingold* (1861, in folio, or 'large 4°'), I have found it to be in agreement with the full score, save for two tiny exceptions:—a "Wort" where the full score has "Werk" (*cf.* old textbook p. 52, l. 8) and a "dir" where the full score erroneously has "du" (*ibid.* 59, l. 5). Variants in the vocal scores of the later members of the *Ring*, where not quite palpable misprints, may possibly be explained by the fact that, after *Rheingold*, Klindworth had to work from the "sketches," not from the finished orchestral manuscript (see Letter 213 in the Wagner-Liszt Correspondence, re *Die Walküre*).

of 1872.* In all quotations from the poem, therefore, I shall employ the words actually set to music in the orchestral score, unless specifically stated otherwise. But how if the reader should wish to consult the context, or should miss a point through absence of translation? In his best interest I might refer him to an admirable new edition provided with German, French and English words, in eleven volumes, coat-pocket size; yet, unless he be a professional musician, or quite an exceptional amateur, he is likely to feel somewhat at sea in an orchestral score, and may prefer to spend one-twentieth or one-fortieth of its cost upon a simple "textbook." So please don't be shocked if I select for this purpose, not the new almost-corrected textbook, which has yet to establish its title to permanence, but the old book of words that has done yeoman's service for a quarter of a century, and is to be found in the private library of wellnigh every opera-goer throughout the world. Its faults are thick upon it, but it has one great advantage, in that its *pagination* has never varied—not even when interleaved with what schoolboys would nickname a "crib"; moreover, I gather from the publishers of the RING that there is no immediate prospect of change in its German-English form. Wherefore, securing my quotations from the ultimate text itself on the enduring basis of the full score, I shall make all needful references to pages, and lines of pages, in terms of the old-accustomed "textbook" of 1876 and onward. It is not an ideal arrangement, but it is the only workable one, and, after all, will present no difficulty to the more advanced Wagnerian, even should this chapter be fortunate enough to meet his eye some half a century hence; for by then every line of the *Ring des Nibelungen* will be "as household words in his mouth," and the haply superannuated page-references as crutches to the sound of limb.

Having agreed on our criterion, we shall be able to work backward from it till we arrive at the main object of the present chapter, to wit, the aspect of the poem in its private issue of 1853.

As said, there are hundreds of minor variants, some of them quite infinitesimal, between the final form of the text, in the

* Unfortunately it is not the custom in the music-trade to date an issue; but Mr Dannreuther has informed us (*Grove's Dict.*) that the full scores of *Rheingold* and *Walküre* were first published in 1873, those of *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung* in 1876, whereas the earliest engraved vocal scores (Klindworth's original arrangement) were issued as follows, *Rh.* 1861, *W.* 1865, *S.* 1871, *G.* 1875—all, of course, by Schott & Co.

orchestral score, and its "classical" edition of 1872. But what does that 1872 edition represent? A verbatim reprint of its immediate predecessor, the first edition *published*, that of 1863; merely eight or nine altogether negligible amendments are to be found on comparing these two.* That really is very remarkable, seeing that the musical composition of virtually the last five acts of the tetralogy (counting the prologue to *Gtdg* as one act) had been taken in hand and finished meanwhile. On the other hand, the edition of '72 has a couple of paralipomena printed below the line, discarded passages thus rescued from oblivion: to these I shall return, simply noting for the present that nothing could more emphatically proclaim the literary monument. Save for its paralipomena, then, the intrinsic interest of the 1872 edition is shifted to its predecessor, and merely as a resuscitation of that bibliographic rarity, the 1863 edition, need it enter our reckoning.

Thus we have established the fact that in 1863, just ten years after its private issue, the poem of the *Ring des Nibelungen* was made over to "the reading public" in a form that differs as to countless minor details from the "acting" version. Were these variants confined to the latter part of the work, i.e. to those acts which had not as yet been crystallised in music, the explanation would be simple. Such is not the case, however: where deviation is greatest, namely in *Götterdämmerung*, it is no more than twice as great as in *Das Rheingold;* whereas the vocal score of *Rheingold* had actually been published two years before this first public issue of the entire poem. You suggest that Wagner may have made slight changes in his text *after* its musical composition, but prior to its publication in full score; changes perhaps introduced even while correcting the engraved plates of the latter? That, of course, is conceivable, and may account for a small proportion of the variants in the three dramas proper; but what are we to say to the vocal score of *Rheingold*, published early in 1861,† presenting numerous verses in a form that differs from the literary editions of '63 and '72, however slightly, yet is in absolute agreement with the orchestral score of '73 and onward? Take for instance Alberich's "entreisse dem Riff das

* I ought to observe that in the case of the 1863 edition I am entirely dependent on the evidence of Herr Zenker (see footnote to page 6).

† On the copy in the British Museum I find the official stamp with date of receipt "Apr. 11, 61."

Gold" (from his last speech in scene 1): here vocal and instrumental scores are in perfect accord, yet all three literary editions (the private issue of '53 and the two aforesaid) have "das Gold entreiss' ich dem Riff"—quite another rhythm. The music, you see, has varied here a matter of literary indifference; just as both scores distribute between Flosshilde and her two sisters, in equal portions, six lines beginning "Jetzt küsst sie sein Auge" (p. 14 textbook) which the three literary editions assign to Flosshilde alone. So purely musical a change might well be neglected in a poem printed apart from its music, but it is a little strange that the literary editions should adhere to the "von" of that much-debated "von einer kies'te mich keine" (*ibid.* 11), when even the vocal score had improved it into "bei." Still stranger are the next three examples. On page 24 of the textbook Fasolt has a speech of six lines, beginning "Was sagst du": its last three lines, "Die dein Speer birgt, sind sie dir Spiel, des berath'nen Bundes Runen?" are to be found in both scores, but have no equivalent in the three literary editions, where the little speech is reduced to half its length. Again, the last three lines of Donner's cloud-mustering (p. 72) are expanded by the music into five, but the literary editions ignore alike the added and the altered words. Page 27, on the other hand, gives Donner two lines, "schuldig blieb' ich Schächern nie," which the literary editions alone present.

In the foregoing paragraph I have purposely restricted myself to *Das Rheingold*, since it is the only member of the RING whose musical setting was made public prior to the toneless poem. There can be very little doubt that wellnigh all the variants in *Die Walküre* and the first two acts of *Siegfried* were also effected in the process of musical composition, *i.e.* some years *before* this '63 edition; but, without an opportunity of consulting the original autographs, I prefer to abide by a certainty. And that certainty is confirmed by the fact that the acts not composed until *after* 1863 are reproduced in this first public edition exactly as they stood in the private issue of 1853, save that the titles *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung* take the place of "Der junge Siegfried" and "Siegfried's Tod." *

This 1863 edition, accordingly, can by no means be assigned

* Taking the '72 edition as a replica of that of '63, some three to four tiny divergences are all that I can discover between the '63 and the '53 versions of these acts, *e.g.* "gemächlicher" substituted for the obsolete "mäliger"

significance in the inner history of the poem, however interesting as a biographic document. To take its precise range, we must try to realise Wagner's position that Spring. Utterly disheartened by more than three years wasted on the Paris *Tannhäuser* fiasco and the Vienna non-representation of *Tristan*, he had abandoned all present intention of completing the music for the RING, as he nowhere saw one ray of hope that the conditions for the production of so gigantic a drama would ever be attained. He therefore gave the poem to the world as more or less a caput mortuum. On what principle he edited it, what copy he followed, it is impossible to say. Certainly he observed the more important, together with a number of the trifling changes already made in the original text during composition of the music; but he cannot have checked it line by line. Why should he? There would be time enough for that when his drama should enter actual life, when its characters trod the boards. And nine years later, it must be remembered, the republication of the *Ring* poem was no separate undertaking, but an integral factor in the republication of *all*, or almost all its author's literary works. With very few exceptions, the component parts of the *Gesammelte Schriften* were republished exactly as they had originally appeared. Considering that nine volumes, averaging nearly 400 pages each, were thus reprinted in the brief space of two years—from the middle of 1871 to the middle of 1873—and that the same period was occupied by the most strenuous activity in completing the orchestral score of the RING and building its theatre, we can easily understand that there would be little time to spare for a pedantic reconstitution of its text. The 1863 edition was evidently handed to the printer, just as it stood, for reproduction in vols. v and vi of the *Ges. Schr.* 1872. When all is said, neither the one nor the other was meant for a prompt-book.

Now that we have learnt how they represent neither the beginning nor the end of the journey, but a sort of indeterminate half-way house, there can be no object in wearying the English reader with a catalogue of the variants as between the twin '63=72 editions of the RING text and the full score on the one hand, the '53 edition on the other. To the latter, the original

(*Gtdg* 19), and "Blitzend Gewölk" (ibid. 34) for "*Blitz und Gewölk.*" In the latter instance the score, indeed, seems to have relapsed to an obvious misprint of the '53 edition, though the '63 and '72 had corrected it.

private issue, we may at once proceed, as a subject of far greater interest, from whatever point of view. But even here I have no intention of going into more minutiæ than necessary, since the great majority of the textual alterations occasioned by the musical setting may be described as indifferentia: they transpose a word or two, elide a syllable, or subtilise a shade of style, without in the least affecting the sense. Some day it is to be hoped that an historical edition will reproduce in parallel columns the first and final readings, with possibly a marginal indication of all Wagner's preliminary or other sketches connected therewith; but that would rather be for the benefit of the native German, than of the foreigner. My task must be far simpler; at anyrate until I reach the more complex problems presented by "the two Siegfrieds."

Das Rheingold, the latest-written of the four members of the Ring-poem, was the first to be set to music; and, as the score received its last touch only two years from the penning of the first line of its text, naturally we should not expect substantial variation in the latter. I have already noticed five or six of the altered readings; the rest, though numbering considerably over a hundred, are really of such trifling moment as not to call for mention, with three exceptions. In two of these the Hoard itself comes into question: the second of them, where "ganz schwand uns der Hort" now takes the place of "ganz schwand uns das Gold" (p. 66 textbook), may or may not have significance; but the first, where Alberich now gives his gruesome "blessing" to the "Ring," instead of to the "Hort" (61 *ibid.*), is obviously an emendation of some weight.

Our third exception, occurring at the end of Erda's long speech, demands more thought. Here the original reading, "Ein düsterer Tag dämmert den Göttern: in Schmach doch endet dein edles Geschlecht, lässt du den Reif nicht los" ("For the Gods a day of gloom is dawning: but in shame shall end thy noble race, giv'st thou not up the ring"), is replaced in the musical setting, and all subsequent versions, by "Alles, was ist, endet. Ein düsterer Tag dämmert den Göttern: dir rath' ich, meide den Ring!" ("All that is, endeth. For the Gods there dawns a day of gloom: I counsel thee, quit the ring!"). Now, there is a perfectly simple explanation to be found for the change, and one that could not have escaped the student, had he not been brought

up for the last ten years on a brain-racking letter written to Roeckel just after the change was effected.* That letter, through *seeming* to offer an explicit commentary on this particular passage, has thrown a number of well-meaning explorers off the scent; and I must confess that it was only after worrying at the supposed commentary till it drove me to the forlorn resolve to have nothing more to do with it, that I suddenly discovered its own initial lack of bearing on the point.

Let us see how Wagner puts it, at the mathematic centre of a private missive of 26 pages that took him two whole mornings to write (dated "Jan. 25, 1854," at its commencement, "Jan. 26" at its end). "To myself my Nibelungen-poem has but the following sense: representation of the Reality defined by me above.—*Statt der Worte: 'ein düstrer Tag dämmert den Göttern: in Schmach doch endet Dein edles Geschlecht, lässt Du den Reif nicht los!' lasse ich jetzt Erda nur sagen, 'Alles was ist—endet: ein düstrer Tag dämmert den Göttern: Dir rath' ich, meide den Ring!'* —We must learn to *die*, and to *die* in the completest sense of the word; dread of the End is the fount of all lovelessness, and arises there alone where Love already pales. How came it that this highest benedictrix of all living things so vanished from the human race that its every action, every institution, became prompted at last by nothing but fear of the end? My poem shews it. It shews Nature in her undistorted truth, with all her opposing elements . . . Alberich and his ring could have done no harm to the Gods, had they not been already susceptible to the mischief;" and so on, with a discussion of the loveless relations between Wotan and Fricka, but not another word concerning Erda in all the letter, before or after.

In the above I have purposely left a whole sentence untranslated, and beg the reader to obliterate it for a moment. He will then see that the commentary "We must learn to *die*" etc. follows quite naturally on that reference to the "reality defined above," i.e. to an earlier part of the same letter, where we read: "to ascend into the fullest truth, is to yield oneself as sentient human being to complete reality: to drink to its dregs the brimmed cup

* I say "just after," because we know from a letter to Liszt of Jan 15, 54, that the musical composition of *Rheingold* was finished the middle of that month, whilst the Erda scene occurs almost at the end of the work. Other points in this letter must come up for discussion later.

of birth, of growth, of culmination—drooping and decay; to will to live one's full of joy and grief—and die" (very slightly paraphrased from pp. 26-7 of the German ed.). On the other hand, much later in the letter we find that Roeckel has "chiefly astonished" Wagner by a question as to "why the Gods should perish, after all, now the gold is returned to the Rhine?" Precisely the type of objection we should expect from a merely political mind; and among the "critical remarks" wherewith Roeckel had demoralised "five sheets" of guiltless paper, four months since, we may reasonably infer that exception was also taken to the fact of Wotan's not really escaping his fate when he parted with the ring at Erda's bidding. Wagner might have replied that she did not suggest that its surrender would avert "the ending" of the gods, but simply their ending "in *shame*." However, undaunted Roeckel could trip him up again, with the awkward reminder that Wotan in *Die Walküre* still talks of "fear of a shameful end" as nursed in him by the Wala for many a year thereafter. So Erda's original *Rheingold* formula had really better be replaced by something less open to cavil, an oracular utterance loosely coupled with a serious admonition, instead of a contingent threat that might be interpreted as a promise if complied with.

That, I am confident, is the plain history of the much-debated change. And now we can easily dispose of the sentence I left untranslated; a sentence which, from its demarcation by dashes, I strongly suspect of figuring in the original letter as a marginal note or something similar.* In any case, Wagner has just launched on an abstruse exegesis of the "meaning" of his *entire* drama, when, remembering that his correspondent is not yet apprised of a slight change in its diction,† he *interrupts* himself with a "By the way: instead of A, I make Erda now merely say B." The "*nur sagen*," or "*merely* say," ought to be quite

* Analogously, I suspect that the sentence preceding it should read, "Für mich hat mein Gedicht nur folgenden Sinn: Darstellung der oben von mir bezeichneten Wirklichkeit.—" in the same manner as I have punctuated its translation two paragraphs back; i.e. that it is by a mere transcriber's or printer's error that we find the word "Darstellung" starting an entirely fresh paragraph, and by an unfortunate coincidence, a fresh page to boot. Did the Germans not use capitals for all their nouns, wherever situate, the confusion might have never arisen.

† The *only* change of any importance, at this date, unless we attach a certain weight to Fasolt's allusion to the runes on the spear (p. 9 *ant.*).

sufficient to divest the sentence of any but the most casual connection with the didactics that follow it.

Perhaps it may be thought that I have paid more attention to the point than it warrants. But I feel sure that a misapprehension, or misapplication, of this passage in Wagner's letter to Roeckel has led to a false conception of Erda's function in the drama. Had its context any specific reference to the change aforesaid, it would imply that she was endeavouring to *remove* from Wotan all "fear of the end" by representing that an end must come to all things, and he had best conform his conduct to that philosophic maxim. On the contrary, it is *she* who robs him of his pristine insouciance ("da verlor ich den leichten Muth," *Wlk.* act ii) by inspiring him with a fear he had never experienced before: her last words to him, in this same scene, are still "Brood on it in fear and dread"; and so new to him is the suggestion, that he replies, "shall I fear, I first must learn all." Had his nature been lightly moved to quail, he would never have shrugged his shoulders at Alberich's curse; and his reproach to Erda in act iii of *Siegfried* is, that it was *she* who had scared him into "dread of a shameful end." Only by realising that this was the object of her voluntary appearance in *Rheingold*, can we gauge the dramatic import of her conjuration by Wotan in *Siegfried*, where she is forced to rise against her will to hear the death-knell on "Grandmother-wisdom, grandmother-dread!" Brooding in elemental darkness, her knowledge is limited to proverbs and mysterious hints, gruesome forebodings without prevision of a cure. As for her interference in respect of the ring, it was but grandmotherly-wise in its obstinate refusal to admit its semi-ignorance: whole wisdom would have done more than merely counsel the god to "*quit* the ring"; it would have admonished him that Loge's mocking plea for the Rhine-daughters was the only counsel to be taken seriously, to be followed as a pure matter of impersonal justice, let the consequences be what they might.—So much for Erda: if you wish to regard her symbolically, you may call her "the *fear* of the Lord that is the *beginning* of wisdom"—by no means its end; but her character and office remain unaffected by the changed wording of her oracular utterance.

Nevertheless, the substitution of "All that is, endeth," for the earlier contingent threat, is the outcome of a true artistic instinct. To say nothing of its being far better poetry, to have dropped the

flattery of "thy noble race," the change adds immensely to our conception of Wotan's character. These "noble" gods had hitherto fancied themselves cut out for immortality, with a prescriptive right to disdain whatever breed they deemed inferior; when Alberich threatened a future defeat of the gods by his infernal legions, the dwarfs with whom the gods had never stooped to make a compact, Wotan had treated it as rank blasphemy ("Vergeh', frevelnder Gauch!"), just as blue-blood Fricka hereafter speaks with withering scorn of "vulgar mortals" ("gemeiner Menschen," *W.* 30). A mere repetition of Alberich's personal, or racial menace might have had but little influence on a ruler so proudly convinced of his superiority; but when this eerie sibyl, with a solemnity enhanced by all the mystery of the unexpected, reveals to him her only piece of positive knowledge, the one great lesson of the past, the effect on Wotan is instantaneous, marking him at once as of finer metal than the other Asen: "Geheimniss-hehr hallt mir dein Wort." To him it presents an entirely novel, a far more serious outlook on the world. Not as yet does he fully grasp it, but his quick imagination is so impressed that, forgetting his instant peril, forgetting the ring, the burg, the giants, and above all his frowning wife—whose jealousy mounts guard at once—he fain would plunge into earth's arcana to "learn more." The other gods, much duller of perception, hear nothing but the personal injunction "Quit the ring"; but to Wotan, who has just been bartering his freedom of action for a supposedly eternal citadel, that "All that is—endeth" forms a crisis in his inner life. Not until Fricka has coaxed him from his brown study, and Donner has swept away the clouds, and Froh flung the rainbow-bridge of hope toward ill-bought Walhall—his old associates wooing him back awhile to their short-sighted views—does he throttle his awe, and defiantly make the best of a bad bargain by evolving his "hero" illusion.

In *Die Walküre*, passing by a number of insignificant transpositions etc., and even such undoubted small improvements as "von Hetze und Harst" for the original "von wilder Hetze" (p. 11), the first change that need arrest us is that in Siegmund's song of Spring and Love. Here the lyrical flow of the music is accountable for the expansion of three verses, "in linden Lüften wiegt sich der Lenz; über Wald und Auen," into the well-known

seven, "in mildem Lichte leuchtet der Lenz; auf linden Lüften leicht und lieblich, Wunder webend er sich wiegt; durch Wald und Auen"; whilst, three lines lower, the more sentimental "lächelt" of '53 is replaced by "lacht" (*lacht sein Aug'*)—"laughter" being far more appropriate than "smiles," alike to Spring, to the "eye," and to the vocabulary of a forest-bred Siegmund. Similarly, Sieglinde having already spoken of the "glow" of Siegmund's glance ("Deines Auges Gluth erglänzte mir schon," p. 23), it simply weakened the image to follow it with "sparks of fire," as in the '53 edition; so "des Feuer's Sprühen sprach schon zu mir" is discarded thenceforward.—This same speech of Sieglinde's ends with a question whether "Wehwalt," i.e., "Woe-begone," be in truth her lover's name. In all the literary editions he replies, "Nicht heiss' ich so seit du mich liebst"; well rendered by Mr Forman, "No longer, since thy love I learned." Both scores, however, have the palpable misreading "Nicht heiss' *m*ich so" etc., reflected in the English version that now accompanies the full score, "Ne'er call me so, since thou art mine"; which destroys the meaning altogether. This is one of the extremely rare instances of an uncorrected error in the orchestral score; and that it *is* an error, is proved by Wagner's having changed the original "Heisse mich du" of Siegmund's next speech into "*Nenne* mich du (wie du liebst dass ich dich heisse)."

In this closing scene of act i there are one or two other minute changes, all tending to an improvement of euphony or rhythm, consequently of style. Thus the question of Sieglinde's that comes between the last two quotations is altered from "Und Friedmund, sagtest du, dürftest nicht froh du dich nennen?" into "Und Friedmund darfst du froh dich nicht nennen?" whilst Siegmund's "wie dir, o Herrliche, hehr es blickt," becomes "wie, Herrliche, hehr dir es strahlt." More extensive is the alteration in the words sung by Siegmund as he seizes the sword. Where we now have "Heiligster Minne . . . drängt zu That und Tod" (p. 25), the original poem ran as under:—

Heiligster Liebe
höchste Noth
brennt mir hell in der Brust:
schmachvoller Bande
schmählichste Noth
hält in Fesseln uns fest.

Here, as von Wolzogen shrewdly remarks,* the application of a musical motive from *Rheingold* has transformed two balanced strophes into one rushing climax. Indisputably the lines gain much in vigour, though we are thereby robbed of Siegmund's characterisation of Sieglinde's *bondage*, i.e. to Hunding, as shameful and degrading. Per contra, the "drängt zu That und Tod" of the second version adds a tragic note that we shall find recurring in the second version of Tannhäuser's scene with Venus, "Mein Sehnen drängt zum Kampfe . . . mich drängt es hin zum Tod"; a coincidence to be explained by the fact that the author had been steeping himself in *Die Walküre*, with Klindworth at the pianoforte, just before he revised his *Tannhäuser* for Paris (1860).

Act ii of *Die Walküre*. Neglecting the scene between Wotan and Fricka for the moment, in that between Wotan and Brynhild we find a few insignificant variants, on none of which need we dwell save that affecting the third line from the foot of p. 37 (old textbook), "von mir doch barg sie ein Pfand." Originally it ran, "von mir doch empfing sie ein Kind"; a statement difficult to reconcile with the "acht Schwestern" of a line or two later. The point appears to have puzzled Schopenhauer, since he makes a mark against the seemingly conflicting passages in his copy of the Ring-poem. Doubtless it also worried one or other of Wagner's private friends, for he has slurred the line into the form already-cited by the time the vocal score is published. Curiously enough, though the '63 and '72 editions here agree with the vocal score, the full score reverts for its verb to the original form, reading "von mir doch empfing sie ein Pfand." It is a very small matter in itself; but, involving the addition of a musical note to the voice-part, it suggests not only that there may have been an occasional slight discrepancy between the text supplied to Klindworth in the composition-draft (on which to base his pianoforte arrangement) and that incorporated with the full orchestral score, but also that the vocal score was the one consulted for the first public edition of the poem.

Again passing by a number of infinitesimal variants, we arrive at the scene between Brynhild and Siegmund. Here the musical

* In course of an exhaustive comparison of the '53 and '63 editions of the *Ring* poem, contributed to the *Bayreuther Blätter* 1896; see Appendix to the present volume, page 424.

theme has itself dictated the compression of the original "Grüsst mich froh eine Frau in Walhall's Räumen?" into the far nobler "Grüsst mich in Walhall froh eine Frau?" (p. 49). The same cause has pruned the "süss" from "umfängt Siegmund süss Sieglinde dort?" (*ibid.*). Finally the musician has bidden the poet drop three lines, where Siegmund draws his sword to take "two lives at one stroke": the '53 poem had followed up the numerical train with "Das dritte Leben, dem Wodan droht—werthlos werf' ich's ihm hin!" ("the third life, that Wodan threatens—worthless I fling at his feet!").

Act iii. Here, apart from the suppression of a '53 "Rasch zu Ross—das rath' ich euch," after the "meidet den Felsen!" in Wotan's dismissal of the troop of Valkyries (p. 74), there really is no change worth mentioning beyond a slight redistribution of the lines sung by individual members of that troop; little changes of cast, so to speak, attributed by Wolzogen to a wish to give Waltraute a shade more prominence, in view of the rôle she will play in *Götterdämmerung*. On this assumption—quite a reasonable one—we may argue that the Waltraute scene in the work last-named had not presented itself to its author's mind by the time he wrote *Die Walküre*.

One omission subsequent to the 1853 issue I have reserved till now, because it is more or less a corollary to the change that swept away a block of about 100 lines before the poem was printed even privately. The text-book and scores end Fricka's second speech in act ii with "das kühn den Gatten gekränkt"; all three literary editions, on the contrary, continue it with "Von dir nun heisch' ich harte Büsse an Sieglinde und Siegmund" ("From thee I therefore claim stern penalty on Sieglinde and Siegmund"). Though the musical setting has rejected these three lines as superfluous, they are of some interest through their reversing the natural and usual sequence "Siegmund und Sieglinde": the goddess's vengeance thus appears to be aimed against her own sex in the first place, just as it is the breaking of the bonds of an iniquitous wedlock that stands in the forefront of her indictment. It was as well to drop the lines, however; they might have led the average hearer to await some more direct punishment of Sieglinde than that of being left defenceless through her brother's death.

Separated from the above by but six verses for Wotan, the classical edition of 1872 gives us the first of those 'paralipomena'

to which I have already alluded.* Here we are out of the undergrowth of minor differences, for this is a passage of such moment that nothing but the sternest artistic necessity can have impelled the poet to discard it from his artwork. In *Ges. Schr.* vol. vi. he has it printed below the main text of pages 37 to 42, so that its 127 verses are made supplementary to the 37 which begin with Fricka's "Wie thörig und taub du dich stell'st" and end with Wotan's "Siegmund's und Sieglinde's Bund" (cf. text-book 28-29). The first and last lines are respectively the same in both readings, and in fact 34 out of the 37 in the upper version have their facsimile in the lower, save for quite negligible variants in four of them. In round numbers, then, it is a matter of ninety lines rescued by their author from oblivion. They are prefaced with the following laconic note: "I here supply the original wording of this scene, as drafted before the music was composed."

That introductory note is provokingly reticent, since the 1853 edition of the poem, printed nearly *two years before* the music was written, gives precisely the same reading of this passage as the upper one in *Ges. Schr.* (and as the '63 edition and both scores, for that matter) with exception of one unimportant word, "den hart verletzten" *vice* "den hart gekränkten." Nevertheless, Wagner calls the lower version the "original wording," and his statement is corroborated by the plain fact that the upper consists of nothing but excerpts from the lower, with the solitary exception of three neutral lines, "Dass jene sich lieben, leuchtet dir hell: drum höre redlichen Rath"; lines which bear their nature on their face, a mere flying bridge to span a gap. The abbreviation, consequently, must have been undertaken either in the act of fair-copying, or during revision of the '53 proofs.

Why the scene was altered, is quite another question. It can have been on account neither of its matter nor of its style, else the poet would scarcely have resurrected it in his standard edition.

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* The other two occur at the end of *Götterdämmerung*. It is scarcely right to class them together, however, since the lines "Ihr, blühenden Lebens" etc. figure in all the literary editions, though not in the score; whereas the Schopenhauerian "Führ' ich nun nicht mehr &c.' are given solely in the classical edition of 1872—see Mr Alfred Forman's translation of the RING. Yet a third alternative reading of this farewell address, likewise abandoned, is reproduced in the *Bayr. Blätter* 1893—see next chapter.

The objection must have lain in its length, and more particularly in the equality of its length with that of the still more important scene that follows it. With a true artist's eye for proportion, Wagner thus sacrificed a full third of his original Wotan-Fricka scene, to throw into greater relief what is virtually Wotan's monologue in its successor. But he thereby deprived us of not inessential enlightenment as to the action of the god and goddess since we saw them last in *Rheingold;* wherefore he invites the reader behind the scenes, so to speak, in an entr'acte.

For a poetic rendering of this supplement I must refer the reader to the English translation of the RING by Mr Alfred Forman, the other translators having absolutely ignored it. Its substance, however, adds so much to our knowledge of that mysterious "idea" of Wotan's ("Der Gedanke, den ich nie nennen durfte," *S.* iii), that I will endeavour to reproduce it as nearly literally as possible:—

Fricka. Thou feignest not to know what crime it is that wounds my heart!

Wotan. Thou seest but the one thing; from my sight it is chased by the other that I see.

Fricka. The 'one thing' I see, is a breach of wedlock's sacred oath, a blow to me its guardian.

Wotan. Thou call'st that wedlock, which is but violence done to love? Light in thy scales weighs woman, when thou hallowest the outrage of a Hunding's suit!

Fricka. If brute violence lays the world in waste, whose blame is it save Wotan's? The weak thou ne'er shield'st, the strong thou abettest; rapine, and murder, and raging of men, are *thy* mad work. Mine 'tis, that something be saved where all's lost, held holy still midst the fury of change. Where the turbulent thirsts at last for rest, where the sweets of possession may tame the rough mind, the rent coil I re-knit into orderly wont. Thy hand thou ne'er raisedst against Hunding's offence: too weak was *I* to fend it; but since by sacred oaths he purged it, Fricka forgives, and shields the right they gained him. Didst *thou* not speed his passion, then spoil not thou my calm!

Wotan. When have I thwarted thy dealings? Bind thou what never will fit; trump peace and oaths that lie of love. But ask not that I weld amain what will not hold for thy patching; wherever live forces are jarring, to battle I open the way.

[The last sentence is common to both versions, as also are Fricka's next speech and Wotan's reply, where, completely worsted in her first line of

argument, she changes it for that of horror at a coupling "never known before," and he bids her add to her harvest of facts "a thing that has fitted itself." Then the older version continues:—]

Fricka. Is ribald mockery thine answer to my burning shame? Thou laugh'st to scorn the worth thyself confer'dst upon thy wife. Whither art rushing, headlong god? To ruin wouldst thou hurl a universe that had its laws from thee?

Wotan. Fore all I wield the law primordial: where forces are wheeling their way to fresh birth, my circle I trace; whither 'tis heading, I guide the stream; the fount whence it flows I guard: on strength of thew, and strength in love, the right to live have I aye bestowed. That right the twins have stormed: Minne nursed them in the mother's womb; unbeknown lay they there, unbeknown have they now loved. Wouldst gladden thyself with thy blessing, on Siegmund and Sieglinde's bond, then, shed its grace!

[At this point we come back to the upper, or ordinary version, in which I would just note that the "so seg'ne mit göttlich heiliger Gunst" of the lower has become "so segne, lachend der Liebe," since these last three words—immediately preceding "Siegmund's und Sieglinde's Bund"—may afford us a clue to the end of the 3rd act of *Siegfried*, cf 438 *inf.*]

After reading the above, I think you will agree that nothing but consideration for dramatic balance can have induced the poet to cut down his original conception of the scene, and that he has greatly aided our insight into his characters by restoring it for literary purposes. Even Hunding stands out sharper from the canvas, now that we know a little of his antecedents, and we can better appreciate the contemptuous "Go kneel to Fricka" wherewith the god snuffs his life out at end of the act. But the chief gain is to our knowledge of Wotan himself, and of his relations with Fricka on the one hand, the twins on the other.

In Wotan's first brief reply to his spouse, "Du siehst nur das Eine; das And're seh' ich, das Jenes mir jagt aus dem Blick," we have a parallel to Brynhild's lines in act iii concerning the "Zwiespalt, der dich zwang, diess Eine ganz zu vergessen. Das And're musstest einzig du seh'n" etc., and "ich sah nun Das nur, was du nicht sah'st" (*W.* 76-77). Setting the two passages together, we begin to understand why Wotan is represented as having parted with one of his eyes when he won Fricka to wife (*Rh.* 22). However much he may strive to keep one aim alone in sight, that other eye in Fricka's guardianship will re-assert its

claim, and assert it in such a way that *reflection* interferes with *will.* It was the earliest of all the "pacts" he made—cf. the Norns' scene, where the idea is merely given another form *—and with it began his inner conflict. One-eyed, in any save a physical sense, the god is not; but one eye is directed inwards, and Wotan always ends by seeing more than any of the other characters in the drama, for he is the only one of them ever to admit having been in the wrong. Neither Fricka nor Brynhild—each of whom has a pair of eyes that sees but one thing at a time—can follow this paradox of a truly double vision.

That brings us to what I have called the mystery of "Wotan's Gedanke." Neither Fricka nor Brynhild has grasped it; both of them interpret it as more or less a piece of personal favouritism. The "original wording" of this scene shews it quite plainly as a gigantic experiment in Evolution, of which the heroes brought to Walhall are mere by-products. Through one of those flashes that come to genius half-unconsciously, Wotan (i.e. Wagner) has anticipated the Darwinian theory of the Struggle for Existence leading to the Survival of the Fittest, as may be seen in his final answer to Fricka's reproach that he is perpetually stirring up strife and abetting the strong, where he sums up his activity in the words: "Des Urgesetzes walt' ich vor Allem: wo Kräfte zeugen und kreisen, da zieh' ich meines Wirkens Kreis . . . wo Leibes- und Liebeskraft, da wahrt' ich mir Lebensmacht." Here he identifies himself with the "primordial law" of Natural Selection that had *thitherto* engendered life. But, to crown his great experiment, to free the world from the bonds that bind it, he wants "the other" whereof he speaks to Brynhild, "*der nicht mehr ich, und aus sich wirkte was ich nur will*" (p. 40), he wants Spontaneous Generation; † wherefore he deludes himself into the belief that the twins

* The explanation given by the Wanderer in *Siegfried* act iii (p. 81), on the other hand, I hold to be of earlier origin, as it confuses the issue. Not that much harm is done thereby; for the "one-eyedness" is a feature of the ancient myths, and may be interpreted in different fashions.

† Since the above was written (early 1903) we have had the revolutionary discovery of radium and the changing of its "emanation" into another element, helium, bringing into prominence the but slightly earlier discoveries of "electrons" and radio-activity. Now listen to a few sentences from Sir Oliver Lodge's lecture on "Radium and its meaning," delivered at Birmingham Jan. 6 of this year (1904):—"An atom of matter, as near as we can estimate it at present, consists of positive and negative electrons—the negative electrons

had *forced* their right to life in his despite: "Das Zwillingspaar *zwang* meine Macht." * In support of this assertion, he virtually denies his fathership, and claims for *Siegmund and Sieglinde* a species of origin by parthenogenesis: "Minne nährt' es im Mutterschooss," Love itself had "fed them in their mother's womb," where they "lay unbeknown" to him. Minds like those of Fricka and Alberich might look on the twins as his children, if they chose; but Brynhild, the repository of all his other secrets, he has always taught to regard them as an entirely independent order of creation; and that view he now endeavours to instil into Fricka—with little prospect of success, in the circumstances.

Whether we affiliate them to him or not, to him the simultaneous birth of Siegmund *and* Sieglinde was in itself a miracle,

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in a state of violent movement, with occasional possibility of escape. . . The spontaneous breaking up of an atom constitutes a novel source of energy, larger than any previously known . . . only a very few atoms are unstable from instant to instant . . . but they are probably none of them really and eternally permanent. . . The most important consequence is the discovery of the mutability of matter, the transmutation of elements. In old days Heraclitus promulgated the doctrine that the universe was not a 'being,' but a 'becoming'; that everything was in a state of flux—πάντα ῥεῖ—nothing stationary or fixed or permanent. It is absolutely true. . . Birth, culmination and decay, is the rule, whether for a plant or an animal, a nation or a planet or a sun. Twenty years ago it was thought that the atoms of matter were exempt from this liability to change. . . Not so; the process of change has now been found to reach to these also. Nothing material is permanent. . . The atoms are crumbling and decaying: must they not also be forming and coming to the birth? This last we do not know as yet. It is the next thing to be looked for. Decay only, without birth and culmination, cannot be the last word. The discovery may not come in our time, but science is rapidly growing, and it may. Science is still in its early infancy. We are beginning to comprehend a few of the secrets of Nature; we are yearly coming nearer to some sort of comprehension of the mind and method infused into the material cosmos."—In light of this scientific revelation, con once more those lines about the *Urgesetz* or "law primordial," whereby "forces are *wheeling* to birth," and answer if the Poet be not, as Carlyle said, a Seer too!

* Here "Macht," of course, is nothing but an abbreviation of the "Lebensmacht" that ends the previous sentence. That "Das Zwillingspaar" *governs* the verb, is not only to be inferred from the stabreim, but is positively proved by the '53 edition of *Siegfried*, where Mime spoke of "ein viel-zwingendes Zwillingspaar" in lieu of the present "ein wild-verzweifeltes Zwillingspaar"; whilst the construction which I place on "unbewusst," namely "unknown *to me*," is borne out by the use made of the same word in further course of this act ii of *Die Walküre*, "fremd dem Gott, frei seiner Gunst, unbewusst, ohne Geheiss" (*W.* 39-40).

an *excess* of Nature's, just as popular superstition attaches magic properties to the double kernel of a nut, and so on, even to this day. And the mystery of their birth is matched by his "deeply mysterious relation to their fatal love" (see letter of Nov. 51 to Liszt), here expressed by "unbewusst lag es einst dort, unbewusst liebt' es sich jetzt." However erroneous it soon is proved to him by Fricka's ruthless logic, his assumption had been that Siegmund himself—not a possible derivative of Siegmund's—was the "free hero" he needed; and Siegmund he therefore had led to where the magic sword awaited him. Even Fricka, who by no means stints her indictments, goes no farther than that in her reference to what we may call the background of act i: though he has roused her utmost wrath by invoking her blessing on the union as a *fait accompli*, she never accuses Wotan of having incited it; "unbeknown" she tacitly allows *that* to have been, and from its very rebellion against divine guidance she deduces a downfall of the gods, should it not be condignly punished.

The opposition between Fricka and Wotan consists in his regarding as the strongest token of that revolutionary independence, required for his scheme of liberation, what she regards as criminal insubordination. Fricka wins the day in that part of the scene with which we are familiar, not by convicting Wotan of having instigated one particular offence, but by convincing him that his whole design of moulding the "free hero" is based on a rotten foundation, since the free hero, if such there ever could be, must mould himself. "Selbst muss der Freie sich schaffen," Wotan admits to himself thereafter; and here Fricka clinches her argument with "Mit Unfreien streitet kein Edler. . . Siegmund verfiel mir als Knecht" (p. 33). The process of that Pyrrhic victory of Fricka's is made much clearer to us, now that this restoration of the scene to its pristine integrity has shewn the internecine warfare that had prevailed between Wotan's inner and outer eye for ages past. Not till both eyes are voluntarily closed to schemes of world-perpetuation, will he find rest.

We arrive at "the two Siegfrieds," about which, as foreshadowed toward the end of last volume, there will be a great deal more to say. Without further preliminaries, then—save an earnest request that you will get your textbooks out to follow me—I lead you straight to the middle of act i of *Siegfried* proper,

where the 1853 edition has something quite extraordinary to shew.

Down to Mime's production of the broken pieces of the sword, and the fifth verse of Siegfried's rejoinder, "mühe dich rasch" (text-book p. 18), the scene had proceeded on the lines with which we are all familiar; but in this first edition the remainder of Siegfried's speech is represented merely by the words "dass ich heut' noch die Waffe gewinn'!" In itself that makes no great difference, as we shall find the substance of the 14 missing verses in another place; but it is a harbinger of more radical variation. —Mime's next question, "Was willst du noch heut mit dem Schwert?" and Siegfried's answer, "Aus dem Wald fort" etc., stand word for word the same as to-day, and are followed by the lad's impetuous dash into the forest, leaving Mime "in utmost alarm." Presumably Mime's alarm is prompted chiefly by the boy's last words, "dich, Mime, nie wieder zu seh'n," as if in the excitement of the moment the dwarf had forgotten that Siegfried *must* return, to fetch his sword; for both versions give Mime the same cry "Halte! halte! wohin?" But the 1853 edition went much farther than mere passing terror lest the lad should have given him the slip: it actually made Mime lure him back for a continuation of the scene, and a continuation that added to it 113 verses net, besides a *long* soliloquy at its end; so that, in place of the 21 lines of monologue that now divide Mime's "wohin?" from the Wanderer's entry, the original edition had a scene and monologue amounting together to 182! The figures in themselves are ominous, in view of the great length to which the 'exposition' had already run. Shall we find that the matter of these extra lines was of sufficient weight to justify their presence here? A brief summary may help us to answer that question.*

You need no telling that Mime's "Halte! halte! wohin?" is lost on deaf ears in the later version, and after three more lines of similar import he resigns himself to lonely meditations on the impossible task just set him. In the original poem, on the contrary, or at least its first printed form, he manages to arrest the lad's flight on the specious pretext that he has yet another message for him from Sieglinde; though by the time the decoy word

* In the Appendix I supply a full translation of the whole episode, together with its sequel.

"mother" is pronounced, the youngster must be well out of earshot, however quick and loud the dwarf might shout—to say nothing of the deliberation implicit in the "Wie halt' ich das Kind mir fest?" To our amazement, the boy returns, all eagerness to hear this further message. But Mime is quite non-plussed at first, to invent a motive strong enough to keep the boy at home in future. The poet—here I cannot say, the dramatist—helps him out: Mime wanted a motive, the poet wanted to introduce his Never-fear discovery. Mime accordingly trumps up a story that would have been transparent enough to Siegfried, had he lived a few centuries later and read the tale of Parzival and Herzeleide, the story of a mother who fain would guard her son from peril by keeping him back from "the world." But Mime knows from experience how easy Siegfried is to gull, and artfully concocts a verbal injunction of the dying Sieglinde's, that the lad must never leave the forest till he has learnt to fear. With considerable ingenuity and many a wise saw, does Mime work out this motive, interrupted by little more than the lad's asseverations of his eagerness to learn the unknown feeling. Nevertheless there is an air of forcedness about the whole scene until Siegfried breaks it off, and upsets the ancient's calculations, by incontinently remarking that as there is no possibility of learning to fear under Mime's tuition—a possibility which his entire ignorance of the feeling would make it absolutely impossible for him to gauge—he will be off to the world all the same, where at least there seems chance of a lesson. Once again he bids Mime get ready his sword for the journey, almost in the same words that nowadays precede his "Aus dem Wald fort," and *once again he rushes into the wood* to stretch his legs. Mime, left alone, indulges in a monologue of 55 verses, in which the only material difference from his present 22 consists in his *here* conceiving the notion of luring the boy to Fafner's cave by the promise of an object-lesson in fear. All that Mime has gained by the recall, then, is a confirmation of the boy's craving for the unknown.

The Fear-episode in the 53 edition, however, is not quite ended even yet, since we have just seen it threatening a sequel. Between the two comes the Wanderer-Mime scene, with hardly the minutest variant from its present wording until we reach the Wanderer's final answer and parting admonition, the variation in which is of such importance that I will give the two versions side by side:—

1853 edition.	1863 onward.
Jetzt, Fafner's kühner Bezwinger,	Jetzt, Fafner's kühner Bezwinger,
hör', verfallener Zwerg :—	hör, verfallener Zwerg :—
nur Siegfried selbst	nur wer das Fürchten
schmiedet sein Schwert.	nie erfuhr,
(Mime starrt ihn gross an : er wendet sich zum Fortgange.)	schmiedet Nothung neu.
Dein kluges Haupt	(Mime starrt ihn gross an : er wendet sich zum Fortgange.)
behalt' für dich ;	Dein weises Haupt
nutzloses ist mir nicht noth :	wahre von heut' ;
doch hüt' es wohl	verfallen—lass' ich's dem,
von heute an !	der das Fürchten nicht gelernt.
Hab' Acht, wenn die Zunge dir schwankt,	(Er lacht und geht in den Wald.)
schwatze kein albernes Zeug ! *	
(Er lacht und geht in den Wald.)	

Of the right-hand column I need offer no translation here; the version printed in 1853 may be rendered as follows:—"Hear, Fafner's dauntless vanquisher! hear now, forfeited dwarf: Siegfried alone can forge his sword. (Mime stares at him, open-mouthed: he turns to go.) Thy cunning head I give thee back; of the useless I have no need. But guard it well from this day forth: set a watch on thy wagging tongue; chatter no stupid stuff!"—Not a word about fear here; not a word to set Mime in that state of terror which rolls him presently to the ground behind the anvil. Rather, the interview may be said to have ended satisfactorily for the dwarf beyond all expectation, alike his own and ours: he had lost his head in the wager, yet it is returned him with what looks like a piece of surprisingly good news, namely that the absolutely inexpert forest-lad will (or, can?) himself make that Nothung whole again whereon the cunning Mime has wasted years of labour.

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* In the *Bayr. Bl.* 1896, von Wolzogen caps these two lines with verse 28 from Hâvamâl of the older Edda:

"Der schwatzt zuviel, der nimmer schweigt
eitel unnützer Worte.
Die zappelnde Zunge, die ungezäumt,
ergellt sich selten Gutes!"

As, on the same authority, counterparts of other verses in Hâvamâl are to be found in the earlier Fear-scene, there can be no doubt that the above formed part of the *original* conception—a point to be returned to.

After Mime's as yet unaccountable collapse (identical in both printed versions), Siegfried returns in 1853 with the same inquiries after the sword as those we know so well to-day; but from the dwarf's second reply to him, "Das Schwert? das Schwert?" (foot of p. 29 textbook) to "der fänd' wohl eher die Kunst" (top of p. 34) we have in '53 an entirely different and much shorter reading. Naturally it would be shorter, since the "fear" topic had been wellnigh exhausted in the previous scene, and nothing remained but to connect the idea in Siegfried's mind with that of Fafner as a likely teacher. For the *third* time Siegfried bids Mime set to work on the sword; a task shirked by the dwarf on the feeble plea that "you'll never learn fear through a sword baked by *me*"—which is almost the opposite of his present suggestion (inspired by the Wanderer), to wit, that the sword itself can be forged by none but the fearless.

Thenceforward the two versions are in close agreement till we arrive at Mime's "Mit dem Schwert gelingt's"; from which point to the end of that speech, "wie den Furchtlosen selbst ich bezwäng" (pp. 35-6), the first edition has a completely different and necessarily much weaker reading :—

Ein Wanderer kam,	A traveller came,
der wusste viel ;	of knowledge full ;
mich schalt er dumm und schal :	he dubbed me fool and dullard :
doch was ich nicht wusste,	yet what I knew not,
jetzt geschieht's,	comes to pass,
und mir geschieht's zu nutz :—	and comes to serve my purpose :—
wer nennt mich nun nicht gescheit ?	who'll tax me now with folly ?
Der Menschen Witz	Of cunning, too,
meistert' ich noch ;	the art I've learnt ;
mit dem Fürchten fing ich ihn doch :	the Fear bait fairly hooked him :
er selbst schmiedet	himself he welds
das nütze Schwert ;—	the sword of need ;—
er fällt mir Fafner zu todt :—	and Fafner will he fell me :—
hei, Wandrer ! gefällt dir mein Witz ?	Hé, Wand'rer ! how lik'st thou my wit ?

Here you will remark that Mime is filled with nothing but delight at the success of his "fear" bait, its cajoling of the intract-

able scapegrace to a task beyond his master's skill. In the later version, on the other hand, Mime's feelings are much more complex: his admiring astonishment at the fulfilment of the Wanderer's prophecy promptly passes into terror at the thought that the selfsame characteristic, which is enabling Siegfried to forge the sword, is the one that marks the youth as entering straightway on the reversion to Mime's own wager-lost head. The dwarf's only visible chance of rescuing that head, is that Fafner may teach Siegfried to fear; but—in the latter event, how is the ring to be won at all? It *is* a terrible "fix" (*verfluchte Klemme*) in the more recent version; but in that printed in 1853 it did not exist, since the Wanderer had already made Mime a free gift of his head on sole condition that he should not "chatter" (with a forward glance at the double-tongued scene in act ii).

To round off the change, comes a final substitution. In place of Mime's first nine lines on page 37 ("Er schmiedet das Schwert . . . und berge heil mein Haupt") and the upper eleven of 38 ("Sinnlos sinkt er in Schlaf . . . Rath und Ruh?"), the 1853 edition had the following:—

Nun fällt im Kampfe Fafner:	So Fafner is slain in the fight:
hab' ich das kühn erreicht,	once that I've attained,
gewinn' ich mir Ring und Hort,	I win me both ring and hoard,
walte als Niblungen-Herr.—	reign as the Nibelungs' head.—
Der Knabe kennt nicht den Ring,	Of the ring the boy knows not,
nichts errieth er vom Hort:—	naught has he heard of the hoard:
im Weg doch stünd' er mir wohl?	yet haply he'd stand in my way,
verböt' die Beute dem Zwerg?—	forbid the dwarf the booty?—
Dass ich nicht wieder mich fange,	Not to be foiled yet again,
fällt mir ein Rath wohl ein:	this were it better to follow:
["rang er sich müd'" etc.]	[development of his drugging plan, as in later version] . . .
. . . . .	
sinnlos sinkt er in Schlaf:	sound asleep will he sink:
so räum' ich ihn leicht aus der Welt,*	out of the world I put him with ease,
und den Ring erlang' ich für mich.—	and come by the ring for myself.—
Hei Wandrer! gefällt dir mein Witz?	Hé Wand'rer! how lik'st thou my wit?

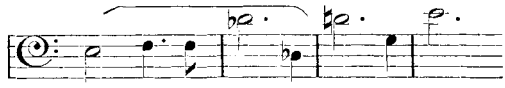
* As a small detail, it may be noticed that the 53 edition does not yet specify the precise means whereby Siegfried is to be made riddance of, as in the later version, "mit der eig'nen Waffe, die er sich gewonnen, räum' ich ihn" etc.

In the last quotation, the principal point to remark is the relative purposelessness of Mime's drugging plan: if he had succeeded in cajoling the lad thus far, his end might easily be gained without a needless murder. There would be *some* object in it, no doubt, as an additional precaution; but that motive would have nothing like the cogence of the present forfeiture of the dwarf's own head "to him who knows no fear." Beyond that, as Wolzogen has justly observed (*Bayr. Bl.* 1896), in the earlier version the second passage ends with nothing but a refrain from the first; whereas in the later version the whole second passage forms at once a dramatic climax and a vivid contrast to the first—here Mime has worked out a most ingenious extrication from the terrible dilemma into which the Wanderer's decree had cast him, and now may safely congratulate himself on the profit to accrue to him from Fafner's death.

All this has followed from that one brief variant at the end of the riddling scene: at last the "fearless" motive has acquired a real significance. In the first instance it was not a particularly happy discovery, that of Siegfried's being the lad who could not learn to fear, as will be readily seen after examining the original episode; nothing but a somewhat tedious protraction of an already over-lengthy scene did it effect, while it emphasised no element in the hero's character that would not be taken for granted in any nominee for the office of dragon-slayer. *Then* its chief artistic value resided in its humorous potentialities, deliciously worked out in act ii, where Mime asks Siegfried, "nun kommt dir das Fürchten wohl an?" or bids him signal how he "likes it" (*wenn dir das Fürchten gefällt*). *Now* it is as if a sudden intuition had revealed to the dramatist the true constructive benefit of an idea that had more or less hampered the poet: with the dilemma into which Mime is thrown, both the Wanderer's visit and the examination in fear acquire a purpose, while they are also brought into association with the last words of *Die Walküre* —the latter connection suggesting another problem, to which I will return in an instant. Meanwhile it should be observed that the *musician*, i.e. the dramatic composer, was almost as much embarrassed by this Fear idea as the poet at first had been; its purely *physical* side was the only one to which he eventually gave drastic expression, whereas the actual "fearless" motive, being itself no more than a negation, has received a musical form so

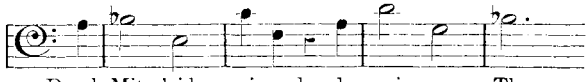
difficult to grasp, that not one of the theme-hunting analysts has as yet unearthed it, at anyrate publicly * ;—

SIEGFRIED, Act i



Wanderer. Nur wer das Fürch-ten nie er - fuhr,

PARSIFAL.



Durch Mit - leid wissend, der rei - ne Thor,

For sufficient reason has the *Siegfried* "fearless" theme attracted little, if any attention hitherto, since it is not employed beyond the limits of act i, nor there save in the following places, so far as I have been able to trace it:—the Wanderer's decree itself; after Mime's "Das Schwert, wie möcht' ich's schweissen?" (textbook 29-30); with his "Wie bring' ich das Fürchten ihm bei?" and "das Fürchten lernt' ich fur dich," etc. (30, 31); with his "Fafner lehrt dich das Fürchten" and "Wer das Fürchten nicht kennt" (33, 34). Clearly, not having so inevitable a sound as most of his other 'leitmotive,' it slipped the composer's own memory, and therefore was made no use of in later situations where the text itself might have seemed to warrant it. And that, in turn, reduces the serious value of the mental concept itself for any but the one particular juncture to which it may be said to have given tardy birth—viz. Mime's dilemma.

Before leaving this almost disregarded musical theme, I will ask you to compare it with that of the youth whose fearing mother had in reality kept him from "the world" as long as she was able, the youth whose character is distinguished by something

* Months after this chapter was written, I find in the last quarterly number of the *Bayr. Blätter* for 1903 a citation of the "Nur wer das Fürchten nie erfuhr" passage in course of the last of a series of articles on "Musikalisch-dramatische Parallelen," written nearly twelve years back by "various" un-named authors. My statement holds good, however, since even in this article there is no indication that the "fearless" theme is made use of more than once; here it is cited as a declamatory parallel to the "reiner Thor" motive in *Parsifal*—an observation I welcome as independently confirming my own suggestion.

more than mere absence of fear. I have set the two themes side by side, and surely a casual glance will shew that the one is an unconscious development of the other. Both Siegfried and Parsifal are "simpletons" to begin with, but the one has evolved to a truly "world-redeeming" knowledge through acquisition of that *Mitleid* in which the other shews himself so singularly deficient (save for a few tiny traits in the "young" drama). The absence of fear will not of itself equip a hero for the responsibilities of fullgrown man's estate, however attractive a characteristic it may be in callow youth; and it is the unreasoning fearlessness of Siegfried, the overweening reliance on his inexperienced senses, that brings tragedy to all with whom he comes in contact, once he has left the safe confines of his woodland solitude or cage. Undoubtedly it was a character as worthy of dramatic treatment as that of Othello, for instance; but when it comes to the ethical elevation of such a type above that of the youth who "knew through compassion," I often wonder which of the two the detractors of Parsifal would prefer to have as *friend.*

To return to the questions directly raised by that remarkable variant of act i *Siegfried:* When was the alteration effected?

Certainly not until after the letter of January 1854 to Roeckel, or it would have been mentioned in company with the much slighter change in *Rheingold.* The actual date cannot at present be fixed, but a probable would be the Spring of 1856, when Wagner had just completed the score of his *Walküre* and was undergoing another nerve-cure to brace him for the music of *Siegfried* (begun that September) — a time when the poetic element was reasserting its rights with the mental shaping of *Tristan* and *Die Sieger.* To gain fresh inspiration in advance of the *Siegfried* music, we may well picture him restudying his poem, and, with 'Wotan's Farewell' still ringing in his head, "Wer meines Speere's Spitze fürchtet, durchschreite das Feuer nie" would naturally suggest the Wanderer's "Nur wer das Fürchten nie erfuhr" etc., and thus pitch the key for the whole recasting of the *Siegfried* fear-episode. The only wonder is, that those last words of Wotan's in *Die Walküre* did not suggest the very same change at the great revisal in 1852. Perhaps they would have, had *Die Walküre,* and not *Das Rheingold,* been the poem then last finished.

Now, the mere fact that in 1852 "nur Siegfried selbst etc." was left as it stood, shews that very little alteration of any kind can have then been made in act i of *Siegfried*. That, of course, is taking for granted that this passage also formed part of the *earliest* poem; an assumption borne out by the resemblance already-noted (27*n ant.*) between the "schwatze kein albernes Zeug" and that Eddaic Hâvamâl which appears to have acted as model for the didactics of the original fear-lesson itself. Yet there are two points connected with the fear-episode which still remain open to question, namely the immediate introductions to what were then its two dissevered parts.

These introductions do not seem quite to fit the original, and more especially the first of them. How could the poet's genetic inspiration have possibly conceived the youth as returning at Mime's call, immediately after a brilliant exit? No: in the summer of 1851 the Siegfried-Mime scene must have been unbroken from the boy's first entry with the bear to his jaunty departure with the threat that the dwarf shall receive a sound thrashing if the sword be not ready by his return; then, upon reading it through for the 52 revision, or in the act of fair-copying,* the author must have grown alarmed at its excessive length, and hastily introduced the false exit, for sake of an apparent break. A very few sentences would do it; sentences one might easily bracket to-day as intruders (see App. 421 *inf.*). On this hypothesis the final change, of circa '56, would be somewhat in the nature of a restitutio ad integrum: the fear-episode becomes one whole (again?), albeit in a vastly better mould, and is transferred to Siegfried's voluntary return after the Wanderer scene; the necessity for a false exit is done away with, and the "Aus dem Wald fort"—which originally would have been a mere declaration of future plans—literally leaps to full dramatic significance. As said, this is pure conjecture, possibly to be upset by an eventual resurrection of the buried first poem, but I fancy it offers a plausible explanation of what was a decided blemish on the edition of 1853.

The other doubtful point in this connection is Mime's fit of terror after the Wanderer's departure, leading to the briefer second

* Possibly even in the interregnum between "the two Siegfrieds" and the tetralogy scheme, early autumn 1851.

instalment of the fear-episode in the aforesaid edition. It is all perfectly natural *now*: Mime's head lies forfeit to him who has never learnt fear; but then it was by no means forfeit, or rather, it had been restored as a free gift, with the very mild warning to be more careful of it in future: why the terror? In the edition of '53 it is little more than a repetition of the attack that had seized the dwarf *before* the Wanderer's arrival, and the repetition is far less justified than that first attack itself. If it existed at all in the earliest poem ('51), it must surely have been as sequel to some train of thought discarded in the '52 revision. Indeed there still remains a hint of such omission, since from '53 onward the stage-directions tell us that "he stares vacantly before him into the sunlit forest.—*After a long silence* he begins to tremble violently." That silence is significant, with so talkative a little dwarf; and when at last he breaks it, it is in language that distinctly suggests the poet of *Rheingold* until we come to the six concluding verses, in which his fear of the light suddenly changes into dread of Fafner with "Ein grässlicher Rachen reisst sich mir auf," manifestly conceived in that spirit of comedy which distinguishes the earlier from the later version of almost all the passages just dealt with. That the lines last quoted are '51 work, is certain, as we find them repeated in act ii (p. 50), and in a situation where there can be no question of a change. Consequently I should guess that in the original poem the dwarf had developed a private intermezzo out of the Wanderer's words "Fafner's kühner Bezwinger," until he worked himself into tragi-comic terror of a Worm into whose closer neighbourhood he was so soon to be journeying. So that "Der Wurm will mich fangen! Fafner! Fafner!" would really be a survival from a previous stage of the poem's evolution: a very effective, if somewhat inconsequent survival in the later editions, but considerably discounted in that of '53 by the fact that in his monologue before the Wanderer's entry Mime had already quite placidly made up his mind to lead the lad to "Fafner's nest."—As to the "Verfluchtes Licht" of all the printed versions, it of course is the light of Wotan's motion; but in the original poem of '51 had Mime the slightest inkling of the personality of his visitor?

Before we can answer that question, we must examine the scene that separates the two sections of the fear-episode in the first edition, the interview between the Wanderer and Mime. It

will be remembered that this was one of the scenes which Wagner once proposed to modify. That he did not carry out that proposal, save for a minor touch or two in 1852, I have already advanced as my personal belief (vol. iii, 446). I have now to vindicate that belief, and will begin with a word or two about its scheme of versification.

In a brief article contributed to the *Bayr. Blätter* 1897 (pp. 150-3) Dr Rudolf Schlösser first drew attention to the "*strophic*" form as particularly well-marked in the scene between Alberich and Mime, act ii. Quite recently the Professor informs me that he has since arrived at the opinion that this "strophic" form is peculiarly a characteristic of the *Siegfried* poem itself, and thus of the 1851 work, as distinguished from the other members of the *Ring*, in which it occurs much more rarely; wherever we find that form in *Siegfried*, we may be fairly confident that we are dealing with a practically unaltered part of the original poem. The rule must not be taken to imply its converse, for the necessities of *dramatic* dialogue, where action or passion gains the upper hand, must naturally play havoc with mere formal symmetry; but, as a general principle, on its positive side it is a distinct reinforcement to our critical means of divination.*

Now, if we apply this gauge to the Wanderer-Mime scene, we shall find the latter falling into strophe and antistrophe almost throughout, albeit displaying much variety of type. Each of the Wanderer's first three speeches consists of 4 lines, and is built on the same model, whilst Mime replies with 3-line sets; then come two sevens, each followed by a six; then groups of three lines, till we arrive at the more complex pattern of the Wanderer's answers to Mime's first two riddles, the second answer being an almost perfect counterpart of the first; and so on throughout the scene, with scarcely more than two, and those two most enlightening, exceptions. The parallelism in sheer outward form, then, of itself points to this scene as an integral reproduction from the original poem. Even from a bibliographic point of view that inference must needs be of interest, but when we remember that in the summer of 51 the "Gods' myth" had not yet acquired its

* Certainly we find traces of this form in *Die Walküre*, *Rheingold*, and even in the new Norns' scene, but with a frequency diminishing in proportion to the distance of time from the first *Young Siegfried* poem.

"preciser physiognomy" (see vol. iii, 331), it may also account for certain puzzling features in the Wanderer's replies themselves. Let me take these seriatim.

In the Wanderer's answer to Mime's first riddle the Ring is given quite a secondary importance, as compared with the Hoard: "eines Zauberringes zwingende Kraft zähmt' ihm das fleissige Volk"—the ring merely bent the Nibelungs to Alberich's purpose, which is revealed in the next lines: "Reicher Schätze schimmernden Hort häuften sie ihm: der sollte die Welt ihm gewinnen" —the hoard was therefore the main consideration even in the Wanderer's eyes. With our riper knowledge of the plot, we should have fully expected the ring itself to be made the principal object; but the whole story becomes clear on the assumption that it is 51 work, for these lines are almost a literal transcription from the original *Siegfrieds Tod*, where Alberich himself tells Hagen (*Ges. Schr. II.* 248), ". . einen Ring: durch seines Zaubers zwingende Kraft zähmt' ich das fleissige Volk . . . Den gewaltigen Hort häufte ich so, der sollte die Welt mir gewinnen." Thus the Wanderer's first answer is textually borrowed from the very oldest member of the organism, and from the oldest version of a scene which, as I hope to be able to convince you hereafter, must have been entirely recast for *Siegfrieds Tod* itself about the time that *Young* Siegfried was written. So plainly borrowed is it, that even the first three lines, "In der Erde Tiefe tagen die Nibelungen: Nibelheim ist ihr Land," are but a condensation of Alberich's "Dem Tod und der Nacht in Nibelheim's Tiefe entkeimten die Nibelungen . . . regen die Erde sie auf" (*ibid.*)

To the second riddle the Wanderer also replies in terms partly taken from the same speech of Alberich's in the older *S. Tod*, again accounting for what may best be described as an inferential anachronism: "Fasolt und Fafner, der Rauhen Fürsten, neideten Nibelung's Macht; den gewaltigen Hort gewannen sie sich, errangen mit ihm den Ring." True, the statement in itself contains nothing at direct variance with the plot of *Rheingold*, but when we interpret it in the light of Mime's remark in act ii, "Dir Zagem entrissen ihn Riesen" (textbook 62), it distinctly conveys the impression that the Giants themselves had wrested the hoard and ring from Alberich direct. And in that speech of Alberich's in the older *Tod* we have the Giants' *envy* of his power made the incentive of their "offer" to build the Gods a burg; "Da regte

ich Sorge den Riesen auf, die Plumpen plagte *der Neid;* den jungen Göttern *boten* sie Gunst," and so on; whereas the "*gewaltigen* Hort" we have already encountered there. Moreover the expression "der Rauhen Fürsten"—i.e. the rulers of that "*race* of Giants which weighs on Earth's loins" ("*auf der Erde Rücken wuchtet der Riesen Geschlecht*")—intensifies the said anachronism, especially when combined with "Riesenheim *ist* ihr Land"; for the Giants are here spoken of as still in plurality, even after the death of Fasolt, though Fafner himself on the very next day (act ii) uses language implying that he and Fasolt had originally constituted the whole "Geschlecht," and goes on to say, "Fafner, den *letzten* Riesen, fällte ein rosiger Held"; so that we have two distinct conceptions in 51 and 52, since there can be no doubt that the Worm's dying speech was revised at the latter date. Finally, the last line of the solution, "hütet nun Fafner den Hort," again gives pre-eminence to the hoard itself, in lieu of the ring.*

The Wanderer's answers to the first and second riddles we thus may claim as absolutely unaltered portions of the original poem of *Young Siegfried.* With his third answer the case is slightly different. Its first six and last six verses are manifestly assignable to '51, but the intervening fourteen are debatable, were it only that in themselves they cover as much space as the whole of the preceding answer. Let me deal with this third answer in detail, as anything so closely concerning the protagonist of the whole tetralogy is bound to offer more than usual interest:—

As to its first six lines, their form exactly corresponds to that of the opening six of the first answer; their sense has nothing inconsistent with the riper myth, it is true, yet one would scarcely have expected Wotan to speak of himself as "Licht-Alberich" in 52, notwithstanding that Alberich distinguishes in *Rheingold* between "Schwarz-Alben" and "Licht-Alben." The last six lines, however, are quite incompatible with the argument of 52. "Ihm neigte sich der Niblungen Heer" is itself a relic from the older *Tod;* "der Riesen Gezücht zähmte sein Rath" might in-

* I will not deny that this may be simply for sake of alliteration, as I have already instanced a case in *Rheingold* itself (vol. iii, 422); nevertheless we have seen the tendency to attach chief importance to the hoard, albeit a short-lived tendency, exhibited only six months before *Siegfried* was written (ibid. 490).