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**Johanna Jachmann-Wagner's *Lohengrin*: Vocal Philology at the Jean Gray
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I. Introduction: The Telos of *Lohengrin*

Tracing the defining features of Wagner's "music dramas" is as complex as tracing the identity and origin of his operatic character Lohengrin. *Lohengrin* is typically viewed as a link between Wagner's conceptions of "opera" and "music drama," and as such, can neither be classified as one nor the other. When describing the *Musik Drama*, why did Richard Wagner prefer the term *Leitmotiv* to "melody"? How did *Versmelodie* sound in performance? Did the changes in vocal style that attended Wagner's operatic "reforms" necessitate the forfeiture of *bel canto* vocal techniques for the infamous "Bayreuth bark"?¹

The argument of this essay is that such "revolutionary" Wagnerian compositional parameters as the *Hauptmotiv* and *Versmelodie* cannot be understood merely by studying clean printed scores or urtext editions, isolated from acts of performance; Wagner's conceptions of vocal expression, as well as those of his singers, were essential elements of his art. Distinguishing features of Wagner's works, I argue, were dependent on his pre-existing notions of appropriate dramatic singing, notions that would initiate the social genesis of his idealistic aesthetics. Wagner's preferred singing styles stemmed from his need for a new compositional and cultural identity. In other words, Wagner's singers and their own vocal styles played a major role in constructing features of what he came to term "music dramas."

¹ Frederic Spotts. *Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994. 96-99. Print.

² Richard Wagner. *Lohengrin: Romantische Oper in Drei Akten / Von Richard Wagner; Vollständiger Klavierauszug Von Theodor Uhlig*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1851. Print. Score from the collection of

An instructive glimpse of the vocal world that Wagner was immersed in and beholden to, I posit, is to be found in a rare score recently acquired by the Jean Gray Hargrove library that belonged to Mary Burrell (1850-1898), a student of Wagner's niece, Johanna Jachmann-Wagner (1826-1894).² The score is an 1851 Breitkopf and Härtel edition of *Lohengrin* that contains a wide variety of notes written down by Burrell during a singing lesson with Jachmann-Wagner. Evidence in Burrell's score substantiates and proves the relationship between what Wagner framed as *Musik Drama* and the vocal techniques associated with it. Burrell's annotations from her lesson with Jachmann-Wagner extend far beyond the instructions of the printed score; they describe vocal techniques that mirror the conceptual genesis of *Musik Drama*. Burrell's copious writings indicate that Wagner's singers were responsible for exposing or enhancing compositional nuances that would otherwise be latent. Wagner's niece and Burrell's voice teacher, Johanna Jachmann-Wagner, was highly acclaimed in the role of Ortrud by audiences, critics, and her own "Uncle Richard" himself, making this score of *Lohengrin* of urgent interest. The document thus provides insights into the evolution of a Wagnerian lexicon for composition, performance practice, and reception.

Evidence suggests that Richard Wagner viewed his scores as technologies, or as the general means to a more specific vocal end. To invert Dahlhaus' well-known formulation, Wagner considered his scores "mere recipes for performance" rather than "inviolable musical texts"; which is to say that his later operas, those he termed *Musik Drama*, necessitated vastly more attention to theatrical detail than was possible to notate

² Richard Wagner. *Lohengrin: Romantische Oper in Drei Akten / Von Richard Wagner; Vollständiger Klavierauszug Von Theodor Uhlig*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1851. Print. Score from the collection of noted Wagner scholar Mary Burrell; signed by Johanna Jachmann-Wagner. The score was once part of the Mary Burrell collection at the Curtis Institute of Music. It is currently held at the Jean Gray Hargrove music library at the University of California at Berkeley. Not catalogued.

in the printed score.³ The text “as is,” in other words, cannot be assumed to communicate the full extent of Wagner’s artistic and subsequent cultural agenda. In addition to being viewed as a non-conformist composition, *Lohengrin* has been widely accepted as the first of Wagner’s creations to employ such devices as the retrospectively named *Hauptmotiv*, specifically as it relates to dramatic vocal deployment. In order for scholars and performers to properly understand the motivations for Wagner’s compositional “innovations,” a greater understanding of the vocal techniques that necessitated them is crucial. According to a number of sources, those who continued to teach at Bayreuth following Wagner’s death misconstrued his ideals, which further complicates the issue of “authentic” Wagnerian performance practice.

Wagner’s need to revivify what he thought of as classical dramatic vocal inflection was a corollary to his well-known penchant for ancient Greek mythos. Paradoxically, by harkening back to ancient Greek drama, he endeavored to produce radical musical modernity. His project employed Greek poetic devices to emphasize the musicality of the German language and its place in operatic performance relative to ancient Greek drama. The historical progression from “opera” to “music drama,” a teleological story which Wagner himself first described, was then ironically fueled by a return to purer “Greek” aesthetic values. These values achieved early representation in the meter and language of the character Ortrud in his 1850 opera, *Lohengrin*. Ortrud may be identified as the first vehicle for his “purification” of opera via Greek drama in ways explained in my analysis of motivic material related to her. As will be discussed later, vocal techniques associated with performances of Ortrud and questions of Greek poetics

³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson. Berkeley: UC Press, 1989. 9. Print.

are the keys to understanding the motivation for Wagnerian “progress” in the wake of *Lohengrin*.

Scholars have long considered *Lohengrin* a bridge linking prior operatic forms and *Musik Drama*. This “transitional” opera has traditionally been viewed as a pathway to compositional frameworks that would serve Wagner’s insatiable appetite for dramatic singing rather than purely “mechanical” vocal works such as those by Rossini or Meyerbeer.⁴ Deathridge notes that “*Lohengrin* was the first of Wagner’s operas to be composed through from beginning to end without regard for a conventional sequence of operatic “numbers,” thus signifying a pivotal moment in [the so-called “evolution” of] Wagner’s compositional style.”⁵ If it is true that *Lohengrin* marks a major compositional transition, this particular score of *Lohengrin* also lends itself as a guide through changes in Wagnerian vocal performance as it evolved with *Musik Drama*, as Wagner described his own compositional trajectory. The topic of performance practice as it relates to the formation of *Musik Drama* has been largely neglected, despite its deeply rooted connections to Wagner’s self-proclaimed compositional telos.⁶ Vocalists and vocal techniques were key inspirations for Wagner’s idiosyncratic compositional devices (namely *Hauptmotiv*, *Unendliche Melodie*, and the like). The score in question also focuses on the physiological and psychological elements of singing, with an emphasis on the mouth and throat as means to alter both overtone space and dramatic effect. These

⁴ Millington, for example, argues that “*Lohengrin* is the last of Wagner’s works that can be described as an opera rather than a music drama. It contains, however, the seeds of future developments.” Barry Millington, *The New Grove Guide to Wagner and His Operas*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. 31. Print.

⁵ John Deathridge. “Wagner the Progressive.” *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil*. Berkeley: University of California, 2008. 43. Print.

⁶ Graham G. Hunt. “Ortrud and the Birth of a New Style in Act 2, Scene 1 of Wagner’s *Lohengrin*.” *The Opera Quarterly* 20.1 (2004): 49. In *Oper und Drama*, Richard Wagner cites Act II of *Lohengrin* as the emblem of his “ideal of music drama.”

vocal effects are described as changes in the “colors” or “brightness” of vowels to alter textual emphasis.

My evidence both buttresses and complicates Wagner’s perception of his compositional progression. Jachmann-Wagner’s instructions for breath markings and ornaments (which affect phrasing and interpretation), illuminate key shifts in the progression from “opera” to “music drama” as they relate to the contrasting character development of Elsa and Ortrud respectively. Burrell’s marginalia substantiate Wagner’s treatment of Ortrud as an emblem of *Musik Drama* because of their complex attention to motivic development relative to Elsa’s.⁷ However, Ortrud’s comparatively “advanced” tonal and melodic languages seem incongruous with Wagner’s characterization of Ortrud as an antagonist. In both cases of Elsa and Ortrud, the score’s annotations suggest that Wagner’s preferred singers altered their craft as it related to radical changes in his compositional style by varying breaths between “typical” cadential and “atypical” phrase locations in the midst of words and phrases. These manipulations of the vocal line as outlined by breath markings indicate meticulous attention to textual expression. Although the part of Ortrud is marked significantly more than that of Elsa, the melodic lines of either character are delineated by breath marks that differ significantly from one another and change with surrounding harmonic/motivic structures.

⁷ Ibid., 48: “Ortrud embodies both Wagner’s revolutionary political ideology and the futuristic vision of music that he would put into writing nearly a decade later in *Oper und Drama*. As a result, Ortrud receives more detailed construction and musical development than any other character; indeed, as Wagner later noted in his letter to Liszt, there could be ‘nothing in the least trivial about her portrayal.’”

It is also significant that, contrary to expectation, Jachmann-Wagner was responsible for the role of Ortrud, not Elsa.⁸ In a letter to a friend after performing as Ortrud, Jachmann-Wagner wrote that she “instructed the little lady [Wippern] who sang Elsa in her part,” and that she was “quite pleased with her;” she thus noted a euphemistic denunciation of Wippern as less than exceptional. The more “advanced” singer, from whom dramatic advice was sought, was presumably intended for Ortrud’s role, which underlines her significance in Wagnerian performance in ways that will be discussed in section two.

The degree to which extra-textual instruction mattered to Wagnerian performance practices is qualified by the fact that Richard Wagner felt that *Lohengrin*’s poor reception in Dresden was entirely a failing of the singers’ abilities.⁹ Moreover, while confessing his frustrations about productions of *Lohengrin* in a letter (dated 1871) to Arrigo Boito, Wagner complained that “only once, in the 1867 Munich production – did he profess to achieve an ideal performance of the work, ‘at least as far as its rhythmic-architectonic structure was concerned.’”¹⁰ As strange as it sounds, this statement suggests that the singers’ interpretations were crucial for not only expressing dramatic content, but were also responsible for the effective communication of otherwise latent structures. Wagner’s passionate appreciation of Jachmann-Wagner’s singing style makes the Burrell score a

⁸ John N. Burk. *Letters Of Richard Wagner*: Macmillan, 1950.132. Print. Schmole memoir 141B: “After detailed discussions about the scenery, conditioned by the plot, my brother designed the sketches for the first act which were completely approved by Wagner... Together with Fischer the casting of the main parts was discussed. The performers of them probably were vividly present in Wagner’s mind when he created the opera: Lohengrin, Tichatschek; Elsa, Johanna; Telramund, Mitterwurzer; Ortrud, Schröder-Devrient!”

⁹ David Trippett. *Wagner's Melodies: Aesthetics and Materialism in German Musical Identity*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. 8. Print.

¹⁰ John Deathridge. “Wagner the Progressive.” *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil*. Berkeley: University of California, 2008. 44. Print.

beacon for performance practices absent from the productions that so exasperated Wagner.

Burrell's score also illuminates the ways in which Wagner's concept of "melody" was dependent on the relationship between voice and orchestra. Jachmann-Wagner's instructions also supplement the printed text by highlighting the dichotomy of "melody" and "motive" with changes in vocal timbre and phrasing. Indeed, Wagner wrote that "[t]he oldest, truest, and most beautiful organ of music, the organ to which our music exclusively owes its being is the human voice."¹¹ A conception of Wagner's vocal ideologies and an appreciation of those who inspired them are therefore integral to understanding his aesthetic and compositional choices for *Lohengrin* and works that followed it.

Lohengrin, according to scholarly consensus, is the first of Wagner's works to deploy "leading motives" or *Hauptmotiv* as a major compositional device.¹² Although there is debate concerning whether Wagner fabricated the historical progress of motivic composition retrospectively for the sake of self-promotion, the formation and semantics of motives in *Lohengrin*'s second act are heavily dependent on vocal performance practices that suggest the early stages of motivic, formal, and harmonic content present in later works such as *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (1876) and *Tristan und Isolde* (1865). Wagner's *Leitmotiv*, the *Unendliche Melodie*, and their relationship to chromaticism, in

¹¹ "Das älteste, ächteste und schönste Organ der Musik, das Organ, dem unsre Musik allein ihr Dasein verdankt, ist die menschliche Stimme," in *Richard Wagner: Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen, Volks-Ausgabe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel and C. F. W. Siegel [R. Linnemann], 1911, vols. 1–12; 1914, vols. 13–16), 4:4. My translation appears in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. W. Ashton Ellis, 8 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trüber, 1892–99); reprint (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 2:122. Also quoted in David Trippett, "Bayreuth in Miniature: Wagner and the Melodramatic Voice." *The Musical Quarterly* 95.1 (2012): 71.

¹² John Deathridge. "Wagner the Progressive." *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil*. Berkeley: University of California, 2008. 43. Print.

other words, depended on the dramatic capabilities of the voices that sang them when “the question of a reform in lyrical drama was being debated.”¹³

The most compositionally “radical” section of *Lohengrin*, according to Hunt and Deathridge, that of Ortrud in the second act, showcases the most tonally, thematically, and vocally complex work by Wagner to date; “[A] nexus of themes [starting at ‘Du wilde Seherin’] have more than an ornamental function: they form the substance of the musical argument.”¹⁴ Jachmann-Wagner’s instructions to Burrell emphasize micro-formal structures determined by phrasing that allow this “nexus of themes” to develop. Orchestral leitmotifs are preceded by shorter vocal phrases, which function as motives unto themselves. Ortrud’s lines begin the process of what would become the *Musik Drama* by initiating intervallic “psychological counterpoint” with motivic material.¹⁵ As Millington argues, it is Ortrud’s suggestion of the *Frageverbot* motif (introduced in the first act and developed in the second) that drives the plot of *Lohengrin* and advances Wagner’s Weberian foray into motivic composition.¹⁶

Burrell’s notes fragment Ortrud’s melodic lines (and to some extent, Elsa’s) into motivic units that delineate ancient Grecian metrical patterns as indicated by breath marks and consonantal emphases. These peculiar placements of breath markings in the Burrell score, as we shall see, leave little room for debate about their purposes as far as rhythmic and structural poetics go. These breath markings, as such, evince a notably Wagnerian conception of Greek metrical schema as applied to the German language.

¹³ Charles Baudelaire, and P.E Charvet. “Richard Wagner and Tannhäuser in Paris.” *Baudelaire: Selected Writings of Art and Artists*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981. Print.

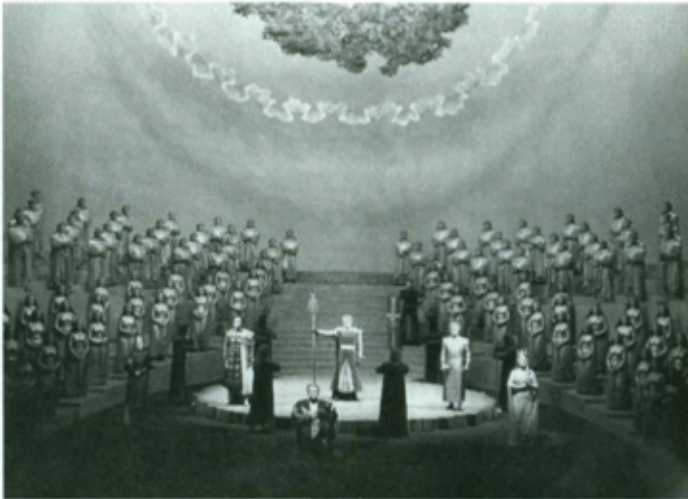
¹⁴ Millington, Barry. *The New Grove Guide to Wagner and His Operas*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. 69. Print.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Dahlhaus, 24.

¹⁶ Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker. “Young Wagner.” *A History of Opera*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2012. 290-314. Print.

Wagner was an avid scholar of ancient Greek literature and culture as well as devotee to contemporaneous German classicist research.¹⁷ As such, he drew heavily upon his own sense of Greek tragedy, one primarily concerned with poetry and drama, while conceptualizing the *Gesamtkunstwerk*; Wagner's passion for Greek drama was especially influential during the composition of *Lohengrin*.

Figure 1: "Wieland Wagner's production of *Lohengrin* for Bayreuth (1958) deliberately abjured realism and stage spectacle, emphasizing instead the Greek antecedents of the myth." (Millington, 154)



I conjecture that uses of ancient Greek formulae had compositional repercussions that eventually cohered into a set of techniques useful to Wagner's project for *Musik Drama*, as discussed in section three. Wagner's prosaic experiments would later lead him to the medieval alliterative style for his draft of *Siegfrieds*

Tod, which posed "serious consequences for rhythmic and melodic design of any vocal inspiration."¹⁸ *Lohengrin* was similarly challenging due to the constraint of using syllable length as a guide for accent rather than syllable stress, as was the custom for most ancient Greco-Roman poetry. Moreover, the aforementioned metrical schema outlined in Burrell's score mimic those that occur in the plays of Aeschylus, to whom Wagner especially had devoted his studies while composing *Lohengrin*.

¹⁷ Ibid. Deathridge, 102.

¹⁸ Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker. "Young Wagner." *A History of Opera*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2012. 290-314. Print, 312-314.

The Greek playwright Aeschylus was recognized for reforming the tragedy by altering uses of the chorus.¹⁹ His restructuring of dramatic content likely influenced Wagner's reorganization of operatic voices with respect to the "chorus" that was the orchestra.²⁰ Richard Wagner was adamant about elevating the opera to the level of prestige enjoyed by the symphony.²¹ His means of elevating the voice to that of the instrument involved breaking standard conventions of vocal composition in such a way that the voice could be subject to instrumental compositional idioms, such as thematic, and therefore symphonic, development. I conjecture that this was most easily accomplished through an extension of motives inspired by linguistic and vocal cues at the expense of traditional operatic "numbers."

Furthermore, Wagner began work on *Lohengrin* after he "restudied and recast" Gluck's *Iphigenia* in Dresden, in which his preferred singers performed; Wilhelmine Schröder-Devriendt sang alongside Johanna Jachmann-Wagner. Wagner also orchestrated every recitative and connected "the single numbers and choruses," a preview of the operatic suturing composed into *Lohengrin*.²² In her memoir, Wagner family friend Marie Schmale noted that for Wagner, it was important that "the performers, the theater chorus included, in acting and gestures expressed the ancient epoch." She later penned

¹⁹ Thomas G. Rosenmeyer. "The Art of Aeschylus." University of California Press. Print. 146.

²⁰ John Deathridge. "Wagner the Progressive." *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil*. Berkeley: University of California, 2008. Print. 43. "Wagner decreed in Oper und Drama that the operatic chorus should vanish and be replaced by the orchestra," even though even he broke this rule on several occasions. "In a sense, Wagner's choruses in *Lohengrin* are his second orchestra."

²¹ Ibid. 37: "The spirit of the so-called classical period in the history of instrumental music is part of *Lohengrin*, too: the polyphonic orchestral writing much admired by Richard Strauss, the close motivic relationships, and, above all, the neat, often uncomfortably schematic dramatic and musical symmetries are all evidence of Wagner's burgeoning ambition to raise the musical status of opera to the level of great classical symphonists."

²² John N. Burk. *Letters Of Richard Wagner*: Macmillan, 1950. 130. Print.

that soon afterward, “a new work absorbed him[;] The book of *Lohengrin* occupied his mind.”²³

In addition to associating “artistic progress” with the classics, Greek metrical patterns would inform Wagnerian performance practices “that seemingly feed into Wagner’s later concept of *Versmelodie*—that combination of instinctive speech intonation and breath that links alliterative verse to melody, predicated on the tonality of Ancient Greek,” which I will revisit in a later passage.²⁴ Wagner’s obsession with Greek tragedy also extended to his use of chromaticism on micro and macro levels, his scores being testaments to his fixation on what he conceptualized as the “tonality of Ancient Greek.”²⁵ Wagner’s uses of chromaticism that would later develop to a much greater extent are also represented by Jachmann-Wagner’s vocal interpretation of Ortrud (and to a lesser extent, Elsa) through ornamentation in *Lohengrin*. “Chromatic,” and even “microtonal” ornaments such as portamenti, often precede or accentuate motivic material in Burrell’s score. Leitmotifs and resultant “unending melodies” are organized according to the degree of surrounding chromaticism. In the final section of this discourse, specific examples illustrate the ways in which highly chromatic passages are prepared by vocal ornamentation.

Johanna Jachmann-Wagner’s advice encapsulated in Burrell’s score details the ways in which performance practice was expected to fulfill the requirements of Wagner’s ideals at the dawn of the *Musik Drama*, as he felt was later accomplished. From the pages

²³ Ibid. 130. Memoirs of Marie Schmale-Heine, 141B.

²⁴ David Trippett. *Wagner’s Melodies: Aesthetics and Materialism in German Musical Identity*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. 77. Print.

²⁵ Ibid. 77

of Mary Burrell's score, the diva of Wagner's ideal *Gesamtkunstwerk* speaks from beyond the grave about her interpretation of *Lohengrin* as proto-"music drama."

II. Johanna's Music of the Future²⁶

I admit that I have never heard a more perfect voice: it gives me the greatest pleasure to watch the depths of feeling, the warmth and dramatic capability by which at her present age she already distinguishes herself on the stage.

Richard Wagner on Johanna Jachmann-Wagner, Dresden, 1844²⁷

Johanna Jachmann-Wagner, adopted daughter of Richard Wagner's elder brother Albert, was a highly acclaimed singer, actress, and revered pedagogue, who for years was considered "the more famous musician in the family" when compared to her then lesser-known uncle.²⁸ Her international celebrity status was often compared to that of Swedish soprano Jenny Lind, but many critics regarded Jachmann-Wagner as being "so much above any living actress that [they would] resent the very comparison."²⁹ Jachmann-Wagner's dominion over the operatic and theatrical spheres allowed her the gamut of

²⁶ Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin. "The "Music of the Future" Controversy." *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*. New York: Schirmer, 1984. 324-329. Print.

²⁷ Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. Print. Jachmann, 10; in a letter from Richard Wagner to Louis Spohr.

²⁸ Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker. "Young Wagner." *A History of Opera*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2012. 292. Print.

²⁹ Benjamin Lumley. *Reminiscences of the Opera*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1864. Print. Also quoted in Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. Print. 10; Lumley notes that Johanna asked to sing as a guest artist in May 1852. "At the top of my list for this season I had put Fräulein Wagner, a German prima donna, whose fame vied with that of Jenny Lind in her own country."

Also, on Jachmann, 33. Quoted from "one of the leading papers," 10 November 1861: "Her physical attributes, so absolutely necessary for the presentation of classical roles – a tall, fine figure with perfect lines, a soulful and vivid facial expression, added to a marvelously full and sonorous speaking voice – lift Johanna Jachmann-Wagner so much above any living actress that we must resent the very comparison." NB: Jenny Lind was, like Jachmann-Wagner, a student of Manuel Garcia at the Royal Academy of Music in London.

roles, from those of Donizetti to those of Shakespeare.³⁰ She also played a hitherto unheralded role in the development of Wagnerian singing styles, and was likely the inspiration for the compositional innovations that were to define Wagner's later works, as extrapolated from notes in Mary Burrell's score of *Lohengrin* as they relate to other historical documents that will be discussed throughout this essay.

Mary Burrell was a zealous musicologist remembered for beginning an exhaustive biography of Richard Wagner. Although Burrell was unable to complete the work, she left behind an extensive collection of documents relating to Wagner's life, family, and musical legacy.³¹ One can deduce that Johanna Jachmann-Wagner was an active participant in Burrell's historiographical endeavor due to the high quantity of materials sent to Burrell from Jachmann-Wagner, as listed in the Burrell collection catalogue; one entry reads: "Note from Johanna Jachmann-Wagner at Charlottenburg, October 27, 1891, to Mrs. Burrell. Wagner's niece, once an opera singer, sends the clipped signature of her father, Albert Wagner, to be added to the photograph of him which she has already sent."³² Yet another reads "Johanna sent pictures of herself to Burrell with accompanying letters."³³ Epistolary and biographical evidence divulged later also suggest that Jachmann-Wagner was extremely devoted to her uncle's ideals, and was committed to preserving his legacy as fervently as Burrell was.

³⁰ Laura Williams Macy. "Johanna Jachmann-Wagner." *The Grove Book of Opera Singers*. New York, NY: Oxford UP, 2008. 527. Print.

³¹ Burrell wrote on Wagner's life up to his twenty-first year. See Mary Banks Burrell, and Richard Wagner. *Richard Wagner, His Life & Works from 1813 to 1834*. London: Allan Wyon, Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals, 1898. Print.

Curtis Institute purchased Mary Burrell's collection of letters, etc. This collection is now held at New York University; it also includes letters that Wagner believed to have been destroyed. Translations of documents in the collection by John N. Burk. *Letters Of Richard Wagner*: Macmillan, 1950. Print.

³² John N. Burk. *Letters Of Richard Wagner*: Macmillan, 1950. 449. Print.

³³ *Ibid.*, 494.

Burrell's collection also includes memoirs written by Wagner family friends. Marie Schmole, the author of one such memoir, remembered Jachmann-Wagner fondly: "I can't write the name of this dearest idol of my youth without visualizing her standing before me as she was then. Above the usual size, slender, with very rich blond hair and infinitely dear blue eyes: thus I see her before me – 'Our Hans,'³⁴ as Richard preferred to call her. Although not a regular beauty, she won all hearts."³⁵

Schmole met Jachmann-Wagner in May of 1844, when Jachmann-Wagner "was taken by her uncle to sing before the manager of the Royal Opera at Dresden, von Lüttichau. She went, she sang, and she conquered!" Just short of her eighteenth year of life, Johanna Jachmann-Wagner became a Royal Saxon Court Singer obliged to fulfill a three-year contract.³⁶ While in Dresden, Jachmann-Wagner met Richard Wagner for the first time in fifteen years, at which point her vocal prowess completely entranced him. Inspired by her talents, Wagner worked scene by scene with Jachmann-Wagner for the entire composition of *Tannhäuser*. The role of Elisabeth was explicitly created for her voice; according to Mary Burrell and Hans Jachmann, the first production of *Tannhäuser* was to be performed on her seventeenth birthday.³⁷ Illness, however, postponed her debut as Elisabeth to 21 October 1845. Marie Schmole depicted the intimate bantering between Richard Wagner and his "dumb Liese" at the premiere:

³⁴ Hans is a diminutive of the masculine name "Johannes," and as such, roughly translates as "Johnny" much in the same way as someone named "Robert" might be endearingly referred to as "Bobby." Richard Wagner often referred to Johanna with such pseudonyms that hint at the closeness of their relationship.

³⁵ John N. Burk. *Letters Of Richard Wagner*: Macmillan, 1950. 124. Print. From Marie Schmole-Heine's memoir dated 12 July 1895, Dresden.

³⁶ Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. 8. Print.

³⁷ Mary Burrell. "Wagner, Johanna." *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. George Grove and John A. Fuller-Maitland. 2nd ed. Vol. 5. New York: Macmillan, 1910. 387-88. Macmillan. Also in Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. 14. Print.

“[In] *Tannhäuser*, Johanna did not have to appear until the second act, and stood behind the curtain while her uncle Richard took his place in the wings to encourage her. ‘Oh, uncle, I am so anxious,’ she whispered to him when the curtain was about to rise. ‘You are a dumb *Liese*,’³⁸ he laughingly retorted and disappeared.”³⁹

When the Wagner family convened for dinner after the performance, Richard Wagner rewarded his niece with a gold bracelet engraved with her name and the date.⁴⁰ This was said to be her greatest treasure; in other words, it was a symbol of her life-long dedication to her uncle’s approval.⁴¹ Wagner’s dedication to his niece as a singer and hers to his art were as great as they were interdependent. Hans Jachmann wrote that

Before the theatrical season again commenced Johanna spent the fine summer months with her uncle Richard Wagner and his wife in a suburb of Dresden. . . . At this time of her life Johanna paid but little heed to the outside world; she was content to live undisturbed in the presence of her adored uncle, for whom alone she seemed to have eyes and ears, and who was destined from now onwards to play so important a part in her career as a singer. . . . [Their friendship] lasted throughout their lives.⁴²

Within Burrell’s assemblage of documents, Johanna Jachmann-Wagner is mentioned nearly as often as Cosima Wagner, and not simply because Burrell closely corresponded with Jachmann-Wagner.⁴³ Most of the letters in which Jachmann-Wagner

³⁸ *Liese*, like *Hans*, is a diminutive soubriquet derived from the name *Elisabeth*. English equivalent would be “*Lizzy*”; this instance highlights Jachmann-Wagner’s importance as the character *Elisabeth*. John N. Burk. *Letters Of Richard Wagner*: Macmillan, 1950. Print.124. From Marie Schmole-Heine’s memoir dated 12 July 1895, Dresden.

³⁹ John N. Burk. *Letters Of Richard Wagner*: Macmillan, 1950. Print.124, memoir 126B written in 1895

⁴⁰ Johanna Jachmann-Wagner’s son and biographer, Hans Jachmann, claims that this was not a bracelet, but a golden brooch in the shape of a laurel wreath; Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. Print. 14.

⁴¹ Mary Burrell. “Wagner, Johanna.” *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. George Grove and John A. Fuller-Maitland. 2nd ed. Vol. 5. New York: Macmillan, 1910. 387

⁴² Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. Print. 9-10

⁴³ Mary Banks Burrell and Richard Wagner. *Richard Wagner, His Life & Works from 1813 to 1834*. London: Allan Wyon, Chief Engraver of Her Majesty’s Seals, 1898. Print. 22

is mentioned are Wagner's own lamentations about her removal from his sphere of influence.

During the revolution 1848, Jachmann-Wagner received an offer from the theater at Hamburg, to which she and her parents relocated. Jachmann-Wagner broke her contract with the Royal Saxon Court Theater for a variety of reasons enumerated in a letter addressed to the Royal Court Theater manager, von Lüttichau, dated 21 May, 1849.⁴⁴ "It almost looked as if Albert Wagner wanted this, for the terms offered to his daughter at Hamburg were much more advantageous."⁴⁵ Her broken contract, thus, had little to do with her friendship with Giacomo Meyerbeer, as has been presumed. Additionally, Jachmann-Wagner befriended Meyerbeer before she and Richard Wagner became professionally involved with one another.⁴⁶

In 1849, Wagner wrote from Zürich to his beloved tenor Josef Aloys Tichatschek, the originator of Tannhäuser, about his wishes for greater interaction with Jachmann-Wagner:

Now I am going to write an opera especially for Weimar, and should be quite satisfied with this plan only if I knew you were to be here with me. Also, I should like to have Johanna there; but she is wandering about the great world, and her parents won't allow her time to devote herself to my works. But it was pleasant to hear from you that she thinks kindly of me. About half a year ago I once wrote her in Hamburg apologizing for not having yet answered her very friendly letter. She has not answered so far. I can almost believe that her parents are a bit uneasy about me; they may even be thinking, now that they are so well off on account of Johanna's success, that it would be

⁴⁴ Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. Print. 42

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 24

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-8; according to Jachmann, Jachmann-Wagner met and performed with Meyerbeer in 1842; she met Richard Wagner for the first time since she was an infant in 1844.

human decency to offer me something in my stranded position. May they overcome that worry!”⁴⁷

Several years later, in a letter assumed to have been written in 1854, Wagner attested to Johanna’s artistic (and financial) fidelity to him, but also regrets that her father Albert once again refused to loan money, causing a cease of communication between the families for a time.⁴⁸ The ambitions of Jachmann-Wagner’s parents seemed to be a frequent irritation to Wagner for many years. Despite familial disagreements, Wagner and his niece retained their dedication to one another.

These astonishing accounts beg the questions: what styles of vocal training could produce such a diva, and what about them were so inspirational to a composer so

fastidious as Richard Wagner? Elise and Albert Wagner, both accomplished actors and musicians, trained Jachmann-Wagner in her youth. While in Dresden, Richard Wagner provided her with intensive dramatic coaching. Manuel Patricio Rodriguez Garcia (1805-1906) oversaw the greater parts of her career following her stay in Hamburg.

Figure 2. Portrait of Johanna Jachmann-Wagner, from Hans Jachmann’s biography *Wagner and his First Elisabeth* (1926)



⁴⁷ John N. Burk. *Letters Of Richard Wagner*: Macmillan, 1950. Print.150

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 143.

Garcia's vocal tutelage is viewed today as revolutionary (since he was supposedly the first vocal pedagogue to teach singing according to the "universal" principles of the physiological sciences), and yet unequivocally representative of the Italian *bel canto* school, since his education can be traced back to the teachings of Nicola Porpora.⁴⁹ "If there ever was one who worked in the service of *bel canto*, adding to it the discovery of the actual secret vocal mechanism, it was he, Garcia."⁵⁰ Garcia is best known for having invented the first laryngoscope.⁵¹ Needless to say, his notions of vocal physiology influenced his conception and training of the voice. After leaving his teaching post at the Paris Conservatoire, Garcia taught at the Royal Academy of Music in London, where he taught Johanna Jachmann-Wagner, among other renowned singers.⁵² In Jachmann-Wagner's diary from her days in Paris, she penned the following anecdote:

He examined the formation of my throat and said it was not a hall, this vault in my throat, it was a cathedral; such a voice as mine, he declared, he had never heard before, not even in his celebrated sister Malibran.⁵³

Interestingly, Jachmann-Wagner is reported to have despised singing coloratura, despite being trained by such an "Italianate conservative" as Garcia. It is also significant that Jachmann-Wagner felt that Garcia's teaching of German music was utterly insufficient. When Jachmann-Wagner requested that she be able to study an aria from

⁴⁹ Marroquin, Lucia Diaz, Mario Villoria Morillo, and Manuel Garcia. *La Practica Del Canto Segun Manuel Garcia: Ejercicios Y Arias De Opera Del Tratado Completo Del Arte Del Canto*. Madrid: Consejo Superior De Investigaciones Cientificas, Institucion Mila I Fontals, Departamento De Musicologia, 2012. Print. Jachmann also describes Garcia's vocal pedagogy as being strictly in the *bel canto* style. Garcia's father, Manuel del Popolo Vicente Rodriguez Garcia (1775-1832), studied with Giovanni Ansani who was a likely student of Nicola Porpora.

⁵⁰ Blanche Marchesi. *The Singer's Catechism and Creed*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1932. Microfilm. 156.

⁵¹ Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. Print., v

⁵² M. Sterling MacKinlay. "Manuel Garcia and His Pupils." *Antoinette Sterling and Other Celebrities; Stories and Impressions of Artistic Circles*. London: Hutchinson, 1906. Print.

⁵³ Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. Print. 17; from Johanna Jachmann-Wagner's diary, entry from 4 February 1846.

Weber's *Der Freischütz*, she "soon realized that German music was not in his line," and that she would "not attempt the study of German music with him again."⁵⁴ Serious misgivings aside, Jachmann-Wagner's own pedagogical practices later in life closely mirrored those of Garcia, and Richard Wagner allegedly approved of this mode of instruction. Indeed, a number of phrases, ornaments, and interpretive choices written into Burrell's score would be impossible in the absence of an Italianate vocal line (see section three). At the height of her operatic career, Jachmann-Wagner was praised for homogeneity of timbre throughout her range, a quality that would later become associated with "Italian" and/or "*bel canto*" training. A critic who heard her in Hamburg in 1849, for example, wrote

Her great qualities lie in the evenness of the notes in each register of her voice; firm intonation and precision in the taking of each note is based on a very correct ear; to these qualities is added a classical expression in face and action which fascinates her hearers from the first to the last note, and gives a true impersonation of the character she represents."⁵⁵

In 1926, Hans Jachmann clarified Jachmann-Wagner's vocal training as it related to Richard Wagner's projects:

In Wagner's day, there was, and there has been since, a good deal of roughness in the singing of his operas. Wagner obviously did not approve of this, for, noting the improvement of his niece's singing after she had received instruction from Garcia, he invited the great teacher to come to Bayreuth to train singers there. But Garcia could not spare the time. It is clear that the excesses of *Sprechgesang* were not in Wagner's mind when he wrote his music-dramas. He wanted the voices of his soloists to be trained in the old *bel canto*, so that in tone and technique they corresponded to the orchestra."⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ibid., 19

⁵⁵ Ibid., 24

⁵⁶ Ibid., vi

After taking a hiatus from opera stage for the playhouse, Jachmann-Wagner regained her voice and traveled to Bayreuth for the opening of the Festspielhaus in May of 1872 at the request of her uncle. Richard Wagner revered Jachmann-Wagner to the extent that she was the intended originator of Brünnhilde in *Der Ring*. She was, at this point in her life, unable to sing the role of Wagner's greatest heroine. Instead, she sang Schwertleite, the leading Valkyrie in *Die Walküre*, and the First Norn in *Götterdämmerung*, both minor roles in Wagner's magnum opus.⁵⁷

Johanna Jachmann-Wagner was so adored by Richard Wagner, and so formative for his opinions about vocal coaching that it would be nearly impossible to locate a greater authority on his preferred performance practices. She was among the select few to gain his artistic approval, since he sought to “model a performance ideal he was loath to entrust to others. In 1850, he confessed privately to his niece Franziska, ‘No one knows better than I that the actor is the real artist; what would I not give, if I myself could enact the parts of my heroes.’”⁵⁸ Jachmann-Wagner's dramatic expertise made her particularly valuable to Wagner's extravagant artistic ideals, especially since, according to Liszt, “the acting and by-play of singers [had] been regarded as of very secondary importance.”⁵⁹ Jachmann-Wagner's “undoubted success was largely due to her perfection as an actress,”

⁵⁷ Ibid., 28: Wagner was told, on first conceptualizing the Ring, that the subject was a bad one for an opera, but later other composers expressed interest in the Nibelungenlied: “The first indication of the acceptance of my subject for a grand opera came when I learnt that a favorite singer had been chosen to create a great effect by dashing on the stage on horseback.’ The ‘favorite singer’ was Johanna, his own niece, whom he had destined for his own Brünnhilde, but with whom he was at the moment not on friendly terms, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter.”

⁵⁸ David Trippett. “Bayreuth in Miniature: Wagner and the Melodramatic Voice.” *The Musical Quarterly* 95.1 (2012).72. Print.

⁵⁹ “Wagner's Lohengrin.” *The Monthly Musical Record* (1876): 19. Editor unnamed. *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals*. Web. 20 Oct. 2014.

which Hans Jachmann reminds us was, in fact, a product of “the counsel Richard Wagner once gave his niece in the early days of her career.”⁶⁰

In addition to having never heard a “more perfect voice,” Wagner reported that no one ever surpassed her portrayals of Irene in *Rienzi*, Elisabeth in *Tannhäuser*, and others.⁶¹ His words of praise are ubiquitous in every mention of Jachmann-Wagner, despite familial disputes that prevented their collaboration for most of her career. For Wagner, Jachmann-Wagner represented the essence of “music drama” because she excelled vocally and dramatically. In May of 1856, Liszt begged her to visit her uncle while he was exiled in Switzerland, where “it was hoped they would carry to him a reprieve from banishment...They intended him to receive it from Johanna’s hands.”⁶² Wagner, the self-proclaimed revolutionary, considered Jachmann-Wagner heroine of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* and subsequent symbol of his musical ideology, from whom he would best gain his political and artistic liberation.

In 1882, Jachmann-Wagner was offered a professorship of dramatic singing in the Royal School of Music by Baron von Perfall, who was the Intendant of the Royal Opera at Munich. When she accepted, she did so “in the hope of training young artists in the spirit and traditions of [her] uncle, to be worthy interpreters of his works.”⁶³ From her teenage years in Dresden through her old age at Bayreuth, Jachmann-Wagner’s talents were indubitably influenced by the aesthetic ideals of her uncle as her talents were likely influences on his compositions.

⁶⁰ Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. 41. Print.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶³ Mary Burrell. “Wagner, Johanna.” *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. George Grove and John A. Fuller-Maitland. 2nd ed. Vol. 5. New York: Macmillan, 1910. 388. Print.

In 1850, Jachmann-Wagner entered a permanent contract with the Royal Opera House in Berlin, where she starred as Ortrud in the company's first production of *Lohengrin* in 1859; her portrayal was met with unparalleled exuberance. In a letter dated the following day, Jachmann-Wagner reported that *Lohengrin* had been received "with a perfect storm of applause, such as [she had] scarcely ever experienced [there]."

"Although I am not enchanted with the rôle of Ortrud," she admitted, "I received prolonged applause after singing the curse in the second act. I think I did honour to the part and to myself."⁶⁴

III: The Evidence of the Score: A Grand Lesson from a *Gefeierte Sangerin*⁶⁵

Heard *Lohengrin* on the 5th Oct 84 [sic] & on the 6th a grand lesson from Johanna in this scene of Ortrud. Her singing of it made me feel terrified in cold blood.

Mary Burrell, 1884⁶⁶

Mary Burrell's wealth of notes, which abound in both English and Kurrentschrift, detail extraordinary interpretive choices allegedly approved by Richard Wagner himself. These notes also frame the ontology of the *Leitmotiv* as a vocal construction, developed by the dramatic capabilities of the singer. The lesson presented in the score transfers agency from the composer to the performers and their conceptions of language and vocal

⁶⁴ Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. Print., 29. Berlin: From a letter written from Jachmann-Wagner to an unnamed friend.

⁶⁵ James Q. Davies. "Gautier's 'Diva': The First French Uses of the Word." *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1800-1920*. By Rachel Cowgill and Hilary Poriss. New York: Oxford UP, 2011. 123-24. Print.

⁶⁶ Richard Wagner. *Lohengrin : Romantische Oper in Drei Akten / Von Richard Wagner ; Vollstandiger Klavierauszug Von Theodor Uhlig*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1851. Print. Score from the collection of noted Wagner scholar Mary Burrell; signed by Johanna Jachmann-Wagner. Includes extensive markings taken down during a lesson given by Jachmann-Wagner herself. Translations and Kurrentschrift transcriptions by Carolyn Hawkshaw. 72.

production. Jachmann-Wagner's instructions mirror or augment Wagner's best-known compositional idioms, suggesting that performers played a major role in the creation of "music drama." The most heavily annotated scenes are those in which Ortrud sings accompanied by motivic orchestral material in Act II (as in Figure 6), the earliest examples of features specific to what would later be termed *Musik Drama*. Interestingly, Jachmann-Wagner's presentation of material specific to *Musik Drama* fuses characteristics of *Sprechgesang* vocal technique with *bel canto* vocal technique all in service of theatricality.

Without further supplanting Richard Wagner's influence, direct quotations of Jachmann-Wagner are occasionally accompanied by "Der Onkel's" own suggestions for the vocal characterizations of Ortrud and Elsa in Burrell's score (see Figures 4 and 5). In addition, Jachmann-Wagner's advice to Burrell is consistent with Wagner's lengthy, albeit vague, accounts of rehearsals with his singers. Burrell's notes refine the technical details upon which Wagner failed to expound in his grandiose writings on singing and drama, in which he fixates on the effects of successful performances rather than the means of achieving such affective results. Wagner praised singers for their interpretations while neglecting to concretely address the vocal reasons for their exceptional performances. In his writings, Wagner lauded singers for the "right expression of the words" and for their "spiritual understanding," which can only be definitively interpreted as dramatic exhibitions rather than vocal ones.⁶⁷ Wagner's obsession with drama betrayed his ignorance of vocal technique, but fits within the context of Jachmann-Wagner's instructions, all of which serve theatricality through more specific vocal guidance.

⁶⁷ Richard Wagner. *Wagner on Music and Drama; a Compendium of Richard Wagner's Prose Works. Selected and Arranged, and with an Introd. by Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn.* Comp. Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn. Trans. H. Ashton Ellis. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1964. 338. Print.

The most striking feature of Burrell's writings, aside from the presence of peculiarly placed breath markings, is the rapidity with which Jachmann-Wagner instructed changes in tone color, tempo, and emphasis. While training heldentenor Ludwig van Schnorr for the title role of *Tannhäuser*, Richard Wagner "whispered him the inner cycle of the entranced's emotions," likely prompting a series of abrupt changes in tone and subsequent affect. Schnorr's melodic line would have been in constant flux, as if he were singing a series of motives woven into the *Unendliche Melodie*.⁶⁸ This stylistic choice seems to be in stark contrast with *bel canto* aesthetics of elongated phrases with uniformity of timbre, but does appeal to the textual emphases associated with *Sprechgesang*.

This vocal style is also analogous to the formal changes that Wagner wished to pursue for his later projects. *Der Ring* is formally amorphous; it is described as a musical construction that develops "organically" through motives, rather than strictly defined sections of self-contained musical material. Mary Burrell's notes clarify that which Wagner may have meant by his vocal coaching comments to Schnorr as shown in Figures 3 and 4, which show that she was instructed to break lines into musical cells of varying affects.

In Figure 3, Burrell's notes indicate that she was instructed to present a different vocal color for each segment of the text; above the first two notes of the phrase, Burrell penciled the words "sehr hart" (Trans. "very harsh"), underneath which is an instruction to emphasize the umlaut in "Missglückt's." The following notes are separated with pencil line and the instructions to "change," presumably to a vocal timbre that could better

⁶⁸ Ibid., 339.

convey the “unheimlich” (Trans. “eerie” or “uncanny”) affect as written beneath the staff for the second segment of the line. Melodic lines in the score are often divided into groupings such as these that function more as motives rather than coherent melodies for the purpose of dramatic spontaneity. Jachmann-Wagner’s advice also appears to be a manifestation of what Wagner termed *Versmelodie*, in which language itself controls the musicality of the phrases through changing timbres of vowels.⁶⁹ Vowel is one of Jachmann-Wagner’s primary tools for achieving heightened drama through a vocal ideology based on linguistic forms.⁷⁰

Figure 3. Page 83.



Melodic fragments such as those in Figure 3 are supplemented by ornamentation that signal motivic material in the accompaniment. The orange inscriptions in Figure 4 outline the function of a portamento as a signpost for a series of motives to follow.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Trippett cites *Versmelodie* as “that combination of instinctive speech intonation and breath that links alliterative verse to melody, predicated on the tonality of Ancient Greek.” David Trippett. “Bayreuth in Miniature: Wagner and the Melodramatic Voice.” *The Musical Quarterly* 95.1 (2012): 71-138.

⁷⁰ Many vocal pedagogues teach according to the principles of breath and vowel as indicated in this score. Vocal instructor Jane Randolph (San Francisco Conservatory of Music) is one such teacher.

⁷¹ Graham G. Hunt. “Ortrud and the Birth of a New Style in Act 2, Scene 1 of Wagner’s *Lohengrin*.” *The Opera Quarterly* 20.1 (2004): 47-70. Print. Also mentioned in Nila Parly. “Elsa and Ortrud, *Lohengrin*.” *Vocal Victories: Wagner's Female Characters from Senta to Kundry*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2011. 83-118. Print.

Above the breath mark and portamento, a note reads “dunkel herunterziehen,” which translates roughly as “pull down darkly,” thus conforming to the general trend of separating melodic lines into smaller motivic units for the sake of dramatic variety. This allows the text to define tone qualities that preface the orchestra’s own motivic “power of speech.”⁷² As the quotation of Jachmann-Wagner states in Figure 4, Richard Wagner supposedly made this suggestion himself.

Figure 4. Page 81.

Measures 2-4: “Dunkel herunterziehen.” (Trans. “Pull down with darkness.”)

“Ja. Der Onkel hat mir selbst gezeigt.” (Trans. “Indeed. My uncle showed me this himself.”)⁷³

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, there is a vocal line with lyrics: "da, wo dir mein Se-her.auge leuch-ten soll! (Friedrich nähert sich Ortrud immer mehr und neigt sein Ohr aufmerksam zu ihr herab.)". Below the vocal line is a piano accompaniment. The piano part includes dynamic markings such as "pp S. gedämpft." and "Bel. trem." with a hairpin. There are also performance instructions like "Bel. trem." and "p". At the bottom of the page, there is a handwritten note in red ink: "Ja. Der Onkel hat mir selbst gezeigt".

Through ornamentation and phrase grouping, Jachmann-Wagner’s advice radically increases dramatic tension while diverging from characteristics of the typical *bel canto* aria due to the dynamic nature of the vocal line. Jachmann-Wagner’s suggestions deny the emotional limitation of self-contained “arias;” her artistic choices allow vocal technique to facilitate Wagner’s compositional distance from prior operatic forms, as was his aim. Unlike typical Metastasian opera arias, in which each aria is

⁷² Richard Wagner. *Wagner on Music and Drama; a Compendium of Richard Wagner's Prose Works. Selected and Arranged, and with an Introd. by Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn.* Comp. Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn. Trans. H. Ashton Ellis. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1964. 217. Print.

⁷³ Translation assistance courtesy of Carolyn Hawkshaw, University of California PhD Candidate in German Linguistics.

devoted to a character's singular emotional reflection, Jachmann-Wagner's vocal lines function more as lines in a dramatic monologue, in which the thoughts and feelings of the speaker (or singer, in this case) are constantly developing.

Figure 5. Page 94. Following Ortrud's famous curse, Burrell has written "der Onkel hat es acceptiert." (Trans. "Uncle accepted it.")



In addition to distancing herself from prior operatic singing conventions, Jachmann-Wagner highlights Wagner's conceptions of "music drama" in opposition to "opera." This is achieved not only within lines (as demonstrated in Figure 3), but also between vocal lines. Enough care is devoted to differentiating the phrases of Elsa and Ortrud so as to suggest that Jachmann-Wagner, and Richard Wagner by extension, wished to emphasize the complexity of Ortrud's musical language through vocal interpretation. Emphatic instructions for Ortrud's lines often coincide with rapid changes in harmony and texture, so her role is awarded more chromatic or microtonally-oriented ornaments, such as her countless handwritten portamenti. It should be noted that these markings are indeed portamenti, and not phrase markings; Burrell wrote on page 92 that a specific portamento should be made "very little," unlike the others (see Figure 14).

Burrell's pencil markings show that Ortrud's lines are functionally antithetic to those of Elsa. Burrell, too, took note of their exaggerated stylistic divergence, having written "Such a difference between the two!"⁷⁴ Disparities in vocal style between the characters closely correspond to the compositional differences in their respective musical material, whether in melodic line, orchestral texture, or harmony. Vocally ornamented motives also delineate "opera" from "music drama" as they differ for the characters Ortrud and Elsa respectively in Burrell's copy of *Lohengrin*.

A singer's breathing determines timbre, phrasing, and overall interpretation of a piece, thus being a decisive determinant of vocal aesthetic. Elsa's breath marks occur at commas, periods, and before dependent clauses, as is common practice in vocal performance (see Figures 9, 10, and 11). Breaths written into Ortrud's lines, on the other hand, emphasize particular Germanic sounds and fracture melodic content into metrical motives in addition to the dramatic motives mentioned previously in Figures 7 and 8. Ortrud's peculiar phrase markings occur most often where tonality frays and orchestral motives dominate, as in Figure 17, in which a breath mark interrupts the melodic line between "Ruhig" and "und besonnen." Countless other breath marks appear in the midst of phrases in Ortrud's part elsewhere in the score.

Surprisingly, Ortrud's breath marks normalize (i.e. appear at commas and periods) when she converses with Elsa later on in the act, as if to obscure her true intentions by modifying her means of speech. Her duplicity is thereby represented in her breathing patterns; in Figure 6, Burrell has written "more hypocritical" in a scene in

⁷⁴ On page 90 of the score, Burrell wrote "solch ein Unterschied zwischen den Beiden!" Richard Wagner. *Lohengrin : Romantische Oper in Drei Akten / Von Richard Wagner ; Vollständiger Klavierauszug Von Theodor Uhlig*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1851. Print. Translations and Kurrentschrift transcriptions by Carolyn Hawkshaw.

which Ortrud is appealing to Elsa's sense of mercy. It is in this scene that Ortrud's breath marks have been inserted at "typical" phrase ends, as Elsa's do. Vocal phrasing in Burrell's score thus simultaneously propels dramatic action and character development.

Figure 6. Page 90. "viel heuchlerischer." (Trans. "much more hypocritical.")
 "Solch ein Unterschied zwischen den Beiden." (Trans. "such a difference between the two.")

The musical score for page 90 of Wagner's *Die Walküre* is presented with German and English lyrics and extensive musical annotations. The score is divided into systems for Ortrud and Elsa, with piano accompaniment and instrumental parts indicated.

Ortrud's Part:

- System 1:** "tönt mein Name durch die Nacht? El - sa! - Ist meine Stimme dir so fremd? Willst du die Hörn. u. Fl. *sf* *pp* Fl. u. Ob. *pp* Ob. *
- System 2:** "unglücklich Weib? „Unglücklich Weib!“, wohl hast du Recht so mich zu nennen! In fer - ner Einsamkeit des Cl. *p* *f* *p* *f* S. pizz. Eng. H. u. Bel. *pp* Bl. *pp*

Elsa's Part:

- System 3:** "Ar - me ganz ver - läugnern, die du in's fernste Elend schickst? Ortrud! bist du's? - Was machst du hier, * *f* * *pp* * *pp*
- System 4:** "Wal - des, wo still und friedsam ich ge - lebt, - was that ich dir? was that ich dir? Freud - los, das Eng. H. u. Bel. *pp* * *pp* * *pp* * *pp*
- System 5:** "Unglück nur bewei - nend, das lang be - lastet meinen Stamm, - was that ich dir? was that ich S. S. * *f* * *f* * *f* * *f*

Handwritten Annotations:

- Ortrud: *viel heuchlerischer*, *W-B*, *NW*, *In mässiger Bewegung*
- Elsa: *solch ein Unterschied zwischen den Beiden*

The page number 8411 is visible at the bottom center of the score.

Along side the breath marks that convey characters' intentions are those that frame specific metrical patterns. In her dialogue with Friedrich, Ortrud's phrases are clipped by breath marks as the intensity of the scene elevates; each breath mark separates two clearly delineated trochaic segments from the end of each line (see "ein Zauber liebt" in Figure 7 and "entrissen nur" in Figure 8). Ortrud's trochaic metrical patterns clash against Elsa's iambic lines later on in their duet (see Figure 15).

Figure 7. Page 82. "Sung so much in front of the mouth as to be almost spoken."
 "Sehr Stell." (Trans. "Very bright")
 "Crescendo to the Höhepunkt [Trans. "Highpoint"] at 'Macht.'"
 "Very much in front of the mouth," "change," Emphasis of the word "ihm."

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Friedrich and Ortrud on page 82. The score is written in ink on aged paper and includes vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in German. Handwritten annotations in cursive provide performance instructions and observations. The first system shows Friedrich's vocal line starting with "Weisst du, wer dieser Held, den hier ein Schwan gezogen an das Land? Nein! Was gabst du". The second system shows Ortrud's vocal line starting with "doch, es zu erfahren, wenn ich dir sag', ist er gezwungen zu nennen, wie sein Nam' und". The third system shows Friedrich's vocal line starting with "Art, all seine Macht zu Ende ist, die mühevoll ihm ein Zauber leiht? Ha! Dann begriff ich sein Verbot! Nun". The piano accompaniment consists of chords and arpeggiated figures. The annotations include "sung so much in front of the mouth as to be almost spoken" at the top, "piano fall" in the first system, "crescendo to the Höhepunkt at 'Macht.'" between the second and third systems, and "very much in front of the mouth" with a red underline under the word "Macht" in the third system.

Figure 8. Page 84. Despite a the introduction of a line more closely resembling one of a recitative, Otrud's unusual breath marks suppress any veritable representation of speech when the bass descends into the primary motives of the second act.

wird ihm des Leibes kleinstes Glied entrissen nur, muss sich als bald ohnmächtig zeigen,

Figure 9. Page 28.

S. trem.
auf die Knie. Die Frauen, in twas näher in den Vordergrund.)
Elsa.
Du trugest zu ihm mei - ne - Kla - ge, zu mir trat er auf dein Ge - Eng.H.

p Vl. trem.

Figure 10. Page 28.

bot: - o Herr, nun meinem Rit - ter sa - ge, - dass er mir helf'
Die Frauen. (auf die Knie sinkend.)
Sopran. *dim.*
CHOR *ff* Herr! Sen - de Hül - fe ihr! Herr
Alt. *dim.*

not too loud

Figure 11. Page 51.

zag'ich nicht, mein Gott, drum zag'ich nicht!
Sieg ver-schafft.
ich nicht, drum nun zag'ich nicht!

Figures 12. Page 99.

Zauber zu dir kam! (Elsa, von Grauen erfasst, wendet sich unwillig ab,) wendet sie sich dann wieder zu Otrud.) Du Aermste kannst wohl nie er-dem Gesange folgend.

mit dem letzten Wort muß man fühlen daß sie für ganz in jenes Gaudald sah

Figure 13. Page 100.

messen, wie zweifel-los mein Her-ze liebt? Du hast wohl nie das Glück be-sessen, das

Figure 14. Page 92. “Very little portamento, rather the lower letter carried up to the higher note.” (N.B. referring to the asterisk above the slur marking in measure 4.)

Br.u. Ve. |

scheiden, mich schickst du auf des Todes Spur, ... dass meines Jammers trüber Schein nie kehrt in deine Feste

Bewegt. Elsa. (sehr bewegt.)

ein! Wie schlecht ich deine Gütepreise, Allmächtigster

gerder mich so beglückt, wenn ich das Unglück von mir

stieße, das sich im Stau bevor mir bückt! — O nimmer! Ortrud!

Very little portamento, rather the lower letter carried up to the higher note

Upon further inspection, other breath marks delineate metric schema that mimic motives in function. These poetic-linguistic systems are accentuated identically to those found in the plays of Aeschylus, of whom Wagner was a great admirer. Rosenmeyer

determined that occasionally in the dramas of Aeschylus, a metrical foot referred to as the “dochmiac” was used “for the expression of horror and acute pain in song.”⁷⁵ Specific poetic meters in his tragedies were primarily used to differentiate chant from speech; the dochmiac, however, is the only metrical foot that is semantically tied to the affect of a character rather than his or her means of textual expression. It can be, in other words, understood as a rhythmic *Leitmotiv* signifying a particular dramatic, physical, or emotional object. Trippett supposed “Wagner’s “vibrant voice” during dramatic readings of his libretti were “saturated with nonlinguistic cues for his auditors, stimulating “emotion detection” over “verbal detection.”⁷⁶ These cues would thus fulfill the same purpose as the *Leitmotiv*; such devices would have been intended for emotional recognition, not necessarily strict symbolic associations, as is commonly presumed about the Wagnerian *Leitmotiv*.

The dochmiac, comprised of the syllabic pattern “short long long short long,” is referred to as a “sprung rhythm,” and as such, is “a violently syncopated rhythm which in the end only distantly recalls the steady flow of iambs.” Dochmiacs regularly appear framed by breath marks in Elsa’s lines, as in Figures 16A, 16B, and 16C.⁷⁷ These metrical patterns are rhythmic “motives” formed from the substance of language itself. This idea would have been very appealing to Richard Wagner, to whose artistic aims the German language and the mechanics of Greek drama were ideologically integral.

The score’s metric schema are limited to the classical Greco-Roman practice of organizing poetic accent according to syllable length rather than syllable stress. Figure

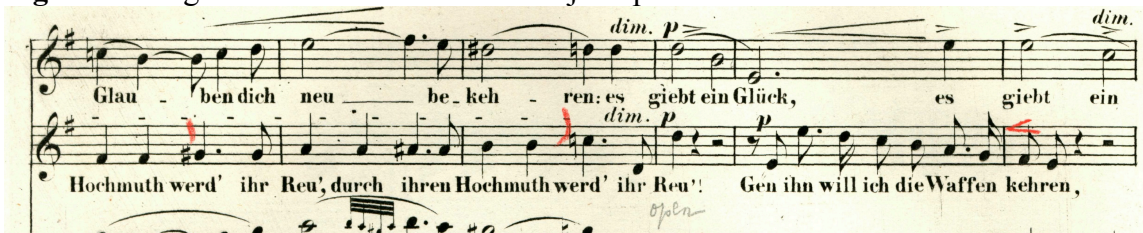
⁷⁵ Thomas G. Rosenmeyer. “The Art of Aeschylus.” Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. 32. Print.

⁷⁶ David Trippett. “Bayreuth in Miniature: Wagner and the Melodramatic Voice.” *The Musical Quarterly* 95.1 (2012): 71-138. Oxford University Press. Print.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 34

16C, for example, shows that the length of the syllables in the dochmiac determines the metrical scheme; in the word “entrissen,” the syllable “-triss-“ is naturally accented as the strong syllable, but when spoken, syllables “ent-“ and “-en” are greater in length relative to the syllable “-triss-.” Wagner was adamant about using speech to inform musical organization of his works, and these devices appear to be a means of achieving this.⁷⁸

Figure 15: Page 101. Ortrud’s trochaic line juxtaposed with Elsa’s iambic line



Figures 16A-C. Elsa’s Dochmiacs

16A. Page 97. The text “[Ge] Dort harre ich des Helden mein” contains two dochmiacs; the remaining text is iambic.



16B. Page 188. “sei mir’s entrissen”



⁷⁸ “In the conclusion to *Oper und Drama*, Wagner is at his most emphatic about the importance of spoken utterances: ‘We have had to recognize speech itself as the indispensable basis of a perfect artistic expression.’” David Trippett. “Bayreuth in Miniature: Wagner and the Melodramatic Voice.” *The Musical Quarterly* 95.1 (2012): 72. Oxford University Press. Print.

16C. Page 195. “fänd ich dein’ Gewähr?”

The image shows a page of a musical score, page 195, from Wagner's opera Lohengrin. It consists of three systems of music. The top system is the vocal line for Lohengrin, with lyrics: "wie sollt'ich da ge - ne - sen? wo fänd'ich". The middle system is the piano accompaniment, featuring a complex texture with many chords and moving lines. It includes dynamic markings like *cresc.*, *ff*, *p trem.*, and *crescendo*. The bottom system continues the vocal line with lyrics: "dein' Gewähr? Hörtest du nichts? ver - nahmest du kein Kommen? El -". This system is marked "Recitativ." and includes a performance instruction in parentheses: "(Sie schreckt in heftigster Aufregung zusammen und hält an, wie um zu lauschen.)". The score is in G major and 4/4 time.

In contrast with this rhythmic application of *Sprechgesang* are Jachmann-Wagner’s *bel canto*-inspired instructions. In Figure 5, the line that is meant to “flutter and shake with excitement” would be impossible in the absence of what is commonly referred to today as the “spin” of the breath, which provides consistency of tone and controls vibrato. Although Ortrud reaches a cadence in a major key on the words “süsse Wonnen” (Trans. “sweet delights”), *bel canto* breath control manipulates an otherwise innocuous phrase into one of insidiousness. A tone’s heavy vacillation over the word “süsse” would superimpose unmistakable dissonance in an otherwise tonally consonant major cadence. “That the word ‘Sweet’ ever could sound so terrible!” wrote Burrell on page 86 of her score in response to this interpretive choice.

Figure 17. Page 86.

Measures 6-7: “Dass war meine Hauptstelle.” (Trans. “This was my big moment.”)

Measures 14-17: “es darf keine Süßigkeit in dem Wort süß.” (Trans. “there must not be any sweetness in the word sweet.”)

Above measures 18-24: “That the word ‘Sweet’ ever could sound so terrible!”

Bottom of page 86: “es soll flattern und beben vor Erregtheit.” (Trans. “It is supposed to flutter and shake with excitement.”)

“Oct 6th 84 she sang it for me – how she kept her mouth as open in singing “süsse” as it was and kept the sound as full as if as if it were not [sic] throbbing with rage! On a small voice it would degenerate into “tremolo.”

The image shows a handwritten musical score for page 86, featuring vocal parts for Ortrud and Friedrich, and piano accompaniment. The score is annotated with various performance instructions and handwritten notes in German and English.

Ortrud. Allmählich
trügst du jetzt mich noch, dann weh dir! Weh! Ha, wie du

lig immer etwas langsamer.
rastest! — Ru - hig und be - sonnen! 'So lehr' ich dich der Rache sü - sse Wonnen! (Friedrich setzt

Mässig langsam.
sich langsam an Ortrud's Seite nieder.) **Friedrich.** Der Ra - che Werk

Der Ra - che Werk

Pos. u. Tb.

8411

Handwritten notes:
"hat bloß meine 'süsse' voll"
"auf dem 'süsse' in dem 'süsse'"
"that the word 'Sweet' ever could sound so terrible!"
"no voll flattern und beben vor Erregtheit."
"Oct 6th 84 she sang it for me - how she kept her mouth as open in singing 'süsse' as if it, was. As kept the sound as full as if as if it were not throbbing with rage! On a small voice it would degenerated into 'tremolo'"

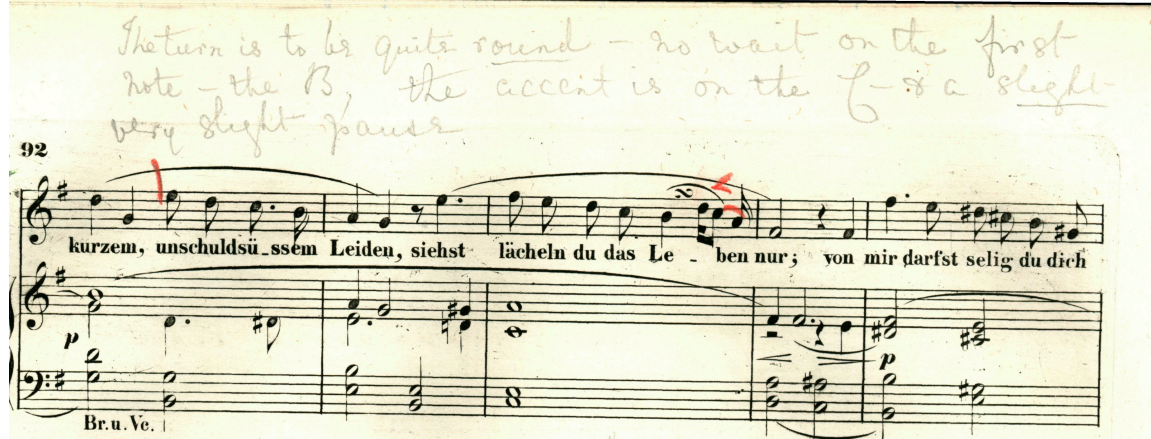
Another expression associated with *bel canto* is the mordent, as emphasized in Figures 18 and 19. Although these ornaments reveal Wagner’s admiration of Bellini’s works, Jachmann-Wagner’s instructions describe their functions as being stylistically divergent from mordents performed in canonical *bel canto* operas. Jachmann-Wagner frames mordents as devices for character development and motivic recapitulation along with the aforementioned portamenti, rather than having “purely sensual aesthetic value.”⁷⁹ Jachmann-Wagner’s mordents are dissected into units of dramatic import. Observe that in Figure 18, Burrell has placed an accent over the note G in “Gott,” whereas the accent in Figure 19’s mordent falls on the note following it. This meticulous attention to detail alters the listener’s perception of the scene, since emphases on different notes of the mordents also determine whether dissonances or consonances are emphasized.

Figure 18. Page 181. “Mädchenhaft [or Märchenhaft] anschwingend (jetzt heraus) --- ganz langsamen Wagnerischen Mordent.” (Trans. “Swinging up girlishly (*Mädchenhaft*) [or fantastically (*Märchenhaft*), as in a fairy tale].”)



⁷⁹ Wagner criticized Rossini’s works for a lack “dramatic understanding” that stemmed from his focus on this so-called “purely sensual aesthetic value.” David Trippett. *Wagner's Melodies: Aesthetics and Materialism in German Musical Identity*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. 8. Print.

Figure 19. Page 92. “The turn is to be quite round – no wait on the first note – the B, the accent is on the C – and a slight, very slight pause.”



The extent to which *Sprechgesang* was used is limited by the overwhelming evidence that *bel canto* was a dominant stylistic trait in the performance of Wagner’s operas. A number of sources criticize Bayreuth pedagogues for propagating what was contemporaneously termed “Bayreuth barking” – a style not represented by the phrase markings or ornaments in the Burrell score, perhaps one of the most valid guides to what Wagner really envisioned for the performances of his operas and “music dramas.”

Following Wagner’s death, Cosima Wagner established a vocal training institution in conjunction with Julius Kniese, who had been a choral conductor at the Bayreuth festival since 1882. “Under Cosima’s aegis and Kniese’s direction, the Wagnerian idea of speech-song – or *Sprechgesang*, as it was later called – was wildly exaggerated. ... *Bel canto* became a term of abuse.”⁸⁰ Their focus on textual emphasis that would assert the “superiority” of the German language was heavily criticized from an aesthetic standpoint. Johanna Jachmann-Wagner’s son, Hans Jachmann wrote that

In Wagner’s day, there was, and there has been since, a good deal of roughness in the singing of his operas...It is clear that the

⁸⁰ J. M. Fischer, “Sprechgesang or *Bel Canto*: Toward a History of Singing Wagner,” *Wagner Handbook*, ed. U. Müller and P. Wapnewski. Cambridge, Mass., 1992. 528ff. Print.

excesses of *Sprechgesang* were not in Wagner's mind when he wrote his music-dramas. He wanted the voices of his soloists to be trained in the old *bel canto*, so that in tone and technique they corresponded to the orchestra— as was only logical — while by elocutionary skill and intelligence and emotional realization the meaning of the words was conveyed.”⁸¹

Jachmann's words are reminiscent of Henderson's, who agrees that Wagner would not have approved of his works being “cackled in the Bayreuth staccato” as encouraged by Cosima Wagner, Kniese, van Dyck, and Kraus.⁸² Henderson also cited Wagner as having written “Nowhere in my score of ‘Lohengrin’ have I written above a vocal phrase the word ‘recitative,’” the rough equivalent of “speech-song” (although not quite *parlanti*) in typical Italian operas.

Burrell's annotations are indeed only somewhat consistent with styles described by Bayreuth instructors as *Sprechgesang* and critics as “Bayreuth barking,” “Deklamation mit Musik,” or German recitar cantando.⁸³ Traits of *Sprechgesang* are evident in the attention paid to specifically German vowels and consonants, in addition to the prioritization of drama over melodic line (See Figure 7, in which Burrell's note reads “so much in front of the mouth as to be spoken.”)⁸⁴

⁸¹ Hans Jachmann. *Wagner and His First Elisabeth*. Trans. Maria Anna Jachmann Trechman. London: Novello, 1944. vi. Print.

⁸² William J. Henderson. *The Art of the Singer: Practical Hints about Vocal Technics and Style*. Cambridge: C. Scribner's Sons, 1920. 233. Print.

⁸³ Michael Fend. “German Bel Canto’: Nineteenth-Century German Singing Manuals in a Political Context.” *L'insegnamento Dei Conservatori, La Composizione E La Vita Musicale Nell'Europa Dell'Ottocento* (2012): 89-107. King's College, London. Licia Sirch. Web. 14 Nov. 2013. <<https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/german-bel-canto-nineteenthcentury-german-singing-manuals-in-a-political-context%28890894cc-f04c-4189-ab99-97d9a1420780%29.html>>.

⁸⁴ Wagner lamented that his preferred singing style was not received as well because audiences were accustomed to a “tamer but pleasanter one.” Richard Wagner. *Wagner on Music and Drama; a Compendium of Richard Wagner's Prose Works. Selected and Arranged, and with an Introd. by Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn*. Comp. Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn. Trans. H. Ashton Ellis. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1964. 341. Print.

The libretto preceding the score within Burrell's manuscript is filled with non-existent German words; these words are phonetic spellings, thus making the entire libretto a pronunciation guide for Jachmann-Wagner's style of German singing. German language and the "correct" pronunciation thereof were of the utmost importance to Jachmann-Wagner and her contemporaries, as they would have been for Bayreuth instructors. In addition, some breath marks appear to delineate metrical units where consonants are to be especially emphasized, even if such breaths are marked where phrases would be interrupted. According to Trippett, "the surviving reports suggest that when Wagner accompanied himself at the piano, he was closer to melodrama than opera," thus speaking over music in a style that German critics called "Deklamation mit Musik."⁸⁵ Historical examples such as this one could easily explain tendencies toward the exaggeration of *Sprechgesang*.

In conjunction with Wagner's own dramatic renderings, Mary Burrell's score gives plenty of reason to believe that Cosima Wagner and Julius Kniese could have easily misinterpreted Richard Wagner's performance instructions. There are indeed many annotations that could be construed as indicators for what could sound "rough" or like "barking."⁸⁶ Heavy emphases on consonants and breaths between short phrases could easily explain the tendency for Bayreuth performers and pedagogues to adopt "Bayreuth barking" as a preferred means of expressing the German tongue. The countless

⁸⁵ David Trippett. "Bayreuth in Miniature: Wagner and the Melodramatic Voice." *The Musical Quarterly* 95.1 (2012): 72. Oxford University Press. 73. Print.

⁸⁶ Fend wrote that this style was more often than not described as overly consonantal, and that it was decried as "screaming recitation." Fend, Michael. "'German Bel Canto': Nineteenth-Century German Singing Manuals in a Political Context." *L'insegnamento Dei Conservatori, La Composizione E La Vita Musicale Nell'Europa Dell'Ottocento* (2012): 89-107. King's College, London. Licia Sirch. Web. 14 Nov. 2013. 9. <<https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/german-bel-canto-nineteenthcentury-german-singing-manuals-in-a-political-context%28890894cc-f04c-4189-ab99-97d9a1420780%29.html>>.

portamenti, although used selectively in Burrell's score, are also stylistically associated with "scooping" vocalisms of *Sprechgesang* that were propagated well into the twentieth-century.

Regardless of whether the performance practices described in the score were intended to sound harsh or mellifluous, Jachmann-Wagner was an avid supporter and/or inspirer of the intellectual culture associated with Wagner's fascinations that would cohere into his famous *Musik Drama*. Her preoccupation with theatrical specificity in uses of different vocal techniques extends beyond nationalistic appropriations of the operatic voice.

IV: Concluding Remarks

Bayreuth and its cult attractions were built upon the foundations of *Lohengrin*: intellectualized applications of vocal technique, ritualized drama, and "revolutionary" artistic reforms that harken back to the building blocks of Greek tragedy. "This plan in particular [was] intended as a modern reincarnation of an ancient rite: just as Greek tragedy was celebrated communally at the Theater of Dionysos in Athens, or that in Epidaurus, so the German people are to celebrate the Wagner drama in a special place."⁸⁷ Wagner's cultural deification processes are most clearly represented in Burrell's score through stylistic associations with the classic Greek drama. More significant is the role that a diva such as Jachmann-Wagner brought to the history of Wagnerian composition and performance practice, calling into question Richard Wagner's own artistic ownership.

⁸⁷ John Deathridge. "Wagner the Progressive." *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil*. Berkeley: University of California, 2008. 107. Print.

Jachmann-Wagner's artistry even inspired the creation of the most prominent symbol of *Musik Drama* and of the Wagnerian cult, the valkyrie Brünnhilde.

Jachmann-Wagner's instructions to Mary Burrell indicate much more than a singing lesson – they represent a Hegelian sublation of *bel canto* phrasing with emphatic declamations of German consonants and vowels, all in the service of drama. Wagner's uses of the German language for musical form transcend stylistic categorizations of *bel canto* or *Sprechgesang*. Despite this Italian-German vocal hybrid, Jachmann-Wagner's instructions imply that Wagner intended for the German voice itself to be the precursor of motivic development. These stylistic developments happen to coincide with the introduction of the *Frageverbot* ("forbidden question") motif, perhaps not coincidentally.

Burrell's score is also a magnificent example of the seeds of *Musik Drama* because Ortrud spiritually encompasses the ideals of Wagner's later works. Adorno postulated that Wagner's "villains are turned into comic figures by means of the denunciation they are subjected to."⁸⁸ Ortrud suffers no such embarrassment, as indicated by the care devoted to the composition and performance of her lines; her demonization was, in a sense, a mistake, both dramatically and musically. In her famous curse, Ortrud invokes Wotan and Freya, the gods who would later become the focus of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. Furthermore, Wagner was highly disappointed with the introduction of Liszt's essay on *Lohengrin*, "which at the start conjures up an undialectical, sentimental image of a premodern world unsullied by doubt in Christian belief." Christ is barely mentioned in *Lohengrin*, as if Wagner had already begun conceptualizing his works through the lens of spiritual objectivity, since Ortrud's gods are given equal agency

⁸⁸ Theodor W. Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*. London: NLB, 1981. 21. Print.

within the context of the opera. By legitimating the gods that would later represent Wagner's magnum opus, Ortrud wholly represents the Wagnerian spirit as a religious treatment of the "music drama." Ortrud is victorious at the close of *Lohengrin*, having convinced Elsa to ask the *Frageverbot*. However, Ortrud must sacrifice her own life in order to impose her will, not unlike Brünnhilde, Wagner's most celebrated heroine.

The most crucial aspect of Burrell's score is its self-conscious dedication to the specificity of performance practices, as if they are divine rites. Since vocal production was the means of physicalizing his operas, the voice was the most glorified aspect of Wagnerian spectacle to *Gesamtkunstwerk* "followers." More than being a glimpse of nineteenth century vocal pedagogy, Mary Burrell's score of *Lohengrin* is a window to the "spiritual mastery" required of Wagnerian performers for Wagner's "new style of musicodramatic rendering."⁸⁹ Burrell's annotations more than anything show readers the zealous dedication required of Wagnerian performers who lived and worked in the deified musical culture of *Musik Drama*.

⁸⁹ Richard Wagner. *Wagner on Music and Drama; a Compendium of Richard Wagner's Prose Works. Selected and Arranged, and with an Introd. by Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn.* Comp. Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn. Trans. H. Ashton Ellis. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1964. Print.

Appendix of Burrell Score Notes and Translations.

NB: The complete appendix has been omitted. The remainder of the appendix is available upon request.

The Burrell Score:

- Throughout the score, Elsa’s entrances are marked in blue pencil; Ortrud’s entrances are marked in green pencil. Diction hints and other markings were made with orange and grey pencils.
- Breaths and portamenti are solely marked in orange pencil.

Page/System/Measure	Text (English and German)	Translation (English)	Notes
Title Page	Nadedruck der zwerst 1851 erschiener Ausgabe [nicht vor 1874]		
Back of Title Page	<p>“Anmerkung: ‘In Wolfram von Eschenbach’s Lied ‘Parsifal’ heisst es: ‘Der heilige Gral war die Schale, worin das Blut, welches aus der Seitenwunde des Erlösers ran, aufgefangen ward; sie bestand aus einem Edelstein, der beim Sturz Lucifers in den Abgrund aus dessen Krone fiel. Wer den Gral anschaute, starb nicht und wer irhn diente, bleib von jeder Todsünde frei. Der heilige Gral aber wählte sich selber seine Diener und gab ihnen alle irdische Freude und himmlische</p>		

	<p>Seligkeit. Er stand in einem wundersamen Tempel im dichter Walde und es pflegte ihn eine auserlesene reine Ritterschaft.”</p> <p>Copied from the first “Textbuch” of Lohengrin printed for the first performance, at Weimar, 28th August 1850.</p>		
Table of Contents	Johanna Jachmann-Wagner		Johanna Jachmann-Wagner’s signature (next to Ortrud in list of roles)

<p>Back of Table of Contents</p>	<p>1: Es liegt mehr in dem altdeutschen Wort „dingen“ als „feilschen“ oder „marchander“ (this is a French word; you can tell from the script...--CH), weil <u>beide</u> Seiten sollen dabei profitieren</p> <p>5: “berufen” und “entbieten” ist eins und dasselbe Wort.</p>	<p>1: There is more in the old German word „dingen“ than „feilschen“ (=to haggle) or „marchander” (= the French word for “haggle”), because <u>both</u> sides are supposed to profit in the process.</p> <p>5: “berufen” and “entbieten” are one and the same word. (they both mean ‘summon’ or ‘appoint’ –CH)</p>	<p>Notes referring to numbered diction hints in the following libretto.</p>
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Libretto 1	1 werben, feilschen 2 erwähnt 3 Schild	1 to vie for, haggle 2 mentioned 3 Shield	These diction auxiliaries are scattered throughout the libretto from Libretto pages 1 to 10. (this makes sense in the context; these notes are all definitions of older Germanic words that people probably wouldn't have known) etc.
Libretto 1-10			More diction hints and other notes
Score 17/4/5-6	Blue pencil marks Elsa's entrance; curved pencil mark over "-er" of "Bruder"		Schwa
Score 18/2/7 Score 18/2/9 Score 18/4/3 Score 18/4/5	Blue pencil marks Elsa's entrance Orange pencil marks caesura between "Gott" and "gefleht" Pencil "G" marked above "-gem" of "gewalt' gem Tönen" Orange breath marked between "weit" and "in"		At crescendo preceding grace notes in "Tönen" Normal cadential phrase marking before a dependent clause – "in die Lüfte schwoll"

Score 19/1/1-5	(not to get too piano too soon); not too much; keep up tone -- change -- more change ein wenig heimlicher soll es klingen diese zwei Worte	It should sound a bit more furtive/stealthy these two words	These two words being “ich” and “hört,” which are underlined.
Score 19/1/2	Orange pencil mark emphasizing portamento and/or phrase mark between “ihn” and “fern” Orange pencil marking “N” above the aforementioned portamento.		
Score 19/2/1	Pencil marking “G” above “Aug”		
Score 19/2/3	Orange pencil marking caesura between “sank” and “in”		Normal breath mark preceding dependent clause “in süßen Schlaf
Score 19/4/2	Elsa’s reentrance is marked by blue pencil.		

Score 20/1/1	Pencil marking “G” over “tugendlicher”		
Score 20/3/1-2	(change the tone); pencil marking “G” over “ mit züchtigem”		
Score 20/4/1	Orange pencil caesura between “Ritters” and “will”		
Score 20/4/5	Breath marked in orange pencil between “soll” and “mein”		
Score 24/4/2	Blue pencil marks Elsa’s entrance Breath or caesura between “Ritters” and “will,” as on page 20. Breath marked in orange pencil between “soll” and “mein, as on page 20.		

Score 25/1/1-5	Sie sind immer Brünnhilde und Isolde -- das geht nicht.	They are always Brünnhilde and Isolde – that’s not okay.	
Score 25/1/2	Orange breath mark between “gesandten” and “ich”		Normal phrasing before “ich biete für Gewähr”
Score 25/2/3-4	bescheiden	Modest	
Score 25/3/2-3	schüchtern	Shy	
Score 25/3/4	Breath marked in orange between “Gemahl” and “mich”		Over “mich glücklich soll ich preisen”
Score 25/3/8	Portamento/phrase marking connecting “was” and “ich”; ich appears to have been a quarter note misprinted as a half note – Burrell has penciled in the note, despite the fact that there is a fermata in the accompaniment.		Over “will er Gemahl mich heissen”

Score 27/1/6-8	Blue pencil marks Elsa's entrance		
	alles mögliche muß darin liegen	Everything possible should go into this.	Literally: Everything possible must lie in this. Over "Mein lieber König..."
Score 27/2/2	Schwa pencil marking over the "- er" of "Ritter"		
Score 28/2/8	Orange breath mark between "er" and "auf"		Normal phrase marking
Score 28/3/2	Orange crescendo or accent mark written above "Herr," followed by a breath mark at the comma.		
Score 28/3/6-7	Not too loud		Accents over every syllable in "dass er mir helf" in meiner Noth!"
Score 28/3/10	Change		Over "Lass mich ihn..." to contrast with the previous phrase ("dass er mir helf...")
Score 28/4/1	Breath mark after "sehn"		Normal phrase marking preceding a subordinate clause.

Score 28/4/5	Soft tone, though loud		Over a fortissimo marking
Score 28/4/6	Breath marked between “er” and “mir”		Diminuendo between “sei” and “er” of “sei er mir nah!” Breath mark gives dramatic emphasis to “mir nah!”
Score 36/1/1	Blue pencil marks Elsa’s entrance		
Score 40/4/1	<u>kindlicher</u> muß es heraus kommen	It should come out more childishly	Referring to Elsa’s response to Lohengrin: “Mein Held, mein Retter!”
Score 40/4/4	Breath marked at comma between “Held” and “mein”		Normal breath marking at comma
Score 40/4/7	Weich	Gentle	Over “Dir geb’ ich Alles, was ich bin!”
Score 40/5/6	Weich	Gentle	Over “Wie ich zu deinen Füßen liege,” in response to Lohengrin
Score 41/4/1	Erschreckt	(she) is startled	Over “Nie, Herr, soll mir die Frage kommen!”
Score 41/4/2	Orange pencil marks breath between “Herr” and “soll”		Normal breath mark at a comma

Score 42/1/1-2	mit Empfindung	With feeling	“Mein Schirm! Mein Engel! Mein Erlöser...”
	Orange phrase mark drawn connecting “Mein” and “Schirm”		Normal breath mark
	Orange breath marked over sixteenth note after “Schirm”		Normal breath mark
Score 42/1/6	Orange breath marked after “Mein Engel!”		Gradually getting faster over “Wie gäb’ es Zweifels Schuld”
Score 42/2/2	stringendo		Written over “Glaubenraupt?” and “Wie du mich schirmst in meiner Noth”
Score 42/2/2-4	Orange breath maked between “den” and “Glaubenraupt”		Normal breath marking before a dependent clause
	<u>Great</u> change soft.		As opposed to the score’s phrase marking over “Wie du mich schirmst in mein-.”
	Orange breath marked between “schirmst” and “in meiner Noth”		
	Pencil phrase marking over the whole of “Wie du mich schirmst in meiner Noth”		

Score 42/2/7	Orange fermata over “dein” in “so Treu ich dein Gegrösser”		
	nicht herunter ziehen	Don’t pull down/back	
Score 42/bottom of the page	Denken Sie sich nur! Nachdem sagt er das	Just think! Afterward he says that	Presumably “Elsa! Ich liebe dich!”
Score 50/3/1	Das muß so schön vorgetragen werden – es muß so viel darin liegen – weil er gleich darauf sagt (dieses ihn verursacht zu sagen)	This must be performed so beautifully – there has to be so much in it – because he says right afterward “Elsa I love you” this causes him to say	
Score 51/1/8	Blue pencil marks Elsa’s entrance		
Score 51	Orange breath mark between “Gott” and “drum”		Normal breath marking at comma between phrases

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